Jarawara Complement Clauses
Some New Perspectives

Alan Vogel
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Abstract

Taking as a basis Dixon's (2004:ch. 17) theory of Jarawara complement clauses, this paper proposes that the phenomena which Dixon called pronominal argument sharing and pronominal raising are more pervasive than he allowed, and that they are connected with specific verb classes that can be characterized semantically. Evidence is given for analyzing these clauses as non-finite, and it is proposed that what Dixon called pronominal argument sharing corresponds to what is referred to as obligatory control in the generative literature. Some modifications are proposed in the theory, two of the most significant being the reclassification of a subset of Dixon's claimed examples of raising as control, and the analysis of some of these non-finite clauses as adjuncts rather than subjects or objects, and therefore not complement clauses. Finally, it is shown that these non-finite clauses are found in some additional syntactic contexts which had not been previously observed.
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1 Introduction

Verbs in Jarawara have a special form that I have previously labeled as NFIN ‘non-finite’ in Vogel 2003. Dixon has always analyzed the subordinate clauses containing this form of the verb as complement clauses, detailing this analysis in a chapter of his grammar of Jarawara (Dixon 2004), and also devoting a subsequent paper (Dixon 2006) to the topic. These clauses often constitute the subject or object of matrix clauses, and this is the reason for the complement clause analysis. For example, in (1) the subordinate clause oko tafi is the subject of the intransitive matrix verb, and in (2) the subordinate clause ayaki is the direct object of the transitive matrix verb. In these examples, and in all the examples in the paper, I italicize the subordinate clause containing the non-finite form. The subordinate verb forms are marked as non-finite by the i ending.

(1) Oko tafi napirara oke
    o-kaa tafa.NFIN nafi-ra-hara o-ke
1SG.POSS.Poss eat be a lot-NEG-IP.E+F 1SG.POSS-DECL+F
‘I didn’t eat much.’

(2) ayaki onofaara oke
    ayaka.NFIN o-no-fa-ra-hara o-ke
sing 1SG.A-want-NEG-IP.E+F 1SG.A-DECL+F
‘I don’t want to sing.’

Dixon (personal communication, April 14, 2014) does not accept the finite/non-finite distinction for Jarawara, or for natural languages in general. In this introduction I will justify the non-finite analysis. In the course of the paper I will propose that these non-finite verb forms are involved in both subject-to-subject raising and obligatory control.

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1Jarawara is actually a dialect of what Dixon has called the Madi language, which also includes Jama-madi and Banawá. The approximately 200 speakers of Jarawara live on the Jarawara-Jamamadi reservation in the municipality of Lábrea in the state of Amazonas, Brazil. This paper has benefitted from suggestions by Maria Polinsky, R.M.W. Dixon, and an anonymous reviewer. This does not imply, of course, any of these agree with any specific analysis presented.

2Dixon mentioned this analysis in print at least as far back as Dixon 1999.

3In the interlinear examples, the first line is orthographic (except that long vowels are represented by double vowels, whereas in the orthography they are not distinguished from monomoraic vowels), the second line has underlying forms, the third line has glosses, and the fourth line is a free translation. (The labels for grammatical categories that are realized by vowel alternations on verb stems are on the second rather than the third line, i.e. NFIN, NOM, LIST, and the marking of feminine and masculine agreement on verb stems.) Most of the examples are from my own fieldwork (from recorded texts or spontaneous sentences heard in conversations and written down), but a good number are from R.M.W. Dixon’s fieldwork, which he graciously has given permission to use. I follow my own notation when glossing examples from Dixon, whether they are from his fieldwork or his published works. A significant number of examples are from written texts by Jarawara authors. All of the examples are unelicited unless noted otherwise, and because Jarawara sentences are typically very long because of the way dependent clauses can both precede and follow the main clause (Vogel 2009; Dixon 2004), most of the examples do not represent complete sentences in their original context. I have tried to indicate this by having an example start with a small letter rather than a capital letter when it is not the beginning of the sentence, and by not using sentence-end punctuation when the example does not end a sentence.

4See, for example, Dixon’s grammar of English (2005), in which the finite/non-finite distinction is not mentioned in name or in concept.
building on Dixon’s ideas of “pronominal raising” and “argument sharing,” respectively. One of the main goals of the paper is to show that the matrix verbs involved in these syntactic environments come from specific semantic verb classes. I also broaden the characterization of the syntactic contexts involving these non-finite forms in a number of ways, both introducing contexts which Dixon did not discuss, and proposing that some of the phrases that he discussed should be seen as adjuncts rather than subjects or objects.

As is typical for Amazonian languages, Jarawara is rather highly agglutinative. Verbs may have several prefixes and even more numerous suffixes, and it is common for sentences to consist of a single verbal form. However, it will be seen that when it comes to non-finite structures, the syntax of Jarawara sentences can also be remarkably complex. Before proceeding, some introductory remarks about Jarawara syntax are in order.

Jarawara is a head-final language (Vogel 2003), so within the clause the verb is final, and if there are NPs referencing subject and object, the unmarked orders are AOV and SV. The nomenclature of A for transitive subject and S for intransitive subject is used by Dixon in all his work, and since this notation is particularly useful in the context of the analysis of Jarawara non-finite clauses (hereafter NFCs), I will adopt it in the rest of this paper. I also use “subject” on occasion when it is not necessary to distinguish S from A.

Within the sentence the unmarked order is for subordinate clauses to precede the matrix verb. In the case of one kind of finite subordinate clause which Dixon (2004) has named a dependent clause, a number of such clauses can occur one after the other preceding the verb, constituting what I (Vogel 2009) have analyzed as chaining. Various kinds of phrases can follow the main clause in a sentence, in one or more postposed positions.

The verb is the central part of every Jarawara clause and sentence, although identifi-
cational sentences can exceptionally occur without a copular verb. Verbs are morpho-
logically divided into inflecting and non-inflecting types, with the non-inflecting type occurring obligatorily with an auxiliary, either na or ha. (The auxiliary ha always occurs with the prefix to- ‘change of state.’) Inflecting verbs take prefixes and suffixes directly, whereas in the case of non-inflecting verbs, it is the auxiliary following the verb root that takes any prefixes and suffixes. (There is a single suffix, -ri ‘distributive’, which is attached to the verb root rather than the auxiliary of non-inflecting verbs.) All four verbs in the two examples above are inflecting verbs; note that the tense suffix -hara is attached directly to both matrix clause (hereafter MC) verbs, and that the subject prefix o- is attached directly to the MC verb nofa ‘want’ in the second example. Compare (1) to (3), in which both the NFC verb and the MC verb are non-inflecting verbs with the auxiliary na. Note that in the MC verb fawa na ‘stop’, both the tense suffix -hamaro and the subject prefix o- are attached to the auxiliary na rather than to the root fawa. In the NFC verb tii kana ‘cut through’, the comitative prefix ka- is attached to the auxiliary na rather than to the root tii. Also, it is in the auxiliary that the final vowel a is changed to i in order to mark the clause as non-finite.

(3) sofa tii kani fawa onahamaro oke.
    sofa tii ka-na.NFIN fawa o-na-hamaro o-ke
    tree sp.F cut through COMIT-AUX stop 1SG.S-AUX-FP.E+F 1SG.S-DECL+F
    ‘I finished clearing brush around the sofa tree.’

It should also be observed that there are a small number of verb suffixes that can be included in the domain of the NFC, so when any of these are present, the a to i change
occurs at the end of the suffix, e.g. *namosami* in (4), which is an inflecting verb, and *yama nami* in (5), a non-inflecting verb. In both these cases, the *a* to *i* change occurs in the suffix -*ma* ‘back’.

(4) Moto namosami owatoareka, waha.
moto na-amosa-ma NFIN o-wato-hare-ka waha
motor.M CAUS be good back 1SG.A know IP E + M DECL + M now
‘I know how to fix motors now.’

(5) Mee yama nami tonihawahe
mee yama na ma NFIN to niha ha waha + M
3PL.O make AUX back CH CAUS be change
‘He got used to bringing people back to life.’

There can be person agreement at various locations in the verb, the two most important for our purposes being at the beginning of the verb and in the “third pronominal position” (Dixon 2004). At the beginning of the verb, subject agreement is accomplished by prefixes for first and second person singular, and by clitics preceding the verb word for the other persons; object agreement is referenced by clitics only at the beginning of the verb. There is also a prefix *hi*- which is used when both A and O are third person, in a particular construction type called an O-construction. This will be explicated further below when it becomes relevant.

The “third pronominal position” is associated with the mood morphemes at the end of the verb. In this position there may be agreement with the subject or object, or with the possessor of the subject or object. The rules are complex, and the interested reader is referred to Dixon 2004:105ff. for all the details, but I will refer to some of the rules as they become relevant below. In examples (1)-(3) above, the third pronominal position occurs in the final word of each sentence, i.e. *oke*, which is the combination of the first person singular prefix with the (feminine) declarative morpheme. In (2) and (3), the person referenced is that of the subject of the MC, but in (1) it is the S of the NFC that is referenced, because the syntax sees it as the possessor of the S of the MC. This phenomenon is explicated further on in this introduction.

There is also gender agreement at the end of the verb. In the first three examples above, there is (feminine) agreement with the subject in both the tense suffix and the mood morpheme. It is feminine because verbal agreement with all pronominals is feminine. There is only masculine agreement in the verb with a masculine third person argument that is not marked with an overt pronominal. This contrast can be seen in the following two examples. In (6) there is feminine agreement in the two tense-modal suffixes –*hemete* and –*mone*, and the declarative mood morpheme –*ke*. The S is feminine because it is plural and is referenced by the pronominal *mee*, even though the noun *wafa* ‘wooley monkey’ is masculine. In (7), because *wafa* is singular there is masculine agreement in the tense suffix –*hino* and the mood morpheme –*ka*.

5There is one case in which there can be masculine agreement in the verb with an argument that is referenced by a pronominal, i.e. in an O-construction clause in which the person prefix *hi-* indicates that both the subject and the object are third person (singular or plural, masculine or feminine). An example with *hi-* and masculine verbal agreement is the first clause in (23) below.
These two sentences are intransitive so there is gender agreement with the subject, but in transitive sentences there can be gender agreement with the O in the case of the O-construction, as discussed below, and even gender agreement with both the A and the O.

Besides the three person agreement prefixes (first and second person singular o- and ti-(cf. (22) below), and the hi- prefix used in O-constructions) there are also three derivational prefixes. The one attached to the verb first in order is the causative na-. This prefix has the variant niha-, which is attached to the auxiliary in the case of non-inflecting verbs. Next in order is the comitative prefix ka-, which has one syntactic applicative use, and several meanings in non-syntactic uses (Dixon 2004:254ff.; Vogel 2003:90ff.). The outermost prefix is to-, which has two meanings, one a change-of-state meaning and the other a directional meaning referring to movement away from the speaker. The prefix to- is not present on the surface whenever any of the person agreement prefixes is present.

There are more than a hundred different verb suffixes. The innermost class is clearly derivational, and the outermost classes are clearly inflectional, and there are a good number of suffixes in the middle positions that are not clearly either derivational or inflectional (Vogel 2006:15ff.). I have referred to “tense-modals” above, and this is Dixon’s (2004) label for a group of inflectional suffixes near the end of the verb that include tenses along with a number of other suffixes that have more modal-type meanings. In this paper I refer to tense morphemes as tenses rather than tense-modals, but this is only a matter of convenience, since all the tense-modals have the same syntactic properties.

It is important to distinguish between two kinds of nouns in Jarawara. Nouns like sofa ‘sofa tree’ in (3) and wafa ‘wooley monkey’ in (6) are “normal” nouns with inherent gender, either masculine or feminine. But there is also a relatively closed class of inalienably possessed nouns that do not have inherent gender. Instead they are inflected for gender, agreeing with the gender of the possessor, and the possessor determines the gender of the whole NP, for the purpose of verbal gender agreement. Typical groups of inalienably possessed nouns are body parts and parts of objects. In the S NP in (8), both the possessor okobi ‘father’ and the possessed item taokana ‘rifle’ are inherent gender nouns, so this is an example of alienable possession. There is feminine agreement in the verb, to agree with the possessed item, and the alienable possession is also indicated by the possessive particle kaa.
The SNP in (9), in contrast, contains an example of inalienable possession, since *noko korone* 'eye' consists of two inalienably possessed nouns. Both are inflected with masculine agreement, to agree with the possessor *okobi* 'father' - if the possessor were feminine, it would be *noki kori*. Furthermore, the verb has masculine agreement to agree with the possessor *okobi*, and there is no *kaa* possessive particle.

(9)  
okobi noko korone amo kanise  
o-kaa-abi noko korone amo ka-na-risa+M  
1SG.POSS-POSS-father.M eye + M naked + M sleep COMIT-AUX-down  
‘My father’s eyes were heavy with sleepiness.’

Not all inalienably possessed nouns are inflected for agreement, however. In the following two examples, the inalienably possessed noun *tati* 'head' has a single form, even though the verbal agreement is feminine in (10) and masculine in (11). The same is true of the other two inalienably possessed nouns in (11), *afone* ‘soft core’ and *nafi* ‘all’: they would have the same form if the verbal agreement were feminine.

(10)  
Tati ihamisemetemoneke ahi.  
tati iha-misa-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
head be located-up-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F then  
‘Her [the anaconda's] head was resting on the beach.’

(11)  
Tati afone nafi abemonaka.  
tati afone nafi ahaba-himona-ka  
head soft core all spill-REP + M-DECL + M  
‘His brains reportedly all came out.’

As we shall see below, there is a considerable extent to which NFCs can be analyzed as inalienably possessed nouns.

With this introduction to points of general Jarawara syntax concluded, we are now able to continue with the introduction to the main topics of the paper.

Dixon discusses two syntactic processes that occur in conjunction with these non-finite verb forms, which he calls pronominal raising and argument sharing. Pronominal raising is illustrated in (12). The subject pronoun *otaa* is overt in the matrix clause, whereas it is semantically associated not with the MC verb but only with the non-finite verb of the subordinate clause. The MC verb *yoto* is an intransitive verb meaning ‘follow’, but the MC *otaa yototasa* doesn’t mean ‘we followed’, as it would mean in a sentence by itself. The subject *otaa* is semantically associated with the subordinate clause, which means ‘we ate cake’. The whole sentence means that our eating of the cake followed something else (in the context of the story, the eating of the meal).

(12)  
boro kabi otaa yototasa  
boro kaba.NFIN otaa yoto-tasa + F  
cake.M eat 1EX.S follow-again  
‘We ate cake afterwards.’
An example of what Dixon calls argument sharing is (2) above. Semantically both the subordinate clause and the MC have a first person singular subject, but the pronominal o- is overt only in the MC.

In generative grammar, the central difference between raising and control is that in control, the subject is semantically linked to both the MC verb and the subordinate non-finite verb, whereas in raising, the subject is semantically linked only to the non-finite verb, even though it is typically syntactically associated with the MC verb (Davies and Dubinsky 2004:3). Dixon does not formalize the distinction in this way, but does seem to adhere to it, in his use of the term “argument sharing,” i.e. the term suggests that there is no shared argument in raising (and other) contexts. Dixon (2004:457) labels (12) as raising, and examples like (2) as argument sharing.\(^6\) It is clear that in (2) the first person singular subject is semantically linked to both the subordinate verb and the MC verb. That is, it was the speaker who did not want something, and it was his own singing that he didn’t want. This is called obligatory control in the generative literature, i.e. the MC subject controls the identity of the null subject of the subordinate clause. In contrast, the subject in (12) is semantically linked only to the subordinate verb. The speaker and his group were the ones who ate cake, but they did not follow anyone; it was their eating of cake that followed another activity (their eating of a meal). The MC verb yoto ‘follow’ is an aspectual verb (i.e. assigning no thematic role to its surface subject (Davies and Dubinsky 2004:9)), and its surface subject otaa ‘1EX’ was raised from the subordinate clause.

I have found that in fact these two constructions may be used to divide most of the verbs that can serve as matrix verbs for this kind of subordinate clause into two broad groups, i.e. raising verbs and obligatory control verbs.

There is also a third group of matrix verbs that are used in contexts not involving either raising or control, which are also mentioned by Dixon. Example (13) is of this type.

\[(13)\] otaa haa ni yara mee mitani mee otaa haa na.NFIN yara mee mita-hani mee 1EX.S call AUX Brazilian.M 3PL.A hear-IP.N+F 3PL.A

‘The Brazilians heard us calling.’

Observe that in contrast to (2), the subject of the MC is different from the subject of the subordinate clause in (13); and in contrast to (12), the surface subject of the MC is semantically linked to the matrix verb and not to the verb of the subordinate clause.

One of my main goals is to determine the semantics of the verbs that make up these three groups, and I do this in relevant subsections of section 2 below. I also review the syntactic analyses proposed by Dixon in each case, and make proposals for expansions and revisions of the analyses.

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\(^6\)Among Dixon’s examples of argument sharing that are very similar to (2) is (i), which is example (20) in his 2006 paper.

\[(i)\] Toki onofa oke.
to-ka.NFIN o-nofa o-ke away-go/come 1SG.A-want 1SG.A-DECL+F
‘I want to go [to the other village].’
A central question that must be considered is, what is the category and function of NFCs, and connected to this, what is the category of the non-finite form used in NFCs? Dixon (2006:93) calls these clauses complement clauses because they often occur as the O argument of “prototypically complement-clause-taking verbs such as ‘want, like’, ‘know, understand’, ‘fear’, ‘remember’, ‘see’, or ‘hear’”, as in (2), (4), and (13) above. And although cases like (1) above, in which the NFC is the subject of the MC, do not have syntactic correspondents in English, it is quite common to have complement clauses in subject function in English and other languages.

The problem is that NFCs occur in some other contexts in which they cannot be characterized as filling a subject or object role in an MC. Dixon notes two of these contexts, i.e. in conjunction with an inalienably possessed noun (14), and in conjunction with an adjective (15).

(14) Awa yai tokani watari owarake.
awa yai to-ka-na.NFIN wata-ri o-awa-hara-ke
wood.F be straight CH-COMIT-AUX dream-PN 1SG.A-see-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘I saw two straight poles in my dream.’

(15) Sitakari wani yokana yai hisa rama ahi.
sitakari wana.NFIN yokana yai hi-na-kosa+F rama ahi
gall bladder be attached true bite off OC-AUX-middle unusual then
‘He bit right into her gall bladder.’

The whole object in (14) is awa yai tokani watari ‘a dream about two straight poles’, and it is made up of the NFC awa yai tokani and the inalienably possessed noun watari. Similarly, the whole object in (15) is sitakari wani yokana, literally ‘right where her gall bladder was’, made up of the NFC sitakari wani and the adjective yokana ‘true’. On the basis of examples like these, Dixon (2006:105) concludes the following:

This suggests that, in Jarawara, rather than saying that a complement clause functions as core argument in the main clause, we could say that it functions as head of an NP (and may be modified by adjective or possessed noun) with the NP functioning as core argument.

As I will argue below, I think some of the NFCs that Dixon sees as core arguments should be analyzed as adjuncts, but aside from that, I agree with Dixon’s statement as it concerns adjectives. As modifiers, adjectives do not change the syntax of the phrase that they modify. For this reason, in the remainder of this paper I italicize adjectives that occur with NFCs, to indicate that they are included in the NFC.

However, in the case of inalienably possessed nouns such as watari ‘dream’ in (14), I do not agree that they should be analyzed as modifiers like adjectives. While it is true that the phrase awa yai tokani watari is a core argument, i.e. the O, I analyze watari ‘dream’ as the head of the phrase, not a modifier.7

7I realize that determining the syntax of NPs involving inalienably possessed nouns is not a simple matter, and I am open to the possibility that the possessor is also a head in some sense. The NP gets its person and animacy from the possessed noun (all such NPs are third person and inanimate), but its gender from the possessor. For Dixon’s arguments in favor of the possessor being the head, see his grammar (2004:290ff.).
As a matter of fact, some NFCs followed by inalienably possessed nouns are adjuncts, in two different contexts. A common way of marking adjuncts in Jarawara is by attaching the morpheme *yaa*, as in (16).

(16) Faya *hemeyo* fawi nowati yaa, okitamaara
    faya hemeyo fawa.NFIN nowati yaa o-kita-ma-hara
    so medicine.F drink after ADJNCT 1SG.S-be strong-back-IP.E+F

oke fahi.
o-ke fahi
1SG.S-DECL+F then
‘After the taking of the medicine, I got better.’

In (16), the NP *hemeyo fawi nowati* ‘after the taking of the medicine’ is an adjunct, and it is marked as such by the morpheme *yaa*. The NP is composed of the NFC *hemeyo fawi* and the inalienably possessed noun *nowati* ‘after’.

It is significant that NFCs by themselves cannot occur with *yaa*, nor can NFCs with an adjective. The presence of the inalienably possessed noun changes the character of the phrase.

We may also observe that some NFCs with inalienably possessed nouns occur as adjuncts without being marked with *yaa*, when they occur with one of a small number of inalienably possessed nouns that themselves mark adjuncts.

(17) Kanahi ihi boto tokineke.
    kanaha.NFIN ihi boto to-ka-na-ne-ke
    be heavy because of+F fall over CH-COMIT-AUX-CONT+F-DECL+F
‘The pineapple is falling over, it's so heavy.’

(18) Witi yori hikawaha, hatisa kani tabiyo.
    witi yori hi-ka-na-waha+F hatisa ka-na.NFIN tabiyo
    nose insert OC-COMIT-AUX-change sneeze COMIT-AUX absence
‘He put a twig up her nose, so she would sneeze.’

In (17), the NP *kanahi ihi* ‘because it is heavy’ is composed of the NFC *kanahi* and the inalienably possessed noun *ihi*, and the whole NP is an adjunct in the sentence. In like manner, in (18) the NP *hatisa kani tabiyo* ‘so she would sneeze’ is composed of the NFC *hatisa kani* and the inalienably possessed noun *tabiyo*. Dixon (2004:chs. 21, 22) discusses the use of inalienably possessed nouns like *ihi/ehene* and *tabiyo* to mark adjuncts.

Furthermore, if we accept, as I argue below, that some of the control NFCs should be characterized as adjuncts, it seems difficult to come up with a unified syntactic characterization. On a cross-linguistic basis this is not surprising, since in English, for example, infinitives and gerunds are used in various syntactic contexts. We turn now to the evidence for analyzing these forms in Jarawara as non-finite forms.

Noting that non-finite structures include infinitives, gerundials, and participles, Miller (2002:1, 2) mentions a number of prototypical properties of infinitives, which appear to apply to non-finite structures in general. Several of the properties specified by Miller apply to the verb forms in Jarawara NFCs. One of them, the licensing of control, is
obvious. Miller also mentions two other properties that apply to Jarawara, i.e. the lack of morphological tense and agreement.

Dixon (2004:482, 483) says that Jarawara NFCs cannot have tense, and while I cannot totally agree with this, it is significant that when they do have tense, it is the tense of NPs, and not the tense of finite verbs.\textsuperscript{8} The tenses in Jarawara are part of a group of suffixes that Dixon has named tense-modals, and members of this class are attached to NFCs in (19)–(21). In (19) there are three tense-modals, the intentive suffix -bone, the far past non-eyewitness -mete, and the reportative -mona. In (20) there is the reportative -mona, and in (21) the far past non-eyewitness -mata and once again, the reportative -mona.

8 Dixon states that NFCs can neither have a tense-modal within the domain of the non-finite form, nor have a tense-modal attached to the non-finite form. I agree that there can be no tense-modal within the domain of the non-finite form, but as the examples show, there can be tense-modals attached to the non-finite form.

\textsuperscript{9}There is no finite verb in this sentence. The meaning is constructed in the same way as it is in (19), but without the overt copular verb. This kind of sentence consisting entirely of an NP is quite acceptable in Jarawara. An example with a more typical NP with a noun head is the MC of (25) below, i.e. fare Yimamatamonaka 'it was the Yima himself'. Another example is (i).

(19) \textit{Yama waa tonibonemetemone} \textit{amake, yama soki.}
\textit{yama waha to-naNFIN-bone-mete-mone ama-ke yama soki.NFIN thimg.F shine CH-AUX-INT + F-FP.N + F-REP + F be-DECL + F thing.F be dark} ‘The darkness made the day [lit., the dark thing became the shining thing, reportedly].’

(20) \textit{Inamati haa nimona} \textit{onaareka.}
\textit{inamati haa na.NFIN-mona ati o-na-hare-ka} spirit.M call AUX-REP + M say1SG.A-AUX-IP.E + M-DECL + M ‘I think it is a spirit calling.’

(21) \textit{Efe biti ohi nimatamonaka.}\textsuperscript{9}
\textit{efe biti ohi na.NFIN-mata-mona-ka} this + M 3SG.POSS.son.M cry AUX-FP.N + M-REP + M-DECL + M ‘It was his son crying.’

In these examples it is clear that the verbs in the subordinate clauses are not finite verbs. The most obvious difference, of course, is that the vowel in the auxiliary in each case is \textit{i}, whereas if these verbs were finite forms the vowel would be \textit{a} in (19), and \textit{e} in (20) and (21). These differences can be seen by comparing the above non-finite forms with the finite forms in (22) and (23). That is, the verb \textit{iso tinahabone} in (22) shows that the form \textit{waa tonihabonemetemone} would be used in (19) if it were a finite form. Similarly, the verb \textit{ohi nematamonaka} in (23) shows that the forms in (20) and (21) would be \textit{haa nemona} and \textit{ohi nematamonaka}, respectively, if they were finite forms.
(22) Taba iso tinahabone tike
taba+F iso ti-na-habone ti-ke
board.F carry off 2SG.A-AUX-INT+F 2SG.A-DECL+F
'Take away the boards.'

(23) Kokoriteeba mano tama hine ohi
kokori-tee-ba mano tama hi-na+M ohi
3SG.POSS.father-in-law.M-HAB-FUT arm+M hold onto OC-AUX cry
nematamonaka.
a-himata-mona-ka
AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
'The one who would become his father-in-law held onto his hand, and he cried.'

Also, the form of a tense-modal that is applied to a finite verb form is different from the form that is applied to an NP or a non-finite form, i.e. when applied to a finite verb form, the form of a tense-modal has an -hV syllable at its beginning. This -hV syllable appears on the surface when the number of moras preceding in the phonological word is even, as in (22). But even when the -hV syllable does not appear on the surface, as in (23), if the -hV syllable is either -hi or -he, it will bring about a vowel change from a to e in the preceding vowel of the verb stem. This vowel change is evident in (23), but not in (20) or (21), both because the non-finite verb stems end in i, and because the tense-modals in (20) and (21) have no -hV syllable, since the verb forms they are applied to are not finite.\(^{10}\)

The -hV syllable is also always absent when tense-modals are applied to NPs (Dixon 2004:306), as in example (24) and (25).

(24) oko yamabone taa tase
o-kaa yama-bone taa na-tasa+M
1SG.POSS-POSS thing.F-INT+F give AUX-again
'He sold me some more things.'

(25) Fare yimamatamonaka, haa naari.
fare yima-mata-mona-ka haa na-haari
same+M Yima.M-FP.N + M-REP + M-DECL + M call AUX-IP.E + M
'lt was the Yima himself who was calling.'

Note that not only is there no -hV syllable in -bone in (24) and -mata in (25), but also there is no a to e vowel change in yima in (25), as there would be if yima were a finite verb instead of a noun.

The conclusion is that the NFCs in (19)–(21) have tense in the way that the NPs have tense in (24) and (25), and not in the way the finite clauses in (22) and (23) have tense. NFCs can have tense, but only in the way that NPs can have tense, and differently than the way that finite clauses have tense, i.e. they have no -hV syllable.

\(^{10}\)The reason the underlying form for the second suffix in (23) is -mona and not -himona, i.e. it doesn't have an -hV syllable even though the verb is finite, is that whenever there is a series of tense-modals, only the first tense-modal has an -hV syllable. See Dixon 2004:196.
As mentioned above, Dixon does not allow for the possibility of an NFC being followed by tense. Examples such as those in (19)–(21) which I have claimed are NFCs occurring with tense, Dixon (2004:485) analyzes as nominalized clauses. I treat nominalized clauses in some detail in section 4.1 below. Example (19) is ambiguous between an NFC and nominalized clause analysis, but (20) and (21) cannot be analyzed as nominalized clauses because of the pattern of gender agreement, in two ways. First, they violate Dixon’s (2004:483) generalization that there cannot be gender agreement with a nominalized clause in the MC predicate. Secondly, if they were nominalized clauses, the vowel preceding the tense in the subordinate clause would show masculine agreement, which is not the case.

As stated in section 4.1, the verb forms used in nominalized clauses should probably be analyzed as a different type of non-finite verb form. In this paper, however, whenever I use the term non-finite, I am referring only to the forms and clauses which are the main focus of the paper, i.e. the forms that end with -i and the clauses I have called NFCs that they occur in. I could have used a term such as infinitive or gerund to distinguish these forms from the forms used in nominalized clauses, and indeed NFCs are often translated as English infinitives or gerunds, but I did not want to have to deal with all the baggage that these more specific terms imply.

Another inflectional difference between non-finite and finite verb forms is in the marking of persons, and this is in accord with another of Miller’s points. A subject of a non-finite verb that is first or second person singular is always attached to the alienable possession marker kaa rather than to the verb, as in (26) and (27).\footnote{As noted below, there are occasionally NFCs which have the subject referenced as a prefix, but it is clear that these are archaic forms.}

(26) Oko amo ni hiyarara oke
     o-kaa amo na.NFIN hiya-ra-hara o-ke
     1SG.POSS-POSS sleep AUX be bad-NEG-IP.E+F 1SG.POSS-DECL+F
     ‘I slept badly.’\footnote{The verb hiya ‘be bad’ obligatorily co-occurs with the negative suffix -ra in most contexts, but there are a few contexts in which the negative suffix is not used, and the verb still means ‘be bad’; this is why the verb is not glossed as ‘be good’ when the negative suffix is present.}

(27) Tiká tafi tai toahi.
     ti-kaa tafa.NFIN tai to-ha-hi
     2SG.POSS-POSS eat be ahead CH-AUX-IMP+F
     ‘You go ahead and eat.’

If these were finite verbs, the forms would be amo ona and otafa, respectively, i.e. the person markers would be prefixes, compare for example the MC verb owarake in (14) above.

The plural persons are normally represented by the same pronominals as they are in finite verbs, cf. for example otaa in (13) above; but even they can occur with kaa in conjunction with NFCs, as in (28) and (29).
It seems, though, that what is going on in these cases is simply alienable possession. That is, in the syntax, *mee* is the alienable possessor of *awa* in (28), and in (29), *otaa* is the alienable possessor of *yifo*. That this is the correct analysis is supported by the fact that we only get this kind of possession when the NFC is connected with another NP, the semantic object. In cases where the NFC is intransitive, i.e. where there is no semantic object, possession with *kaa* is not possible. In (30) we get *mee kiyani* and not *mee kaa kiyani ni*, and in (31) we have *otaa tafi* and not *otaa kaa tafi*.

In any case, the use of *kaa* for some arguments of NFCs (obligatory for first and second person singular subjects) makes them look more like NPs.

It turns out, though, that this is not just a matter of appearance. There is at least one aspect of syntax that treats the subjects of NFCs as if they were possessors. This phenomenon, which I have called possessor agreement (Vogel 2009:81f), has been discussed previously by Dixon (2004:112f) under the label “possessor copying.” There can be person agreement with a possessor in a position at the end of the verb, as in (32) and (33).

