

# VERIFICATION PARTICLES IN SURUI

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## ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the semantics and syntax principally of three particles in Surui, which seem to constitute the central part of the verification (evidentiality) system. This system is closely interrelated with tense-aspect. The three particles under investigation do not occur in yes/no questions, imperatives or hortatives; however, in declaratives and content questions, they occur in a paradigmatic relationship in the free subject phrase, as well as in other positions within the clause. This seems to lend support to the hypothesis that they form a closed class.

### 0. Introduction

This paper discusses some particles of the verification system in Surui.<sup>1</sup> Whereas "tense relates the time of the situation referred to to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking", and "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie, 1-3), verification (evidentiality) indicates whether, in what way, or to what degree a speaker considers his utterance to be factual, or else indicates the speaker's basis for making the utterance he does.

This verification system is closely interrelated with the Tense-Aspect system, syntactically and semantically. Both systems are signalled by particles. This paper discusses the verification system only; the Tense-Aspect system will be dealt with in a further paper. The interrelationship between the two systems however, will be apparent throughout this paper.

Section 1 discusses the semantics of seven verification particles; sections 2, 3 and 4 discuss the syntactics of the first three of these, íná, éná and îyâ, which form the central part of the system.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. Semantics of individual particles

In this section, seven verification particles will be discussed. Only the first three of these, íná, éná and îyâ, occur in the free subject phrase (§4.2.1.) and are therefore considered central to the verification system. The remaining four particles, ani, kaled, bo, and po occur

in places other than the free subject phrase and are therefore considered peripheral to the verification system.

### 1.1. iná.

The verification particle iná indicates factuality for a present event or state, or for a past event or state with present relevance. First of all, iná can be used with present events:

- (1) kaná péy-áǵ-iná  
what 2PL-do-FACT  
'What are you doing?'
- (2) nán-iná napóa agâ maâ wâ  
who-FACT vine middle take HORT  
'Who is grabbing that vine in the middle?'

As a subtype of present events, this particle can be used with customary events.

- (3) a-wérkar iná sóná é  
3-walk FACT that way SM  
'That's how it (the wild turkey) walks.'
- (4) maǵír pa-ló d-iná bár aka é  
early 1PL INCL-GENR T/A-FACT rubber cut SM  
'We cut rubber early in the morning.'

Because of this, it is common to find iná throughout descriptive or procedural discourse.

This verification particle can also be used with past events that have present results. In a system of aspect, this is referred to as present perfect, indicating "the continuing present relevance of a past situation" (Comrie, 52).

- (5) mēbe aka o-j-iná é  
pig kill 1SG-T/A-FACT SM  
'I killed a pig.'  
(In reply to a question such as 'What did you kill?', when the questioner could see someone return from a hunting trip carrying a full basket.)
- (6) awuru d-iná o-mípe akar é  
dog T/A-FACT 1SG-foot bite SM  
'The dog bit my foot.'  
(Would be appropriate if the foot were still inflamed from the bite.)

Many of the past events to which iná refers are recent past. This is not surprising with present perfect aspect. "Presumably the motivation for this is that at any given time, the events whose results are most likely to be felt are those which have just occurred" (Chung and Timberlake, 26).

- (7) yáb áǵa o-jé-k-iná mated é  
 arrow make 1SG-T/A-go-FACT yesterday SM  
 'I made an arrow yesterday.'  
 (The arrow was in existence at the time of utterance.)

- (8) ká-d-ī e-má-or iná me-tó-ta  
 which-T/A-INSTR 2SG-T/A-come FACT path-sit-STATE  
 'By which path did you come?'

At times the particle iná can indicate recent past without the relevance in the present being obvious. This is not uncommon with the perfect aspect (Comrie, 60).

- (9) kókó kána e-má-k-iná m/ated  
 uncle where 2SG-T/A-go-FACT yesterday  
 'Uncle, where did you go yesterday?'
- meeg-ǵay o-jé-k-iná mated é  
 corn-plant 1SG-T/A-go-FACT yesterday SM  
 'I went to plant corn yesterday.'

## 1.2. éná.

The verification particle éná indicates factuality for a simple past event, (whose present relevance is not being alluded to).

- (10) été o-jé ǵopáma aka éná é  
 then 1SG-T/A electric eel kill FACT SM  
 'Then I killed the electric eel.'
- (11) kálér-éy éná xáméómi ǵáynhír aud nár a-pótó-ta  
 butterfly-PL FACT lots sand small on 3-sit-STATE  
 Lots of butterflies were sitting on a small area of sand.'