(32) Ee kaa hemeyo-ba Fonai mata neba eeke
    ee kaa hemeyo-ba Fonai mata na-hiba ee-ke
    1IN POSS medicine.F-FUT FUNAI.M send AUX-FUT + M 1IN.POSS-DECL + F
    ‘FUNAI needs to send the medicine for us.’

(30) Kakawa biti mee kiyani ni
Kakawa biti mee kiya na.NFIN
(man’s name).M 3SG.POSS.son.M 3PL.S have a fever AUX

kitaharake, kasiro yaa
kita-hara-ke kasiro yaa
be strong-IP.E+F-DECL+F a lot.F ADJNCT
‘Kakawa’s two sons are very sick.’

(31) Otaa tafa otaa tafi hawa toa
otaa tafa+F otaa tafa.NFIN hawa to-ha+F
1EX.S eat 1EX.S eat be finished CH-AUX
‘We ate some more, and we finished eating.’

In any case, the use of kaa for some arguments of NFCs (obligatory for first and second person singular subjects) makes them look more like NPs.

It turns out, though, that this is not just a matter of appearance. There is at least one aspect of syntax that treats the subjects of NFCs as if they were possessors. This phenomenon, which I have called possessor agreement (Vogel 2009:81f), has been discussed previously by Dixon (2004:112f) under the label “possessor copying.” There can be person agreement with a possessor in a position at the end of the verb, as in (32) and (33).
These examples show that this kind of agreement can occur whether the possession in the NP is alienable or inalienable. In (32) the *ee in *eeke agrees with the alienable possessor of *hemeyo ‘medicine’, and in (33) the *mee after *toha agrees with the inalienable possessor of *kanamori.

The interesting thing is that this kind of agreement also occurs with the subjects of NFCs, whether the possessive marker *kaa is present (34) or not (35).

(34) *Oko tafi nafirara oke
    o-kaa tafa.NFIN naf-ri-hara o-ke
    1SG.POSS-POSS eat be a lot-NEG-IP.E+F 1SG.POSS-DECL+F

‘I didn’t eat much.’

(35) *Mee kana ni towakama mee,
    mee kana na.NFIN to-ka-ka-ma+F mee
    3PL.S run AUX away-COMIT-go/come-back 3PL.POSS
    kamematamonaka  yifo  tiwa
    ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  yifo  tiwa
    go/come-back-FP.E+M-REP+M-DECL+M firewood.F carry on shoulder

ni.
na.NFIN
AUX

‘The two of them went running away. He came back carrying the firewood.’

To me what this indicates is that a kind of (inalienable) possession is involved in NFCs. Dixon does not draw this parallel, and so is forced to state disjunctively (2004:459) that an NFC subject pronoun may be repeated in third pronominal position. Furthermore, he must repeat the condition that this only occurs when a tense-modal or secondary verb is present; but this is the condition for possessor agreement everywhere (Vogel 2009). The secondary verbs *ama (not to be confused with the copular verb *ama) and *awine/*awa, which is glossed as ‘seem’, are inflectional categories that are phonologically words rather than suffixes (Dixon 2004:ch. 7; Vogel 2009:35ff.).

All of these facts make NFCs more like NPs and less like finite clauses. Of course, the very fact that NFCs are typically core arguments of clauses (i.e. subject or object) makes

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13FUNAI (Fundação Nacional do Índio/National Indian Foundation) is the Brazilian government agency charged with Indian affairs.

14That this is inalienable and not alienable possession is indicated by the fact that there is normally no *kaa when the possessor is plural as there would be if it were alienable possession, cf. *mee kana ni in (18), not *mee kaa kana ni. The fact that *kaa is obligatorily present for first and second person singular subjects of an NFC is not a problem for this analysis, since there is a subclass of inalienably possessed nouns that are just this way, cf. for example *oko hawine ‘my path’, but *mee hawi ‘their path’ (Dixon 2004:325).
them NP-like. The examples at the beginning of this paper are typical: in (1) the NFC *oko tafi* is the subject of the MC *nafirara oke*, and in (2) the NFC *ayaki* is the object of the MC *onofaraara oke*.

To review, I analyzed NFCs as a kind of non-finite clause because of the NP-like character of this kind of clause, which is seen in at least the following ways. First, NFCs are typically core arguments of clauses, and they additionally are encountered as adjuncts of clauses (as I argue in section 2.2 below). They can even occur as possessors of inalienably possessed nouns, or modified by adjectives. NFCs cannot have tense-modals in the manner of finite clauses, but only in the manner of NPs. The subject of an NFC is more like a possessor in form than is the subject of a finite clause. Finally, the subject of an NFC is treated by one syntactic process, possessor agreement, as an inalienable possessor.

On the other hand, it is not correct to go as far as calling the forms used in NFCs derived nouns. Even though NFCs have many characteristics of NPs, it is also true that they have characteristics of clauses. The most obvious evidence for NFCs being clauses comes precisely from the phenomena which are a major focus of this paper, i.e. raising and control. At some level of analysis, NFCs have subjects and objects.

This paper is organized as follows. In the next section I lay out the syntax of the main contexts in which NFCs occur. After presenting the contexts and the variables involved, I discuss in turn raising verbs, control verbs, and a group of other verbs that are used in contexts involving neither raising nor control. I also note the interesting fact that there are a few verbs that occur both in raising and control contexts, but with different meanings. In section 3, I present a few other minor contexts in which NFCs occur. In section 4, I discuss how NFCs are different from what Dixon (2004) has called nominalized clauses, and I discuss several other kinds of phenomena that need to be distinguished from NFCs. In the appendix, I come back to the contexts described in section 2, and present examples organized by verb rather than by syntactic context.

## 2 The syntax of NFCs

I have found that a detailed understanding of the syntactic environments in which NFCs occur in Jarawara is a great aid in determining which verbs are raising verbs, which are control verbs, and which are neither. I will begin with a very useful chart that Dixon features in both his grammar (2004:454) and his subsequent paper on this topic (2006:104). I have changed only the headings to conform to the terminology I am using.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of NFC</th>
<th>Function of NFC in MC</th>
<th>Type of MC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intransitive S</td>
<td>in intransitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intransitive O</td>
<td>in transitive Ac</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intransitive A</td>
<td>in transitive Ac</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intransitive O</td>
<td>in transitive Oc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intransitive A</td>
<td>in transitive Oc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive Ac S</td>
<td>in intransitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive Ac O</td>
<td>in transitive Ac</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive Oc S</td>
<td>in intransitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In order to understand this chart, and in order to understand the facts about NFCs in Jarawara, it is necessary to understand the division of transitive clauses between A-constructions (Ac) and O-constructions (Oc) (see Dixon 2000 and 2004:ch. 16). Briefly, this is a division according to whether the A or the O is the grammatical topic of the clause. In an A-construction the grammatical topic is the A, and in an O-construction the grammatical topic is the O. (And in intransitives, the grammatical topic is the S.) The grammatical topic of a sentence is what or whom the sentence is about, and it typically is old information in the discourse. There are a number of syntactic and morphological differences that I will refer to as they become relevant, but one of the most prominent differences is that the pronominal hi- is only used in O-constructions, for when both the A and the O are third person.\textsuperscript{15} We have seen the use of hi- in examples (15), (18), and (23) above.

Taking the same general approach as Dixon, the analyses that I propose are summarized in table 2. I discuss each syntactic context in detail in the following sections, limiting myself here to just suggesting the differences between Dixon's approach and mine. First, as I intimated above, I believe that some NFCs should be considered adjuncts. Secondly, I add some syntactic environments to those discussed by Dixon. Finally, I incorporate information about raising and control in the chart. Dixon did of course discuss this information, and he made it clear that the syntactic environments that license raising are not exactly the same as those that license control.

\begin{center}
\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
\hline
Type of NFC & Function of NFC in MC & Type of MC & Raising, Control, or Neither & Percentage of Total & Examples \\
\hline
intransitive & S & intransitive & no overt raising & 23% & \(26\)–\(31\), \(1\), \(61\), \(62\), \(65\), \(66\), \(135\), \(136\), \(138\), \(139\), \(142\), \(146\), \(193\), \(194\) \\
intransitive & S & intransitive & backward control S-S & 29\% & \(35\), \(92\), \(127\), \(104\), \(105\), \(126\), \(128\), \(129\), \(137\), \(141\), \(143\), \(144\), \(149\), \(150\), \(151\)–\(153\), \(154\), \(155\), \(156\) \\
\end{tabular}
\end{table}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{15}As I discuss in section 2.2 below (cf. for example (116)), hi- also can occur in a very restricted context with intransitive verbs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Clause</th>
<th>Syntax</th>
<th>Complementation</th>
<th>Example Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive O</td>
<td>transitive Ac</td>
<td>control A-S</td>
<td>4% (2), (88), (89), (191)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive O</td>
<td>transitive Ac</td>
<td>backward control S-A</td>
<td>&lt;1%b (90), (91), (92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive O</td>
<td>transitive Ac</td>
<td>neither</td>
<td>9% (13), (159), (162), (164), (165), (170), (172), (175), (176), (173), (182), (183)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive O</td>
<td>transitive Oc</td>
<td>neither</td>
<td>3% (15), (160), (161), (163), (181)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive A</td>
<td>transitive Ac</td>
<td>neither</td>
<td>&lt;1% (158)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive A</td>
<td>transitive Ac</td>
<td>neither</td>
<td>&lt;1% (157)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Ac</td>
<td>complement</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>raising A to S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Ac</td>
<td>adjunct</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>control S-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Ac</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>transitive Ac</td>
<td>control A-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Oc</td>
<td>complement</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>raising A to S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Oc</td>
<td>adjunct</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>control S-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Oc</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>transitive Oc</td>
<td>control A-A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a This total includes the examples with MC verb ati na ‘say’ cf. discussion in section 2.2 below.

b This figure includes only the cases with wato ‘know how’ discussed in section 2.2 which are unambiguous because there is an overt pronominal in the NFC. If we add the ambiguous cases in which there is a zero third person pronominal, the total comes to over 1%.
I have also added a column giving an idea of the frequency of the occurrence of NFCs in each syntactic context. The percentages are not based on all the examples of NFCs I have seen, but only on those that occur in recorded texts, so as to give an idea of frequency of the occurrence of NFCs in speech. In the recorded texts in the corpus, NFCs are quite frequent on the whole, occurring on the average about once for each minute and a half of the recordings.

One thing that stands out in the information on frequency is the unevenness of the distribution of NFCs among the various syntactic contexts. The corpus of about 60 hours appears to be fairly large for a language that until recently was unwritten, so there seems to be little doubt that in fact the distribution in the whole language is quite uneven. But this corpus is not comparable to corpuses used for studies of European languages, of course, so the exact percentages are not reliable. Furthermore, since some of the contexts are so very infrequent in the corpus, I would not be surprised if with time other contexts will be discovered in which NFCs occur that are not represented in the table (or in section 3 below).

Dixon did not include the cases of NFCs occurring in conjunction with inalienably possessed nouns in his table and most of his discussion, and I follow him in this. These represent only about 5% of the NFCs in the recorded texts, and the minor contexts discussed in section 3 below make up an additional 7%. The major syntactic contexts which I focus on in this paper, which correspond to what Dixon called “core arguments,” account for about 88% of the occurrences of NFCs.

2.1 Raising

According to Dixon's view, raising in Jarawara occurs in a single syntactic environment, i.e. when the NFC is transitive (Ac or Oc), and the MC is intransitive. Let us consider first an example in which the NFC is an Ac.

(36) Mee ati miti iisi onaaro ama
     mee ati mita.NFIN i isi o-na-haro ama
     3PL.POSS voice hear DUP-be small 1SG.S-AUX-RP.E+F SEC

     oke ahi.
     o-ke ahi
     1SG.S-DECL+F then

'I couldn't understand them well.'

In this example, it is clear that the A of the NFC appears as the S of the MC rather than where it normally would appear in the NFC. In (36) the overt S of the MC is first person singular o-, but the verb does not mean that the speaker was small (this is the meaning in contexts not involving NFCs); it means that the speaker understood what the others were saying just a little.

Dixon only admits raising from an Ac if the A of the NFC is an overt pronominal, as indicated by his term pronominal raising. In an Ac, if the A of a clause is third person
singular, there is no overt pronominal referring to the A, so no overt pronominal can be raised. But raising occurs nevertheless, as in (37) and (38).

(37) Kakai yama ahi ni nafihareka.  
Kakai yama ahi na.NFIN nafihare-ka  
(man's name).M thing,F work on AUX be a lot-IP.E + M-DECL + M  
‘Kakai worked a lot.’

(38) iyawa kabi hawa toe  
iyawa kaba.NFIN hawa to-ha + M  
manioc mash.F eat be finished CH-AUX  
‘He finished eating the tapioca.’

In these sentences, there is no raising of an overt pronominal, but there is raising nevertheless, as seen by the gender agreement in the MC. In each case, the MC is masculine to agree with the A of the NFC. We may also note the semantics of the sentences. The MC verb in (37) does not mean that Kakai was big; the whole sentence means that Kakai worked a lot. Likewise, the MC verb in (38) does not mean that the character of the story was ready (the meaning of the verb hawa toha in contexts not involving NFCs is often ‘be ready’); it means that he was finished eating the tapioca.

When raising is expanded to include cases like (37) and (38), it becomes apparent that it is quite widespread indeed. In fact, I believe it may be said that, contrary to what Dixon says, raising is not optional but is required, at least in current speech. I will discuss this point fully below, after first considering raising when the NFC is an Oc.

As Dixon notes, raising is also possible when the NFC is an Oc. This is most obvious when both the A and the O of the NFC are third person, because then hi- appears as the S of the MC, as in (39) and (40).

(39) Nafi okanikaboneke, kaniki mee hikasirohaaro.  
nafi o-ka-nika-habone-ke ka-nika.NFIN mee hi-kasiro-kaaro  
all 1SG.A-COMIT-buy-INT + F-DECL + F COMIT-buy 3PL.S OC-persist-IP.E + F  
‘I’m going to buy all [the rest of the safety pins], because the others are buying them up.’

16 It is more correct to say there is no overt pronominal for the A in an Ac if the A is third person singular or third person plural feminine animate (often), or third person plural inanimate. The pronominal mee is only used for third person plural masculine animate, and sometimes for third person plural feminine animate.

17 I have not marked the NP Kakai that refers to the shared subject as being included in the NFC, on the analogy of raised pronominals as in (12); but this is only for convenience, since I do not consider any subject NPs to be arguments. Technically the NP should probably be analyzed as some sort of adjunct of the MC. According to my analysis, the syntactic argument that Kakai references, which is raised from the NFC to the MC, is phonologically null.
The noun phrase 'Kowisari's legs' is raised in (41) to the subject position of the verb 'rub'. This shows feminine agreement in the verb 'rub', as seen in the feminine form of the verb 'rub' and the feminine pronoun 'ohe'.

In Jarawara clause-level gender agreement with any pronominal is always feminine.

When neither the A nor the O of the NFC is third person masculine, it is more difficult to tell whether the NFC is an Ac or an Oc, but it is sometimes still possible. The evidence in these cases is in the "third pronominal position" at the end of the verb. Dixon (2004:105ff.) points out that in an Ac or an intransitive sentence that has mood and either a tense-modal or a secondary verb, a subject pronominal will be repeated in the third pronominal position; but this does not occur with an Oc. So the fact that there is no repetition of o- in the third pronominal position in (42) indicates that the NFC is an Oc. That is, if the NFC fawi in (42) were an Ac, then the MC would be fawa onamaro ama oke.
A comparison with (36) above confirms that when the NFC is an Ac, the third pronominal position is filled under these conditions.  

\[(42)\quad \text{Kahasa} \quad \text{hibati} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{fawi} \quad \text{fawa} \quad \text{onamaro}
\]
\[
\text{kahasa} \quad \text{hibati} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{fawa.NFIN} \quad \text{fawa} \quad o-na-hamaro
\]
\[
cachaça.F \quad \text{long time ago.F} \quad \text{ADJNCT} \quad \text{drink} \quad \text{stop} \quad 1SG.S-AUX-FP.E + F
\]

\[
\text{amake.}\quad \text{ama-ke}
\]
\[
\text{SEC-DECL} + F
\]

‘I stopped drinking cachaça a long time ago.’

Dixon’s table (table 1 above), on the last row indicates that according to his analysis, the NFC is the subject of the MC. The evidence for this is the gender agreement in the MC: if the NFC is an Ac, the MC agrees in gender with the A of the NFC, as in (38), and if the NFC is an Oc, the MC agrees in gender with the O of the NFC, as in (41). But in generative grammar, in a subject-to-subject raising sentence such as *Barnett seemed to understand the formula*, the infinitival clause *to understand the formula* is analyzed as the complement of the matrix clause, not its subject (Davies and Dubinsky 2004:3). Apparently Dixon (2005:202) analyzes the infinitival clause of such an English sentence as the subject of the matrix clause, so this analysis is carried over to Jarawara.

Following the generative approach, I analyze the raised A of the NFC as the S of the MC, and the remaining NFC as the complement of the MC verb. That is, the MC verb has a complement even though it is intransitive. So in Jarawara there is better evidence than in English for the complement status of the NFC, since there is gender agreement with the semantic O of the NFC when the NFC is an Oc, as in (41).

As mentioned above, Dixon (2006:107) claims that raising is optional; actually, he makes two claims. First, pronominal raising in general is optional. And secondly, raising of *hi*- is obligatory. In support of the first claim, he gives the following two examples.

\[(43)\quad \text{Oko} \quad \text{sina} \quad \text{hisi} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{hawa} \quad \text{tohake.}
\]
\[
\text{o-kaa} \quad \text{sina} \quad \text{hisi} \quad \text{na.NFIN} \quad \text{hawa} \quad \text{to-ha-ke}
\]
\[
\text{1SG.POSS-POSS} \quad \text{snuff.F} \quad \text{sniff AUX} \quad \text{be finished} \quad \text{CH-AUX-DECL + F}
\]

‘I have finished sniffing snuff [lit., my sniffing snuff is finished].’

\[(44)\quad \text{Sina} \quad \text{ota} \quad \text{hisi} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{hawa} \quad \text{tohake.}
\]
\[
\text{sina} \quad \text{ota} \quad \text{hisi} \quad \text{na.NFIN} \quad \text{hawa} \quad \text{to-ha-ke}
\]
\[
\text{snuff.F} \quad \text{1EX.A} \quad \text{sniff AUX} \quad \text{be finished} \quad \text{CH-AUX-DECL + F}
\]

‘We have finished sniffing snuff.’

---

18According to Dixon (2004:457), the NFC in (42) is an Ac, and sentences such as (36) above that have a pronominal in the third position of the MC, with a tense-modal and/or secondary verb, are ungrammatical; but they clearly are grammatical. He says, for example, that *sina hisi ni hawa ohahara oke* ‘I finished taking snuff’, which is analogous to (36), is ungrammatical, but this is incorrect.

19Like subject NPs of all types of clauses, I consider object NPs of Oc clauses to be some kind of adjunct, not arguments. I have marked kahasa as part of the NFC only for the sake of convenience. I analyze the actual syntactic argument as being phonologically null.
As I see it, (43) does not lend support to Dixon's claim, because in my view the NFC oko sina hisi ni is not a transitive clause. Rather, it is an intransitive clause with a de-transitivized verb. The argument represented by oko is just an alienable possessor, and is not available to the syntax as a subject. That is, (43) has the same structure as (28) and (29) above. In those two sentences, the possessor of the NFC is an alienable possessor, as indicated by kaa, and the NFC is intransitive, the transitive verb being de-transitivized. The S of the NFC in each case is the semantic object. In sentences like (28), (29), and (43), the MC verb always agrees in gender with the semantic O of the NFC, because the NFC is intransitive, with the semantic O being the surface S. In (43) sina 'snuff' is feminine, so the feminine agreement in the MC is ambiguous, but this ambiguity is removed in (45), in which sirikaa 'rubber tree' is masculine. In this sentence the MC cannot be feminine to agree with tika, just as there must be masculine agreement in the MC in (29) above.

(45) tika sirikaa siri ni hiyare tiwa.
   ti-kaa sirikaa siri na.NFIN hiya-ra + M tiwa
   2SG.POSS-POSS rubber tree.M scrape AUX be bad-NEG 2SG.POSS
   'You don't cut the rubber trees right [lit. your cutting of rubber trees is bad].'

At the same time, it must be admitted that semantically all these examples are transitive. That is, (45) doesn't mean 'your rubber trees are cut badly (by someone else)', nor does (29) mean 'our hammocks were done being tied up (by someone else)'. There is thus something of a mismatch between the semantics and the surface structure.

The case of (44), however, is different. This is clearly a case of a raising context without raising, as Dixon rightly claimed. In order for a sentence like this to involve de-transitivization and alienable possession, it would have to be otaa kaa sina hisi ni. I have encountered only about a half dozen examples like (44) in the corpus, of which I list several.

(46) awa otaa natafi aaba
    awa otaa na-tafa.NFIN ahaba + F
garden.F 1EX.A CAUS-eat end
   'We finished planting the field.'

(47) yobe tati mese otaa yoto kani hawa toa
    yobe tati mese otaa yoto ka-na.NFIN hawa to-ha + F
    house.M head surface 1EX.A cover COMIT-AUX be finished CH-AUX
   'We finished covering the roof [with thatch].'

---

20 See Vogel 2003:16f,163f for a detailed presentation of this de-transitivizing operation. According to this operation, the semantic O becomes the grammatical S, similar to a passive in English.

21 There are actually a few examples like this in the corpus, e.g. (i). This seems to be semantically identical to the alternatives without the possessive marker kaa, either with or without raising.

(i) Otaa kaa awa kaa ni aaba otake.
    otaa kaa awa kaa na.NFIN ahaba + F otaa-ke
    1EX.POSS POSS tree.F chop AUX end 1EX.POSS-DECL + F
   'We have finished cutting down trees [lit., our cutting of trees has ended].'
(48) mee mee waka ni hawa toa
    mee mee waka na.NFIN hawa to-ha+F
    3PL.O 3PL.A kill AUX be finished CH-AUX

'They finished killing them.'

The first example is from a story by the old man Siko, and the other two are from stories by Okomobi, who is middle-aged. Okomobi is the chief of Casa Nova village who has been the best source of knowledge of Jarawara both for me and for Dixon. As Dixon says, raising is optional in cases such as these. But clearly the norm for all speakers is to have raising.22

Observe that the pattern of (47) is exactly the opposite of that of (45). In (47) there is feminine gender agreement in the MC, to agree with otaa. This indicates that the NFC is transitive, with otaa being the A and yobe ‘house’ being the O. The MC agrees in gender with the A of the NFC and not the O, because the NFC is an Ac. In (45), however, the MC cannot agree in gender with tika because tika is not a subject, but an alienable possessor. There is thus a fundamental structural difference between (43) and (44).

As for Dixon's claim that raising for hi- is obligatory, what seems to be involved here is a general prohibition of person prefixes in NFCs, whether the context is raising or other contexts. Furthermore, as with the pronouns discussed above, it appears that there is something of a difference between the generations. That is, older speakers do occasionally use NFCs with person prefixes, whether hi-, o-, or ti-. Some of these examples are acceptable to younger speakers and some are not, but younger speakers do not produce them. Of the four examples below, two are from Okomobi, (49) from a conversation and (52) from a recorded story. The other two examples are from stories told by old men, (51) from Okomobi's father Yowao, and (50) from Kasawara, a man living in a different village.

(49) mati hikamini amosabonehe.
    mati hi-kamina.NFIN amosa-habone-he
    3SG.POSS.mother.F OC-tell be good-INT + F-DUP

‘so that her mother will tell about her well’

(50) Manakobote mee tori yomee hikabi hawa
    manakobote mee tori yomee hi-kaba.NFIN hawa
    then 3PL.POSS guts+P jaguar.M OC-eat be finished

hihani mee tori nafi kii
hi-to-ha-hani mee tori nafi kii
OC-away-AUX-IP.N + F 3PL.POSS guts+P all look at

nawaremamamonaka.
na-wahari-himata-mona-ka
AUX-all over-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M

‘The jaguar had finished eating their guts [i.e. of the girls that it had killed], and he [the father of a girl] looked all around at all their guts.’23

22When asked about (48), both Okomobi himself and Bibiri, Okomobi's nephew who is in his 40's, preferred the version with raising, i.e. mee waka ni mee hawa toha, although both versions are acceptable to both of them. When asked to repeat the other two examples, Okomobi actually said them back with raising, although again, he considers the versions without raising as acceptable.
Raising

(51) Me ati omiti formamamatibeya.  
me ati o-mita.NFIN formi-mata-be-ya  
3PL.POSS voice 1SG.A-hear do properly-short time-IMMED + F-now  
‘I want to hear what they have to say.’

(52) tee ati omiti formabone tee  
tee ati o-mita.NFIN formi-habone tee  
2PL.POSS voice 1SG.A-hear do properly-INT + F 2PL.POSS  
‘so I can hear you well’

Of the above examples, only the first two are actually raising contexts according to my analysis. The NFCs in the last two examples occur in conjunction with forima (na), a context which I discuss in section 3.3 below. While the analysis of forima (na) itself is unclear to me at this point, there is no doubt that the clauses that occur with forima (na) are NFCs.

Dixon (2004:457) also says that the raising of hi- is independent of the raising of other pronominals, and there is evidence for this. In (53) the hi- is raised, whereas the mee representing the A of the NFC is not raised, while both morphemes refer to the same argument.

(53) mee mee waka ni hawa hiwi yaa.  
mee mee waka na.NFIN hawa hi-to-ha.NOM+F yaa  
3PL.O 3PL.A kill AUX be finished OC-away-AUX ADJUNCT  
‘when they were done killing them’

Still, I interpret this as a difference not between hi- and other pronominals, but a difference between pronominals that are prefixes and those that are phonologically separate words. In the next section, on control, I present data that raise questions regarding the nature of the Oc analysis, and question whether the appearance of hi- in an MC actually/always represents raising.

Returning to the main topic, the intransitive raising verbs I have seen used with transitive NFCs so far are listed in table 3. For each verb, I list both the aspectual meaning used in raising, and the normal meaning used in other contexts. In some cases the meaning is about the same in all contexts, but for many of the verbs, there is an aspectual meaning that is clearly distinguishable.

Table 3 Jarawara raising verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning in Raising Contexts</th>
<th>Meaning in Non-Raising Contexts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ahaba</td>
<td>‘end’</td>
<td>‘end/die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amosa</td>
<td>‘be good’</td>
<td>‘be good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee na</td>
<td>‘be how much?’</td>
<td>‘be how much?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23The morphophoneme I in -waharI and several other suffixes and verb roots is realized on the surface as i or e, depending on whether the number of moras preceding in the word is even or odd, respectively.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Aspectual Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>fama</em></td>
<td>‘be two times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fawa na</em></td>
<td>‘be a pair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hawa toha</em></td>
<td>‘stop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ise na</em></td>
<td>‘be finished’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kasiro</em></td>
<td>‘disappear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kekerewera ra</em></td>
<td>‘be ready’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kekerewera na ra</em></td>
<td>‘be uncontrollable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kerewera ra</em></td>
<td>‘do quickly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kita</em></td>
<td>‘not take a long time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nafi</em></td>
<td>‘be a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nawaha</em></td>
<td>‘take a long time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ohari</em></td>
<td>‘be small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tai toha</em></td>
<td>‘take a long time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tama</em></td>
<td>‘be only/be once’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tamina</em></td>
<td>‘be one/alone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>terei na</em></td>
<td>‘be before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toha</em></td>
<td>‘be ahead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yabo</em></td>
<td>‘be after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yana tona</em></td>
<td>‘be becoming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yoto</em></td>
<td>‘be behind’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this table I have listed *kekerewera ra* and *kerewera ra* as separate verbs, although they are obviously derivationally related.

A few examples will illustrate the aspectual meanings of raising verbs. The verb *fama* normally means ‘be a pair’, as in (54). But in raising contexts with NFCs, this verb means ‘be two times’ (55).

(54) Mee famake, kanawaa mee ori na mati.
    mee fama-ke kanawaa mee ori na+F mati
    3PL.S be two-DECL+F canoe.F 3PL.A paddle AUX 3PL.A
    ‘There are two people paddling the canoe.’

(55) Awani mee mowa ni fame
    awani mee mowa na.NFIN fama+M
    wasp.M 3PL.O fight AUX be two
    ‘He fought the wasps twice.’

Similarly, the verb *fawa na* normally means ‘disappear’ (56), but as a raising verb it means ‘stop’, as in (42) above.
Raising

(56)  Hiyama mee otaa kiyoha mee fawa
       hiyama mee otaa kiyo+F mee fawa
       white-lipped peccary.M 3PL.O 1EX.A chase 3PL.S disappear

       narake ahi faha yaa.
       na-hara-ke ahi faha yaa
       AUX-1P.E + F-DECL + F then water.F ADJNCT
       ‘We went after the peccaries, but they got away in the water.’

Another suggestive example is kita, which normally means ‘be strong’, as in (57), but as a raising verb means ‘be intense’ (58).

(57)  Yomee kitahi okobamakiabana o, yomee weebotee.
       yomee kita + M o-kaba-maki-habana o- yomee weebotee
       jaguar.M be strong 1SG.A-eat-following-FUT + F 1SG.A jaguar.M big
       ‘I will eat a strong jaguar, a big one.’

(58)  Yama kome awi kitaharo amake fahi kasiro
       yama kome awa.NFIN kita-haro ama-ke fahi kasiro
       thing.F pain + F feel be strong-RP.E + F SEC-DECL + F then a lot.F

       yaa.
       yaa
       ADJNCT
       ‘She had a very high fever [lit., she was feeling a fever intensely].’

It is interesting that these same aspectual meanings occur when the NFC is intransitive, even though as Dixon points out (2004:458), overt raising is impossible in this context. It is clear, for example, that the verb nafi has the same aspectual meaning ‘be a lot’ in (59), in which the NFC is transitive, as it does in (34) above, in which the NFC is intransitive, even though there is no syntactic raising in (34), nor can there be. If there were raising in (34), it would be *tafi onafirara oke.

(59)  Yama tii ni onafia
       yama tii na.NFIN o-nafi + F
       thing.F cut through AUX 1SG.S-be a lot
       ‘I cleared brush a lot.’

Compare (60), in which nafi has its normal non-aspectual meaning ‘be big’.

(60)  Aba nafika haari.
       aba nafi-ka haari
       fish.M be big-DECL + M that one + M
       ‘It’s a big fish.’

---

24 As it turns out, there are rare exceptions to this generalization. To be precise, I have observed three unelicited examples of overt raising in this kind of context, (i), (ii), and (iii).
In fact, all of the verbs in table 3 are used as in (34) in the corpus as well. That is, all of them occur with intransitive NFCs. A couple more examples follow.

(61) \textit{otaa tafi hawa toa otake.} \\
\textit{otaa tafa.NFIN hawa to-ha+F otaa-ke} \\
1EX.S eat be finished CH-AUX 1EX.S-DECL+F \\
‘We finished eating.’

(62) \textit{Oko yobi ni tamaara oke.} \\
\textit{o-ka yobi na.NFIN tama-hara o-ke} \\
1SG.POSS-POSS go back and forth AUX be many-IP.E+F 1SG.POSS-DECL+F \\
‘I’ve been going out a lot.’

With this fact in mind, we may add a number of other verbs to the list of raising verbs, based on their use in sentences like (34), where both the NFC and the MC are intransitive. They are listed in table 4.

Table 4 Additional Jarawara raising verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning in Raising Contexts</th>
<th>Meaning in Non-Raising Contexts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{bara tona} \textit{[bara to- CH na]}</td>
<td>‘decrease’</td>
<td>‘decrease’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{behe nisa} \textit{[behe na -risa]}</td>
<td>‘be diagonal’</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{DOWN}]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{boko na}</td>
<td>‘be a little’</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) \textit{Kami} kerewe obisarabana oke. \\
kama.NFIN kerewe o-na-bisa-ra-habana o-ke \\
go/come-back be slow 1SG.S-AUX-also-NEG-FUT+F 1SG.S-DECL+F \\
‘I too will come back before long.’

(ii) \textit{Amo} ni yokana oharara oke. \\
amo na.NFIN yokana o-to-ha-ra-hara o-ke \\
sleep AUX true 1SG.S-CH-be-NEG-IP.E+F 1SG.S-DECL+F \\
‘I didn’t sleep well [lit., my sleeping was not true].’

(iii) \textit{Kori} kasi mati ohawaamaro oke \\
kori ka-na-kosa.NFIN mati o-to-ha-waha-hamaro o-ke \\
be afraid COMIT-AUX-middle a lot 1SG.S-CH-be-change-FP.E+F 1SG.S-DECL+F \\
‘I was really scared.’

The first and third examples are from recorded texts, and I heard the second in a conversation. Both sentences are acceptable with all speakers, and the respective counterparts without overt raising are also acceptable, i.e. \textit{oko kami kerewe nabisorabone oke}, \textit{oko amo ni yokana toharara oke}, and \textit{oko kori kasi mati tohawaamaro oke}. At this point I cannot say in what precise contexts overt raising is permitted when both the MC and the NFC are intransitive, but it is clearly not permitted generally. It may not be a coincidence, though, that two of the examples involve adjectives. The existence of such exceptions is interesting, since there are no such exceptions in the context of control. That is, in control contexts the shared argument is never overt in the MC, when both the MC and the NFC are intransitive. This is thus additional evidence for the analysis of a syntactic difference between control and raising, as I propose in the next section.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>famaki</strong> [fama ‘be two’ -kl COMING]</td>
<td>‘be on both sides’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fawa kana</strong> [fawa ka- COMIT na]</td>
<td>‘stop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fawa nisa</strong> [fawa na -risa DOWN]</td>
<td>‘stop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fotomake</strong> [foto -makI FOLLOWING]</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hahaani</strong></td>
<td>‘be funny’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hahata na</strong> [DUP-hata na -ra NEG]</td>
<td>‘be fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hasi na</strong></td>
<td>‘be left’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hiiya na</strong> [DUP-hiya ‘be bad’ na]</td>
<td>‘be different’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hiyara</strong> [hiya ‘be bad’ -ra NEG]</td>
<td>‘be bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hohowariwa na</strong></td>
<td>‘be soon after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kawanamaki</strong> [ka- COMIT wana ‘be attached’ -makI FOLLOWING]</td>
<td>‘come and start up right away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kitamisa</strong> [kita -misa NEG]</td>
<td>‘get louder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>koma</strong></td>
<td>‘hurt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>komesa na</strong></td>
<td>‘begin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>koro nake</strong> [koro ‘throw’ na -kl COMING]</td>
<td>‘be heard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>koro nama</strong> [koro na -ma BACK]</td>
<td>‘be heard from a distance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kowato na</strong></td>
<td>‘be four times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mai na</strong> [mai na]</td>
<td>‘be a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mita</strong></td>
<td>‘be heard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sai</strong></td>
<td>‘be heard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>saima</strong> [sai -ma BACK]</td>
<td>‘come back and be heard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sasara na</strong> [DUP-sara na]</td>
<td>‘be low volume’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>siba ra</strong> [siba na -ra NEG]</td>
<td>‘be all right’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>siko na</strong></td>
<td>‘be five times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>taba</strong></td>
<td>‘be like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tohiya</strong> [to- CH]</td>
<td>‘be bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hiya ‘be bad’</strong></td>
<td>‘be bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>totoro na</strong> [DUP-toro na]</td>
<td>‘be long’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*Note: The meanings are provided in the context of the language being studied.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jarawara Complement Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>towatama</strong> [to- BACK wata]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘be located’ -ma BACK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>toyabo</strong> [to- CH yabo]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>watara</strong> [wata -ra NEG]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yana kana</strong> [yana ka- COMIT na]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yana na</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yana nama</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[yana na -ma BACK]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yana tokana</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[yana to- CH ka-COMIT na]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yana tonama</strong> [yana to-AWAY na -ma BACK]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yana tonamake</strong> [yana to-AWAY na- makI FOLLOWING]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yana towiti</strong> [yana to-AWAY na -witI OUT]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yati na</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yotowama</strong> [yoto -waha CHANGE -ma BACK]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yowa</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a mita is actually transitive, but when used in raising contexts, it is detransitivized.*

The reason some of the verbs have no meaning listed for non-raising contexts is not that they have no such uses necessarily, it's just that I have not observed such uses in non-elicited contexts. Also, as in the previous table, I have listed different derivations of a single verb separately. When the root is an inflected root and a derivation involves a prefix, the derivations do not occur together in the table, since this affects the alphabetical ordering. For example, **hiyara** and **tohiya** occur in different parts of the table, even though they both are based on the root **hiya** ‘be bad’.

The idea of table 4 is that these verbs may be used in overt raising contexts as in (59), even though I have not seen them so used in the corpus. This is supported by the fact that these verbs belong to the same semantic classes as those in table 3 above. Proposed semantic classes are delineated in table 5.
Table 5 Semantic classes of Jarawara raising verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Class</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning in Raising Contexts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beginning/Ending</td>
<td>ahaba</td>
<td>‘end’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fawa kana</td>
<td>‘stop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fawa na</td>
<td>‘stop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fawa nisa</td>
<td>‘stop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hasi na</td>
<td>‘be left’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hawa toha</td>
<td>‘be finished’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kawanamaki</td>
<td>‘come and start up right away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>komesa na</td>
<td>‘begin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yana kana</td>
<td>‘two start’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yana na</td>
<td>‘begin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yana nama</td>
<td>‘start, coming this way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yana tokana</td>
<td>‘start’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yana tona</td>
<td>‘start’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yana tonama</td>
<td>‘start over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yana tonamake</td>
<td>‘start, going away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yana towiti</td>
<td>‘start far away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>amosa</td>
<td>‘be good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hahaani</td>
<td>‘be funny’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hihiya na</td>
<td>‘be different’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hiyara</td>
<td>‘be bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>siba ra</td>
<td>‘be all right’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tamina</td>
<td>‘be good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tohiya</td>
<td>‘be bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extent/Degree</td>
<td>bara tona</td>
<td>‘decrease’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>boko na</td>
<td>‘be a little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iisi na</td>
<td>‘be a little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kasiro</td>
<td>‘be a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>‘be a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kitamisa</td>
<td>‘get louder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mai na</td>
<td>‘be a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nafi</td>
<td>‘be a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sasara na</td>
<td>‘be low volume’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>totoro na</td>
<td>‘be long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>ee na</td>
<td>‘be how much?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fama</td>
<td>‘be two times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>famaki</td>
<td>‘be on both sides’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kowato na</td>
<td>‘be four times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ohari</td>
<td>‘be only/be once’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>siko na</td>
<td>‘be five times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>‘be many times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>terei na</td>
<td>‘be three times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration/Precedence</td>
<td>hahata ra</td>
<td>‘be fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hohowariwa na</td>
<td>‘be soon after’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With the exception of the “miscellaneous” and the “sound emission” classes, all of the semantic classes in table 5 have members from table 3, indicating that they are used with both transitive and intransitive NFCs. In general, the semantic types of the classes are quite compatible with them being characterized as aspecal verb types. Furthermore, there are semantic connections between the classes. For example, it is possible that “beginning/ending” could semantically be combined with the “duration/precedence” class.

There does seem to be something different going on with the verbs in the “miscellaneous” and “sound emission” classes. It is difficult to imagine these MC verbs occurring with transitive NFC verbs. Furthermore, these verbs seem to be an exception to the generalization that these classes of verbs tend to be aspecal verbs cross-linguistically. On the basis of these observations, it seems unlikely that these should be analyzed as raising verbs. At this point, though, I don’t have another analysis to propose for them. On the other hand, there does seem to be semantic similarity between sound emission and beginning/ending, and also with existence.

Even though Jarawara has a distinction between copular verbs and intransitive verbs, and copular verbs typically have two arguments, a subject and a copular complement, I have listed toha along with intransitive raising verbs. Dixon (2004:456) says that in the context of NFCs, copular verbs behave as intransitives. As we will see in section 2.4 below, this does not seem to be true when the copular verb is the NFC verb, but it is true when it is the MC verb, as in (63).

(63) Awi yokana ohateere amaka.
awaNFIN yokana o-to-ha-tee-re ama-ka
see true 1SG.S-CH-be-HAB-NEG + F SECDECL + M
‘I have never seen it properly [lit., my seeing of it was never true].’
In this example the MC verb is *toha*, and there is raising of the subject prefix o- from the NFC to the MC. The NFC is a transitive Oc, as shown by the masculine agreement in the MC verb, and the lack of the person prefix in the third position. In this particular example there is an adjective, i.e. *yokana* ‘true’ attached to the NFC, but an adjective is not necessary, as the following example shows.

(64) Ee wini yaa Biyi yama tao ni tohe
    ee wina.NOM+F yaa Biyi yama tao na.NFIN to-ha + M
    1IN.S live ADJNCT (man’s name).M thing.F shoot AUX CH-be

    awaka.
    awa-ka
    seem + M-DECL + M
    ‘Bidi seems to have shot with a shotgun at our house.’

In this case there is no adjective, and the NFC is a transitive Ac, as shown by the masculine agreement in the MC verb, agreeing with the A of the NFC.

In the two examples seen so far with MC verb *toha*, the NFC is transitive. Intransitive NFCs occur likewise, both with and without adjectives, as shown in (65) and (66) respectively.

(65) *tafi* yokana tohareri amaka.
    tafa.NFIN yokana to-ha-ra-hiri ama-ka
    eat true CH-be-NEG-RP.E + M SEC-DECL + M
    ‘He wasn’t eating much [lit., his eating was not true].’

(66) *Mase* hii ni tohare amane.²⁵
    mase hii na.NFIN to-ha-ra + M ama-ne
    curasow.M (call of curasow) AUX CH-be-NEG SEC-BKG + M
    ‘That’s not a curasow calling.’

With overt raising when the NFC is transitive, it was necessary to analyze the NFC as a complement of the intransitive MC verb. This analysis is not necessary when the NFC is intransitive, since the S of the NFC remains in the NFC. Dixon analyzes the NFC as the S of the MC, as seen in table 1 above, and this seems to be correct. Whether the NFC is transitive or intransitive, the complement clause label fits, since in one case the NFC is a complement, and in the other it is a subject.

In this section we have seen that, compared to other languages, Jarawara has a rather large number of raising verbs. These are intransitive verbs that often have a special aspectual meaning when used as raising verbs. The NFC verb, when transitive, can be either an Ac or Oc clause. When the NFC verb is intransitive, there is no overt raising, but the verbs have the same aspectual meanings.

In the next section we turn to control, and the MC verbs used with it.

²⁵I show the NP *mase* as being included in the NFC, on the analogy of the pronominal S in examples like (31) above, but this is just for convenience, because the actual S argument in the NFC is phonologically null, according to my analysis. I assume that the NP *mase* is some sort of adjunct. I similarly include an S NP in an NFC when the intransitive MC verb is a control verb as in (141) below, on the analogy of the pronominal S in examples like (127).
2.2 Control

Although morphologically control is not distinguished from raising in Jarawara (however, see fn 26 above), making it sometimes difficult to distinguish one from the other, syntactically control occurs in many more environments than raising. Also, as alluded to in the introduction, semantically the two processes are quite different.

According to Dixon (2006:108), control—which he calls argument sharing—is only possible with a transitive MC. According to him there is thus complementary distribution between raising and control, raising being available only for intransitive MCs and control only for transitive MCs.

Almost all of Dixon's examples of control are like (2), involving a shared pronominal that is overt in the MC. He also gives a few examples in which the shared argument is not represented by a pronominal but by an NP, as in (67), which is his example (22) (2006:108).

(67) Hesiyani afiyao haa ni nofateeramoneke.
    Hesiyani afiyao haa na.NFIN nofa-tee-ra-hamone-ke
    Rejane.F airplane.M call AUX want-RP.N + F-NEG-REP + F-DECL + F
    ‘It was reported that Rejane didn't want to call for the plane.’

Dixon analyzes NPs such as Hesiyani in (67) as being located in the MC and not the NFC, by analogy with the pronominals in examples like (2). This makes sense as far as it goes, and I have followed it in not including the NP in the NFC. To me, though, subject NPs like Hesiyani are not arguments, and I analyze the shared argument in (67) as being phonologically null. That this is the case is shown by sentences such as (68) and (69), in which there is no NP corresponding to the shared argument.

(68) Kamo hora hinaha ohi tee hamoneke,
    Kamo hora hi-na + F ohi na-tee-hamone-ke
    (man's name).M scold OC-AUX cry AUX-RP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
    okobi towakami nofaraaro.
    o-kaaabi to-ka-ka-ma.NFIN nofa-ra-haar
    1SG.POSS-POSS-father.M away-COMIT-go/come-back want-NEG-IP.E + F
    ‘Kamo criticized her and she cried, because she didn't want to take my father.’

(69) Mee foro na mee, yama fora ni nofamare
    mee foro na + F mee yama fora na.NFIN nofa-ma-ra + M
    3PL.S fall AUX 3PL.S thing.F shoot with blowgun AUX want-back-NEG
    kamaki
    ka-maki + M
    go/come-following
    ‘They [the wooley monkeys] were falling to the ground. He didn't want to hit any more, and he turned back.’

The woman who is the subject of okobi towakami nofaraaro ‘she didn't want to take my father’ in (68) is not represented in the sentence as an NP, and the man who is the
subject of *yama fora ni nofamare* ‘he didn’t want to hit any more’ in (69) is not only not represented by an NP in the sentence, but also is never named in the story, and is hardly even represented as an NP anywhere.

Presumably Dixon would analyze examples such as (68) and (69) as not being examples of control, since they do not have an overt shared argument, but as I see it they clearly do involve control. That is, Dixon’s example (67), which is perfectly grammatical without the NP *Hesiyani*, i.e. *afiyao haa ni nofateeramoneke* ‘it was reported that she didn’t want to call for the plane’, would also still involve control just the same, according to my analysis.

Dixon apparently believes that control is only possible for MCs that are Acs, but clearly there can be control when the MC is an Oc, as in (70). Presumably the NFC is an Oc in a case like this, as well.

(70) *nawitaremisi* onofarehirika.
na-ita-rl-misa.NFIN o-nofa-ra-hiri-ka
CAUS-sit-raised surface-up 1SG.A-want-NEG-RP.E + M-DECL + M
‘I didn’t want to sit him up.’

As Dixon notes, there are other control verbs besides *nofa* ‘want’. One of the most common is *wato*, which normally means ‘know (about)’ (72), but as a control verb means ‘know how/ be able’ (71).

(71) *Owa ai ni watore*
owa ahi na.NFIN wato-ra + M
1SG.O have sex with AUX know-NEG
‘He couldn’t have sex with me.’

(72) *Era mee wato-haba ee amake.*
era mee wato-haba ee ama-ke
1IN.O 3PL.A know-FUT + F 1IN.O SEC-DECL + F
‘They are going to find out about us.’

This control verb, like *nofa*, is also found in Ocs, as in (73).

(73) *mee fora hine karaboi mee*
mee fora hi-na + M karaboha.NFIN mee
3PL.A shoot with blowgun OC-AUX shoot with blowgun 3PL.A
hiwatore
hi-wato-ra + M
OC-know-NEG + M
‘They shot blowgun darts at it [the harpy eagle], but they couldn’t hit it.’

There are other transitive control verbs besides *nofa* and *wato*, as well. All the transitive control verbs I have seen used are listed in table 6.
### Table 6 Transitive control verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hawa toniha [hawa ‘be ready’ to- CH niha- CAUS ha AUX]</td>
<td>‘finish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanawana</td>
<td>‘begin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naahabiha [na- CAUS ahaba ‘die’]</td>
<td>‘finish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nakomeha [na- CAUS komeha ‘be fearsome’]</td>
<td>‘be afraid of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natamina [na- CAUS tamina ‘be good’]</td>
<td>‘do properly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nofa</td>
<td>‘want’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saa tosa [saa ‘let go’ to- CH na -kosa MIDDLE]</td>
<td>‘leave off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tai toniha [tai ‘be ahead’ to- CH niha- CAUS ha AUX]</td>
<td>‘do first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonihawaha [to- CH niha- CAUS ha AUX -waha CHANGE]</td>
<td>‘become accustomed to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totomi na [DUP- tomì ‘measure’ na]</td>
<td>‘try’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wato</td>
<td>‘know how’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have seen examples with nofa ‘want’ and wato ‘know how’; below are examples for the other verbs in the table. Most are Acs, but (74) and (75) are Ocs.

(74) ataro iti hawa onihe
ataro iti.NFIN hawa o-to-niha-ha + M
skin + M skin be finished 1SG.A-CH-CAUS-AUX
‘I finished skinning it [the cougar].’

(75) Saa ni hikanawanematamonaha, aba mee saa
saa na.NFIN hi-kanawana-himata-mona-ha aba mee saa
release AUX OC-start-FP.E + M-REP + M-DUP fish.M 3PL.O shoot with arrow
kanahaari.
ka-na-haari
COMIT-AUX-IP.E + M
‘He started releasing [the kona poison into the water], and spearing fish.’

(76) bani mee we te ni naabi
bani mee we te na.NFIN na-ahaba + M
animal.M 3PL.O tie AUX CAUS-die
‘He finished tying up the [dead] animals.’

(77) asako kaa ni mee nakomeharake.
asako kaa na.NFIN mee na-komeha-hara-ke
tree sp.M chop AUX 3PL.A CAUS-be fearsome-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘They are afraid of cutting down the assacu tree.’

---

26The combination of na- CAUS and ahaba ‘die’ to form the transitive verb naahabiha ‘kill’ should probably not be considered a synchronic derivation, as signalled by its phonological irregularity. Presumably, though, it was a synchronic derivation in the not-too-distant past.
I agree with Dixon’s analysis of this class of verbs as control verbs, because the shared subject is semantically linked to both the MC verb and the NFC verb. This is why English *try* is analyzed as a control verb in *Barnett tried to understand the formula* (Davies and Dubinsky 2004:3). Nevertheless, it is an interesting fact that many of these verbs are causatives of raising verbs, i.e. *hawa toniha* ‘finish’, cf. *hawa toha* ‘be finished’; *nahabi* ‘finish’, cf. *ahaba* ‘end’; *natamina* ‘do properly’, cf. *tamina* ‘be good’; *tai toniha* ‘do first’, cf. *tai toha* ‘be before’; and *tonihawaha* ‘become accustomed to’ is the causative of *toha* ‘be’ with the derivational suffix -*waha* ‘change’ added.

There are occasional differences between the speech of older and younger people, in that the older ones will sometimes place the controller in the NFC rather than in the MC, as in (83)–(86) below. These examples parallel the examples with raising verbs discussed in the previous section, in which there is no raising, i.e. (46)–(48) and (53).
When questioned about these kinds of examples, the younger speakers usually judge them acceptable, but place the controller in the MC in their own speech. That is, they would say kabi mee hinofare (83), otaa hiyari mee nofararake (84), mee saa ni tee saa tosahaboneke (85), and mee towamaki otaa nofakere (86). Dixon does not mention any examples like (83)–(86), and in fact says that “a shared pronoun is always placed in the main clause” (2004:461).

All the controlled NFCs we have seen so far are transitive, but as Dixon observes, intransitive NFCs can also occur, as in (87)–(90).

(83) mee kabi hinofare
mee kaba.NFIN hi-nofa-ra + M
3PL.A eat OC-want-NEG
‘They didn\'t want to eat it [the harpy eagle].’

(84) Otara mee hiyari nofararake.
otara mee hiyara.NFIN nofa-ra-hara-ke
1EX.O 3PL.A speak to want-NEG-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘They didn\'t want to talk to us.’

(85) mee tee saa ni saa
mee tee saa na.NFIN saa
3PL.O 2PL.A shoot with arrow AUX shoot with arrow
tosahaboneke.
to-na-kosa-habone-ke
CH-AUX-middle-INT + F-DECL + F
‘You should leave off spearing them [the fish].’

(86) Mee otaa towamaki nofakere.
mee otaa to-awa-maki.NFIN nofa-ke-re
3PL.O 1EX.A away-see-following want-DECL + F-NEG + F
‘We don\'t want to go and look at them [the herd of white-lipped peccaries].’

(87) ayaki onofaraara oke
ayaka.NFIN o-nofa-ra-hara o-ke
sing 1SG.A-want-NEG-IP.E + F 1SG.A-DECL + F
‘I don\'t want to sing.’

(88) Sawi mee nofararake.
sawi.NFIN mee nofa-ra-hara-ke
be at 3PL.A want-NEG-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘They don\'t want to join in [to build the house].’

(89) yaka ni owatoramaro oke.
yaka na.NFIN o-wato-ra-hamaro o-ke
walk AUX 1SG.A-know-NEG-FP.E + F 1SG.A-DECL + F
‘I couldn\'t walk.’
But these two verbs, *nofa* ‘want’ and *wato* ‘know how’, are the only two transitive MC verbs that occur with intransitive NFCs. The other MC verbs in table 6 above do not occur with intransitive NFCs. To be sure, there are important semantic differences between these two verbs and the other transitive control verbs. For one thing, the sentences in which these two verbs occur with NFCs might best be characterized as describing mental states, in contrast to the sentences involving the other transitive control verbs with NFCs, which are actual events.

We have seen in conjunction with examples (83)–(86) that exceptionally the controller can be overt in the NFC rather than in the MC, especially in the speech of older Jarawaras. Those examples involved transitive NFCs. Examples like (90) show that this may also occur when the NFC is intransitive. If this example were like the preceding one, we would expect *tafi mee watoramaro mee ama-ke*. It is possible to elicit an example like this, but I think it is significant that the corpus doesn’t contain a single such example when the MC verb is *wato*. Instead, whenever the shared subject is referenced by a plural pronominal such as *mee*, the pronominal is located in the NFC rather than in the MC. Furthermore, this is often the case when the shared pronominal is a prefix, as in (91) and (92). In fact, the pattern in (91) and (92) is much more common than that in (89).

In contrast, with *nofa* the pattern is almost always the “normal” control pattern as in (87) and (88), but even with this verb I have seen an example that violates this pattern, i.e. (93).

In summary, there is a strong tendency with *wato*, but not *nofa*, for the shared subject pronominal to be overt in the NFC rather than in the MC, when the NFC is intransitive. As mentioned above, Dixon (2004:461) does not admit the possibility of examples like (90)–(93).

We might explore the idea that what is involved here is backward control, an analysis suggested for syntactic phenomena in several languages by Polinsky and Potsdam (2006).
and others. According to this analysis, there are control constructions in some languages in which the shared argument is overt in the lower clause and silent in the upper clause. Under this approach, (90) would be analyzed as in (94), in which PRO is the silent copy of the shared argument.

(94)  \[mee, tafi\]  PRO, watoramaro  mee amake.  
      mee  tafa.NFIN  PRO  wato-ra-hamaro  mee ama-ke  
3PL.S  eat  know-NEG-FP.E+F  3PL.S  SEC-DECL+F  
‘They couldn’t eat.’

I believe that this analysis sheds light on a parallel use of the verb wato ‘know how’ in another context not involving NFCs, which had puzzled me for a long time. I knew that the clause tiwati watoha tiwa in (95) meant ‘you know how to talk’, but I couldn’t figure out what grammatical path the Jarawaras followed to get to this meaning, because the clause doesn’t have second person singular as its subject. Instead the inalienably possessed noun ati ‘voice’ has a second person singular possessor.

(95)  Towisawa  tihabana  tike,  tiwati  watoha  
      towisawa  ti-to-habana  ti-ke  ti-ati  wato+F  
      chief.M  2SG.S-CH-be-FUT+F  2SG.S-DECL+F  2SG.POSS-voice  know  
      tiwa,  brako  mee  hiyari  tiwatoa  tiwa.  
      tiwa  brako  mee  hiyara.NFIN  ti-wato+F  tiwa  
      2SG.POSS  Brazilian.M  3PL.O  speak to  2SG.A-know  2SG.A  
‘You should be chief, because you know how to talk, you know how to speak to the Brazilians.’

Dixon’s (2004:244) explanation for this is that the clause in question, tiwati watoha tiwa, literally means ‘your language is known’, i.e. the verb is detransitivized. This is possible, but it seems more likely to me that the syntax in clauses like this is analogous to the syntax of NFCs, with an inalienably possessed noun instead of the NFC, but with the same verb, i.e. wato ‘know how’. It is the same kind of control present in (90)–(92), but with an inalienably possessed noun instead of the NFC. Additional examples are (96), with a first person singular possessor, and (97), with a third person plural possessor.27

27These two examples both have the negative suffix -rihi which is used in the list contruction. The list construction (Dixon 2004:ch. 23) is not particularly relevant to the issues treated in this paper, but since it occurs in a number of examples, a brief description is in order. Basically, a list construction is used to express the idea of conjunction, or when used negatively as in these two examples, disjunction. The whole sentence that (97) is taken from, (i) below, shows that it is one of two list clauses in the sentence. The full sentence shows that there is a list auxiliary na at the end of the list, just as in (96) above.

(i)  Ayo  mee  ati  watorihi,  niso  mee  
      ayo  mee  ati  wato-rihi  niso  mee  
      2SG.POSS.older brother.M  3PL.POSS  voice  know-NEG.LIST  2SG.POSS.younger brother.M  3PL.S  
      hiyari  watorihi,  na  towisawa  tihawaabana  tike.  
      hiyara.NFIN  wato-rihi  na.+F  towisawa  ti-to-ha-waha-habana  ti-ke  
      speak  know-NEG.LIST  AUX  chief.M  2SG.S-CH-be-change-FUT.+F  2SG.S-DECL.+F
The control verb *noka* ‘want’ has its own quirk, too, but different from that of *wato*. There are a number of examples in which the inalienably possessed noun *ati* ‘voice’ occurs as the A instead of a pronominal or null A, as in (98).

Neither your older brothers nor your younger brothers know how to speak [Portuguese], so you should be chief.’

The next example (ii) is a case of conjunction rather than disjunction, and the negative suffix is absent. This example illustrates several other characteristics of the list construction. First, there is no concluding auxiliary *na* in this particular example, which is quite common. Secondly, even though all four of the list clause verbs are non-inflecting verbs, except for the first verb none of them have either their auxiliary or their subject prefix, which would be *na* and first person singular *o-* in each case. The only reason the first verb has the auxiliary and the subject prefix is to show that there is also a comitative prefix *ka-*. If these were inflecting verbs, however, all of them would have the subject prefix.

I made the walls of the house, and I cut down trees, and I cut down brush for a new garden, and I traded things on the Purus River.’

A final example shows that there is no gender agreement in list clause verbs. The subject of both clauses is a man, but there is no masculine gender agreement at the end of either of the occurrences of the auxiliary word *toniha*; if there were it would be *tonihe*. There is, however, masculine agreement in the concluding auxiliary word *ne*.

He finished the blowgun darts and the arrows.’

These three examples have at least two list clauses, and this is why it is called the list construction; but it is quite common to have just one item in the list, as in (96) above. The list construction also has its own distinctive intonation pattern, according to which each item in the list ends with vowel lengthening and rising pitch.
(98)  
\[
\text{Yifari yome ni owati nofarini.} \\
\text{yifari yome na.NFIN o-ati nofa-ra-ni} \\
\text{banana.F swallow AUX 1SG.POSS-voice want-NEG-BKG + F} \\
\text{‘I don’t want to eat bananas.’}
\]

Superficially, it looks like control is not involved in this sentence, since *owati* ‘my voice’ does not apply to the NFC, i.e. it does not make sense to say, *yifari owati yome na* for ‘I ate a banana.’ But semantically there is control, in the sense that the possessor of the A of the MC controls the A of the NFC, i.e. first person singular. But it is the possessor of the A of the MC, not the A. 

This setup is available when the NFC is intransitive, as well, as in (99) and (100).

(99)  
\[
\text{Faya tokomi ati nofaremona} \\
faya to-ka-ma.NFIN ati nofa-ra-himona \\
\text{so away-go/come-back voice want-NEG-REP + M} \\
\text{‘He said he didn’t want to go.’}
\]

(100)  
\[
\text{owati tokomi nonofa ra} \\
o-ati to-ka-ma.NFIN no-nofa na-ra + F \\
\text{1SG.POSS-voice away-go/come-back DUP-want AUX-NEG} \\
\text{‘I don’t want to go.’}
\]

These examples also show some additional properties of this phenomenon. Example (99) shows that the inalienably possessed noun is not limited to having a first person singular possessor, and example (100) shows that the NP referencing the A of the MC can occur preceding the NFC. It is clear that *owati* is not the S of the NFC, because while the string *owati tokoma* is a grammatical sentence, it would mean ‘I went while speaking’, and not the intended meaning, ‘I went’.

These two phenomena are connected with the fact that the inalienably possessed noun *ati* ‘voice’ often means ‘mind’ or ‘inner person’, or is a component of expressions that have meanings like these. I believe that they show that control is possible in Jarawara involving a possessor of an inalienably possessed noun. That is, in examples such as (95)-(100), there is control involving the possessor of *ati* and the subject of *wato* ‘know’ or the subject of the NFC object of *nofa* ‘want’. There are obviously significant structural differences between the examples with *wato* on the one hand and those with *nofa* on the other hand. First, the NP containing *ati* is the O in the former whereas it is the A in the latter. And secondly, it is only in the examples with *nofa* that an NFC is involved. In the examples with *wato*, there is control between an MC and an NP, not an NFC. As a result of these differences, the direction of control is different in the two cases. In the examples with *nofa*, the control is in the normal direction, from an MC into an NFC. But in the examples with *wato*, the control is in the opposite direction, from the NP into the MC, i.e. it is backward control. I propose that what is responsible for the directional difference in these two cases is the fact that there cannot be control into an NP, only out of it. That is, the possessor of an NP can control an argument of a clause, but an argument of a clause cannot control the possessor of an NP. In both cases, the possessor of *ati* is always overt.

It remains to discuss the case of the intransitive NFCs that occur with the ostensibly transitive MC verb *ati na* ‘say’. This phenomenon is not discussed by Dixon, but the pattern
is quite similar to that of most of the examples with *wato* when the NFC is intransitive. The verb *ati na* is used as a quote margin for both direct (101) and indirect (102) quotes, in contexts not involving NFCs.

(101) Yinero tama tikanahi Haimota ati ne
    yinero tama ti-ka-na-hi Haimota ati na + M
    money.M hold onto 2SG.A-COMIT-AUX-IMP + F (woman's name).F say AUX
    “You hold onto the money,” Haimota said.’