This particle is common throughout third person historical (factual) texts.

(12) été mâ d-éná KÚ iwe-ká é  
 then other T/A-FACT cry out that-to SM  
 'Then the other one yelled about it.'

(13) áyámí d-éná a-nepo-tê é  
 later T/A-FACT 3-arm-PROC SM  
 'Later they shot arrows.'

It also typically occurs at the end of first person narratives.

(14) été o-j-éná walóy-éy abi éná é  
 then 1SG-T/A-FACT armadillo-PL kill FACT SM  
 'So that's how I killed the armadillos.'

(15) éé-bó o-jé-kah éná Toarí-éy íkin éná é  
 DEM-RESP 1SG-T/A-go FACT name-PL see FACT SM  
 'So then I did see the Atroari Indians.'

### 1-3. îyâ.

The particle îyâ of the verification system indicates hearsay and is mainly used in third person narratives and in legends.

(16) é Mérésór îyâ aka be káne  
 DEM name HSAY kill COMP want  
 'He wanted to kill Mersaor, I heard.'

(17) o-ká-lá iwe-kâyâ (iwe-ká-îyâ) dé  
 1SG-go-INTENT that-to+HSAY T/A  
 "'I'm going," he (said) because of it (I heard).'

At least in texts, îyâ seems to occur primarily in quotation margins. In one text, with close to 50 quotative clauses, around 90% included a quotation margin with îyâ, and this in turn accounted for around 90% of the occurrences of îyâ in that text. In quotation margins, îyâ occurs most commonly with the dative (kây 'to' + îyâ 'HEARSAY' becomes kâyâ).

(18) ãh tóy-xá é-wa maré ó-bay ta í+kâyâ  
 now 2PL EXCL-? 2SG-eat HORT 1SG-cross-cousin 3PL 3SG-to+HSAY  
 "'Now we will eat you, cross cousin." they said to him (I heard).'

- (19) iyé iká ána bó o-meremí-ma ya i-kâyâ  
 ok ? this way RESP 1SG-like-HORT T/A 3SG-to+HSAY  
 "OK. Please do as I'm doing," he said to him. (I heard).'

But iyâ can also occur with the free subject referring to the speaker (ta '3PL' + ya 'T/A' + iyâ 'HSAY' becomes taiyâ).

- (20) HU-HU-HU-HU mekó-éy iyâ  
 cats talking cat-PL HSAY  
 "HU HU HU HU," the cats said. (I heard).
- (21) yétépóh yé-pa-la ma i-kár maré tá-iyâ  
 good HORT-1PL INCL-INTENT other 3SG-look-for HORT 3PL-HSAY  
 "Good, let's look for something else," they said. (I heard).'

In both of these places, iyâ is a tight enclitic (§4.1.).

iyâ can also occur as the final element in a quotation, which is then followed by the quotation margin.

- (22) agôa e-táǵi yá gáraká iyâ yára-éy jé é  
 insides ?-hanging out ? ? HSAY civilizado-PL T/A SM  
 "Her insides were hanging out so one could see them," the civilizados said.'

#### 1.4. ani.

The particle ani indicates potentiality, and for that reason tends to occur with the future tense. It also occurs commonly in descriptive texts. ani usually occurs at the end of a sentence, before the sentence marker. Note: Beginning with ani, the rest of the particles discussed in this section (kaled, bo and po), do not occur in the subject phrase in the place where iná, éná, and iyâ do.

- (23) mixáǵi-tér pa-ló sádé xíbo-ka ani é  
 night-INT 1PL INCL-GENR IMPF flame-to POTL SM  
 'At night we switch on the light.'
- (24) até e-lá-kah agóta ye-mákí ó-ǵay ani í  
 INTERR 2SG-INTENT-go tomorrow ?-do 1SG-to POTL INTM  
 'Are you going with me tomorrow?'

The meaning of ma ani is 'almost'.

- (25) arime sádé a-ar xíter ma áni é  
 monkey IMPF 3SG-fall INT almost SM  
 'The monkey almost fell.'

### 1.5. kaled.

The particle kaled occurs very rarely in texts. It seems to be on the periphery of the verification system and seems to have the approximate meaning of 'approximate, surrogate'. This particle needs further investigation.

- (26) ãh-té káléd  
 now-INT SURR  
 'I'm feeling pretty well.'

- (27) été tá-jé palob ḡaled máki éná é  
 then 3PL-T/A god SURR make FACT SM  
 'Then they made false gods.'