(102) Faya Yowao itari, mee haa hine
    faya Yowao ita-RI + M mee haa hi-na + M
    so Yowao.M sit-raised surface 3PL.A call OC-AUX
    tokomemono ati ne amaka tafebonaha.
    to-ka-ma-himona ati na + M ama-ka tafa-hibona-ha
    away-go/come-back-REP + M say AUX SEC-DECL + M eat-INT + M-DUP
    ‘Yowao had been sitting [in the front part of the house], but they had called him
    and he said he had gone to eat [in the back part of the house].’

When *ati na* is used in indirect quotes, it is clearly transitive, since it can occur with the person prefix *hi-*, as in (103). (It is a quirk of Jarawara grammar that the verb root *ati* disappears when its auxiliary *na* has any person prefix, cf. Dixon 2004:117.)

(103) Afiyao sonemona mee hinareka.
    afiyao sona-himona mee ati hi-na-hare-ka
    airplane.M fall-REP + M 3PL.A say OC-AUX-IP.E + M-DECL + M
    The others said the plane had crashed.’

When used in direct quotes as in (101), however, even though the quote is in some sense the object of *ati na*, apparently the quote margin verb is not formally transitive, since for one thing it never occurs with *hi-* in this context. So *ati na* clearly has some special syntactic characteristics.

Example (104) is typical of the use of this verb in conjunction with NFCs.

(104) Okoyo tee kanawashihino
    o-kaa ayo tee ka-na-wasi-hino
    1SG.A-POSS-older brother.M 2PL.A COMIT-CAUS-get caught-IP.N + M
    amane, mee ohi ni ati nemetemoneni.
    ama-ne mee ohi na.NFIN ati na-hemete-mone-ni
    SEC-BKG + M 3PL.S cry AUX say AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F-BKG + F
    “You put a spell on my brother with a hexed thread,” they said, crying.’

The intransitive NFC is *mee ohi ni*, and what is noteworthy is that the subject pronounal *mee* is in the NFC and not in the MC. This is the rule in this kind of context, and it appears

28The verb *ati ne* has masculine agreement even though the referent, Haimota, is a woman. As Dixon (2004:287) notes, it is common for Jarawara speakers to use masculine agreement for women they have close relationships with. In this case Haimota is the wife of the speaker.
to be signalling that in this context *ati na* is an intransitive verb. There is control, but the controller is overt in the NFC rather than in the MC, as in the case whenever both the NFC and the MC are intransitive, as discussed further on in this section. This pattern is similar to that of most of the examples involving *wato* with intransitive NFCs discussed above; however, unlike the case of *wato*, I do not analyze *ati na* as a transitive verb when it is used in this way, since there is no variation, and *ati na* does seem to be intransitive when used with direct quotes not involving NFCs.

The quote in (104) is a direct quote, and this is the normal pattern when NFCs are involved. However, in a minority of cases, NFCs can occur with *ati na* with the quote being an indirect quote, as in (105). But in cases like this, there never appear signs of transitivity such as *hi-*, and any subject pronominal is always in the NFC, as is the case with *mee* in (105).

(105) tati kowakowa nematamona mee haahaa ni ati
tati kowa-kowa na-himata-mona mee haahaa na.NFIN ati
head DUP-be dented AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M 3PL.S laugh AUX say

nemetemoneke ahi.
na-hemete-mone-ke ahi
AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F then
‘They said laughing that his forehead had a groove in it.’

For these reasons, I consider *ati na* to be intransitive when it is an MC verb in control contexts.

The greatest divergence between Dixon's view of control and mine is in regard to the analysis of examples such as (106), which is example (17.53b) from Dixon's 2004 grammar.

(106) koyari tiwa ni okomake
koyari tiwa na.NFIN o-to-ka-makI
paddle.M carry on shoulder AUX 1SG.S-away-go/come-following
‘I went carrying the paddle on my shoulder.’

Dixon (2004:457) analyzes sentences such as (106) as involving raising. To be sure, the MC in such examples, besides being intransitive, is also semantically quite different from the control verbs we have seen so far (cf. table 6). However, the fact is that the shared subject is semantically linked to both the MC and NFC, and for this reason I believe this cannot be considered raising, but must be analyzed as control. Also, the MC verb in such examples is clearly not aspectual.

As indicated in table 1, Dixon allows for the possibility of an Oc NFC occurring with an intransitive MC. But all his examples are with raising verbs, similar to examples (39)–(42) above. Example (107) is like example (106), but whereas the NFC in (106) is an Ac, the NFC in (107) is clearly an Oc, since the MC verb *hikame* contains *hi-*. 
In this example we not only see *hi-* in the intransitive MC, we also see gender agreement in the MC with the O of the NFC. Since *sire* ‘river turtle’ is feminine, the MC verb would have feminine gender agreement if the NFC were an Ac.

It is possible also to have a shared subject that is first or second person, and this is the case in (108).

(108) Noko baa ore sone, tiwa
    noko baa o-na-rI sona + M tiwa
    face + M hit 1SG.A-AUX-raised surface fall carry on shoulder

omise tiwa ni okome
    o-na-misa + M tiwa na.NFIN o-ka-ma + M
    1SG.A-AUX-up carry on shoulder AUX 1SG.S-go/come-back

‘I hit it [the white-lipped peccary] on the face. It fell. I hoisted it up to carry on my shoulder. I came carrying it.’

I have included several of the preceding clauses to give some context. In the story, the man killed a white-lipped peccary. In the first clause, he hit the peccary on the face to kill it, and in the second clause, the peccary fell dead. In the next clause, the man hoisted the peccary onto his shoulder. The last clause is a complex clause consisting of the NFC *tiwa ni* followed by the MC *okome*. The shared subject is first person singular, and there is masculine gender agreement in the MC, to agree with the O of the NFC. I analyze this as control, with the MC verb being intransitive, and the NFC being an Oc, just as in (107).

In the preceding section I argued that in the case of raising, a pattern such as that in (108) should be considered evidence for the NFC being the complement of the MC verb. That is, the fact that there is gender agreement in the MC with the O of the NFC when the NFC is an Oc shows that the NFC is the complement of the MC verb, for example in (41) above. To be sure, the agreement patterns with raising and control are the same, whether the NFC is an Ac or an Oc. But I have analyzed sentences such as (106)–(108) as examples of control and not raising, on the basis of the fact that the MC verb is not aspectual. So it seems likely that there is a syntactic difference. In fact, I will argue that whether the NFC is an Ac as in (106), or an Oc as in (107) or (108), the NFC should be considered an adjunct, and not a complement.
First I will consider the cases like (106), in which the NFC is an Ac. Actually, strictly speaking, the NFC in this example is ambiguous between Ac and Oc, since the MC verb does not show gender agreement. In other examples, though, such as (109), the NFC is unambiguously an Ac.

(109) *Okaniso*  
\[
\begin{align*}
o-\text{kaa niso} & \quad \text{tama} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{ofoyar}a \\
1\text{SG.Poss-Poss-Younger brother.M} & \quad \text{hold onto} \quad \text{AUX} \quad 1\text{SG.S-be inside-IP.E+F} \\
oke. & \\
o-ke & \\
1\text{SG.S-decl+F} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I was inside [the large basket] holding onto my younger brother.’

There are actually two signals in this sentence that tell us that the NFC is an Ac and not an Oc. First, the S of the MC is repeated in the third pronominal position, and this would not be the case if the NFC were an Oc. Secondly, if the NFC were an Oc, there would be masculine gender agreement with the O of the NFC in the MC, because the O of the NFC is masculine. We may also observe the fact that the NP referencing the O is overt in the NFC (as it is in (106) as well). Since the O of an Ac is not topical, an NP referencing it cannot normally be omitted, whereas such an NP is often omitted from an Oc, since here it is topical. But O NPs are sometimes not omitted from Ocs.

In (106) and (109) the shared argument is a pronominal, but even when the shared argument is null, as in (110) and (111), I analyze these as cases of control as well. Not only is there no overt pronominal in these sentences, there is also no NP referencing the shared subject.

(110) *Hawine*  
\[
\begin{align*}
hawine & \quad \text{hi-kahomaki}\quad \text{bani} \quad \text{mee} \quad \text{weye} \quad \text{ni} \\
\text{trail+M} \quad \text{OC-tie-following} \quad \text{animal.M} \quad 3\text{PL.O carry AUX} \\
kamematamonaka & \quad \text{bai} \quad \text{toke} \quad \text{yaa.} \\
ka-ma-himata-mona-ka & \quad \text{bahi} \quad \text{to-ka.NOM+M yaa} \\
go\text{/come-back-IP.F.E+M-REP+M-DECL+M} \quad \text{sun.M away-go/come ADJNCT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He had tied a hexed thread on his trail, and he came back carrying game, at sunset.’

(111) *yama*  
\[
\begin{align*}
yama & \quad \text{katatomi}\quad \text{wakimatamonaka.} \\
yama \quad \text{ka-katoma.NFIN} \quad \text{wa-kl-himata-mona-ka} \\
\text{thing.F COMIT-look at} \quad \text{stand-coming-IP.F.E+M-REP+M-DECL+M} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He stood looking around.’

For sentences such as (106) above and (109)–(111), Dixon analyzes the NFC as being the S of the MC, but they seem to be an adjunct of some kind. While it is true that the gender agreement pattern in the MC is consistent with Dixon’s analysis, it is also consistent with a different analysis, according to which both the pronominal and the gender agreement of the MC are agreeing with the same argument, which is the semantic subject of the MC.
According to Polinsky and Potsdam (2013:21) "there is considerable work arguing that the unpronounced subject of various predicational (clausal) adjuncts is an element that is syntactically controlled by its antecedent," and among others, they give the example John, talked on the phone [while PRO, reading a book]. We may also note that Dixon, in his grammar of English (2005:35-36, 55), analyzes wheezing noisily in John came into the room, wheezing noisily, as a kind of adverbial clause, in other words, an adjunct.

There is syntactic evidence in favor of analyzing the NFC in sentences like (106) and (109)–(111) as an adjunct, and the evidence is that the NFC can be moved around in a sentence for these examples in a way that is not possible in other configurations. In Jarawara various kinds of constituents may be postposed to a position following the main clause of a sentence, and the NFCs such as those in (106) and (109) are among the kinds of constituents that may be postposed, with control intact, as in (112).

(112) Asima tiwitarehi wafe faki ni
asima ti-ita-rl-hi wafe faki na.NFIN
younger sister.F 2SG.S-sit-raised surface-IMP+F cotton spin.F AUX
‘Sister, sit down here and roll cotton thread.’

In this sentence, the NFC wafe faki ni ‘rolling cotton thread’ has been postposed to a position after the MC, which is the main clause of the sentence, and the S of the MC still controls the A of the NFC, just as in (106) and (109). But this kind of reordering is not available for other configurations. For example, we do not encounter sentences involving raising like *otaa yototas otake, boro kabi (cf. (12)).

This kind of argument cannot be made in the case of control with Oc NFCs like (107), since it is not possible to postpose the NFC in such a sentence and say *sire hikame, weye ni. Nevertheless, there does seem to be evidence that in this case, too, the NFC should be analyzed as an adjunct. The evidence comes from a context not involving NFCs at all. Recall from the introduction that there are inalienably possessed nouns in Jarawara that can also be used to mark adjuncts. The possessed nouns mentioned were ihi/ehene ‘because of’ (17) and tabiyo ‘absence’ (18). Besides being used to mark adjuncts, these also have “normal” uses as possessed nouns, as in (113) and (114).

(113) hiyama mee ihi otaa towasima
hiyama mee ihi otaa to-wasi-ma+F
white-lipped peccary.M 3PL.POSS result of+F 1EX.A away-find-back
‘We found signs of white-lipped peccaries [e.g. tracks, feces, broken branches].’

(114) Faa tabiyo awematamonaka.
fa fa tabiyo awa-himata-ona-ka
water.F absence feel-FLP.E+M-REP+M-DECL+M
‘He wanted water [to drink].’

This kind of use explains why they are considered inalienably possessed nouns. In this use, ihi/ehene has a slightly different meaning, i.e. ‘result of’ rather than ‘because of’. In (113) the NP hiyama mee ihi ‘signs of white-lipped peccaries’ is the O of the clause. In (114) the NP fa tabiyo ‘absence of water’ is likewise the O.
There is one other inalienably possessed noun that is like *ihi/ehene* and *tabiyo* in marking adjuncts, i.e. *namoni*. Unlike *ihi/ehene* and *tabiyo*, *namoni* does not appear to have any “normal” use as an inalienably possessed noun, and for this reason Dixon (2004:504) does not consider it to be an inalienably possessed noun. Instead, he analyzes it as a specialized postposition that, like *ihi/ehene* and *tabiyo*, marks “peripheral constituents,” i.e. adjuncts. The meaning of *namoni* is something like ‘report about’, where the possessor of *namoni* refers to whoever or whatever the report is about. The main verb which the adjunct with *namoni* is attached to refers to the motion of the person bringing the report, but it is always an intransitive verb, and is almost always some derivation of the motion verb *ka* (115).

(115) Yara     mee  towasimeno  yara       mee  namoni
    yara     mee   to-wasi-ma-hino yara       mee  namoni
Brazilian.M 3PL.O away-find-back-IP.N+M Brazilian.M 3PL.POSS report

    kameno     ama.
    ka-ma-hino  ama
    go/come-back-IP.N+M SEC
‘He found the Brazilians and is coming to tell [us] about them.’

Noteworthy is the fact that *namoni* occurs in a very strange syntactic context, in which the main verb has the agreement characteristics of a transitive Oc, even though it is an intransitive verb. In (116) the person prefix is *hi*- and in (117) there is masculine agreement in the verb, agreeing with the (non-overt) possessor of *namoni*, i.e. the strange creature the speaker had come upon. It is as if the NP with *namoni* is being treated as an O, even though it is an adjunct, and even though the verb is an intransitive verb.

(116) mee  mee  hiwasimahani  mee, mee  namoni  mee
       mee  mee  hi-wasi-ma-hani mee  mee  namoni  mee
       3PL.O 3PL.A OC-find-back-IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.POSS report 3PL.S

    hikama    mee
    hi-ka-ma+F  mee
    OC-go/come-back 3PL.POSS
‘They met up with them. They came to tell [us] about them.’

(117) Namoni  okomebanaka
             namoni  o-to-ka-ma-hibana-ka
             report  1SG.S-away-go/come-back-FUT + M-DECL + M
‘I’m going to take the report about it [the strange creature] back.’

Furthermore, this same syntactic phenomenon occurs also with *tabiyo*, as in (118) and (119). I would suppose it also occurs with *ihi/ehene*, although I haven’t seen any examples like this with *ihi/ehene*.

(118) Tabiyo  hiyawarematamonaka.
       tabiyo  hi-yawa-ra-himata-mona-ka
       absence  OC-be upset-NEG-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
‘She was not sad because of his absence.’
In the context of the story in which (118) occurs, a young woman’s husband had killed her father by casting a spell on him, because her father had eaten her children (i.e. his own grandchildren). The sentence says that she did not miss him as she normally would have as a daughter. The Oc pattern is seen not only in the presence of *hi*- in the intransitive verb, but also in its masculine agreement, to agree with the grandfather, i.e. the possessor of the adjunct *tabiyo*, rather than the woman who is the S of the verb. In (119) there is no *hi*- because the A is first person plural exclusive *otaa*, but the masculine gender agreement in the verb is clearly following the Oc pattern, just as in (118).

In the syntactic context illustrated in (116)–(119), there is only one verb in each sentence, which is intransitive. The phrase associated with the verb is an adjunct. How can there be agreement in the verb with the possessor of the adjunct, and how can there be *hi*-, the marker of a transitive Oc clause, if the verb is intransitive? I don’t know the answers to these questions. But the similarity of these sentences to (107) and (108) above is striking.

We have seen one case where an intransitive verb has been analyzed as having a complement, in the context of raising, when the NFC is transitive, as in (41) above. In that case, though, the verbs are aspectual, whereas here the verbs are clearly not aspectual. In the examples discussed above, there is no raising, and the subject in each case is clearly semantically connected with the verb, whether in the examples involving NFCs or those involving phrases with inalienably possessed nouns.

Actually, the parallel extends also to the cases like (115) which do not have the Oc agreement pattern. That is, the structure in (115) corresponds to that of (109)–(111), in which the MC is intransitive and the NFC is an Ac clause.

Recall that whereas when the NFC is transitive and the MC is an Ac, it is possible to postpone the NFC as in (112), it is not possible to postpone the NFC in this way when the MC is an Oc. This has a parallel in the sentences involving *namoni* and *tabiyo* that we have been discussing. That is, on the one hand it is possible to have postponing of the adjunct phrase when the MC does not have the Oc agreement pattern, as in (115). Dixon (2004:502, 505) mentions this in his discussion of both *namoni* and *tabiyo*, and the examples following show the contrast between postponing (120) and non-postposing (121) in the case of phrases with *tabiyo*.
On the other hand, this kind of postposing is not possible when the MC verb has the Oc agreement pattern. For example, it is not possible to say *okomebanaka, namoni as an alternate for (117), nor *hiyawarematamonaka, tabiyo as an alternate for (118). This parallels the impossibility of postposing of the NFC in an example like (107) as discussed above.

I believe that the NFCs weye ni in (107) and tiwa ni in (108) are adjuncts just as mee namoni, namoni, and tabiyo are adjuncts in (116)–(118). Whatever explains the agreement pattern in (116)–(118) also explains the agreement pattern in (107) and (108), but the agreement pattern in (107) and (108) does not mean that the NFCs should be analyzed as complements of the respective MC verbs.

This is a satisfying result, because it means it is possible to analyze a transitive NFC as an adjunct in control contexts when the MC verb is intransitive, independent of whether the NFC is an Ac or an Oc. Furthermore, in spite of the surface similarities between raising and control in this context (i.e. when the MC verb is intransitive and the NFC verb is transitive), it appears that there is a significant structural difference between the two: with raising, the NFC is the complement of the MC, but with control, the NFC is an adjunct of the MC verb, when the NFC is transitive.

There appears to be one significant structural difference between the sentences containing NFCs as opposed to those containing adjuncts with namoni or tabiyo, and that is that there is control in the former but not in the latter. At this point it is not possible to show this with an example, because there are no examples in the corpus with an adjunct with namoni or tabiyo, in which the possessor of the inalienably possessed noun is the same person as the S of the MC. There are examples with the same grammatical person, such as (116) above, but in this example the mee which is the possessor of namoni and the mee which is the S of the MC verb ‘come’ do not refer to the same group of people. It would be difficult to come up with a semantic context in which both would refer to the same person or group, but if such a context were found, my prediction would be that both pronominals would be overt, i.e. there would not be control.

It seems that there cannot be control involving a phrase that has as its head an inalienably possessed noun. There cannot be raising in this context, either. But if neither control nor raising is possible in this context, what is it that is responsible for the Oc character of the intransitive MC in sentences such as (116)–(118)? What is responsible for this gender agreement pattern, and for the presence of the person prefix hi-? It now appears that when there is “control” or “raising” involving hi-, this is a different process than control or raising involving other subject pronominals, whether prefixes or free forms. One of the strongest arguments in favor of Dixon’s view that only raising is possible when the MC is intransitive, and not control, is the presence of hi- in intransitive verbs that I have called control verbs, as in (107). If hi- is used only in Oc clauses, which are transitive, how else could hi- get into an intransitive clause except by raising? The answer, or at least the beginning of the answer, is that intransitive clauses can indeed have the Oc pattern, including gender agreement and the use of hi-. This is not due to raising, or at least in an example such as (118) it cannot be due to raising, because there is only one clause involved, which is the MC. At this point I am not prepared to offer an analysis of intransitive clauses that have the characteristics of Oc clauses, but I do believe that the examples we have seen containing inalienably possessed nouns provide support for analyzing some
NFCs as adjuncts, and for positing the existence of control with intransitive MC verbs.\textsuperscript{29} One observation of Dixon’s that the examples with namoni and tabiyo do provide further evidence for is that, as mentioned above in the discussion of raising, the behavior of hi- is not the same as the behavior of other pronouns.

Earlier in this section we observed that in certain contexts when the MC is transitive, the controller is overt in the NFC rather than the MC, especially with older speakers. This also may occur when the MC is intransitive. Traditional stories told by the oldest Jarawaras contain a few examples such as the following.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{verbatim}
(122) bii   mee  hose  ni    kama
    bihi    mee   hose   na.NFIN ka-ma+F
  palm sp.F 3PL.A pull out AUX go/come-back
`They came back picking bihi [leaves].`
\end{verbatim}
\end{footnotesize}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{verbatim}
(123) Awa  mee  sari  ni    moto  nama
    awa    mee  sari   na.NFIN moto na-ma+F
  tree.F 3PL.A burn AUX loop AUX-back
`They circled around setting fire to the garden.'
\end{verbatim}
\end{footnotesize}

When repeating sentences like these, the middle-aged Okomobi will invariably place the A pronominal of the NFC in the S position of the MC, i.e. \textit{bii hose ni mee kama} and \textit{awa sari ni mee moto nama}. When asked specifically about the difference, he says the way the old Jarawaras talk is all right, but it is not the way he talks. Also, it is not the case that the oldest Jarawaras always retain the A pronominal in the NFC, cf. for example (124), which is from a traditional story told by Okomobi’s father Yowao.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{verbatim}
(124) Wati  tisa  ni    mee  towakamakia
    wati  tisa  na.NFIN mee  to-ka-ka-makI+F
  arrow.M shoot AUX  3PL.S away-COMIT-go/come-following
`The two of them went along shooting arrows.'
\end{verbatim}
\end{footnotesize}

Interestingly, there are no examples like (122) and (123) that involve a first or second person singular A of the NFC. For example, if we try to use a first person singular A of the NFC in (122), we will get \textit{oko bii hose ni kama}. This is a grammatical sentence, but not with the intended meaning of ‘I came back picking bihi leaves’. It can only mean ‘she came back picking my bihi leaves’.\textsuperscript{30} That is, \textit{oko} can only be construed as an alienable possessor. In the preceding section we saw, in the discussion of example (43), that this kind of alternation is possible when raising is involved, because the first person singular A is semantically associated only with the NFC. In a raising context, even though the grammatical structure changes when the semantic A is overt in the NFC (because it is an

\textsuperscript{29}One possibility that could be explored would be to analyze hi- and the gender agreement pattern of Oc clauses as not agreement with an O specifically, but agreement with a topic. According to this idea, the Oc pattern would be used when the subject of the clause is different from the topic of the clause, and the gender agreement of the verb would be with the topic rather than the subject, when both the subject and the topic are third person. What hi- would be signalling in this case is not a third person O that is the topic, but simply a third person topic that is different from the (third person) subject.

\textsuperscript{30}Practically speaking, this sentence is ungrammatical, since bihi plants are wild and cannot be owned by a person.
alienable possessor), it is still possible to preserve the meaning. But in a control context it is not possible to preserve the meaning, because the argument needs to be associated both with the NFC and with the MC. When the argument is an alienable possessor in the NFC, it cannot be understood to be the S of the MC.

Consider, for example, a sentence such as (125), in which there is control and the shared argument is second person singular.

(125) Yama kamiti tiwitarehi.  
    yama ka-mita.NFIN ti-it-a-ri-hi  
    thing.F COMIT-hear 2SG.S-sit-raised surface-IMP + F  
    ‘Sit there listening.’

If we try to put the pronominal in the NFC rather than in the MC in the style of (43), the resulting sentence, *tika yama kamiti itarehi, is ungrammatical.

There is a good deal of semantic unity among the intransitive verbs that I have seen used as MC verbs with control. Many are manner verbs, and many are verbs of directed motion. They are listed in table 7 below. I have not listed derivations separately for this chart, because there are so many of them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bao na</td>
<td>‘fall to the ground’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bere nama</td>
<td>‘walk on top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bete nawaha</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bosa na</td>
<td>‘get up early’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiya nama</td>
<td>‘pass by coming back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fotoma</td>
<td>‘emerge coming back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foya</td>
<td>‘be inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>homo</td>
<td>‘lie on the ground’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ita</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>‘go, come, etc.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kana na</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moto na</td>
<td>‘circle around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naho</td>
<td>‘sit/stand (plural)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohari</td>
<td>‘be alone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawi</td>
<td>‘be at a location’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taba</td>
<td>‘be with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tai tohama</td>
<td>‘go ahead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waa</td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wina</td>
<td>‘lie in a hammock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yobi na</td>
<td>‘go around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoto</td>
<td>‘come behind’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the differences between control and raising becomes immediately apparent: In contrast with the list of raising verbs in table 5, it is not necessary to contrast the meaning
of the verbs when they are used as control verbs with their normal meaning outside of control. Raising verbs often have special aspectual meanings that are different from their normal meanings, but there is no correspondent for this with control verbs.

When both the NFC and the MC are intransitive, the pattern is the same with control as it is with raising. That is, any overt pronominal referencing the shared S is located in the NFC rather than in the MC, and the MC verb agrees in gender with the shared S. In (126), the second person singular S pronominal is located in the NFC tika kana ni, and in (127), the S pronominal mee is in the NFC mee oi ni.

(126) Faa witi kaa yaa tika kana ni
    faha witi kaa yaa ti-kaa kana na.NFIN
  water.F edge LOC ADJNCT 2SG.POSS-POSS run AUX

    kabasawaamibeya ahi.
    ka-basa-waha-ma-be-ya ahi
  go/come-edge-change-back-IMMED+F-now then
  ‘Run along the stream back [to the village].’

(127) mee oi ni kakamemetemoneni
    mee ohi na.NFIN ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ni
  3PL.S cry AUX COMIT-go/come-back-FP.N+F-REP+F-BKG+F
  ‘The two of them came back crying.’

When a third person S has no overt pronominal, there clearly still can be argument sharing, as in (128) and (129). The shared S in (128) is feminine, and that of (129) is masculine—which is shown in the MC verb gender agreement.

(128) ohi ni kawitabasa
    ohi na.NFIN ka-ita-basa+F
  cry AUX COMIT-sit-edge
  ‘She sat by [her son's grave] crying.’

(129) Amo ni forekosehinoka.
    amo na.NFIN forl-kosa-hino-ka
  sleep AUX lie on top-middle-IP.N+M-DECL+M
  ‘He slept lying on the floor.’

Dixon does not analyze examples such as (126) and (127) as argument sharing. Instead, he analyzes this as a context in which pronominal raising cannot occur (Dixon 2004:112, 259). That is, if the pronominal were overt in the MC rather than the NFC, he would call it raising, not argument sharing. He analyzes the NFC as the S of the MC, and this appears to be correct. At some level, though, there does seem to be a syntactic difference between these examples and the examples with raising verbs such as (34), (61), and (62). What shows this is what happens when the NFC is postponed to a position after the MC, as in (130) and (131).
(130) mee watemetemoneke mee amo ni.
mee wata-hemete-mone-ke mee amo na.NFIN
3PL.S lie in hammock-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F 3PL.S sleep AUX
'The two of them lie in their hammocks, sleeping.'

(131) tee kamiya tee kana ni
tee ka-ma-yahi tee kana na.NFIN
2PL.S go/come-back-DIST.IMP + F 2PL.S run AUX
'You (pl) come back running.'

In (130), the NFC mee amo ni is postponed to the MC, mee watemetemoneke, and in (131) the NFC tee kana ni is postponed to the MC tee kamiya. If these sentences had had the normal unmarked ordering of constituents, they would be mee amo ni watemetemoneke and tee kana ni kamiya, respectively. That is, the pronominal representing the shared S occurs only once, in the NFC, with the normal ordering, but the pronominal must be repeated when there is postponing of the NFC. This shows that the pronominal really is shared in examples like (126) and (127) above, which have the normal ordering of the NFC and MC.

We do not get examples like (130) and (131) with raising verbs. For example, as an alternative for (62) with postponing of the NFC we could not get *otamara oke, oko yobi ni, because the MC verb is a raising verb, and so the first person singular S is only semantically associated with the NFC, and not with the MC.

In fact, the NFC cannot be postponed in a raising verb context like (62), no matter where the first person singular argument is located. This suggests that there may be a syntactic difference between this context and a context such as that in (126) and (127), in which the MC verb is not a raising verb. In the latter context there seems to be some level at which the NFC is an adjunct, similar to what we saw above when the NFC is transitive with these kinds of MC verbs. It seems that what is involved here is backward control, similar to the examples with wato 'know how' mentioned above. According to this approach, the NFC would be analyzed as an adjunct when in the normal position as in (126) and (127), just as it is when it is postponed as in (130) and (131). In (126) and (127), rather than the NFC being analyzed as the S of the MC, it would be postulated that the S of the MC is silent. This could be represented graphically for (127) as (132), in which there is a silent copy of the shared argument in the MC, and the bracketed clause is an adjunct.

(132) [mee, oii ni] PRO kakamemetemoneni
      mee ohi na.NFIN PRO ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ni
      3PLS cry AUX COMIT-go/come-back-FP.N + F-REP + F-BKG + F
      ‘The two of them came back crying.’

Interestingly, there is at least one language, Telegu, in which backward control has been attested involving non-finite adjunct clauses (Haddad 2009:42). In (133), for example, the non-finite CNP (conjunctive participle) clause is an adjunct, and the NP kumaar=ki is in dative case because it is located in the adjunct. If it were located in the MC, which is also grammatical, it would be marked with nominative case, and in this case there would be forward control instead of backward control.
(133) PRO, [kumaar=ki, aakali wees-i] saandwic tinnaa-du.
   PRO Kumar=Dat hunger.Nom fall-CNP sandwich ate-3SG.M
   ‘Having felt hungry, Kumar ate a sandwich.’

But there seems to be at least one barrier that the above analysis would have to surmount: according to Polinsky (2005:5), backward control is only possible in languages that have case-marked subjects of non-finite clauses, whereas NP subjects are not case-marked in Jarawara at all. Also, the fact that the pronominal is overt in both the MC and the NFC when the NFC is postposed suggests that there may be a syntactic difference between that context and when the NFC is not postposed.

The question is, what is it about this syntactic configuration that prevents there being either control or raising overtly? That is, why can one not say *ahi ni mee kakamemesoneke ‘they came crying’ (cf. (127)), or in the case of raising, *tafi otaa hawa toha ‘we finished eating’ (cf. (31))? One possible answer has to do with the fact that NFCs are treated as inalienably possessed nouns by the syntax. In these ungrammatical orderings, the possessed noun representing the NFC does not have a possessor, so the NFC cannot be associated with an argument. The problem with this idea, though, is that we have examples such as (87) discussed above, in which the NFC has no argument in its own clause to associate with, but is associated with the A of the MC which follows it. So there must be something else involved, but I don't have any other ideas at this point.

It is significant that of the four examples that we have seen above of possible backward control, three of the MC verbs are in table 7 above, indicating they occur as control verbs with transitive NFCs. I have observed many of the control verbs in table 7 also occurring with intransitive NFCs, and presumably all of them can occur with intransitive NFCs. This works the other way, too: presumably the remaining verb, forl ‘lie on a raised surface’ (129) also occurs as a control verb with transitive NFCs, even though I have not yet seen such an example. Table 8 lists all the intransitive MC verbs I have seen appearing with intransitive NFCs in contexts that appear semantically to qualify as backward control.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>afi na</td>
<td>‘bathe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amosa</td>
<td>‘be good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awa</td>
<td>‘be seen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bita</td>
<td>‘be bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bori namaki</td>
<td>‘get close’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eheto</td>
<td>‘be good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fari nama</td>
<td>‘come back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fawa tokana</td>
<td>‘two die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiya tonakosama</td>
<td>‘pass under something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fore (and derivations)</td>
<td>‘lie’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31 As we have seen in the previous section, overt raising is actually found when both the MC and the NFC are intransitive, albeit rarely. This is additional evidence for the existence of a syntactic difference between the sentences involving raising verbs and those involving what I have tentatively proposed as backward control, since no such exceptions are found in the latter context.
foya
hasi na
hiihiya na [hi- DUP hiya ‘be bad’ na]
hiyara [hiya ‘be bad’ -ra NEG]
hiyara
hona
iha
ima
ita (and derivations)
ka (derivations)
kaba
kaboto [ka- COMIT boto ‘be old’]
kafowa [ka- COMIT fowa]
kahama [ka- COMIT homa ‘lie on the ground’]
kakayoma [ka- COMIT kayoma ‘darken’]
kamona nam [kamo na -ma BACK]
kanaha
kawaha [ka- COMIT waha ‘shine’]
kehona waha [kehono na -waha CHANGE]
kita
koro
mata na
na
nafimisa [nafi -misa UP]
nokoma [noko ‘point’ -ma BACK]
ohari
ohi na
sawi
sene ton [sene ‘move’ to- CH na]
sii na (derivations)

soo na (derivations)
taba
tai tohama [tai to- CH ha -ma BACK]
tama
tasi na (derivations)
tofamamaki [to- AWAY nama ‘be a pair’ -maki FOLLOWING]
tofotoma [to- AWAY foto ‘appear’ -ma BACK]
tohiya [to- CH hiya ‘be different’]

waa (and derivations)
wata (and derivations)
wete na (derivations)
\textbf{Control}  

- \textit{wina} (and derivations)  
  \textit{yabo} (and derivations)  
- \textit{yaka na}  
- \textit{yana}  
- \textit{yana kamisama} [\textit{yana ka- COMIT na} -\textit{misa UP -ma BACK}]  
- \textit{yobi na}  
- \textit{yora tomisama} [\textit{yora to- AWAY na} -\textit{misa UP -ma BACK}]  
- \textit{yota kana} [\textit{yota ka- COMIT na}]  
- \textit{yoto}  
- \textit{yowaba na}  

\textit{lie in hammock/hang}  
\textit{be far}  
\textit{walk}  
\textit{grow}  
\textit{come back up}  
\textit{go around}  
\textit{jump up}  
\textit{swing}  
\textit{be behind}  
\textit{be in a line}  

It is obvious that there is a lot of overlap between tables 7 and 8. The idea is that there is really just one set of intransitive control verbs, all of which can be used with either transitive or intransitive NFCs. On this assumption, I have divided the verbs from the two tables into semantic groupings in table 9.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{lll}
\hline
\textbf{Semantic Class} & \textbf{Verb} & \textbf{Meaning} \\
\hline
Spatial Orientation & forl & \textit{lie on a raised surface} \\
& foya & \textit{be inside} \\
& homa (and derivations) & \textit{lie on the ground} \\
& ita (and derivations) & \textit{sit} \\
& kafowa & \textit{be in water} \\
& mata na & \textit{lie on the ground (dual)} \\
& naho (and derivations) & \textit{sit/stand (plural)} \\
& seno tona & \textit{be near} \\
& sii na (derivations) & \textit{sit/stand (plural, inanimate)} \\
& soo na (derivations) & \textit{lie (plural, inanimate)} \\
& waa (and derivations) & \textit{stand} \\
& wina & \textit{lie in a hammock/hang} \\
& yoto & \textit{be behind} \\
& yowaba na & \textit{be in a line} \\
& bere nama & \textit{walk on top} \\
& bori namaki & \textit{get close} \\
& fari nama & \textit{come back} \\
& fiya na (derivations) & \textit{pass by} \\
& foto (derivations) & \textit{emerge} \\
& ka (derivations) & \textit{go, come, etc.} \\
& kamo nama & \textit{be curved} \\
& moto na (derivations) & \textit{circle around} \\
& nokoma & \textit{head in this direction} \\
& tai tohama & \textit{go ahead} \\
& tofamamaki & \textit{go back with another} \\
& weza na (derivations) & \textit{return} \\

\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Semantic classes of intransitive control verbs}
\end{table}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jarawara Complement Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Undirected Activities</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>yabo</em> (derivations)</td>
<td>‘be far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yana kamisama</em></td>
<td>‘come back up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yora tomisama</em></td>
<td>‘jump up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>afi na</em></td>
<td>‘bathe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bao na</em></td>
<td>‘fall to the ground’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bete nawaha</em></td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kaboka</em></td>
<td>‘fall in water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kana na</em></td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ohi na</em></td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tasi tona</em></td>
<td>‘come out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yaka na</em></td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yana</em></td>
<td>‘grow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yobi na</em></td>
<td>‘go around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yota kana</em></td>
<td>‘swing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location/Accompaniment</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hasi na</em></td>
<td>‘be left’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iha</em></td>
<td>‘be put’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kakayoma</em></td>
<td>‘be in darkness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kawaha</em></td>
<td>‘experience morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>na</em></td>
<td>‘exist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ohari</em></td>
<td>‘be alone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sawi</em></td>
<td>‘be at a location’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taba</em></td>
<td>‘be with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wata</em></td>
<td>‘be located’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical Characteristics</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bita</em></td>
<td>‘be bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kaboto</em></td>
<td>‘be very ripe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kanaha</em></td>
<td>‘be heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>keho nawaha</em></td>
<td>‘be twisted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kita</em></td>
<td>‘be hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ima</em></td>
<td>‘be fat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nafimisa</em></td>
<td>‘be big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>koro</em></td>
<td>‘be loose’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evaluation</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>amosa</em></td>
<td>‘be good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eheto</em></td>
<td>‘be good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hihiyana na</em></td>
<td>‘be different’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hiyara</em></td>
<td>‘be bad’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unclassified</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>awa</em></td>
<td>‘be seen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bosa na</em></td>
<td>‘get up early’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hona</em></td>
<td>‘have something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kaba</em></td>
<td>‘be eaten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tohiya</em></td>
<td>‘turn into something else’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Admittedly two of the classes in the table, i.e. “undirected activities” and “location/accompaniment,” don’t have very much internal unity, besides the unclassified verbs; but the other four classes, consisting of verbs of spatial orientation, directed motion, physical characteristics, and evaluation, respectively, do have a great deal of internal unity. Most of the verbs are in these three classes; in fact, a majority of all the tokens of intransitive
Variable verbs are with derivations of the directed motion verb *ka*. The other verbs of directed motion all have suffixes of directed motion (as do most of the derivations of *ka*), such as *-ma* BACK and *-makI* FOLLOWING. With one of these suffixes, a verb indicates motion away from the speaker if the prefix *to- AWAY* is present, and motion toward the speaker if *to-* is not present, cf. for example *wete nama* ‘come back’ vs. *wete tonama* ‘go back’. Several of the derivations of the verbs of spatial orientation are verbs of directed motion because of these suffixes, e.g. *winama* ‘come back and lie in a hammock’.

We may note that there are many more intransitive control verbs than transitive ones. We may also note that, although there is a certain amount of semantic unity among the intransitive verbs, they are semantically less restricted than the transitive control verbs. In fact, for the English examples noted above, i.e. *John talked on the phone while reading a book* (Polinsky and Potsdam 2013) and *John came into the room, wheezing noisily* (Dixon 2005) it seems strange to speak of the intransitive MC verbs *talk* and *come* as being “control verbs.” The important distinction, though, is not whether the control verb is intransitive or transitive; it is whether the NFC is an adjunct, as in these cases, or an O, as in the case, for example, of English *try*. As Haegeman (1994:285) notes, when the controlled clause is an adjunct, control “cannot be reduced to a lexical property of individual verbs,” in contrast to other cases.

In this section we have seen that, while control and raising are similar in some important ways in Jarawara, they are different in many more ways than they are similar. On the one hand, control occurs in all the syntactic contexts in which raising occurs, superficially speaking. That is, there are intransitive control verbs, which occur with transitive and intransitive NFCs, and the transitive NFCs can be Ac or Oc clauses. However, I have proposed that whereas with raising the NFC can be considered the S of the MC verb, with control this is only the case when the NFC is also intransitive; that when the NFC is transitive, the NFC should be analyzed as an adjunct if the MC is intransitive. Furthermore, there are transitive control verbs, whereas raising verbs are all intransitive. As expected, intransitive control verbs have the same meaning as they do when used in contexts not involving NFCs, in contrast to raising verbs which have different meanings in raising contexts.

A comparison of table 9 with table 4 above suggests that there are a few verbs that can be used in both raising and control environments. This is not accidental, it is based on the different meanings that these verbs can have. I discuss this phenomenon in detail in the next section.

### 2.3 Variable verbs

As noted above, a comparison of the lists of raising verbs (table 4) and intransitive control verbs (table 9) suggests that there are a few verbs that can be used in both raising and control structures. This is not surprising to English speakers, given the fact that the English verb *begin* has been analyzed as being both a raising verb and a control verb (Perlmutter 1970, Ross 1972). According to this idea, *begin* is a raising verb in *the noise began to annoy me*, but a control verb in *I began to work*. Polinsky and Potsdam (2002)

32 The suffix *-witI* ‘out’ requires the presence of *to-*, and the suffix *-kl* ‘coming’ is incompatible with *to-* ‘away’, for semantic reasons. See discussion in Vogel 2003:99f.
discuss a verb with this same dual characterization in Tsez, a Nakh-Dagestanian language of the Caucasus.

Let us begin with *ohari* ‘be one/alone’. When used as a raising verb, *ohari* can mean ‘be one time’, as in (134), in which the NFC is transitive, and (135), in which the NFC is intransitive.

(134) manakobisa *awa* yaro *kani* owariha
    manakobisa *awa* yaro ka-na.NFIN o-ohari+F
then             tree.F start COMIT-AUX 1SG.S-be one
‘Then I made the trees all fall together, one time.’

(135) *Tika* maa tohi oharibanake waha.
        ti-kaa maa to-ha.NFIN ohari-habanaka-ke waha
2SG.POSS-POSS be tired CH-AUX be one-FUT+F-DECL+F now
‘You will be tired just this one time.’

As a raising verb, *ohari* can also mean ‘be alone’, in an aspectual sense. Example (136) does not mean that the baby was by herself; it means she was only hiccupping, without stopping.

(136) *inamatewe* heko *ni* ohariaro amake, hine yaa,
    *inamatewe* heko na.NFIN ohari-haro ama-ke hine yaa
child.F hiccup AUX be alone-RP.E+F SEC-DECL+F only ADJNCT
amo naaro.
amo na-haaro
sleep AUX-IP.E+F
‘The baby was just hiccupping, sleeping.’

In contrast, when used as a control verb, *ohari* means ‘be alone’ in the normal sense. Example (137) has both a transitive NFC and an intransitive NFC, for both of which the MC verb is *ohari* with this meaning. The transitive NFC is *yobe hiri ni*, and the intransitive NFC is *tika amo ni*.

(137) *Tiwahari* yaa yobe hiri *ni* tiwahari yaa,
    *ti-ohari*.NOM yaa yobe hiri na.NFIN ti-ohari.NOM yaa
2SG.S-be alone ADJNCT house.M do AUX 2SG.S-be alone ADJNCT
    *tika* amo *ni* oharibone *tike* yobe
    *ti-ka* amo na.NFIN oharibone ti-ke yobe
2SG.POSS-POSS sleep AUX be alone-INT+F 2SG.POSS-DECL+F house.M
    toro yaa
    toro yaa
inside +M ADJNCT
‘If you are by yourself, if you build the house by yourself, you will sleep in the house by yourself.’
If these were cases of raising, they would refer to building a house one time or only building a house for the first clause, and only sleeping or spending just one night for the second clause, which clearly are not the meanings in the context.

Next I consider the verb *tai toha* ‘be ahead’ and its antonym *yoto* ‘be behind’. When used aspectually in raising contexts, the meanings of these verbs are time related, i.e. ‘be before’ (138) and ‘be after’ (139), respectively.

(138) *Tika*  
\textit{tafi}  
\textit{tai}  
\textit{toahi}.  
\text{ti-kaa}  
\text{tafa.NFIN}  
\text{tai}  
\text{to-ha-hi}  
\text{2SG.POSS-POSS}  
\text{eat}  
\text{be ahead}  
\text{CH-AUX-IMP+F}  
\text{‘You go ahead and eat.’}  

(139) *otaa*  
\textit{tafi}  
\textit{aabi}  
\textit{yaa},  
\textit{boro}  
\textit{kabi}  
\textit{otaa}  
\textit{yototasa}  
\textit{otaa}  
\textit{tafa.NFIN}  
\textit{ahaba.NOM+F}  
\textit{yaa}  
\textit{boro}  
\textit{kaba.NFIN}  
\textit{otaa}  
\textit{yoto-tasa+F}  
\text{1EX.S}  
\text{eat}  
\text{die}  
\text{ADJNCT}  
\text{cake.M}  
\text{eat}  
\text{1EX.S}  
\text{follow-again}  
\text{‘When we were done eating, we ate cake afterwards.’}  

In control contexts the meanings of these two verbs are space related, i.e. ‘go ahead’ and ‘come behind’. The MC verb in (140) has the derivational suffix \textit{-ma} ‘back’. I would suppose that *tai toha* can occur as a control verb without a directional motion suffix such as this, but I'm not sure. In any case, it is clear that *yoto* (141) occurs as a control verb without any derivational suffix.

(140) *isiri*  
\textit{weye}  
\textit{kani}  
\textit{tai}  
\textit{oamara}  
\textit{isiri}  
\textit{weye}  
\text{ka-na.NFIN}  
\textit{tai}  
\text{to-ha-ma-hara}  
\text{basket.F}  
\text{carry}  
\text{COMIT-AUX}  
\text{be ahead}  
\text{1SG.S-CH-AUX-back-IP.E+F}  
\text{oke.}  
\text{o-ke}  
\text{1SG.S-DECL+F}  
\text{‘I went ahead carrying the basket.’}  

(141) *Inohowe*  
\textit{kana}  
\textit{ni}  
\textit{yotohimari}  
\textit{otaa}  
\textit{nowati}  
\textit{yaa}.  
\textit{inohowe}  
\textit{kana}  
\textit{na.NFIN}  
\textit{yoto-himari}  
\textit{otaa}  
\textit{nowati}  
\textit{yaa}  
\text{alligator.M}  \text{sp}  \text{run}  
\text{AUX}  
\text{follow-FP.E+M}  \text{1EX.POSS}  \text{behind ADJNCT}  
\text{‘The alligator was coming fast behind us.’}  

There is a parallel between these two verbs and the next one, *yabo* ‘be far’. When in raising contexts, this verb refers to duration of time, as in (142).

(142) *otaa*  
\textit{yoro}  
\textit{ni}  
\textit{yaboha}  
\textit{otaa}  
\textit{yoro}  
\textit{na.NFIN}  
\textit{yabo+F}  
\text{1EX.S}  \text{stand}  \text{AUX}  \text{be long}  
\text{‘The two of us stood there for a long time.’}  

In control contexts *yabo* is space-related, referring to distance. It can refer to traveling a long distance (143), or to being a long distance away (144).
(143) oko tokatimi yabohara oke.
o-ka to-ka-tima.NFIN yabo-hara o-ke
1SG.POSS-POSS away-go/come-upstream be far-IP.E+F 1SG.POSS-DECL+F
‘I went a long ways upstream.’

(144) Otaa wini yaboha otaa awineni.
otta wina.NFIN yabo+F otaa awine-ni
1EX.S live be long 1EX.POSS seem + F-BKG + F
‘We live far away.’

It can be hard to decide whether in a particular discourse context, the reference is to
time or space, as in (145). As I went through the text with a Jarawara, I understood the
reference to be to distance, but it could just as well refer to time.

(145) Mee weye ni hiyaborarake.
mee weye na.NFIN hi-yabo-ra-hara-ke
3PL.O carry AUX OC-be far/be long-NEG-IP.E+F-DECL+F
‘He didn’t carry them [the wooley monkeys] far/long.’

Another variable verb is taba ‘be with’. In raising contexts, this verb can refer to a
likeness between two situations, as in (146). This sentence does not refer to the women
being with their husbands, it refers to them disappearing just as their husbands did.

(146) Fara mee kaa yibote mee fawa ni yaa mee
fara mee kaa yibote mee fawa na.NOM+F yaa mee
same+F 3PL.POSS husband.M 3PL.S disappear AUX ADJUNCT 3PL.S
fawa ni tabemete-moneke.
fawa na.NFIN taba-hemete-mone-ke
disappear AUX be together-FP.N+F-REP+F-DECL+F
‘They disappeared, just like their husbands.’

In contrast, when used in control contexts, this verb refers to the subjects physically
being together. In (147), in which the NFC is transitive, the speaker was talking about
being together with others as they worked.

(147) yama ahi ni ee tabi yaa
yama ahi na.NFIN ee taba.NOM+F yaa
thing.F work on AUX 1IN.S be together ADJUNCT
‘when we work together’

It appears that verbs of quantification can be used in both raising and control contexts,
based on sentences involving the MC verb tama ‘be many’. This verb is commonly used
in raising contexts, as in (148), and in these cases it has the aspectual meaning ‘be many
times’. Example (62) above is similar, except that the NFC is intransitive.
It seems that the MC verbs in (149) and (150) are not raising verbs. If the MC verb in (149) were a raising verb, the sentence would be about fish not being affected many times by the poison, but it is about not many fish being affected by the poison.

Similarly, (150) is about many people dying, not about people dying many times. These are examples of backward control, and I have not seen any examples with overt control, but these examples are suggestive. I think that probably all verbs of quantification (e.g. those used for numbers) work in this dual manner.

Verbs of evaluation seem to work in this dual way, too. As we have seen above, *amosa* ‘be good’, *eheto* ‘be good’, and *hiyara* ‘be bad’ may be used as raising verbs. It appears that when these verbs occur with NFCs that are detransitivized transitive verbs, it is not raising but control.

One might argue that these are examples of raising verbs and not backward control, but it is only the S of the NFC, and not the whole NFC, that is the S of the MC verb. The structural evidence for this is the fact that it is possible to postpone the NFC with the same meaning. For example, if we say *mee ehetotee mee amaake*, *mee kabi*, it has the

(148) *Mee hora ni otama oke.*
   mee hora na.NFIN o-tama o-ke
   3PL.O scold AUX 1SG.S.be many 1SG.S-DECL+F
   ‘I have scolded them many times.’

(149) *Aba mee hano tamaramone ati nareka.*
   aba mee hano.NFIN tama-ra-hamone ati na-hare-ka
   fish.M 3PL.S be drunk be many-NEG-REP+F say AUX-IP.E + M-DECL + M
   ‘He said there weren't many fish affected [by the kona poison].’

(150) *Ee ahabi tamawaake waha.*
   ee ahaba.NFIN tama-waha-ke waha
   1IN.S die be many-change-DECL+F now
   ‘Many of us are dying now.’

(151) *Hiyama mee kabi amosatee mee amaake.*
   hiyama mee kaba.NFIN amosa-tee mee ama-ke
   white-lipped peccary.M 3PL.S eat be good-HAB 3PL.POSS SEC-DECL+F
   ‘White-lipped peccaries are good to eat [lit., the eating of white-lipped peccaries is good].’

(152) *Mee kabi ehetotee mee amaake.*
   mee kaba.NFIN eheto-tee mee ama-ke
   3PL.S eat be good-HAB 3PL.POSS SEC-DECL+F
   ‘They [ote fish] are good to eat.’

(153) *Yama kabi hiyaraharake okobabonehe.*
   yama kaba.NFIN hiiya-ra-hara-ke o-kaba-habone-he
   thing.F eat be bad-NEG-IP.E + F-DECL + F 1SG.A-eat-INT + F-DUP
   ‘The food is bad for me to eat.’
same meaning as (152). It is not possible to do this sort of switching when the MC verb is a raising verb, as we saw above in the discussion of examples (130) and (131). This is consistent with the idea that the NFC is an adjunct in the case of backward control, and that only the S of the NFC is the S of the MC verb. This is in contrast to the case when the MC verb is a raising verb, when according to my analysis the whole NFC is the S of the MC verb.

Two other verbs seem to work in this same way; that is, when the NFC they occur with is a detransitivized transitive verb, they appear to be cases of backward control rather than raising verbs. One of these verbs is kita, which in a raising context means ‘be intense’, as we have seen in (58) above. In (154), however, kita has one of its normal meanings, i.e. ‘be hard’, rather than the aspectual meaning, leading me to analyze this as backward control.

(154) Aba mee kabi kitatera mee amake.
aba mee kaba.NFIN kita-te-ra + F mee ama-ke
fish.M 3PL.S eat be strong-HAB-NEG 3PL.POSS SEC-DECL + F
‘These fish are soft when they are eaten [i.e. they are not good to eat].’

The other verb is nafi, which in a raising context means ‘be a lot’, as in (34) above. When used with a detransitivized NFC as in (155), however, it has its normal meaning of ‘be big’. This is consistent with an analysis of backward control.

(155) Beeri kaa ni nafiharake.
beheri kaa na.NFIN nafi-hara-ke
side chop AUX be big-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘I cut down a big section of forest [lit., a big section of forest was cut down].’

The examples given above of backward control with tama ‘be many’ are with intransitive NFCs. Unsurprisingly, tama is also a control verb when used with NFCs that are detransitivized transitive verbs, as in (156).

(156) Mee yama nami tamateehamone okobi ati
mee yama na-ma.NFIN tama-tee-hamone o-kaabi ati
3PL.S make AUX-back be many-HAB-REP + F 1SG.POSS-POSspath. M say
tee amaka Yima Abono ehene, waha.
na-tee ama-ka Yima Abono ehene waha
AUX-HAB SEC-DECL + M (name of spirit).M because of + M now
‘Many [spirits] were brought back to life by Yima Abono, my father said.’

These are the variable verbs I have seen so far, and they are listed in table 10. Undoubtedly there are other verbs in Jarawara that have this kind of variable behavior, just as there are undoubtedly other raising and control verbs that I have not encountered yet.
To review, we have seen three kinds of evidence that these verbs can be either raising or control verbs, depending on the context. First, there is a meaning difference in the two uses of some of the verbs that is typical of the meaning difference between raising and control verbs; that is, they have an aspectual meaning when used as raising verbs that is different from their “normal” meaning when used as control verbs. Secondly, the meaning of the sentences indicates that in the case of raising, the whole NFC is the S of the MC, whereas in the case of control, only the S of the NFC is also the S of the MC verb. Thirdly, this structural difference is confirmed by the availability of postposing of the NFC in the case of control, but not in the case of raising.\(^{33}\)

In this section and the previous two, I have discussed the MC verbs that occur with NFCs in raising and control contexts. In the next section I will consider the remaining major group of MC verbs that occur with NFCs, which are neither raising nor control verbs.

### 2.4 Other verbs

There are a good number of MC verbs that occur with NFCs that cannot be characterized as either raising or control verbs, but they are not simply a collection of residual verbs. Many of them, at least, make up groups of verbs with their own unifying semantic characteristics.

As Dixon (2004:458) notes, it is possible for an intransitive NFC to be the A argument in a transitive construction, as in (157). There is neither raising nor control in this kind of context.

\[
\text{(157) } \text{yomee habo ni owa natafiare oke.}
\]

\[
\text{yomee habo na.NFIN owa na-tafi-hare o-ke}
\]

\[
\text{dog.M bark AUX 1SG.O CAUS-wake up-IP.E + M 1SG.O-DECL + F}
\]

\[
\text{‘A dog’s barking woke me up.’}
\]

\(^{33}\)These reasons are also the explanation for why I analyzed the class of “sound emission” verbs as raising verbs rather than control verbs, even though they probably never occur with transitive NFCs. That is, with these MC verbs the NFC is never postposed, and also semantically it is the whole NFC and not just the S of the NFC that seems to be the S of the MC.
In (157) the MC is an Oc, but in (158) the MC is an Ac.

(158) _awa kaa ni_ bai towaki yaa
    _awa kaa na.NFIN bahi to-ka-ka.NOM+F yaa_
    _tree chop AUX sun away-COMIT-go/come ADJUNCT_
    ‘when we cut down trees until sundown [lit., when the cutting down of the trees
takes the sun]’

There are actually very few examples like these, in which the A is an NFC. It is much
more common, in sentences involving NFCs that do not involve either raising or control,
for the NFC to be the O of a transitive clause, either an Ac or an Oc. Example (159) is an
Ac, and example (160) is an Oc, with the same MC verb, _awa_ ‘see’.

(159) _Awa homi_ awebona
    _awa homa.NFIN awa-hibona_
    _tree.F lie on ground see-INT + M_
    ‘He wanted to see where the log was lying.’

(160) _mee kakami_ otaa awaremeteke.
    _mee ka-ka-ma.NFIN otaa awa-ra-hemete-ke_
    _3PL.S COMIT-go/come-back 1EX.A see-NEG-FP.N + F-DECL + F_
    ‘We didn’t see when the two of them came back.’

Many different transitive MC verbs are encountered in examples like these, but a small
number of verbs are much more common than others. _Awa_ ‘see’ is very common, and
two other very common verbs are _mita_ ‘hear’ (161) and _nofa_ ‘want’ (162).

(161) _Faya kiyi kani_ himitara
    _faya kiyi ka-na.NFIN hi-mita-ra+F_
    _so yell COMIT-AUX OC-hear-NEG_
    ‘He didn’t hear her yelling.’

(162) _Okatao ahabi onofa okare._
    _okatao ahaba.NFIN o-nofa+F o-ka-re_
    _my son.M die 1SG.A-want 1SG.A-DECL-NEG + F_
    ‘I don’t want my son to die.’

It is interesting that the two most common transitive control verbs _nofa_ ‘want’ and
_wato_ ‘know’, are used in these non-control contexts as well. However, there seems to be a
difference in how the two verbs are used in this context, that is, a difference between _nofa_
on the one hand and _wato_ on the other. Whereas _nofa_ seems to have the same meaning
here as it does in control contexts, _wato_ has a different meaning. In (162) above, _nofa_
has the same meaning as it does in control contexts. But _wato_ doesn’t have the meaning
it has in control contexts, i.e. ‘know how/able’. Instead, in this context _wato_ has its
normal meaning ‘know/understand’, as in (163).
In fact, *nofa* is unique in this group of verbs in that it is the only verb that can refer to future/irrealis eventualities. This is clear in (162) above, in which the speaker did not want his son to die, an irrealis eventuality. This is the same way *nofa* is used in the control situations we have seen in the previous section. I have seen only one example in which *nofa* is used with an NFC in a sentence that refers to a concrete reality (164). I don't think it is a coincidence that the meaning of *nofa* in this sentence is also different, it is 'like' rather than 'want'.

Except for *nofa*, it appears that in general control verbs are not used the way these verbs are used. It is exactly in line with this that for some of these verbs, at least, we do not get control even when the S of the NFC coincides with the A of the MC, as in (165).

In this sentence, the first person singular subject is overt in both the NFC and the MC, indicating that there is no syntactic control.

Compared to the verbs involved in control and raising, the verbs in this syntactic context seem to be a pretty mixed bag semantically. But there does seem to be a possible syntactic

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34That is, this is the only example with *nofa* meaning 'like' that involves neither control nor raising. There is also one example involving control, i.e. (i).

(i) Oma *kabi* mee hinofatee ama-ke.
oma *kaba* mee hi-nofa-tee ama-ke
piranha.M eat 3PL.A OC-like-HAB SEC-DECL. + F
'The piranhas like to eat it [the gill net].'

Interestingly, this example also is not future/irrealis, similarly to (164).
dividing line among these verbs, by which we can begin to discern semantic groupings. It appears that the difference between an NFC being a complement or an adjunct that I have proposed above in the context of raising and control, also operates to divide these verbs into two groups. By way of review, recall that I have proposed that in (166), repeated from (109) above, the NFC is not the complement of the MC (or the S of the MC as Dixon proposed), but is an adjunct.

(166) Okaniso  tama  ni  ofoyara
   o-kaa niso  tama  na.NFIN  o-foya-hara
1SG.POSS-POSS-younger brother.M  hold onto  AUX  1SG.S-be inside-IP.E+F
oke.
o-ke
1SG.S-DECL+F
‘I was inside [the large basket] holding onto my older brother.’

This is a control context, and it is in contrast with the corresponding raising context as in (167), repeated from (36) above, in which the NFC is indeed the complement of the MC.

(167) Mee  ati  miti  ii isi  onaaro  ama
    mee  ati  mita.NFIN  i-isi  o-na-haro  ama
3PL.POSS  voice  hear  DUP-be small  1SG.S-AUX-RP.E+F  SEC
oke  ahi.
o-ke  ahi
1SG.S-DECL+F  then
‘I couldn’t understand them well.’

These are cases of overt control and raising. In a similar way, I have also proposed that, when both the MC and the NFC are intransitive and neither overt raising or control is allowed, there may be a corresponding syntactic difference at some level. Recall the two examples below, (168), repeated from (127) above, and (169) repeated from (62) above. The MC verb in (168) is a control verb, and the MC verb in (169) is a raising verb. Even though in the surface syntax the NFC is the S in both cases, there seems to be a syntactic difference at some level. The NFC in (168) can be postposed, so that we get mee kakamemetemoneni, mee oi ni, in which the NFC is an adjunct. This cannot be done with (169).

(168) mee  oi  ni  kakamemetemoneni
    mee  ohi  na.NFIN  ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ni
3PL.S  cry  AUX  COMIT-go/come-back-FP.N+F-REP+F-BKG+F
‘The two of them came back crying.’

(169) Oko  yobi  ni  tamaara  oke.
o-ka  yobi  na.NFIN  tama-hara  o-ke
1SG.POSS-POSS  go back and forth  AUX  be many-IP.E+F  1SG.POSS-DECL+F
‘I’ve been going out a lot.’
In the cases with raising verbs, we observe that whether the NFC is the complement or the subject of the MC verb, it is the theme of that verb. In contrast, in the cases with intransitive control verbs, the NFC is not a theme of the MC verb. When the NFC is transitive, as in (166), the NFC is an adjunct, and when the NFC is intransitive, as in (168), while the NFC is the S at the surface, it is not a theme but seems to be an adjunct at some level.

Now consider (170).

(170) hinakasima  ohi ni wasimematamonaka.
      hinakasima  ohi na.NFIN wasi-ma-himata-mona-ka
3SG.POSS-younger sister.F  cry AUX find-back-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
   ‘He came upon his younger sister crying [i.e. his sister was crying].’

There is a contrast between this sentence and (162), in that the NFC of (170) can be postposed, whereas that of (162) cannot be postposed. That is, we can say hinakasima wasimematamonaka, ohi ni with the same meaning as (170), but *okataoon onofa okare, ahabi is not an acceptable alternative for (162). (The first clause means ‘I don't like my son’, and the postposed clause is nonsensical.) Consider also (171), in which there is a postposed NFC. It is possible to “unpostpose” the NFC, and we get the grammatical Bai Nafira oko amo ni keho kanete amake, which has the same meaning as (171).

(171) Bai Nafira  owa keho kanete amake
      Bahi Nafira  owa keho ka-na-hete ama-ke
(woman's name).F  1SG.O wrap around COMIT-AUX-RP.N + F SEC-DECL + F

   oko amo ni.
   o-kaa amo na.NFIN
1SG.POSS-POSS sleep AUX
   ‘Bai Nafira held me in her lap as I slept.’