### 1.6. bo.

The particle bo indicates a response of the speaker to what he just heard or a reaction to something that just came up in the situation in which he found himself.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(28) <u>ãh-bó-lá</u> iwe-izá<br/>         now-RESP-? that-with<br/>         "'Now I understand" (in response to:<br/>         "Do you understand?").'</p> | <p>(29) kána <u>bó</u> iwe-ikin<br/>         INTERR RESP that-see<br/>         "'Sure, I'm going to see it" (in response to:<br/>         "Do you want to see it tomorrow?").'</p> |
|--|--|

Frequently bo is joined to other particles to form idiomatic expressions, such as: bo-lana-í, bo-laka-í, ye-bo-la, bo-l-ena, éé-bó. These expressions will not be discussed in this paper.

### 1.7. po.

The particle po indicates response to an utterance or situation, but with some type of emphasis stronger than bo.

- (30) éná-po-áh  
 FACT-RESP-EXCM  
 'Is that right?'

- (31) été koronáb-dé po a-wa-tár érúy é  
 then plane-T/A RESP 3-house-over close SM  
 'Then the plane passed close over their houses.'

## 2. Utterance-initial position.

From this point on we will be concentrating on the three verification particles íná, éná and iyâ. These occur almost always as enclitics on some constituent of the utterance, but there are a few occurrences of íná and éná which are utterance-initial (4 out of a total of 323 charted occurrences of these three particles). In these cases they refer to the factuality of the preceding utterance, which can either be asserted as true, questioned as true, exclaimed as true, or which would become true on the basis of permission given.

### Previous utterance asserted as true:

- (32) a-om aka b- éká  
 3REFL-son in law kill COMP want  
 "They wanted to kill their son-in-law?"

eh éná éyá ó-om ġakí-aka tene éé  
 AFF FACT ? 1SG-brother in law revenge-kill ? DEM

sád-éká nābekod ígá i-pi éná é  
 IMPF-SUBORD knife take 3SG-from FACT SM

"Yes, because he wanted to kill my brother-in-law, in revenge, he took the knife from him."

### Previous utterance questioned as true:

After some statement in a conversation, the speaker may say to one of his hearers:

- (33) éná po wa áre  
 FACT RESP HORT brother  
 'Isn't that right, brother?'

The one spoken to will usually give some kind of affirmative answer.

### Previous utterance exclaimed as true. After hearing some startling news, a hearer may exclaim:

- (34) éná po wáh (35) éná  
 FACT RESP HORT FACT  
 'Is that right?' 'Really?!'

### Previous utterance would become true on the basis of permission given:

- (36) *ãh toy-xa é-wa maré ó-bay tá-yá i-kâyâ*  
 now 2PL EXCL-? 2SG-eat HORT 1SG-cross cousin 3PL-T/A 3SG-to+HSAY  
 "Now we will eat you, cross cousin," they said to him (I heard).'

*íná é íná é*  
 FACT SM FACT SM  
 "OK fine, OK fine."

### 3. Verification particles in non-declaratives.

The enclitic verification particles *íná*, *éná* and *iyâ* do not occur in yes/no questions (see examples in Bontkes, 1982). The expression *éná-po-wá* (FACT-RESP-HORT) 'Is that right?', example (34), could be viewed as an idiomatic expression, the answer to which is usually expected to be 'yea' and never 'no', and therefore not a true yes/no question.

The enclitic particle *íná* has been found in content questions; the component 'factual' is relevant to the speaker's presupposition.

- (37) *nán nír é-ḡ-íná*  
 what cook 2SG-do-FACT  
 'What are you cooking?'  
 (Presupposition: You are cooking something.)
- (38) *kokó kána e-ma íná x-aka*  
 uncle what 2SG-T/A FACT 3SG-kill  
 'Uncle, what did you kill?'  
 (Presupposition: He killed something.)
- (39) *káná é-má-or íná*  
 why 2SG-T/A-come FACT  
 'Why did you come?'  
 (Presupposition: The person came for a reason.)

These enclitic verification particles do not occur in imperatives and hortatives (see examples in Bontkes, 1982), for the same reason they do not occur in yes/no questions: there is no presupposition of the type found in content questions. This fact seems to support the hypothesis that these particles are verification particles; in imperatives, hortatives and yes/no questions no verification is needed as far as the speaker is concerned.

The same restrictions of occurrence do not seem to hold with other particles discussed in sections 1.4-1.7. The following examples show *ání* 'potentiality' in yes/no questions.

- (40) até      é-lá-kah      agótá      yé-máki      ó-ǵay      áni      í  
 INTERR 2SG-INTENT-go tomorrow ?-make 1SG-to POTL INTM  
 'Are you going with me tomorrow?'
- (41) até      é-lá      arime      e-wá      ání      í  
 INTERR 2SG-INTENT monkey REF-eat POTL INTM  
 'Do you eat monkey?'

This provides evidence that áni is not a verification particle of the same type as iná, ená and iyâ.

#### 4. Enclitic particles.

In this section we will be considering the syntactic properties of iná, ená and iyâ when they occur as enclitics on some constituent of the utterance. This is by far their most common mode of occurrence (319 out of a total of 323 charted occurrences of these particles); their other (utterance-initial) occurrences were discussed in section 2.

##### 4.1. Fusion with preceding morphemes.

The particles iná, ená and iyâ, occurring as enclitics, are often fused with the preceding morpheme, with the loss of one syllable, involving one or more segmental phonemes. If the tone of the elided syllable is high, it is preserved by transferral to the adjacent morpheme. Sometimes segments are elided from the verification particle, and sometimes from the preceding morpheme. The rule seems to be that if the preceding morpheme is vowel-final, it is that final vowel which is elided; if the preceding morpheme is consonant-final, the first syllable (vowel plus consonant) of the verification particle is elided, and its high tone is retained on the last syllable of the preceding morpheme. Only the first type of fusion has been observed for iná and ená, but both types for iyâ

##### 4.1.1. Morphemes with which fusion occurs.

The morphemes with which this fusion, occurs seem to be those which iná, ená and iyâ very commonly follow and, in fact, whose juxtaposition to these verification particles is in some sense grammaticalized. This is a fairly small class of morphemes (tense/aspect and some other particles, plus a few lexical items), but on these morphemes the fusion is all but obligatory, occurring in about 95% of all environments in which fusion seems to be permitted at all.

#### 4.1.1.1. Tense/aspect particles.

In a free subject phrase, tense/aspect particles are followed by verification particles in a fixed order (see §4.2.1.), and it is very common for fusion to occur at the boundary.

The tense/aspect particle dé (jé), when fused with íná, becomes díná (jíná); when fused with éná, it becomes déná (jéná). 102 examples of this type have been charted (as opposed to 5 non-fused). No examples have been found of this tense/aspect particle juxtaposed to îyâ, in fused form or otherwise.

The tense/aspect particle yá (á), when fused with îyâ, becomes yîyâ, or simply îyâ. When this fusion takes place, the presence of yá (á) cannot easily be distinguished from its absence. However, free subject forms such as ta-îyâ are posited as derived from \*ta-yá-îyâ (3PL-PAST-HSAY) for two reasons; 1) verification particles do not ordinarily occur in free subject phrases without a preceding tense/aspect particle; and 2) no other tense/aspect marker cooccurs in clauses with ta-îyâ (ta-y-îyâ), even though in a legend where this form frequently occurs (16 times) the form yá also occurs often in other clauses.

Other tense/aspect particles which have been found to be fused to verification particles in the free subject phrase are: ma 'TENSE/ASPECT' (4 examples), gã 'PRESENT IMPERFECTIVE' (21 examples), (1)ádé 'IMPERFECTIVE' (2 examples).

#### 4.1.1.2. The dative postposition -kay 'to'.

The postposition -kay (-gây, -ka, -gã) often occurs in quotation margins in dative phrases such as î-kay (3SG-to) 'to him/her' (§1.3.). In a legend, the hearsay particle îyâ also occurs frequently, and predominantly in quotation margins. For this reason îyâ often occurs as an enclitic to -kay (39 times in the legend charted). When this happens, elision takes place in all, or almost all, cases: since -kay is consonant-final, the first syllable of îyâ is lost, but the high tone of that syllable is transferred to -kay. (As a general phonological process in Surui, î becomes y after y and the two y consonants coalesce to one.) Thus there occur forms like î-kâyâ (3SG-to HSAY); o-gâyâ ((1SG-to+HSAY), the person marker no longer having high tone. (In these forms, -kay (-gây) also becomes nasalized, either from the transference of nasality as well as high tone from the elided first syllable of îyâ, or else assimilated regressively from the vowel â of îyâ.)

#### 4.1.1.3. The verb -kah 'go'.

When a free subject pronoun with its accompanying tense/aspect enclitic (and verification enclitic) occurs preceding the verb -kah 'go' or the verb -or 'come', the free subject with the tense/aspect marker becomes phonologically prefixed to the verb stem, and the verification particle (if any occurs), comes after the verb stem. The vowel-final stem -kah 'go' is then optionally fused with the verification particle, while the consonant-final stem -or 'come' has not been found to be fused with a following verification particle. Thus

\*o-jé-íná      o-kah  
(1SG-T/A-FACT 1SG-go)  
'I have gone.'

becomes either ojé-kah íná (2 times) or ojé-k-íná (9 times).