Again, if we take (172) and try to postpose the NFC in the manner of (171), the resulting *tiwa onofa okere, tika toki does not work.

(172) Tika toki onofa okere.
      ti-ka to-ka.NFIN o-nofa o-ke-re
2SG.POSS-POSS away-go/come 1SG.A-want 1SG.A-DECL + F-NEG + F
   ‘I don't want you to go.’

In my view, the conclusion that this leads to is that at some level, the structure of (170) is the same as that of (171), i.e. that just as oko amo ni is an adjunct in (171), ohi ni in (170) is also an adjunct. Furthermore, the NFCs in (162) and (172) are not adjuncts, they constitute the O of the MC in each case.

According to this view, just as the O in (171) is the pronominal owa, the O in (170) is the NP hinakasima. This is well and good, but what can the O be in (173)?

(173) tee ayaki owasimabana oke.
      tee ayaka.NFIN o-wasi-ma-habana o-ke
2PL.S sing 1SG.A-find-back-FUT + F 1SG.A-DECL + F
   ‘I will come upon you as you are singing.’
If we postpone the NFC of this example, we get the grammatical *tera owasimabana oke, te ayaki*, which parallels (171). But note that whereas the form *tee* in (173) is a subject (or possessor) form, when the NFC is postposed the form of the pronominal that remains in the MC is *tera*, because it is an object. The same thing happens in the reverse when we “un postpone” *oko amo ni* in (171). That is, in the sentence *Bai Nafira oko amo ni keho kanete amake* the object form *owa* has disappeared, and we only have the NFC *oko amo ni*. This alternation is similar to the alternation involving examples like (168) above discussed in 2.2, leading to the idea that possibly backward control is involved in these examples. But in this case it would be object control, not subject control, because the structural position of the silent argument in the MC is that of an object, as shown by a comparison of (174) with (171). That is, if the silent argument in (174) were overt, it would be the object form *tera*, not the subject (or possessor) form *tee* which is overt in the NFC.

| (174) | [tee, ayaki] PRO, owasimabana oke. |
|       | tee ayak.NFIN PRO o-wasi-ma-habana o-ke |
|       | 2PL.S sing 1SG.A-find-back-FUT+F 1SG.S-DECL+F |
|       | ‘I will come upon you as you are singing.’ |

The same phenomenon occurs with sentences in which the MC is an Oc, as in (160). That is, we can postpone the NFC in this example, and get *mee otaa awaremetekete, mee kakami*, which has the same meaning as (160). Pires (2006:87ff.) discusses a class of gerunds in English that have semantic and syntactic similarities to these Jarawara NFCs, which he calls gerund complements of perception verbs (PVCs). The similarities of Jarawara sentences like (173) and an example of his such as *Mary saw Paul leaving the house* (p. 87) are obvious. Pires (2006:89) proposes that in English the syntax of sentences like these should be analyzed as involving object control, and this seems to be correct. According to this analysis, *Paul* is the overt O of the MC, as seen for example by the fact that it is accusative *him* if it is a pronoun. *Paul* controls the null S of the gerundial clause. It seems possible to apply a similar analysis to such an English sentence as the one I have tentatively proposed for Jarawara, i.e. to say that the O of the MC is *Paul*, and not *Paul leaving the house*, as seen for example by the fact that one can say *Mary saw Paul* with approximately the same meaning as *Mary saw Paul leaving the house.*35

There is a significant syntactic difference between Jarawara and English, in that in a sentence such as (173), the S of the NFC does not appear in the surface syntax as the O of the MC. But on the basis of a comparison with (171), I am proposing that the NFC in (173) not only is not the O of the NFC, but that it also does not contain the O of the MC; and that the O of the NFC is null, as seen by the fact that an accusative pronominal appears on the surface if the NFC is postposed, as in (171). That is, there may indeed be object control in Jarawara, but unlike English in which the object control is overt, it is backward object control in Jarawara. As far as I know a backward object control analysis has not been proposed for other languages when the non-finite clause is an adjunct, but this analysis has been proposed for Brazilian Portuguese (Farrell 1995:121), among other languages. In the Brazilian Portuguese sentence *a professora mandou/fez PRO, [eu, apagar*
Other verbs

{o quadro} ‘the teacher had me, [PRO, erase the board]’, for example, the pronoun eu is analyzed as being located within the complement clause, because it is in nominative case, whereas in the English translation me is accusative, indicating it is located in the MC.

As stated above, this analysis does not apply to nofa ‘want’. But nofa is not the only verb like this. Another MC verb common in this syntactic context is hiri na ‘perform’ (175).

(175) tee kaa aki mee yowiri ni tee hiri
	tee kaa aki mee yowiri na.NFIN tee hiri
2PL POSS grandmother.F 3PL.S sing woman's song AUX 2PL.A say

nahi.
a-hi
AUX-IMP + F
‘You (pl) sing your grandmothers' songs.’

If we try to postpose the NFC of (175), the sentence *tee kaa aki mee tee hiri nahi, mee yowiri ni would have the nonsensical meaning ‘you make/say your grandmothers as they are singing’.

Listed in table 11 are all the transitive MC verbs that I have seen in this syntactic context. I have made a tentative division of them between those that are like wasi and those that are like nofa, respectively. There appear to be many more like wasi, which is not surprising. This listing does not include the MC verbs that occur in sentences like (157) and (158) above in which the NFC is the A.

Table 11 Transitive MC verbs that take NFCs in non-raising and non-control contexts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Class</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S of NFC is O of MC</td>
<td>aima na</td>
<td>‘ignore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>awa (and derivations)</td>
<td>‘see/feel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bata na</td>
<td>‘pick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fiya na (derivations)</td>
<td>‘pass by’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fora na</td>
<td>‘shoot with a blowgun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>haahaa kana [haahaa ka-comit na] (and derivations)</td>
<td>‘laugh at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iba</td>
<td>‘set down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>‘spear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iti (and derivations)</td>
<td>‘take out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka (derivations)</td>
<td>‘bring, go after, etc.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaa na re [kaa na -rl RAISED SURFACE]</td>
<td>‘chop off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaba</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kakatoma</td>
<td>‘look at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaakosa [ka- COMIT kana - kosa MIDDLE]</td>
<td>‘leave behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kamina (and derivations)</td>
<td>‘tell about’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kana kana</td>
<td>‘run to’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kanawina [ka- COMIT na-CAUS wina 'hang'] ‘hang up many’
kasawari [ka- COMIT sawari 'be lost']
kawata [ka- COMIT wata 'be located']
kawina [ka- COMIT wina] ‘lie in a hammock with’
kiha
kii na
na
naaki [na- CAUS ka-coming] ‘come/go’ -kl COMING]
nakome [na- CAUS komeha 'be fearsome’]
namosa [na- CAUS amosa 'be good’]
nawari [na- CAUS waa 'stand’ -rl RAISED SURFACE]
niki nake ‘pinch off’
noki na ‘wait for’
saa kana [saa ka- COMIT na] ‘hit with an arrow’
sii niha [sii ‘stand’ niha-CAUS na] (and derivations)
taa na ‘give’
tama na (and derivations) ‘hold in hand’
tasi toniha [tasi ‘emerge’ to-CH niha- CAUS na] ‘cause to appear’
tee na ‘put inside’
tiwa kana [tiwa ka- COMIT na] ‘carry on shoulder’
wası (and derivations) ‘come upon’
were na ‘throw’
weye na (and derivations) ‘carry on back’
yai nakosa [yai na -kosa MIDDLE] ‘bite down on’
yofi na ‘show’
awa ‘feel’
hiri na ‘imitate, sing, perform’
kasiro kana [kasiro ka-COMIT na] ‘complain about’
kawari [ka- COMIT waa -rl RAISED SURFACE] ‘stand on a raised surface’
kayawa [ka- COMIT yawa ‘be upset’]
mita (and derivations) ‘hear/feel’
Other verbs

nahari [na- CAUS ohari ‘be one’]
nofa ‘want/like’
tohi ‘reject’
tomi ‘imitate’
toniha [to- CH niha- CAUS ha ‘be’]
wara tona [wara to- CH na] ‘understand/answer/join in with’
wato ‘understand, feel’

As we have seen above, awa ‘see’ is like wasi. But other perception verbs are in the nofa group, for example mita ‘hear’, in (176), repeated from (13) in the introduction.

(176) otaa haa ni yara mee mitani mee
otaa haa na.NFIN yara mee mita-hani mee
1EX.S call AUX Brazilian.M 3PL.A hear-IP.N + F 3PL.A
‘The Brazilians heard us calling.’

This corresponds to the fact that in contexts not involving NFCs, the O of mita ‘hear’ is never a person, but is usually an NP involving an inalienably possessed noun such as ati ‘voice’ (177) or tamine ‘news about’ (178), or occasionally an inanimate inherent gender noun such as hiyara ‘story’ (179).

(177) owati timitamata.
o-ati ti-mita-mata
1SG.POSS-voice 2SG.A-hear-short time
‘Listen to me.’

(178) Sarabo tamine mee heekamakia tamine otaa
sarabo tamine mee hi-ka-ka-makI + F tamine otaa
measles.F news about 3PL.A OC-COMIT-go/come-following news about 1EX.A
mita
mita + F hear
‘They brought the news about the measles, and we heard the news.’

(179) seto yaa otaa tokahabone otaa ati na,
seto yaa ota to-ka-habone otaa ati na + F
uninhabited forest.F ADJNCT 1EX.S away-go/come-INT + F 1EX.A say AUX
hiyara otaa mita otaa.
hiyara otaa mita + F otaa
story.F 1EX.A hear 1EX.A
‘We decided to go into the forest because of the news we had heard.’
But the verb *awa* ‘see’ is just fine with a person as the O (180).

(180) Okomobi kame owa awe
    Okomobi ka-ma +M owa awa +M
    (man’s name).M go/come-back 1SG.O see
    ‘Okomobi came, and saw me.’

I have not made subdivisions within the two groups in table 11, because it seems somewhat premature to do so at this point. But some semantic features are definitely discernable. It is clear that verbs involving physical manipulation are in the *wasi* group, for example *ita* ‘spear’ in (181).

(181) Amo ni yima hitematamonaka.
    amo na.NFIN yima hi-ita-himata-mona-ka
    sleep AUX Yima OC-pierce-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
    ‘The Yima man speared him as he slept.’

The generalization seems to be that verbs that normally take objects that are concrete are like *wasi*, whereas verbs that take non-concrete objects are like *nofa*. The definition of concrete in this case includes things that can be seen and touched, but not something that is merely heard.

It seems that some verbs may be used in both ways I have discussed. In both the examples below, the MC verb is *kaba* ‘eat’, and yet it appears that in (182) it is only the S of the NFC that is the O of the MC, whereas in (183) the whole NFC seems to be the O of the MC. This is because in (182), the people ate the spider monkeys, but in (183) the dog did not eat Rita.

(182) biyo haro mee kabarawemetemoneke.
    biyo haro.NFIN mee kaba-rawa-hemete-mone-ke
    spider monkey.F be boiled 3PL.A eat-F.PL-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
    ‘They ate the boiled spider monkeys.’

(183) Rita saa ni yomee kaba neri amaka.
    Rita saa na.NFIN yomee kaba na-hiri ama-ka
    (woman’s name).F vomit AUX dog.M eat.LIST AUX-RP.E + M SEC-DECL + M
    ‘The dog ate Rita’s vomit.’

Furthermore, (183) violates the generalization I proposed in the preceding paragraph, since *Rita saa ni* ‘Rita’s vomit’ is clearly concrete.

It needs to be noted that the distinction I have proposed in table 11 is unrepresented in table 2 at the beginning of the paper. In table 2, these cases are presented as if the NFC is always the O of the MC verb, whereas I have proposed that in some cases, like those in (170), only the S of the NFC is the O of the MC, and the NFC is an adjunct. As mentioned above, this distinction is tentative at this point, and hopefully I will be able to flesh out this analysis after further research.

A final syntactic observation that can be made that includes all the cases covered in this section, is the rather strange absence of transitive NFCs in this context. Why are there no
sentences like, ‘I saw the boy kill the snake’, or ‘I want the woman to cook fish’? Actually, I have seen one example like the latter one, i.e. (184).

(184) Sari Yawini  owa  narfi  onofa  okere.
    Sari Yawini  owa  narifa.NFIN  o-nofa  o-ke-re
    (man’s name).M  1SG.O  help  1SG.A-want  1SG.A-DECL + F-NEG + F
    ‘I don't want Sari Yawini to help me.’

This suggests that transitive NFCs are actually possible in this context, but are quite rare. I have not put this configuration in table 2, pending further research. In this connection, some results of elicitation based on the following example were interesting.

(185) towisawa  tohi  onofa  okare.
    towisawa  to-ha.NFIN  o-nofa  o-ka-re
    chief.M  CH-be  1SG.A-want  1SG.A-DECL-NEG + F
    ‘I don’t want to become chief.’

This sentence is from a story by Okomobi. I asked Okomobi how he would say, ‘I don't want my younger brother to become chief,’ and he gave me (186).

(186) Okaniso  towisawa  tohi  onofa
    o-kaniso  towisawa  to-ha.NFIN  o-nofa
    1SG.POSS-POSS-younger brother.M  chief.M  away-be  1SG.A-want
    okare.
    o-ka-re
    1SG.A-DECL-NEG + F
    ‘I don't want my younger brother to become chief.’

The syntax in (186) is similar to that in (184), in that there are two arguments in the NFC, but instead of being transitive, the NFC is a copular clause. I then asked Okomobi how he would say, ‘I don't want you to become chief.’ He said (187).

(187) Towisawa  tohi  tiwa  onofa  okare.
    towisawa  to-ha.NFIN  tiwa  o-nofa  o-ka-re
    chief.M  away-be  2SG.O  1SG.A-want  1SG.A-DECL-NEG + F
    ‘I don't want you to become chief.’

In (187), the semantic subject of the copular NFC appears as the O of the MC verb. This looks very much like raising to object. I proceeded to ask Okomobi how he would say, ‘I don't want you to build a house,’ and he said (188). In this case, the subordinate clause is transitive.

(188) Yobe  hiri  ni  tiwa  onofa  okare.
    yobe  hiri  na.NFIN  tiwa  o-nofa  o-ka-re
    house.M  make  AUX  2SG.O  1SG.A-want  1SG.A-DECL-NEG + F
    ‘I don't want you to build a house.’
We may also observe that when I asked Okomobi how he would say (184) when Sari Yawini was a group rather than an individual, he gave me (189). In this sentence, mee, the plural pronominal referencing the semantic A of the NFC, is not located in the NFC, but in the MC, as the surface O of the MC. Example (189) is parallel in structure to example (188), in having the semantic A of the NFC appear as the surface O of the MC.

(189) SariYawini owa narifi mee onofa okere.
Sari Yawini owa narifà.NFIN mee o-nofà o-ke-re
(man's name).M 1SG.O help 3PLO 1SG.A-want 1SG.A-DECL + F-NEG + F
‘I don't want Sari Yawini and his companions to help me.’

Thus, it appears that Jarawara has raising to object, both for the subject of a copular clause and the A of a transitive clause. What these two have in common is that they both have two arguments. As we have seen earlier in this section, there is no raising to object when the NFC is intransitive.

Again, I have not added the configurations in (187), (188) and (189) to table 2, because these are elicited sentences. But they are intriguing, and I will certainly keep on the lookout for unelicited examples of this type.

This concludes the main part of this paper, in which I have discussed the major syntactic contexts in which NFCs occur, and the semantic characteristics that I have been able to discern so far of the verbs that occur in each context. In the next section I present the main results of this research. Then in section 3 I discuss a few additional minor syntactic contexts in which NFCs occur, followed by a final section concerning some Jarawara constructions that are similar in some ways to NFCs, but need to be distinguished from them.

2.5 Summary

As stated near the beginning of the paper, a central question is what category may be assigned to NFCs, and connected to this, what the category of the non-finite forms used in the NFCs might be as well. Starting with the second question, as the term non-finite form suggests, I believe these forms should be considered to be verbal. There are, to be sure, a number of respects in which these words act like nouns, and more precisely, as inalienably possessed nouns. First of all, the form of the subject of NFCs, when it is a pronominal, is exactly the same as the form of the possessor of an inalienably possessed noun. For first and second person singular it is oko and tika, and for the plural persons it is a pronominal without the possessive particle kaa. This set is different from the set used for finite verbs, and it is also different from the set used for alienable possession with inherent gender nouns. Finite verbs do not use oko and tika, and kaa is required for alienable possession. While it is true that the first and second person singular possessor of most inalienably possessed nouns is referenced by the prefixes o- and ti-, there is a significant subset of inalienably possessed nouns that use oko and tika.

A second way in which these forms resemble inalienably possessed nouns is that they commonly occur with what in the context of NPs I have called possessor agreement. There can be agreement in the third pronominal position with the possessor of the subject or object, as described in the introduction above. This possessor agreement can occur with either alienable or inalienable possession. The idea is that, if possessor agreement can
occur with the subject of an NFC, then the syntax must be treating the NFC as an NP, and
the head of the NP, the non-finite form, as an (inalienably possessed) noun.

We may also mention that as described in the next section, there are some forms with
non-finite verb morphology, such as abohi 'dead body', that appear to be only used as
inalienably possessed nouns. This shows the close relationship between non-finite verb
forms and inalienably possessed nouns, but it can also be used as evidence of the difference
between the two.

So what are the differences between non-finite verb forms and inalienably possessed
nouns? Two of the most obvious differences are the participation of non-finite verb forms
in the phenomena we have been discussing in the sections above, i.e. raising and control.
There is no evidence that these syntactic processes are available to NPs that do not have
non-finite verb forms, or even to NPs that may contain an NFC but have an inalienably
possessed noun as their head. Inalienably possessed nouns have possessors, and only
verbs have subjects and objects. Also, the fact that an NFC can have pronominals in it
referencing both the A and the O really make it impossible to analyze them as anything
but clauses, and therefore the non-finite forms as anything but verbal, cf. examples (48),
(53), and (84)–(86). While it is true as noted above that these kinds of NFCS are not part
of the speech of younger Jarawaras, many of these examples are acceptable even to them.

On the basis of these syntactic facts, my conclusion is that while some parts of the syntax
treat non-finite forms as if they were inalienably possessed nouns, the weight of evidence
is that they are verbal forms.

If non-finite forms are verbal, then NFCS are clauses. However, just as non-finite forms
are treated by some parts of the syntax as if they were inalienably possessed nouns, NFCS
are sometimes treated as if they were NPs. The most obvious cases of this are the contexts
in which NFCS are complement clauses, that is, in which they are subjects or objects. NFCS
are not always subjects or objects, but they usually are, as Dixon pointed out. Of course,
all the arguments for analyzing non-finite forms as inalienably possessed nouns are also
arguments for analyzing NFCS as NPs. But there is more. As we saw in the introduction,
when NFCS have tense-modals attached to them, it is in the same way that tense-modals
are attached to NPs, and not the way finite clauses have tense-modals attached to them.

NFCS are also NP-like in being able to be modified by adjectives. NFCS can also be in
the possessor slot with an inalienably possessed noun. I have given reasons for analyzing
the syntax in this case as different from the syntax with adjectives, but the behavior in
both cases is NP-like.

So should NFCS be analyzed as actually being NPs? I don't think so, and the reasons
are the same as those given for not analyzing non-finite forms as inalienably possessed
nouns, that is, the existence of raising and control, and the fact that an NFC can contain
both A and O pronominals. But it is clear that NFCS are more NP-like than finite clauses.

The verbal character of NFCS is brought out by the difference between how NFCS with
adjectives and inalienably possessed nouns, respectively, are treated in the syntax. As we
saw in the introduction, NFCS that occur with adjectives are still clauses. One kind of
evidence for this is that raising is possible out of such an NFC, as in (63). Control is also
possible, as in example (191) in the next section. Neither of these is possible when the
NFC is in the possessor slot with an inalienably possessed noun, because the possessed
noun is the head of the phrase. The NFC is still verbal, but the whole phrase is not verbal.
It is an NP, because its category is determined by its head, the inalienably possessed noun.
NFCs may be considered to be complement clauses when they are either subjects or objects. Most of the cases mentioned by Dixon fall in this category, including the cases with adjectives. But there are several kinds of contexts in which NFCs should not be considered complement clauses. As mentioned above, NFCs occur in conjunction with an inalienably possessed noun head. This was recognized by Dixon, and he adjusted his definition of complement clause to include the head of a complement clause. Even if we accept that the NFC is the head of the NP in this case (which I do not), this adjusted definition of complement clause will not cover other cases. As we have seen, not all of these phrases in which NFCs occur with inalienably possessed nouns function as subjects or objects. Some of these phrases are marked as adjuncts by *yaa*, and so cannot be considered to be complement clauses. Furthermore, there is a special subclass of inalienably possessed nouns that can sometimes themselves mark an NP as being an adjunct. When they mark an adjunct and they occur with an NFC, the phrase cannot be said to be a complement clause, because it is neither a subject nor an object. Finally, I have presented evidence for analyzing one kind of putative complement clause as being not the S of the MC but an adjunct of the MC.

I have equated Dixon’s “pronominal raising” with subject-to-subject raising, and his “argument sharing” with obligatory subject control. However, I have both expanded the number of cases covered by these terms, and reanalyzed a significant subset of his cases of pronominal raising as argument sharing instead. The expansion has occurred as I have extended these terms to cover cases in which it is not an overt pronounal which is involved, but instead the third person morpheme that has zero realization (what is called pro with small letters in the generative literature). The reanalysis has occurred as I have proposed that many cases of putative raising are better analyzed as control, since they do involve the sharing of an argument. I have shown that the verbs involved in raising are semantically quite different from those involved in control. One consequence of this reanalysis is that it may no longer be maintained that only transitive verbs are involved in control.

Although the class of raising verbs in Jarawara is apparently larger than similar syntactic classes in other languages, it is semantically restricted, and many of the verbs are semantically similar to raising verbs in other languages. The class of transitive control verbs in Jarawara is very small, as expected. In contrast, the number of intransitive control verbs is very large, and is relatively unrestricted semantically. This is what is expected if, as I have proposed, the NFC is an adjunct in this syntactic context. Whereas the meaning of the intransitive verbs used in control contexts is the same as their meaning elsewhere, the meaning of raising verbs is often different from their meaning outside of raising.

An interesting characteristic of Jarawara is that, when both the NFC and the MC are intransitive, neither raising nor control is allowed (with a few exceptions in the case of raising). I have tentatively proposed an analysis of backward control for the cases in which control would appear if the NFC were transitive. I have indicated that, even if the NFC is analyzed as the S in this context as it is with raising verbs, there seems to be some syntactic difference between the two, given the fact that the NFC can occur in a postposed position in the case of control but not in the case of raising. There also seems to be backward control available in the context of the transitive MC verb *wato* ‘know how’ with intransitive NFCs.
Just as in English and other languages, there are MC verbs in Jarawara that can occur either in the context of raising or control. When used in the context of control, such verbs have their normal meaning, but when used as raising verbs, they have an aspectual meaning.

NFCs may also occur as complement clauses without either raising or control being involved. Specifically, NFCs may occur as transitive subjects, and they may occur as objects of transitive MC verbs when the respective subjects of the NFC and the MC do not coincide. In some examples the respective subjects of the NFC and the MC do in fact coincide, and these examples show that control is not involved, since the subject pronominal is overt in both clauses. There seem to be semantic divisions among the verbs used in this general syntactic context, suggesting that, although the surface syntax is apparently the same, there are probably syntactic differences at some level.

### 3 Minor contexts involving NFCs

#### 3.1 In conjunction with inalienably possessed nouns

There are several minor syntactic contexts where NFCs occur, which have not been listed in table 2. One of these, in NPs headed by inalienably possessed nouns, has been mentioned above in the introduction. In the subsections which follow, I mention several other minor syntactic contexts. Before proceeding, however, I give additional evidence in favor of a differential analysis of adjectives and inalienably possessed nouns as mentioned in the introduction.

The main reason that adjectives, but not inalienably possessed nouns, should be analyzed as modifiers in Jarawara is that NFCs with adjectives participate in control and raising, whereas NFCs in conjunction with inalienably possessed nouns do not. The idea is that since an inalienably possessed noun is the head of the phrase and not the NFC, the possessed noun is a barrier to control or raising. But since an adjective is not the head of the phrase with which it occurs, but is a modifier, it is not a barrier to control or raising.36

We have already seen one example of raising out of a clause containing the adjective *yokana* in the discussion of raising in section 2.1 above, i.e. (63). In this example, the MC is intransitive, and the NFC is a transitive Oc. The raising is very clear, as the pronoun A of the NFC (first person singular o-) is overt in the MC. The adjective *yokana* ‘true’ is a modifier of the NFC. Example (190) below is similar, except that the NFC is an Ac clause.

\[(190)\] Yama hani wato yokana oha okere.  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{thing.F} & \text{writing+F} & \text{know} & \text{true} & \text{1SG.S-CH-be} & \text{1SG.S-DECL+F-NEG+F} \\
\text{Yama} & \text{hani} & \text{wato.NFIN} & \text{yokana} & \text{o-to-ha} & \text{o-ke-re} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I don't know how to write well [lit., my knowing of written things is not true].’

36In section 2.2 above, I proposed that there is control involving the possessor of the inalienably possessed noun *ati* ‘voice’, in examples involving *wato* ‘know’ and *nofa* ‘want’. The difference between this phenomenon and the examples with adjectives in this section is that in the case of *ati*, the possessor must always be overt; that is the controller is always the possessor of *ati*, and cannot be in the verb. In contrast, the examples in this section show that the controller is not overt in the clause containing an adjective, but rather in the MC verb.
The next example (191) shows that control is also possible with NFCS that have adjectives as modifiers. In this example, both the MC and the NFC are transitive Oc clauses. The control is clear because again, the pronominal A of the NFC (first person singular o-) is overt in the MC but not in the NFC. In this case the adjective is *bite* ‘small’.

(191) \[
\text{namosami} \quad \text{bite} \quad \text{owatoaaro.}
\]
\[
\text{na-amosa-ma.NFIN} \quad \text{bite} \quad \text{o-wato-haaro}
\]
\[
\text{CAUS-be good-back} \quad \text{small} + F \quad \text{1SG.A-know-RP.P.E.1F}
\]
\[
\text{‘I know a little how to fix them [gill nets].’}
\]

In (192) there is likewise control, but there is no pronominal, since the shared subject is third person singular, and is therefore null. In this case the MC is intransitive, and the NFC is a transitive Ac.

(192) \[
\text{(Name) yama namosi bite wai nofare amaka.}
\]
\[
\text{(name) yama na-amosa.NFIN bite waa nofa-ra + M ama-ka}
\]
\[
\text{(man’s name).M thing.F CAUS-be good small + F stand recently-NEG SEC-DECL + M}
\]
\[
\text{‘He just stands around, not clearing brush even a little.’}^{37}
\]

We have also seen an example with *yokana* ‘true’ (15) in the introduction above in which there is neither raising nor control. It appears that NFCS with adjectives as modifiers can occur pretty much in the same syntactic environments in which NFCS without adjectives occur, as is expected if adjectives are modifiers.

The adjectives *yokana* and *bite* are the most common with NFCS, but I have seen examples also with *bokato* ‘fair amount’ (193), *ehebotee* ‘big’ (194), and *mati* ‘a lot’ (195). The class of adjectives in Jarawara is very small, and it is probably the case that all the adjectives may be used in these ways with NFCS.

(193) \[
\text{Faya mee aabi bokato toemetemone ahi.}
\]
\[
\text{faya mee ahaba.NFIN bokato to-ha-hemete-mone ahi}
\]
\[
\text{so 3PL.S die fair amount CH-be-FP.N + F-REP + F then}
\]
\[
\text{‘A good number of them died.’}
\]

(194) \[
\text{fah a kaki eebotee bara tona}
\]
\[
\text{ka-kl.NFIN ehebotee bara to-na + F}
\]
\[
\text{water.F go/come-coming big stop CH-AUX}
\]
\[
\text{‘The hard rain ended.’}
\]

(195) \[
\text{Kori kasi mati ohawaamaro oke}
\]
\[
\text{ka-na-kosa.NFIN mati o-to-ha-waha-hamaro o-ke}
\]
\[
\text{be afraid COMIT-AUX-middle a lot 1SG.S-CH-be-change-FP.E.1F 1SG.S-DECL + F}
\]
\[
\text{‘Then I got really scared.’}
\]

The facts for contexts involving NFCS with inalienably possessed nouns are quite different. There is never either control or raising; in fact, it is extremely rare for such NFCS to even be transitive. There are no sentences like (190) and (191), in which a pronominal

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\(^{37}\) The original has the name of the man, but this has been omitted.
From the NFC is overt in the MC. Nor are there any cases where there are two pronominals in the NFC (i.e., referencing the A and the O), which we would expect to find if it were just a matter of overt control and raising not being allowed. Whenever a transitive verb appears in the NFC, it is almost always detransitivized by the operation described above in connection with example (43)⁸⁸

When one looks at a sentence like (196), at first glance it looks like control. In the complex clause yobe kaniki ino mee hiri ni yaa ‘if they want to buy a house’, the NFC yobe kaniki is followed by the inalienably possessed noun ino ‘name’, and the MC verb is hiri na ‘say’.

(196) yobe kaniki ino mee hiri ni yaa yobe
    yobe ka-nika.NFIN ino mee hiri na.NOM+F yaa yobe
    house.M COMIT-buy name+M 3PL.A say AUX ADJUNCT house.M

    mee kanika naboneke.
    mee ka-nika.LIST na-habone-ke
    3PL.A COMIT-buy AUX-INT+F-DECL+F
    ‘If they want to buy a house, they should buy a house.’

It looks like the pronominal A of the MC, mee, is also the semantic A of the NFC. But this is just a possible implication of the discourse context, and is not actually in the syntax. This is clear when we compare (197). In the context of the story, the people who were speaking were accusing the narrator of having a knife. If control were involved, they would have been speaking about their own having a knife. The non-finite verb tama ni is detransitivized. I assign the same analysis to (196), i.e. that grammatically, the verb kaniki is detransitivized, and the phrase is about the buying of a house. The subject mee is not grammatically in the NFC, even though this is the implication of the discourse context.

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³⁸I have seen one example in which the NFC is unequivocally transitive, and the NFC is in a phrase that has as its head an inalienably possessed noun. In (i), the possessed noun ino is masculine, and it refers to the same person who is the A of the MC verb. The whole NP tiwa narifi ino is the O of the MC, and according to my analysis, ino is the head of the NP. Whereas the NFC in such a case is almost always detransitivized, this does not seem to be the case here. The NFC tiwa narifi, if it were detransitivized, would have to have tiwa as its S. But if this were the case, then the possessed noun would have to be feminine ini, to agree with the second person S. The fact that it is masculine ino means that there is a masculine A in the NFC (which is phonologically null).

(i) tiwa narifi ino hiri nane.
    tiwa narifa.NFIN ino hiri na.CONT+M-ne
    2SG.O help name+M say AUX-BKG+M
    ‘He said he had helped you.’

So apparently it is possible to have a transitive NFC in conjunction with an inalienably possessed noun head; but in any case, this does not represent either control or raising.
Jarawara Complement Clauses

(197) Faya mee ati yana nete mee awineke yimawa
faya mee ati yana na-hete mee awine-ke yimawa
so 3PL.POSS voice start AUX-RP.N+F 3PL.POSS seem +F-DECL+F knife.F

tama ni ini mee hiri na mati.
tama na.NFIN ini mee hiri na+F mati
hold onto AUX name+F 3PL.A say AUX 3PL.A

‘They spoke, speaking about having a knife.’