\*o-jé-éná      o-kah  
1SG-T/A-FACT 1SG-go  
'I went.'

becomes either o-jé-kah éná (no examples) or o-jé-k-éná (1 time).

\*yá-îyâ      a-kah  
T/A-HSAY 3SG-go  
'He went.'

becomes either yá-kah îyâ (no examples) or yá-kîyâ (1 example).

\*o-jé-íná      o-or  
1SG-T/A-FACT 1SG-come  
'I have come.'

becomes o-jé-or íná (1 example), never \*o-jé-órá.

\*o-jé-éná      o-or  
1SG-T/A-FACT 1SG-come  
'I came.'

becomes o-jé-or éná (1 example), never \*o-jé-órá.

#### 4.1.1.4. The verb íkin 'see'.

Five examples have been found of the verb -íkin 'see' fused with îyâ 'HEARSAY'. Since the verb is consonant-final, the first syllable of îyâ is elided but its high tone is retained

on the last syllable of the verbs íkin îyâ becomes íkín â (Because of the nasal n between the vowels i and a, it is difficult to tell whether the nasalization heard on these vowels is phonemic.) No examples have been found of the non-fused form íkin îyâ. On the other hand, a few examples have been found of the non-fused forms -íkin íná and -íkin éná, but none of the corresponding fused forms. In general, as mentioned in section 4.1, it appears that the particles íná and éná do not fuse onto preceding consonant-final morphemes.

#### 4.1.2. Non-fused forms.

In one case a free subject phrase with a fused éná as the final element is immediately followed by another occurrence of éná:

- (42) ée-bó      paíter-éy    j-éná      éná    ye    má    aka-ki    éná  
 DEM-RESP    Surui-PL      T/A-FACT    FACT    ?    other    kill-revenge    FACT  
xi-en      aka    be      káne    iwe-ka    é  
 3SG-EMPH    kill    COMP    want    that-to    SM  
 'Therefore the Surui (wanted to) kill the other in revenge, they wanted to kill him  
 because of that.'

At least one other example of this type has been found. In both of these cases, the subject is a participant who is being introduced (or possibly reintroduced) by a full NP at that point.

This suggests a possible pragmatic explanation for the non-fused éná: whereas the first éná, occurring with the free subject, is (all but) obligatorily fused to the preceding tense/aspect particle, the second one occurs basically to set off the free subject phrase from the following part of the utterance, thus giving it positional prominence which is in keeping with, and an indicator of, the discourse-pragmatic prominence it seems to have at that point in the text. In fact, this type of explanation could be investigated for many other positions in which verification particles occur, especially in a non-fused form (see following section). The two most common positions of occurrence, utterance-final and fused to the free subject, may possibly be less significant pragmatically, being highly grammaticalized.

#### 4.2. Positions of occurrence.

Verification particles can occur in many different positions throughout an utterance. The positions listed in Figure 1 were noted in charting a total of 323 occurrences of the verification particles íná, éná and îyâ in texts and some elicited material.

Position of occurrences	Number of occurrences	Percentage
ENCLITICS TO:		
free subject: fused	142	44.0%
non-fused	8	2.5%
dative: fused	39	12.1%
non-fused	1	0.3%
entire utterance (followed perhaps by only another enclitic or a vocative)	82	25.4%
quotation	7	2.2%
sentence-initial connective	5	1.5%
"       " Wh-question word	6	1.9%
"       " adjunct	1	0.3%
"       " negative	1	0.3%
clause followed by another clause	8	2.5%
verb followed by another verb	3	0.9%
verb followed by adjunct	12	3.7%
object followed by verb	3	0.9%
adjunct followed by another adjunct	1	0.3%
UTTERANCE-INITIAL	4	1.2%
Total	323	100.0%

**Figure 1.** Positions of verification particles íná, éná, îyâ

In the following sections (4.2.1.-4.2.5.), some of the individual enclitic positions will be discussed that occur in Figure 1. The utterance-initial position has already been discussed in section 2.

It is not uncommon for verification particles íná or éná to occur more than once in a clause. As many as three 3 per clause have been observed.

- (43) éyab é-sád-íná        napókariya    tár    íná    pozód-ma    íná  
then    REF-IMPV-FACT    bush                    on    FACT    sit-?                FACT
- ání    é  
POTL    SM  
'The nest would be on top of a bush.'
- (44) éé-bo        paíter-éy    j-éná        éná    ye    má-aka-kí        éná  
DEM-RESP    Surui-PL        T/A-FACT    FACT    ?    other-kill-revenge    FACT

xi-en aka be káne iwe-ká é  
 3SG-EMPH kill COMP want that-to SM  
 'So the Surui wanted to beat him because he had hit the other person.'

No examples have been found with two occurrences of îyâ in a single clause.

The above examples show multiple occurrences of the same verification particle, either íná or éná, in the same sentence. The only clear examples of different verification particles occurring in the same sentence are those occurring on different performative levels in that sentence.

(45) kána ma-ya ó-ǵay îyâ mopíd d-éná  
 why other-T/A 1SG-to HSAY name T/A-FACT  
 'Why did Mopid (think), "They will get me?"'

In the above example, the particle îyâ occurs final in the quotation content, whereas éná is in the quotation margin.

Thus the verification particles íná, éná and îyâ are seen to be in paradigmatic relation, mutually substitutable and noncooccurring, in a clause. In section 4.2.1. we will see that they are also in paradigmatic relation in the free subject phrase.

#### 4.2.1. Subject phrase.

When a free subject occurs in a clause, whether noun or pronoun, certain other suffixes or enclitics can occur with it, in the following fixed order:

...HEAD +/- NUMBER +/- EMPHASIS +/- TENSE/ASPECT +/- INTENSIFIER  
 +/- VERIFICATION...

The HEAD can be either noun or pronoun. If a noun, it can be preceded by certain other elements such as demonstratives and possessives.

In the NUMBER position can occur -éy 'PLURAL' (unless the head is a personal pronoun) or -pére 'GENERIC COLLECTIVIZER'.

(46) été má-éy d-éná ah-bador iwe-ká é  
 then other-PL T/A-FACT 3-run that-to SM  
 'Then the others ran because of it.'

- (47) kád-eká      méy-pére    ma    íwé-ízá    óm    ma  
 what-SUBORD    2PL-like this    T/A    that-with    NEG    HORT  
 'Why didn't you know about it?'

A zero in this position indicates either singular or no specification for number.

- (48) été má    d-éná      iwe-ká    é  
 then    other    T/A-FACT    that-to    SM  
 'Then the other did this about it.'
- (49) áyab-éká      lahd    d-éná      a-kah    iwe-ká    é  
 then-SUBORD    Indian    T/A-FACT    3-go      that-to    SM  
 'Therefore the other Indians went because of it.'

One EMPHASIS morpheme has been observed, the suffix -en, which may indicate contrastiveness.

- (50) mated    arime-éy-én      dé    a-wák-tě      é  
 yesterday    monkey-PL-EMPH    T/A    3-run away-PROC    SM  
 'Yesterday the monkeys ran away.'
- (51) ó-en      d-éná      iwe-ká    éná    é  
 1SG-EMPH    T/A-FACT    that-to    FACT    SM  
 'That's what I know about it.'

The preceding elements may be considered as suffixes on the head noun or pronoun and may occur whatever the grammatical relation the head may have within the clause. The TENSE/ASPECT position, however, is only present when the head noun or pronoun is the grammatical subject. Enclitics in this position include -jé (-dé, -má, -yá, -á), all glossed only as 'TENSE/ASPECT', pending further analysis, (1)ádé 'IMPERFECTIVE' and -ǵa 'PRESENT IMPERFECTIVE'.

It is common for the subject phrase to consist only of the head and a tense/aspect enclitic:

- (52) Zebel-dé    étigá      gúdgúda  
 Zebel-T/A    at that time    take pictures  
 'Zebel took pictures then.'
- (53) áyab-éy    iwe-pámí    tóy-jé  
 then-PL    that-afraid    1PL EXCL-T/A  
 'So we were afraid of them.'

Since a tense/aspect particle occurs only in the subject phrase, no more than one can occur in any clause, unless there is an appositive (or tail construction).

- (54) é-en ní dé xi-m-áled ãáne tár éká yá  
 2SG-EMPH EXM T/A 3SG-POSS-woman want ? SUBORD T/A  
 i-kâyâ tá-jé paíter-éy j-éné é  
 3SG-to HSAY 3PL-T/A Surui-PL T/A-FACT SM  
 'You yourself wanted his wife, the Surui were saying.'

In the intensifier position can occur té (tér) 'INTENSIFIER'. This has only been found in the subject phrase between dé and iná.