In conclusion, although it is certainly true that NFCs can occur along with both inalienably possessed nouns and adjectives, as I see it the possessed nouns and adjectives in these cases should receive very different analyses.

In the next subsections I consider several other syntactic contexts in which NFCs occur outside of the central contexts listed in table 2.

3.2 Copular clauses

As Dixon (2004) notes, there are two copular verbs in Jarawara, toha and ama. Although both verbs can be translated ‘be’ (ama always so, and toha often, along with ‘become’), there are significant syntactic differences between the two verbs, and in the context of NFCs, their respective behavior is quite different. As we have seen, toha behaves as an intransitive verb when it is an MC verb with a subordinate NFC. More precisely, it is an intransitive raising verb.

But toha can be the NFC verb, too, and in this case it appears to be a copular verb with two arguments, a subject and a complement. In the previous section we saw (198), repeated from (185) above, an example of control, in which the first person singular A of the MC nofa ‘want’ controls the copular subject of the NFC verb toha ‘become’, and the NFC also has a copular complement, i.e. towisawa ‘chief’.

(198) towisawa tohi onofa okare.
towisawa to-ha.NFIN o-nofa o-ka-re
chief.M CH-be 1SG.A-want 1SG.A-DECL-NEG+F
‘I don’t want to become chief.’

In contrast, the other copular verb, ama, is never the NFC verb; that is, there is no non-finite form of ama. It can occur as the MC verb, and in this case it often has two arguments, as in (199) and (200).

(199) Ifa mee haa ni ama?
ifa mee haa na.NFIN ama
this+F 3PL.S call AUX be
‘Is that them calling?’

(200) Faya oko hiyari amake
faya o-kaa hiyara.NFIN ama-ke
enough 1SG.POSS-POSS speak be-DECL+F
‘I’m finished talking.’
These examples are straightforward. In (199) the subject is the demonstrative ifa 'this', and the copular complement is the NFC mee haa ni. In (200) the NFC oko hiyari is the subject, with faya 'enough' being a predicate adjective. We may also cite (19) in the introduction, in which both the subject and the complement are NFCs.

It may be the case that some sentences with NFCs and ama have only a single argument, for example (201).

(201) Okomi haa ni amararani.
    o-kaami haa na.NFIN ama-ra-hara-ni
    1SG.POSS-POSS-mother.F call AUX be-NEG-IP.E+F-BKG+F
    ‘That's not my mother calling.’

There is an adjective associated with the copular subject in (202), i.e. yokana 'true'. Probably yokana should be considered a predicate adjective in this case, but I'm not sure.

(202) Bati yaka ni yokanano amaka.
    bati yaka na.NFIN yokana-no ama-ka
    3SG.POSS.father.M walk AUX true-IP.N+M be-DECL+M
    ‘He walks just like his father [lit., it is his father's true walking].’

In any case, it is clear that there is never either raising or control with sentences involving NFCs with ama as the MC verb. In fact, there are no transitive NFCs occurring with ama. As we have seen, transitive NFCs can occur with toha, as in (190) above.

3.3 Comparison construction with nima

NFCs can also occur as components of a special comparison construction containing nima 'like'. Prototypically, nima is attached to one phrase, while the auxiliary na is attached to the other phrase. Normally the arguments are regular NPs with noun heads, as in (203), or pronouns, as in (204).

(203) Kate ati nima owati nara oke.
    kate ati nima o-at na-hara o-ke
    macaw sp.M voice like 1SG.POSS-voice AUX-IP.E+F 1SG.POSS-DECL+F
    ‘I spoke like a macaw [lit., my voice was like the voice of a macaw].’

(204) Himata nima onahaba?
    himata nima o-na-haba
    what? like 1SG.S-AUX-FUT+F
    ‘What should I do (lit., what should I be like)?’

Dixon (2004:505ff.) analyzes the phrase with nima as an adjunct, and considers na to be an intransitive verb, and I agree with this basic syntactic framework.39

39 Dixon considers only -ma to be the marker of the adjunct, and ni to be a nominalization of the auxiliary na; I am agnostic on this part of his analysis at this point. He also says the main verb na should be identified with the intransitive verb na 'exist', whereas I prefer to identify it with the auxiliary na. Neither of these points makes a difference in the present discussion.
As Dixon (2004:507) notes, NFCs can occur in either position in this construction, either with nima or as the S of na. Both may be NFCs, as in (205), or one phrase may be an NFC while the other is an NP, as in (206).

(205) fara otaa kobo nami nima koba sika tonihin. na
fara otaa kobo na-ma.NFIN nima koba sika to-niha-na.NFIN na
same+F 1EX.S arrive AUX-back like copaiba.F pour CH-CAUS-AUX AUX

tohaharo amake tabo yaa.40
to-ha-haro ama-ke tabo yaa
CH-AUX-RP.E+F SEC-DECL+F steel drum.F ADJNCT
‘Every time we came back we poured copaiba oil into drums.’

(206) Afiyao eebotee fara yama wee nima kami ne
afiyao eebotee fara yama wehe nima ka-ma.NFIN na+M
airplane.M big same+F thing.F light+F like go/come-back AUX

awaka.
awa-ka
seem+M-DECL+M
‘Big airplanes come every day.’

In (205), nima is attached to the NFC fara otaa kobo nami ‘every time we came back’, and the auxiliary is attached to the NFC koba sika tonihi ‘the pouring out of copaiba oil’. (This is another instance of a detransitivized verb). In (206), nima is attached to the NP yama wehe ‘day’, while the auxiliary is attached to the NFC kami ‘its coming’.

This phenomenon is just one more instance of the NP-like behavior of NFCs.

As an interesting aside, this context provides another instance in which an intransitive clause receives the character of an Oc clause when occurring with an adjunct, similar to the cases with namoni and tabiyo mentioned in section 2.2 above. In (207), the auxiliary, which we have analyzed as intransitive, receives hi-.

(207) Fare ati nima nisori mee
fare ati nima nisori mee
same+M voice like 3SG.POSS.younger brother.M 3PL.A

hinematamonaka.
hi-na-himata-mona-ka
OC-AUX-FP.E+M-REP+M-DECL+M
‘His younger brothers did just as he said.’

Furthermore, unlike the cases we have seen so far, the auxiliary agrees in gender with the phrase with nima rather than with the S. In this sentence the older brother is referenced by the NP with nima, i.e. fare ati, while the younger brothers are referenced by the S, i.e.

40The toha in (205) is not the copular verb referred to above, but is the auxiliary ha. The function of the auxiliary in this sentence is to signal the “iterative” construction (Dixon 2004:278), meaning that the action occurred many times.
nisori mee. If the auxiliary agreed in gender with the S, it would be feminine because of mee.

3.4 forima na

Dixon (2004:390, 558; 2006:110) briefly discusses NFCs in conjunction with a putative verb forima na ‘do properly’. According to his analysis, forima na is intransitive, and he says it appears to require an NFC as its S. He gives the following example (2004:390) from a story:

(208) Aate ni forima onehibanaka.
     a-ate na.NFIN forima o-na-hibana-ka
     DUP-ask AUX do properly 1SG.S-AUX-FUT + M-DECL + M
     ‘I will ask him again.’

In this example the NFC is an Oc, as seen by the masculine agreement in forima onehibanaka, to agree with the O of the NFC. In other examples, the NFC is an Ac, as in (209) and (210).

(209) Okomi aate kani forima onabana
     o-kaa ami a-ate ka-na.NFIN forima o-na-habana
     1SG.POSS-POSS-mother.F DUP-ask COMIT-AUX do properly 1SG.S-AUX-FUT + F
     oke ahi.
     o-ke ahi
     1SG.S-DECL + F then
     ‘I will ask my mother about it again.’

(210) biti nafawami forima na
     biti na-fawa-ma.NFIN forima na + F
     3SG.POSS.son.M CAUS-drink-back do properly AUX
     ‘She breast fed her son again.’

In (209) both the A and the O of the NFC are feminine, so gender cannot be an indication, but the NFC is clearly an Ac, since the A of the NFC is repeated in the third pronominal position in forima onabana oke. That is, if the NFC were an Oc, the form would be forima onabanake, with no repetition of o-. In (210) forima na has feminine agreement, to agree with the A of the NFC. If the NFC were an Oc, not only would there be masculine agreement, but also there would be a hi- prefix; that is, the form would be forima hine. There are indeed examples like this, as for example (211).

(211) Weye kani forima hine
     weye ka-na.NFIN forima hi-na + M
     carry COMIT-AUX do properly OC-AUX
     ‘He carried it [the curasow] on his back again.’

If all the examples with forima na were like these, I would agree with Dixon (2004:390) that forima na is an intransitive raising verb much like hawa toha ‘be finished’. But in
other examples, *forima na* behaves quite differently than intransitive raising verbs such as *hawa toha*. And while I do not question that NFCs are involved in these contractions, some of the differences lead me to doubt that *forima na* is even a verb.

One of the contexts which manifests strange behavior of *forima na* is when the NFC is intransitive. In all the examples we have seen so far, the NFC is transitive, but in (212) the NFC is intransitive.

(212) *Tokisami* forima tinahi.
    to-ka-risa-ma.NFIN forima ti-na-hi
    away-go/come-down-back do properly 2SG.S-AUX-IMP + F
    ‘Go down [the ladder] carefully.’

What is unexpected in this sentence is that the subject marker *ti*- occurs in the MC. In all the other contexts we have seen above in which both the NFC and the MC are intransitive, the subject marker always occurs in the NFC. This is true whether the MC verb is a control verb or a raising verb. With *forima na*, though, the subject marker occurs in the MC, as in (212).41

It could possibly be argued that *forima na* must then be a transitive verb, with a meaning like ‘make do properly’. In that case, *forima na* would be like *nofa* ‘want’ and *wato* ‘know how’.

In the examples we have seen so far, the raised pronominals have all been prefixes, that is, they have been singular persons. As it turns out, when the S or A of the NFC is a plural person, the free pronounal is never raised in sentences with *forima na*, as in (213) and (214).

(213) *Yama* mee siba ni forima narake fahi.
    yama mee siba na.NFIN forima na-hara-ke fahi
    thing.F 3PL.A look for AUX do properly AUX-IP.E + F-DECL + F then
    ‘They searched again.’

(214) *otene* tee bobi kasi forima
    o-tenehe tee bobi ka-na-kosa.NFIN forima
    1SG.POSS-scrotum 2PL.A slit COMIT-AUX-middle do properly
    niyahi
    na-yahi
    AUX-DIST.IMP + F
    ‘You (pl) cut off my scrotum right.’

The rule is thus that a singular S or A is raised, but a plural S or A is not raised.42 This complementary distribution does not occur in any other context involving NFCs.

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41As noted in footnote 24, there are exceptional cases of overt raising when the NFC is intransitive. However, the case of *forima na* is different in that there is always overt raising when the NFC is intransitive (and the pronounal is a prefix).

42I have not seen an unelicited example in which the NFC is intransitive and the S is plural, but elicitation shows that there is no overt raising. For example, the plural of (212) is *tee tokisami forima nahi*, and not *tokisami tee forima nahi*. 
Although, as we have seen, the A of the NFC can occur in the NFC in the speech of the oldest generation, there is not this sort of complementary distribution. One of the strangest examples, though, involving forima na is (215).

(215) Yama nawahi forima oniha
     yama na-waha.NFIN forima o-niha-na + F
     thing CAUS-shine do properly 1SG.A-CAUS-AUX
     ‘I stayed in my hammock a while longer, until it was really morning.’

In this sentence, forima na has been causativized. The NFC verb nawaha is transitive, and it means ‘do something until morning’, and in the context, it means the speaker stayed in his hammock until morning. At first glance, it appears that the causativized forima niha is a transitive control verb similar to hawa toniha. However, when I elicited this same sentence with other persons, when the subject of the MC was a free pronominal, it appeared after forima, i.e. between forima and the causativized auxiliary, as in (216).43

(216) Yama nawaharisi forima otaa niha
     yama na-waha-risa.NFIN forima otaa niha-na + F
     thing.F CAUS-shine-down do properly 1EX.A CAUS-AUX
     ‘We stayed in our hammocks a while longer, until it was really morning.’

I’m not sure what the implications are of this fact, but it suggests the possibility that forima niha is not a verb at all. There is no verb in Jarawara for which a free pronominal comes between the verb root and the auxiliary, under any circumstances.

There is, however, one syntactic configuration that has some similarities to these examples with forima na. I mentioned in the previous section that NFCs can occur in conjunction with nima ‘like’. It turns out that the auxiliary na in this context can be causativized (217).

(217) Faya namiti sako hine ahabe himata nima
     faya namiti sako hi-na + M ahaba + M himata nima
     so neck tie OC-AUX die what? like
     hiniharematamonaka.
     hi-niha-na-ra-himata-mona-ka
     OC-CAUS-AUX-NEG-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
     ‘He had tied his neck, and he had died. He didn’t know what he should do with him.’

This similarity, along with the phonological similarity of forima and nima, suggest that possibly forima and the auxiliary na it is associated with are actually two separate syntactic objects, instead of together constituting a single verb. According to this idea, it could be that in sentences involving NFCs such as (208)–(215) above, forima is actually associated with the NFC and not with the auxiliary na.

43The speaker also added the derivational suffix -risa to nawaha. This does not change the meaning of the verb or the sentence, and has no bearing on the discussion of forima.
This idea is consistent also with the fact that there are a good number of occurrences of forima in texts without na, for example (51) and (52) above.
At this point I cannot offer a full description of the syntax of forima na, but it does not seem to be simply an intransitive verb, although it certainly is associated with NFCs.

3.5 -rama na

There are just a few examples of NFCs containing the suffix -rama na, which Dixon (2004:166) glosses ‘unexpected, unusual’. One of his examples with this suffix, in a context not involving an NFC, is (218).

(218) Mee otaa awarama narake
    mee otaa awa-rama na-hara-ke
    3PL.O 1EX.A see-unusual AUX-IP.E + F-DECL + F
    ‘We didn’t look them in the eye.’

The idea in the context of the story is that it was unusual for the Jarawaras not to look the Brazilians in the eye. (They were upset with them because they were illegally fishing in the Jarawaras’ waters.) This suffix is most frequently used with the verb mita ‘hear’, and the meaning of the whole is ‘not pay attention’, as in (219).

(219) (name) narabo nima one owati
    (name) narabo nima o-na + M o-atí
    (man’s name).M ear + M communicate 1SG.A-AUX 1SG.POSS-voice

mitarama nareka.
mita-rama na-hare-ka
hear-unusual AUX-IP.E + M-DECL + M
‘I spoke to (name), but he didn’t do what I suggested.’

However, this suffix can have an unusual effect on the transitivity of mita, making it intransitive in an antipassive sense, as in (220).

(220) Mitarama onaara oke, aba ama nikani
    mita-rama o-na-hara o-ke aba ama na-kani
    hear-unusual 1SG.S-AUX-IP.E + F 1SG.S-DECL + F fish.M be AUX-CNTRFACT

ona owa.
atio-na + F owa
say-1SG.A-AUX 1SG.A
‘I wasn’t being careful, because I thought it was a fish.’

In this use, with no object, the verb means the S is not paying attention to something or is unaware of something. In the intransitive use, the ‘something’ can be a warning/suggestion by someone as in the transitive use in (219) above, or it can also be something of a different nature. In (220), the context is fishing with a gill net. The

44The original contains the name of a man, but this has been removed.
gill net was moving, and Okomobi thought it was a fish that was making it move, but it was an alligator. He was hitting the water with a stick to make the fish go into the net, unaware of the dangerous alligator's presence.

It is in this intransitive use that -rama na occurs in NFCs. Two examples are (221) and (222). In (221) the NFC occurs in the normal position, and in (222) the NFC is postposed to its MC.

(221) Karasa maa hikane, mitarama ni kisamake
Karasa maa hi-ka-na + M mita-rama na.NFIN ka-risa-makI
Graça.F stop OC-COMIT-AUX hear-unusual AUX go/come-down-following
yora nise
yora na-risa + M
jump AUX-down
‘Graça aimed [the shotgun] at him. He didn’t pay any attention, but came down the steps and jumped to the ground.’

(222) Aniya hora hine wati towakame
Aniya hora hi-na + M wati to-ka-ka-ma + M
(ms name).M scold OC-AUX arrow away-COMIT-go/come-back
tokomematamona mitarama ni, yati mera
to-ka-ma-himata-mona mita-rama na.NFIN yati mera
away-go/come-back-FP.E + M-REP + M hear-unusual AUX Apurinã.M 3PL.O
saa nebonaha.
saa na-hibona-ha
shoot with arrow AUX-INT + M-DUP
‘Aniya warned him, but he took the arrows and went anyway to spear the Apurinãs.’

In the above two examples, the S of the NFC is third person singular, so there is no overt pronominal showing the control. When the common subject is a pronominal, it is clear that control is involved.

(223) Mitarama ni yaka onara oke.
mita-rama na.NFIN yaka o-na-hara o-ke
hear-unusual AUX walk 1SG.S-AUX-IP.E + F 1SG.S-DECL + F
‘I walked without stopping.’

(224) Mitarama ni ofoyara oke kanawaa
mita-rama na.NFIN o-foya-hara o-ke kanawaa
hear-unusual AUX 1SG.S-be inside-IP.E + F 1SG.S-DECL + F canoe.F
behe nawaharabone ihi.
behe na-waha-ra-habone ihi
turn over AUX-change-NEG-INT + F because of + F
‘I still stayed in the canoe, so that it would not turn over.’
In the story that (223) is taken from, the narrator was out in the forest, and an insect flew into his ear. The sentence describes the fact that he kept walking on the trail in spite of his discomfort with the buzzing of the insect inside his ear. In (224), the canoe had gotten hung up on a stump in the lake, and was in danger of capsizing. The narrator stayed in the canoe in spite of the danger.

These examples show that there is control, since in each case the shared first person singular subject is only overt in the MC. But they also show a quirk of NFCs with -rama na, and that is that the shared argument is overt as a pronominal in the MC rather than in the NFC, even though both the NFC and the MC are intransitive. As we have seen in the preceding sections, this is not what occurs in either raising contexts or other control contexts, when both the NFC and the MC are intransitive. In the other contexts discussed, the pronominal is always overt in the NFC.\footnote{Once again, there are a few exceptions in the case of raising, as noted in footnote 24.}

Since the S pronominal is overt in the MC rather than the NFC in (223) and (224), it does not seem possible to argue that the NFC is the subject of the MC, as it seems to be in examples such as (126) and (127) in section 2.2 above when both the NFC and the MC are intransitive. It appears that the NFC in this case is an adjunct. The NFC is likewise an adjunct in (225).

\begin{verbatim}
(225) Mitarama ni yiwaa howehowe nematamonaka.
mita-rama na.NFIN yiwaa howe-howe na-himata-mona-ka

hear-unusual AUX pol.F DUP-wipe AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M

‘He didn’t listen [to his grandmother’s warning], but rubbed his hand on the clay pot really hard.’
\end{verbatim}

This, too, is a syntactic configuration we have not seen before. The cases of control when the MC is transitive and the NFC is intransitive that we saw in section 2.2 above involve the MC verb nofa ‘want’, and the NFC in those cases constitutes the O of the MC. I have only seen this configuration in sentences like (225) involving NFCs with -rama na (and mita).

I cannot offer an explanation for this phenomenon, but there does seem to be an interesting correlation. I assume that -rama na is not a derivational suffix. While Dixon (2002:131) denies that a distinction may be made between inflectional and derivational morphological processes in Jarawara, in my view (cf. Vogel (2003)), there are definitely some suffixes that are derivational; that is, they derive a new lexical item.\footnote{In his grammar (2004), Dixon does present the comitative prefix ka- and the causative suffix na- ~ nihaa- (but not directional/change of state to-) as derivations; but he still does not make any distinctions among suffixes on the basis of derivation and inflection.} Examples we have seen in NFCs are -kosa (iii) in fn 24, -ma (68), -makI (86), -tima (143), and -risa (212). These occur closest to the verb root. There are also some suffixes that are clearly inflectional, most notably the tense-modals (Vogel 2009). These occur farthest away from the verb root. But there seems to be a group of suffixes that occur in the middle, in the slots farther out than the derivational suffixes, but closer to the root than the inflectional suffixes, that are not either clearly derivational or inflectional. Maybe they could be called “adverbial” suffixes. The suffix -rama na seems to be in this middle group. The point I am arriving at is that, if -rama na can be considered non-derivational, this may have something to do with the syntactic distinctiveness of NFCs that contain it.
There may be a little more evidence for this kind of view. There is one other non-derivational suffix that occurs in NFCs, and that is the negative suffix -ra. In fact, -ra should probably be considered inflectional, at least on a cross-linguistic basis. For example, the NFC tiwati watari in (226) contains -ra.

(226) Tiwati watari tiwitiyahi.
ti-ati wata-ra.NFIN ti-ita-yahi 2SG.POSS-voice exist-NEG 2SG.S-sit-DIST.IMP+F
‘Sit there quietly.’

There doesn’t seem to be control involved in cases such as this, yet it is remarkable that there is an overt pronominal in the MC tiwitiyahi. In the control and raising contexts discussed in section 2 above, it is never the case that there is an overt pronominal in the MC when both the NFC and the MC are intransitive. So there seems to be something different about the syntax when the NFC contains -ra, and it may be because -ra is inflectional, or at least non-derivational.

This configuration is also available when the MC is transitive as in the following two examples. In (227) the MC is an Ac and in (228) the MC is an Oc.

‘He helped his grandchildren without saying anything.’

(228) Tika tikabaho tiwati watari. ti-kaa ti-kaba-ho ti-ati wata-ra.NFIN 2SG.POSS-poss 2SG.A-eat-IMP+M 2SG.POSS-voice exist-NEG
‘You eat yours, without talking.’

These are the only two suffixes that occur in NFCs that I would class as non-derivational. Dixon does not give any examples of NFCs with either suffix, but the -rama na suffix is within the groups of suffixes that he says (2004:449) may occur within NFCs. However, the negative suffix is not among the groups of suffixes Dixon says are permitted in NFCs.

3.6 Postposed NFCs

NFCs that are postposed to their MCs have been mentioned at several points so far, two of them, (222) and (228), in the last subsection. In these examples, the NFCs mitarama ni (222) and tiwati watari (228) follow the MCs that they relate to, that is, they are postposed. In these cases the NFC is an adjunct. In example (112) the postposed NFC wafe faki ni is likewise an adjunct, but it is transitive (an Ac), unlike mitarama ni and tiwati watari, which are intransitive. The postposed NFC yifo tiwa ni in (35) is likewise an Ac transitive. In (131) the postposed NFC tee kana ni is in a backward control context, but the pronominal S is overt in both the NFC and the MC, because of the postposing of the NFC. There is control involved in all of these sentences, except for (228). The other example of a postposed NFC that has been mentioned so far, yama soki in (19), also does not involve control, and in this case the NFC constitutes the copular subject of the sentence. (Or
rather, it further specifies the copular subject, since the subject is a phonologically null third person pronominal, i.e. pro, according to my analysis.)

It is not surprising that NFCs can be postposed, since it is common in Jarawara to have various kinds of elements in a postposed position, including clauses, NPs, and parts of NPs, cf. Dixon 2004:293f, 464f. In all five cases mentioned so far, the ordering of the sentences could be changed so that the NFCs occur in the normal position preceding the MC, and the meaning would be the same. So basically there is structurally nothing novel about NFCs occurring postposed to their MCs, although as we have seen I do assign structural significance to the fact that certain NFCs cannot be postposed.47 In the statistics for the occurrence of NFCs in various syntactic contexts in section 2 above, I have assigned all of the postposed NFCs to the residual category of minor syntactic contexts, although many of them could be assigned to various of the major categories.

If the MC verb is a raising verb, it is not possible to postpose the NFC. This flows from the fact that the MC verb is not semantically linked to the raised S. For example, if we tried to postpose the NFC of (30) we would get Kakawa biti mee kitaharake, mee kiya ni. But instead of the intended meaning, ‘Kakawa's sons are very sick,’ the meaning would be ‘Kakawa's sons are strong as they are sick.’ This is because the S of the NFC ‘Kakawa's sons’ is not semantically linked with the MC raising verb, kita ‘be strong’.

In the following paragraphs, I give examples of the various other possible configurations in which NFCs are found in a postposed position in Jarawara sentences, linking the discussion to the relevant rows in table 2.

When the NFC is intransitive and the MC is transitive with no control, it is possible for the NFC to be postposed, whether the MC is an Ac or an Oc. The MC is an Ac in (171) in section 2.4 above, and an Oc in (229) and (230).

(229) mee fawa hikanihemetemoneke faro, me fawa hi-to-ka-niha-na-hemete-mone-ke faro
       3PL.0 disappear OC-CH-COMIT-CAUS-AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F that + F

       mee fami.
       me fama.NFIN
       3PL.S be two
       ‘He [the jungle monster] killed the two of them.’

(230) Owarerika tokomi.
o-awa-ra-hiri-ka to-ka-ma.NFIN
1SG.A-see-NEG-RP.P.E + M-DECL + M away-go/come-back
‘I didn't see it [the airplane] go.’

Note that if the S of the NFC is a pronominal, the pronominal must be present in both the MC and the NFC, as shown in (171) and (229).

47Recall, however, that when both the MC and the NFC are intransitive as in (131), the MC has its own overt S pronominal when the NFC is postposed, but not if the NFC is in the normal position as in (127). Also, in the context I have tentatively analyzed as backward object control, if the NFC is postposed as in (171), in the case that the S of the NFC is a pronominal, it will also be represented as an accusative case pronominal in the MC, whereas this is not the case if the NFC is in the normal position as in (173).
As mentioned above, we have seen two examples, (35) and (112), in which the postposed NFC, an Ac transitive clause, is an adjunct, and there is control. Apparently it is possible for the NFC to be postposed if both the NFC and the MC are Ocs, as well, as in (231), but only in the case of the control verb wato ‘know how’.

(231) Henani hiwatoa awineke, wari kani.
    Henani hi-wato+F awine-ke wari ka-na.NFIN
    (man’s name).M OC-know seem+F-DECL+F turn COMIT-AUX
    ‘Henani knows how to turn [the fire stick, to make fire].’

This example is actually puzzling, because if the NFC is the O of the MC, I wouldn’t have expected it to be possible to be postposed like this. I am sure that it is not possible to do this with the other transitive control verb that occurs with transitive NFCs, i.e. nofa ‘want’. For example, if we try to apply this idea to (70), we will have *onofarehirika, nawiaremisi, which would have the meaning ‘I don’t like him’ for the MC, and the postposed NFC would be nonsensical. Possibly the postposed NFC in (231) is a clarification as in (233) and (234) below, and is actually a detransitivized clause, with the MC verb wato meaning not ‘know how’ but just the normal ‘know (about)’. In this case, there would not be control involved, and the sentence would mean ‘Henani knows about [the fire stick], the turning of it.’

The preceding section ended with example (228) containing the postposed NFC tiwati watari ‘without speaking’. In this case the MC is transitive, but in (232) in which the NFC ati watari is similarly postposed, the MC is intransitive.

(232) Awa eenoki yaa wanehimatamonaha ati watari.
    awa eenoki yaa wana-himata-mona ati wata-ra.NFIN
    tree.F middle ADJNCT be attached-FP.E + M-REP + M voice exist-NEG
    ‘He held onto the trunk of the tree, without speaking.’

NFCs with kiihi from the verb kiha ‘have’ (if indeed they are NFCs), which are the topic of section 4.4, are often postposed, cf. the examples there.

One of the common functions of postposed material in Jarawara is to clarify one or the other of the arguments in the sentence, and this is often the case with postposed NFCs as well. In (233) the postposed NFC, inamatewe ohi nimonaha, is a sort of restatement of the S, maka ohi ni. Similarly, in (234) the postposed NFC mee hiyari is an equivalent of the O, tamine.

(233) Yama kayomi yaa maka ohi ni
    yama kayoma.NOM+F yaa maka ohi na.NFIN
    thing.F darken ADJNCT jungle monster cry AUX

    fotomakehimatamonaka, inamatewe ohi nimonaha.
    foto-makl-himata-mona-ka inamatewe ohi na.NFIN-mona-ha
    appear-following-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M child.M cry AUX-REP + M-DUP
    ‘When it got dark, the sound of baby crying came to them. It was the jungle monster crying.’
This concludes the discussion of postposed NFCs. In the last subsection I present a summary of the novel contexts encountered in this section, but before this, I briefly discuss impersonal NFCs in the next subsection.

### 3.7 Impersonal NFCs

There are a handful of intransitive NFCs in the corpus that have unexpected syntax, in that the S argument is not the expected argument. In (235), for example, where the expected S of the NFC verb *yaka na* ‘walk’ would be the person who walked, we have *yama* ‘thing’, which in the context refers to the path.

(235) Yama yaka ni amosa
    yama yaka na.NFIN amosa + F
    thing.F walk AUX be good
    ‘It is a good place to walk.’

Similarly, in (236) the S of the NFC verb *wina* ‘live’ is not a person living in the house, it is the house.

(236) Manakobisa yobe wini okayawa okare.
    manakobisa yobe wina.NFIN o-ka-yawa o-ka-re
    then house.M live 1SG.A-COMIT-be upset 1SG.A-DECL-NEG + F
    ‘I am not jealous of the house [i.e. I let other people stay in it].’

In cases like these, there seems to be a pattern of the S of the NFC referencing what would normally be an adjunct. In (235) the S references the path in which the walking occurred, and in (236) the S references the house which the people live in. In more usual syntactic environments, these kinds of adjuncts would be marked by *yaa*, as in (237).

(237) fara oko yobe yaa otaa watama
    fara o-kaa yobe yaa otaa wata-ma + F
    same + F 1SG.POSS-POSS house.M ADJUNCT 1EX.S lie in hammock-back
    ‘After coming back, we lay down in our hammocks in my own house.’

We may observe that it is not only in conjunction with NFCs that this phenomenon occurs. In (238), the same kind of syntax can be observed in the context of the suffix -*hina na* ‘be able’.

(238) Yama winihina ra awineke haaro.
    yama wina-hina na-ra + F awine-ke haaro
    thing.F live-can AUX-NEG seem + F-DECL + F that one + F
    ‘This place can’t be lived in.’
In other cases it does not seem possible to associate the S with what would normally be an adjunct, as in (239) and (240).

(239) Yama mowa ni yana nimetemone.
   yama mowa na.NFIN yana na.NOM + F-mete-mone
   thing.F fight AUX start AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F
   ‘The fighting began.’

(240) yama toho ni tama hikanaaro.
   yama toho na.NFIN tama hi-ka-na-haaro
   thing.F cough AUX hold onto OC-COMIT-AUX-IP.E + F
   ‘He is coughing all day long [lit., he is holding on to the cough].’

In (239), the NFC yama mowa ni means ‘fighting’. The NFC is intransitive, but it is hard to decide whether it is detransitivized, or possibly antipassive. In (240) instead of the S referencing a person who coughs, it is an impersonal yama ‘thing’, and the NFC means ‘the cough’. It is because of examples like these that I have given the label “impersonal NFCs” to this section.