- (55) o-ma-úr dé-t-ina é  
 1SG-POSS-bow T/A-INT-FACT SM  
 'That is my bow.'
- (56) ó-lob dé-t-ina é  
 1SG-father T/A-INT-FACT SM  
 'That is my father.'

The particles iná, ená and iyâ can occur in the VERIFICATION position, but no others have been found here up to this time. They typically occur in the subject phrase only when there is also a tense/aspect particle.

- (57) áyab eká Baiáno d-ená a-sár or é  
 then SUBORD name T/A-FACT 3-fact come SM  
 'Therefore Baiano came running.'
- (58) kasár aka o-j-ina é  
 macaw kill 1SG-T/A-FACT SM  
 'I killed a macaw.'
- (59) áyab miãa té-iyâ tá-jé é  
 then pick up 3PL-T/A+HSAY 3PL-T/A SM  
 "'Then they picked it up," they said.'

Of course, as has already been explained, they can occur in other places in the utterance as well as the subject phrase, but almost half of their occurrences are in the subject phrase (see Figure 1).

Certain other particles may also occur in the subject phrase, such as ebóg 'almost', bo 'RESPONSE', ní "EXM".

- (60) été ée lakabaterú ébóg d-éná a-masódě tér éná é  
 then DEM name almost T/A-FACT 3-bad condition INT FACT SM  
 'Then Lakabateru was badly hurt.'
- (61) été a-j-éná nābekod ígá i-pi epi mā de bó  
 then 3REFL-T/A-FACT knife take 3SG-from later other T/A RESP  
éná i-zar anókar éná é  
 FACT 3SG-top stamp FACT SM  
 'Then after he had taken the knife from him he stamped all over him.'

At this point it is not known how these are related to the order TENSE/ASPECT-INTENSIFIER-VERIFICATION.

#### 4.2.2. Utterance-final.

About one-fourth (23.5%) of all occurrences of íná, éná, and îyâ were found to be utterance-final, which is interpreted here as meaning that no constituents (stress groups) of the utterance can occur afterward (except possibly vocatives), but only other particles, and especially the sentence marker é.

- (62) ó-lob d-íná i-wa íná é  
 1SG-father T/A  
 'My father ate it.'
- (63) a-pór-éy á-mir a-kah éná é  
 3REFL-brother-PL 3CAUS-call 3-go FACT SM  
 'He called his brothers.'
- (64) été mekó-éy á tág x-aúd ága îyâ  
 then cat-PL T/A put down 3SG-lying make HSAY  
 'Then the cats put him down.'

#### 4.2.3. Quotation-final.

Closely related to utterance-final position is the final position in a direct quotation. The particle îyâ occurs commonly at the end of quotations, which seems to support the hypothesis that îyâ is a hearsay particle.

- (65) a-pábó-tě îyâ tá-jé é  
 3-fly-PROC HSAY 3PL-T/A SM  
 "They flew away," they said.'
- (66) agôa e-táǵi ya gáráká îyâ yára-éy jé é  
 insides REF-hanging out T/A ? HSAY white man-PL T/A SM  
 "Her insides were hanging out, so one could see them," the white men said.'

One example has been found where the particle íná is quotation final:

- (67) tay été mâ-d-éná iwe-mâ éná íná i-kay é  
 no then other-T/A-FACT that-tell FACT FACT 3SG-to SM  
 'No, that one told him to send her here.'

In example (67) there are two occurrences of éná in the quotation content, so that if íná as well were analyzed as belonging to the quotation content, it would go contrary to the apparent prohibition of different verification particles occurring in the same clause (§4.2.). Therefore, the íná in example (67) is analyzed as belonging to the quotation margin, although it is enclitic to the quotation content. In example (45), however, similar reasoning leads us to feel that îyâ belongs to the quotation content. It appears, then, that some quotation-final verification particles must be considered as belonging to the quotation content and others to the margin, if the claim holds true that only one type of verification particle can occur per clause, or per sentence on the same performative level.

#### 4.2.4. Dative phrase.

So far only the particle îyâ has been found with the dative phrase (see §4.1.1.2.). Dative phrases occur very infrequently outside of third person texts.

- (68) e mûy éyá takór tá-ya a-we-kâyâ  
 ? one ? nambu 3PL-T/A 3-REFL-to+HSAY  
 "Only one nambu," they said to each other.'
- (69) ã tóy-xá é-wa maré ó-bay ta i-kâyâ  
 now 1PL EXCL-? 2SG-eat HORT 1SG-cross cousin 3PL 3SG-to+HSAY  
 "Now we will eat you, cross cousin," they said.'

#### 4.2.5. Between object and verb.

Although free object and verb typically form a tight construction in the order OV without intervening elements of any kind, a few examples have been found of a verification particle between these two constituents.

(70) áre Mérésór éná aka a-or éná é  
brother name FACT kill 3-come FACT SM  
'Brother, he came to kill Meresor.'

(71) bó má éné má-ar ká éká óne orewaowao dé  
RESP other FACT CAUS-fall to SUBORD NEG name of tribe T/A  
pa-ló-aka erúy zé áni é  
1PL INCL-GENR-kill little INT POTL SM  
'Although they made him fall down, the Uru-eu-wau-wau didn't actually hit any of us.'

Both of these direct objects, Mérésór in (70) and má in (71), are informationally prominent in context; the first is being reintroduced into the narrative, and the second was the topic of a question just preceding example (70). Therefore, there are certain grounds for conjecture that the placement of éná in these two examples serves to highlight the direct object, in much the same way as was mentioned in section 4.1.2. for free subjects.

#### 5. Conclusion.

Although there are other particles with related meanings, the three verification particles íná, éná, and iyâ seem to form a closed class. They occur in paradigmatic relation both in the free subject phrase and in the clause as a whole. Their components of meaning interact with the tense/aspect system: íná 'PRESENT/PERFECT FACTUAL', éná 'PAST FACTUAL', iyâ 'HEARSAY'.

When they occur in utterance-initial position, they refer to the factuality of the preceding utterance. In all other occurrences they occur as enclitics on some constituent of the utterance, and refer to categories of factuality with respect to that utterance. The only non-declaratives with which they occur are in content questions; in this case they refer to the factuality of the speaker's presupposition.

These particles are often found phonologically fused to the preceding morpheme, but the class of preceding morphemes with which this happens appears to be restricted.

The most common positions of these verification particles are utterance-final and fused on the subject phrase. Their occurrence in certain positions within the utterance may be a signal of discourse-pragmatic structuring, especially in those positions, such as between object and verb, in which their occurrence is not highly grammaticalized. This dimension of their use, however, remains largely outside the scope of the present paper.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Surui is a Tupi language of the Mondé family. It is spoken by approximately 350 Indians in southeastern Rondônia, Brazil. Bontkes, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, has been engaged in language research on Surui since November 1971. This paper is the outcome of a linguistics workshop held in Porto Velho, Rondônia from September to November 1984 under the direction of Desmond Derbyshire. Bontkes provided language data, Dooley contributed a conceptual framework and tentative analysis, and the final analysis and wording were worked out together.

2. Surui phonemes are: vowels i, e, ɛ (written in the practical orthography as u), a, o; vowel nasalization (written with a tilde ~); vowel length (written as h following the vowel); obstruents p, t, ch (written as z), k, b, d, j, g; nasals m, n, ñ, ng (written as g̃); fricatives θ (written as s), š (written as x); liquids l, r; semivowels w, y and high and low tones. Examples in this paper are given in the practical orthography, which is the same as the phonemes above except as noted in parenthesis. Although tone is not marked in the practical orthography, we have chosen in this paper to write high tone with the acute accent (´); low tone is unmarked.

3. There is a small amount of evidence which suggests that what we are referring to here as the free subject phrase should rather be thought of as topic, but that is beyond the scope of the present paper. Also, tense/aspect particles may occur in special constructions like the tail expression bó de 'that's it.'

4. There are two apparent counterexamples to this claim:

- (a) kalér-éy éná xaméómi gáynhír aúd nár a-potó-ta  
 butterfly-PL FACT lots sand small on 3PL-sit-STATE  
 'Lots of butterflies were sitting on a small area of sand.'

- (b) bó má éná KUYKUY iwe-ká  
 RESP other FACT yell that-to  
 'Of course he yelled about it'.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AFF	– affirmative	INT	– intensifier
CAUS	– causative	NEG	– negative
COMP	– complementizer	PL	– plural
DEM	– demonstrative	POSS	– possessive
EMPH	– emphatic	POTL	– potential
EXCL	– exclusive	PRES	– present
EXCM	– exclamation	PROC	– process
EXM	– exclamation marker	REF	– reference
FACT	– factual	REFL	– reflexive
GENR	– generic	RESP	– response
HORT	– hortative	SG	– singular
HSAY	– hearsay	SM	– sentence marker
IMPF	– imperfective	SUBORD	– subordinator
INCL	– inclusive	SURR	– surrogate
INSTR	– instrumental	T/A	– tense/aspect
INTERR	– interrogative	?	– gloss not known
INTM	– interrogative marker		

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