Jarawara does not have bare impersonal non-finite clauses like those in English sentences such as I like walking/to walk. The NFC yama toho ni (240) has to have yama as the S; that is, you cannot have a bare NFC toho ni in Jarawara that has the impersonal meaning ‘a cough/coughing’. The only contexts in which there are bare NFCs are when either the S is a null third person, as in kanahi in (17), or it is a control context and the S pronominal is in the MC, as in ayaki in (87). In both cases, the S is a specific person (in the case of (17), a specific plant, a pineapple), and the NFC cannot have an impersonal meaning.

I noted that yama mowa ni in (239) might possibly be considered an antipassive. It seems clear that the NFC in (241) is antipassive. The verb yome nisi ‘swallow’ is a transitive verb in other contexts, for example (242) with the O being what is swallowed.

(241) Onamiti yome nisi hiyararake.
   0-namiti yome na-risa.NFIN hiya-ra-hara-ke
   1SG.POSS-throat swallow AUX-down be bad-NEG-IP.E + F-DECL + F
   ‘I can’t swallow.’

(242) Faya hee kini nawaha hee nabiha hee yome nisi.
   faya hee kini na-waha+F hee na-ahaba+F hee yome na-risa+F
   so 3SG.O wrap AUX-change 3SG.O CAUS-die 3SG.O swallow AUX-down
   ‘It [the anaconda] wrapped itself around him and killed him and swallowed him.’

As I stated above, there are very few examples like these in the corpus, so it is hard to draw firm conclusions. In general, though, it appears that it is possible to have NFCs with impersonal meanings in Jarawara.

There are, however, plenty of instances of NFCs being used in sentences with impersonal or generic meanings, without the use of any exceptional syntax. This is accomplished by the use of the habitual suffix -tee in the MC, as in (243).
(243) Hiyama  mee  kabi  amosatee  mee  amake.
hiyama  mee  kaba.NFIN  amosa-tee  mee  ama-ke
white-lipped peccary.M  3PL.S  eat  be good-HAB  3PL.POSS  SEC-DECL+F
‘White-lipped peccaries are good to eat [lit., the eating of white-lipped peccaries is good].’

In (243), the S hiyama mee does not refer to a specific group of peccaries, it means white-lipped peccaries in general, i.e. it is generic. When the Jarawaras want to refer to people in general, they use the inclusive plural pronominal ee, as in (244).

(244) haaha  ee  taboro  ee  awawamaraha  tokomaki
haaha  ee  taboro  ee  awa-waha-ma-ra.+F  to-ka-makI.NFIN
this + F  1IN.POSS  place  1IN.A  see-change-back-NEG  away-go/come-following
amosateemone  amake  neme  yaa.
amosa-tee-hamone  ama-ke  neme  yaa
be good-HAB-REP + F  SEC-DECL + F  sky.F  ADJUNCT
‘If people come back to their village [after dying], they don’t go to heaven well.’

This example also shows a quirk of the use of the pronominal ee, that sometimes it is not repeated in a sequence of clauses with the same subject. The S of the NFC tokomaki is ee, but it is phonologically null because it is understood from the preceding clause. This cannot be done with the other plural pronominals.  

3.8 Novel syntax of NFCs in minor contexts

In view of the fact that some of the syntactic contexts discussed in this section were not included in table 2, I have included table 12 summarizing these novel contexts. I have not included data on NFCs with nima or those with forima na in the table, because it is not possible to characterize these cases as a relation of an NFC to an MC. Nor have I included the cases of postposed NFCs, since most of these could be included in table 2, and the rest do not have a regular syntactic relation to the MC.

Table 12 Minor types of NFCs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of NFC</th>
<th>Function of NFC in MC</th>
<th>Type of MC</th>
<th>Raising, Control, or Neither</th>
<th>Examples</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>copular clause</td>
<td>object</td>
<td>transitive Ac</td>
<td>control A-S</td>
<td>(198)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

48 This phenomenon involving the pronominal ee occurs independently of the presence of NFCs, as is shown in (i). In this sentence both clauses are finite, and ee is non-overt but understood as the A of the second clause, makari akawatee amake.

(i) Ee  kama  makari  akawatee  amake.
    ee  ka-ma + F  makari  aka-waha-tee  ama-ke
    1IN.S  go/come-back  clothes.F  wear-change-HAB  SEC-DECL + F
    ‘When we come back [from taking a bath in the stream], we change clothes.’
Distinguishing NFCs from other phenomena

In this last major section, I discuss several kinds of phenomena that are similar to NFCs in Jarawara but need to be distinguished from them. The most important of these are nominalized clauses, which may possibly be considered another kind of non-finite clause. Distinguishing them from NFCs is sometimes a subtle matter. There also seem to be a number of “fossilized” forms that probably originally were NFCs but synchronically should be analyzed as inalienably possessed nouns. The habitual suffix *-tee has a nominalized form *-ti, but these forms do not seem to be the same as the forms used in NFCs. Finally, there is the mysterious case of phrases with *kihi*.

4 Distinguishing NFCs from other phenomena

In the next section I present several kinds of phenomena that need to be distinguished from NFCs.

4.1 Nominalized clauses

Dixon (2004) devotes the whole of one chapter (ch. 19) and significant parts of two other chapters (chs. 20 and 21) to what he calls nominalized clauses. In the following discussion I assume, as he does, that this is a single phenomenon, but this may not necessarily be the case. My concern here, though, is not to go deeply into the analysis of these structures, but to distinguish them from NFCs. Dixon distinguishes the two, but ends up analyzing a number of what I consider NFCs as nominalized clauses. I believe the distinction can be made clearer.

The most common syntactic context in which nominalized clauses are used is in clausal adjuncts marked with *yaa*, as in (245) and (246).

(245) owa tiwasimi yaa oneba taa
owa ti-wasi-ma.NOM+F yaa one-ba taa
1SG.O 2SG.A-find-back ADJNCT other + F-FUT give

    tinamakehabanake owa ni yaa.
ti-na-makI-habana-ke owa ni yaa
2SG.A-AUX-following-FUT + F-DECL + F 1SG to ADJNCT
‘When you see me again you can sell me some more [bags of salt].’
There are two important differences with NFCs to note here. First, there is gender agreement in nominalized clauses. In (245) tiwasimi is feminine to agree with the second person singular subject ti-, and in (246) hate is masculine to agree with the masculine subject yawita mete ‘bottoms of peach palm (nuts)’. There is no gender agreement in NFCs; as we have seen above, a non-finite form ends with i no matter what the gender of any argument in the sentence is.\(^{49}\)\(^{49}\) A second difference with NFCs is that nominalized

\(^{49}\)To be more precise, a non-finite form ends in i for verb stems that end in a. This is the vast majority of verbs. There is, however, a significant minority of verb stems that end in one of the other three vowels, i.e. e, i, or o, or with the morphophoneme I.

For those ending in i or o there is no vowel change when they are used in an NFC. Examples (i) and (ii) show that for a verb stem ending with i such as sawi ‘be located’, the non-finite form will end in i, whether the S is feminine, as in (i), or masculine, as in (ii).

(i) \begin{align*}
oko & \text{sawi} & \text{yabo-haro} & \text{ama oke} & \text{esibitao yaa.} \\
o-kaa & \text{sawi.NFIN} & \text{yabo-haro} & \text{ama o-ke} & \text{esibitao yaa} \\
1SG.POSS-POSS & \text{be at} & \text{be far-RP.E} & +F & \text{SEC} & \text{1SG.POSS-DECL} + F & \text{hospital.M} & \text{ADJUNCT} \\
& \text{‘I stayed a long time in the hospital.’}
\end{align*}

(ii) \begin{align*}
sawi & \text{to-yabo} & \text{yaa} & \text{nafimise} \\
sawi.NFIN & \text{to-yabo.NOM} & \text{yaa} & \text{nafi-misa} + M \\
& \text{be at} & \text{CH-be} & \text{ADJUNCT} & \text{be big-up} \\
& \text{‘He stayed there a long time, and grew up.’}
\end{align*}

Similarly, examples (iii) and (iv) show that the non-finite form of verb stems ending with o always end in o. In (iii), the NFC wato has a feminine subject, and in (iv) the non-finite kamo has a masculine subject.

(iii) \begin{align*}
\text{oataa} & \text{ati} & \text{wato} & \text{nafira} \\
oataa & \text{ati} & \text{wato.NFIN} & \text{nafi-ra} + F \\
1EX.POSS & \text{voice} & \text{know} & \text{be a lot-NEG} \\
& \text{‘She didn’t know our language well.’}
\end{align*}

(iv) \begin{align*}
\text{Okobi} & \text{kamo} & \text{hawa} & \text{toe} & \text{yaa} \\
o-kaabi & \text{kamo.NFIN} & \text{hawa} & \text{to-ha.NOM} + M & \text{yaa} \\
1SG.POSS-POSS-father.M & \text{bury} & \text{be finished} & \text{CH-AUX} & \text{ADJUNCT} \\
& \text{‘When the burying of my father was done.’}
\end{align*}

Verbs that end in e actually have a syllable ha added underlyingly, so the non-finite form ends in hi, as in the form ketehi in (v).

(v) \begin{align*}
\text{Kobati} & \text{tika} & \text{ketehi} & \text{ono} & \text{okare.} \\
kobati & \text{ti-kaa} & \text{ka-teha.NFIN} & \text{o-no} & \text{ok-re} \\
\text{compadre.M} & \text{2SG.POSS-POSS} & \text{COMIT-spread something on} & \text{1SG.A-want} & \text{1SG.A-DECL-NEG} + F \\
& \text{‘Compadre, I don’t want to rub [medicine on] you.’}
\end{align*}
clauses have person prefixes just as regular finite verbs do, cf. *tiwasimi* in (245). This is not true for NFCs, cf. for example *tika tafi* in (27) above.

In both these respects, in having gender agreement and in having person prefixes, nominalized clauses are more like regular finite verbs than NFCs. These two characteristics are also present in another common syntactic context for nominalized clauses, i.e. when they are used as the S of a sentence with the copular verb *ama*, as in (247) and (248).

(247) Owakaka             moto okowami           ama
    o-to-ka-ka. + F       moto o-to-ka-na-waha-ma.NOM + F   ama
    1SG.S-away-COMIT-go/come loop  1SG.S-away-COMIT-AUX-change-back be

    ahi.
    ahi
then
'I went away, and looped around.'

(248) Kana  ni           toke amake ahi.
    kana na.NFIN to-ka.NOM + M ama-ke ahi
    run AUX away-go/come be-DECL here
‘Here is where he ran.’

In (247) *moto okowami* has feminine agreement to agree with the first person singular subject, and in (248) *toke* has masculine agreement to agree with the null subject, a man.

For verb stems ending with the morphophoneme *I*, recall that the *I* will be realized as *i* if the preceding number of moras in the word is even, and *e* if the preceding number of moras is odd. However, the non-finite form of stems that end with *I* will always end with *i*, no matter what the number of preceding moras, and also no matter whether the subject is feminine or masculine. In the following examples, there is an even number of preceding moras in *kamaki* in (vi) and (vii), and an odd number of preceding moras in *fori* in (viii) and *tokomaki* in (ix). The subjects of the NFCs are feminine in (vi) and (viii), and masculine in (vii) and (ix).

(vi)  mee kamaki           wawato toaremetemoneke.
    mee ka-makI.NFIN wa-wato to-ka-ra-hemete-mone-ke
    3PL.S go/come-following DUP-know CH-AUX-NEG-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
‘They never came back.’

(vii) Makoni kamaki       nofare amane.
     makoni ka-makI.NFIN nofa-ra. + M ama-ne
     for this reason go/come-following want-NEG SEC-BKG + M
‘That’s why he doesn’t want to come.’

(viii) fori yaboha
     forI.NFIN yabo + F
     lie on top be long
‘She lay there a long time.’

(ix) Tokomaki              tee awini?
    to-ka-makI.NFIN tee awa-ni
    away-go/come-following 2PL.A see-BKG + F
‘Did you see him go?’

The important point is that in none of these cases is there ever gender agreement.
Also, the exponent of the subject in (247) is the prefix o- in moto okowami, and not oko as it would be if it were an NFC.\

Dixon (2004:483) recognizes both of these differences. Regarding the first difference, he says: “Gender marking on the last element of the predicate nucleus is retained. A final a becomes e for m agreement, and is raised to i for f agreement.” And regarding the second difference, he says this: “The predicate of a nominalized clause...is unlike a complement clause [i.e. NFC] in that it may also include 1sg o-...2sg ti- (recall that in a complement clause these are replaced by oko and tika, respectively, in clause-initial position), and Oc prefix hi-...”

As we have seen in the introduction above, Dixon does not accept that an NFC can have a tense-modal attached to it; he analyzes all such cases as nominalized clauses. While it is true that nominalized clauses can have tense-modals attached to them, it is clear that NFCs have this capability as well. According to Dixon’s view, (20) above would have to be analyzed as a nominalized clause, but then there should be masculine gender agreement, and there is not.

In summary, although it is easy to confuse NFCs with nominalized clauses, mainly because nominalized clauses have an i ending for feminine agreement (and as it happens, feminine nominalized clauses are more common by far than masculine ones), it is possible to distinguish them by the criteria of gender agreement and the presence (nominalized clauses) or absence (NFCs) of person prefixes. Although it is probably the case that nominalized clauses should be analyzed as lacking finiteness like NFCs, in these two ways they are more like finite clauses than NFCs.\

4.2 Fossilized forms

Dixon does not include any examples of NFCs as adjuncts with yaa, and it does appear that indeed such examples do not occur in the language. According to Dixon, clauses that are adjuncts marked by yaa are nominalized clauses rather than NFCs. This is evidenced by the occurrence of gender agreement before yaa, as in for example tai tonihe yaa in (80) above. We may also note that person prefixes are used in these contexts, as in (249).

(249) Fara owiti yaa yama owaamaro ama oke.
     fara o-ita.NOM+F yaa yama o-awa-hamaro ama o-ke
     same+F 1SG.S-sit  ADJNCT thing 1SG.A-see-FP.E+F SEC 1SG.A-DECL+F
     ‘I saw something as I sat there on the ground.’

So we are surprised when we come upon examples like (250), in which the expected gender agreement is lacking.

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50 This is not the place to discuss all the differences between nominalized clauses and regular finite clauses, but there are very significant differences, as Dixon (2004:chs. 19–21) discusses in detail. It is suggestive that if (247), for example, were a finite clause, it would be moto okowama.

51 There are many other differences between NFCs and nominalized clauses—for example, there is no raising or control with nominalized clauses—but these will have to be covered in some other context. My focus here is on NFCs and on distinguishing them from nominalized clauses, and the criteria I have given are sufficient for this purpose.
(250) Isaki iso basa kani yaa bora toke
Isaki iso basa kani yaa bora to-ka + M
Izac.M leg + M protrude kani ADJNCT ball.M away-go/come
‘The ball went between Izac’s legs.’

Based on examples like (80), we would have expected *basa kane* in this sentence, to agree with the masculine subject *Isaki iso* ‘Izac’s legs’. The explanation that I propose is that the form *basa kani* is a “fossilized” form. That is, it is a form that at one time in the history of the language was a non-finite verb form synchronically, but that through time became simply an inalienably possessed noun. The evidence for this is that apparently, although *basa na* ‘stick out’ is a verb synchronically (251), and the root can be found in the derivations *basa tona* ‘stick out’ (with the change of state prefix to-) and *basasa na* ‘sprout’ (with reduplication), the derivation *basa kana* is not found synchronically as a verb. At least, I have not seen it used, except for in the form *basa kani*, which means ‘fork’.

(251) Kimi basa tee amaka.
   kimi basa na-tee ama-ka
corn.M protrude AUX-HAB SEC-DECL + M
‘Corn [ears] stick out [the side of the stalk].’

There seem to be a few other forms like *basa kani* in Jarawara. One very commonly encountered one is *abohi* ‘dead/dead body’. As Dixon notes, there is a causative verb *naboha* ‘kill’ in Jarawara, and there is an intransitive verb *aboha* ‘die’ in the closely-related dialect Banawá, but the intransitive verb does not exist in Jarawara.52 Presumably *naboha* was derived at an earlier stage of Jarawara from the causative prefix *na-* and *aboha* ‘die’, with *abohi* being the non-finite form of *aboha*, and then *aboha* dropped out of the Jarawara dialect. Dixon (2004:120) calls *abohi* “probably a nominalization of an original form *aboha*,” but it is unclear to me what kind of nominalization he means. *Abohi* is not a nominalized clause, because the first and second person singular forms are *oko abohi* and *tika abohi* (252). These forms are consistent with this being an inalienably possessed noun (and originally a non-finite verb form), but not a nominalized clause.

(252) tika abowi mee towakamabone mee
ti-ka abohi mee to-ka-ka-ma-habone mee
2SG.POSS-POSS dead body 3PL.A away-COMIT-go/come-back-INT + F 3PL.A

ati na
ati na + F
say AUX
‘They wanted to take your body away.’

Another similar case is *isi ni* ‘little bit’ (253). There is no synchronic verb *isi na* in Jarawara, only *iisi na* and *isisi na*, both of which mean ‘be very small’, each with a different

52 The intransitive verb *aboha* is listed in Ernie Buller’s (1992) dictionary of Banawá. In an email, Buller provided the following examples from texts: (a) *faa de kayawa, de abowa bone* ‘you guard the water, (and) you will die’ and (b) *abowe, me hikamovei matamona* ‘he died, and was buried by them.’ In (a) the verb is feminine, and in (b) it is masculine. (Buller, personal communication)
kind of reduplication; *isi niha* ‘cause to be just a little’ with both reduplication and the causative prefix *niha*; and *isi tonā* ‘become only a little’ with the change of state prefix *to-*.

My conclusion is that *isi ni* is synchronically an inalienably possessed noun, not a verbal form.

(253) Iyawa *isi* ni okobarake.
iyawa *isi* ni o-kaba-ha-ra-ke
           tapioca.f be small ni 1sg.a-eat-ip.e + f-decl + f
‘I ate a little of the tapioca.’

There is some evidence that this kind of inalienably possessed noun can also be related to a synchronic verb. This, at least, is how I analyze *hirinī* in (254).

(254) Kotawari efe hiri ni yaa wati ino borone
ekotawari efe hiri ni yaa wati ino borone
           palm sp.m leaf + m make ni adjnct arrow.m point + m container + m
tohatee amaka.
to-ha-tee ama-ka
          ch-be-hab sec-decl + m
‘The arrow holder is made of kotawari palm leaves.’

There is a verb *hirinā* ‘make’, cf. for example (137) above. Yet the use in (254) does not seem to be a nominalized clause, otherwise the form would be *hiri ne* for masculine agreement with *kotawari efe*.

The same argument can be used to show that *امونَي* is an inalienably possessed noun when it means ‘day’. The verb *امونَا* means ‘sleep’, as in (136) above. There is no doubt that the string *امونَي* is a non-finite verb form when it refers to the act of sleeping. I have indicated this in several examples above, i.e. (130), (137), and (171). But *امونَي* can also mean ‘day’, and apparently when it has this meaning, it is just an inalienably possessed noun, as shown by the lack of gender agreement when it occurs in an adjunct with *yaa*, as in (255).

(255) Manakobisa otaa tokisatasa *yinero* otaa tira
manakobisa otaa to-ka-risa-tasa + f *yinero* otaa tira
          then 1ex.s away-go/come-down-again money.m 1ex.a withdraw
           nabone otaa kaa *yinero* *امونَي* yaa.
na-habone otaa kaa *yinero* *امونَي* yaa
         aux-int + f 1ex poss money.m sleep ni adjnct
‘Then we went downstream again, to withdraw our money, on the day of our money.’

The noun *yinero* ‘money’ is masculine, and if *امونَي* were verbal in this sentence, it would be a nominalized clause because of *yaa*, and in this case it would be *امون ne* to agree with *yinero*. There are examples where the form is indeed *امون ne* because it is a nominalized clause, as in (256). In this case, the clause refers to sleeping.
I conclude that *amo ni* is an inalienably possessed noun when it means ‘day’, even though it is semantically connected with the verb *amo na* ‘sleep’. For this reason, I have not counted the string *amo ni* as a non-finite verb form whenever it means ‘day’.

It thus seems that inalienably possessed nouns can be derived from non-finite verb forms synchronically. This may also be the case for *kahi* ‘roasted’, which is related to the verb *kaha* ‘be toasted’. Dixon 2004:342 discusses *kahi*, concluding that it is a nominalized clause, but this does not seem to be the case, since it never shows gender agreement. I have not seen any conclusive evidence that *kahi* is not a non-finite verb form, but semantically it seems to be a good candidate for being a derived inalienably possessed noun. Other possible candidates for this kind of derivational analysis include *hiri ni* ‘flame’, *hiri na* ‘burn’ (cf. Dixon 2004:342); *hati* ‘ripe’, *hata* ‘be ripe’ (cf. Dixon 2004:342); *keho ni* ‘rolled up’, *keho na* ‘roll up’; *karawi* ‘fried’, *karawa* ‘fry’; *taro ni* ‘(soccer) game’, *taro na* ‘kick’; *hihiya ni* ‘wound’, *hihiya na* ‘be bad’; *soki* ‘darkness’, *soki na* ‘be dark’; *yama ni* ‘thing made of’, *yama na* ‘make’; *fawa ni* ‘disappearance’, *fawa na* ‘disappear’.

4.3 -ti ‘habitual’

Dixon (2004:137, 193) mentions briefly that the habitual suffix *-tee* sometimes has the form *-ti*. Dixon analyzes these cases as nominalized clauses. I doubt that this is the best analysis, since there is never any gender agreement, that is, the form is always *-ti* no matter what the gender of the arguments. For example, the form *winatibanake* in (257) shows feminine agreement, and the form *toatimata* in (258) shows masculine agreement, but the form *-ti* itself in each of these words shows no gender agreement.

(256) Kamakiba awane amo ne yaa.
    ka-ma-kl-hiba awa-ne amo na.NOM + M yaa
    go/come-back-coming-FUT + M seem + M-BKG + M sleep AUX ADJNCT
‘I think he will come back after he sleeps [the man was lost in the forest].’

(257) Faa boti yaa mee winatibanake.
    faha boti yaa mee wina-ti-bana-ke
    water.F inside ADJNCT 3PLS live-HAB-FUT-DECL + F
‘They are living underwater.’

(258) Kakaako toatimata hofe ahi.
    ka-kaako to-ha-ti-mata hofa + M ahi
    DUP-be angry with CH-AUX-HAB-short time be in water there
‘He [the one who turned into the first alligator] was always angry, and he is lying there now in the water.’

The fact that the suffix *-ti* ends with *i* and is invariable would suggest that these might be non-finite verb forms, but this seems not to be the case, since for one thing, these forms can have person prefixes, as the form *owati* in (259). These forms with *-ti* are never found with first person singular *oko* or second person singular *tika*, as NFCs are.
(259) Onoko  awa  owati  yora  okariwamaro
  o-noko  awa+F  o-awa-ti  yora  o-ka-na-riwaha-hamaro
1SG.POSS-eye  see  1SG.S-see-HAB  jump  1SG.S-COMIT-AUX-across-FP.E+F

oke.
o-ke
1SG.S-DECL+F
‘I saw it [the alligator], and when I saw it, I jumped away.’

Clauses with -ti are certainly intriguing. For one thing, they often seem to derive a sort of antipassive from transitive verbs, as in (258) and (259) above. There does seem to be some kind of nominalization involved, but further research needs to be done on clauses with -ti to determine what their precise syntactic nature is.

4.4 The strange case of kihi

There are a few Jarawara sentences with a form kihi, which Dixon (2004:487) analyzed as a nominalization of kiha ‘have’. Dixon stated that phrases containing kihi only occur in a postposed position, but further research has revealed that although it is quite common for these phrases to be postposed, the majority actually are not postposed. One of Dixon’s examples is (260).

(260) Tee  okanarake,  hasabote  kihi.
teetee  o-ka-na-hara-ke  hasabote  kiha.NFIN
put inside  1SG.A-COMIT-AUX-IP,E+F-DECL+F  junk.F  have
‘I put it [the gill net] in [the canoe], junk and all.’

Compare (261), in which the syntax is the same, but the phrase with kihi, instead of being postposed, is in the normal preverbal position.

(261) Wati  kihi  taro  okowite
wati  kiha.NFIN  taro  o-to-ka-na-witI
arrow.M  have  kick  1SG.A-away-COMIT-AUX-out
‘I kicked it [the jaguar] along with the arrows [which were next to the jaguar].’

I agree with Dixon that the form kihi does seem to be related to the verb kiha ‘have’. But what to make of the syntax? One approach would be to consider kihi to be the non-finite form of kiha, and to analyze phrases like hasabote kihi and wati kihi as transitive clauses. One of the problems with this idea is that in this case, the syntax in sentences like (260) and (261) is completely novel. According to this idea, the MC in these sentences is an Oc, the NFC is an Ac, and the O of the MC controls the A of the NFC. We have not seen this configuration anywhere else (cf. table 2), nor have I seen this configuration in any other sentences (not involving kihi) in the corpus.

The MC in the above examples is an Oc, but the MC can also be an Ac, as in (262) and (263). Again, this configuration is otherwise unattested, since according to this analysis, the O of the MC controls the A of the NFC.
The strange case of kihi

(262) Oma oko kabikana oma o-ka kabikana
piranha.M 1SG.POSS-POSS fish hook.F
towakamahareka, mati kihi.
to-ka-ka-ma-hare-ka mati kiha.NFIN
away-COMIT-go/come-back-IP.E + M-DECL + M line + F have
‘The piranha carried off my hook, along with the line.’

(263) Fara hiyama mee yoti kihi mee
fara hiyama mee yoti kiha.NFIN mee
same + F white-lipped peccary.M 3PL.POSS intestines + F have 3PL.A
weye na mee maa tokahemetemone.
weye na + F mee maa to-ka-ha-hemete-mone
carry AUX 3PL.S be tired CH-COMIT-AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F
‘They carried the peccaries with their guts, and they were tired.’

In both these examples, the phrase with kihi involves an inalienably possessed noun, i.e. mati ‘line’ in (262) and yoti ‘guts’ in (263). I don’t know if this is significant, but I have not seen any examples of this configuration that do not involve an inalienably possessed noun.

There is, however, one configuration involving phrases with kihi that can be analyzed as having a counterpart in table 2, and that is when the MC is intransitive, as in (264) and (265).

(264) Manoware boto tokanareka, awa kihi.
Manoware boto to-ka-na-hare-ka awa kiha.NFIN
(man’s name).M fall over CH-COMIT-AUX-IP.E + M-DECL + M tree.F have
‘Manoware fell [out of the tree] with the branch [that he was on].’

(265) Ora ino kihi kakise rama ahi.
ora ino kiha.NFIN ka-ka-risa + M rama ahi
plant sp.M branch + M have COMIT-go/come-down unusual then
‘He fell [out of the tree] with the ora branch.’

According to this analysis, these sentences have the same structure as (35) and (106), respectively.

I am unsure about whether to accept the NFC analysis for kihi in the above cases or not, and I plan to devote further research to this topic. However, it is clear that kihi can occur as a regular non-finite verb form in a completely normal way, as in (266).

(266) Yamanakora kihi otaa nofamakare waha.
yama nakora kiha.NFIN otaa nofa-ma-ka-re waha
shaman’s stone.F have 1EX.A want-back-DECL-NEG + F now
‘We don’t want to have shaman’s stones anymore [i.e. we don’t want to be trained as shamans].’
In summary, while I accept examples like (266) as a completely normal NFC structure with the non-finite form of *kiha*, I am unsure at this point about what the analysis should be of the other phrases discussed above involving the form *kihi*. In the examples in this section I have glossed *kihi* as the non-finite form of *kiha*, but this is mostly for the sake of convenience, and does not reflect a commitment to this analysis. But I cannot accept Dixon’s analysis of *kihi* being a nominalization, at least not a nominalized clause of the type discussed in section 4.1 above. This is because it always has the same form, and never varies its form for gender agreement as nominalized clauses do. Also, the distribution of phrases with *kihi* in syntactic environments is quite different from the distribution of nominalized clauses. It could possibly represent some other kind of nominalization, but there is no other kind of nominalization in Jarawara that I am aware of that has the characteristics manifested by *kihi*.

Appendix: Examples for each verb

This appendix consists of the unelicited examples that constitute the documentation for all the tables in sections 1 and 2, that is, for all the verbs encountered in the syntactic contexts mentioned in table 2. Some but not all of the relevant examples used in the body of the paper are repeated here. Unlike the materials in the body of the paper, the examples in this appendix are organized according to MC verb. More specifically, whenever two or more derivations of the same root occur in contexts with NFCs, the derivations are listed under the root. If, on the other hand, only one derivation occurs with NFCs, the root is not listed, only the derivation. For example, since both *amosa* ‘be good’ and the causative *namosa* (*na-* *amosa*) ‘clean’ occur with NFCs, *namosa* is listed under *amosa*. But since only *kakayoma* (*ka-* *kayoma*) ‘become in the dark’ occurs with NFCs, and not the root *kayoma* ‘darken’ or any other derivation, only *kakayoma* is listed.

For each verb stem, first an example is given of a use of the stem in a context not involving an NFC. Then examples are given for raising and control, as relevant. Finally, examples are given for contexts involving NFCs that cannot be analyzed as either raising or control. This list is certainly not anywhere near complete, just as the tables in sections 1 and 2 are not complete. The list of raising verbs is fairly constrained semantically, but the list of control verbs and other verbs is much less constrained.

A.1 *afi na* ‘bathe’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(267) *Afī onahara oke.*
    *Afī o-na-hara o-ke*
    bathe 1SG.S-AUX-IP.E+F 1SG.S-DECL+F
    ‘I took a bath.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (268) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

53 The appendix does not contain all the examples encountered for each verb, of course, but only enough examples to document each verb in its various uses as an MC verb with NFCs.
A.2 ahaba ‘end’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(269) Nokobisa ahaba awineni?
nokobisa ahaba+F awine-ni
sleepiness.F end seem + F-BKG + F
‘Is [your] sleepiness gone?’

RAISING: The NFC in (270) is intransitive, so this is an example of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(270) mee tafi aabemetemoneke fahi.
mee tafa.NFIN ahaba-hemete-mone-ke fahi
3PL.S eat end-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F then
‘Then they finished eating.’

The configuration in (271) is the same, but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(271) mee kaa awa kaa ni ahaba mee
mee kaa awa kaa na.NFIN ahaba+F mee
3PL POSS tree.F chop AUX end 3PL.POSS
‘They finished chopping down trees.’

There are two successive NFCs in (272), both intransitive. The verb of the first NFC is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(272) sina hisi ni aabi nowati yaa
sina hisi na.NFIN ahaba.NFIN nowati yaa
snuff.F sniff AUX die after ADJUNCT
‘after the taking of snuff was finished’

In (273) the NFC is a transitive Ac.

(273) kafe yaa boro kafawi otaa ahaba
kafe yaa boro ka-fawa.NFIN otaa ahaba+F
coffee.F ADJUNCT cake.M COMIT-drink 1EX.S end
‘We finished eating cake with coffee.’

In (274) the NFC is likewise a transitive Ac, and there is no overt raising, as seen in the fact that the A of the NFC, otaa, is overt in the NFC and not in the MC.
A.2.1 nahabi ‘finish’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(275) awa mee nahabia
    awa mee na-ahaba +F
    garden.F 3PL.A CAUS-end
    ‘They finished [planting] the garden.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (276) is a transitive Ac, as is the MC.

(276) bani mee compoundni naabi
    bani mee mete na.NFIN na-ahaba +M
    animal.M 3PL.O tie AUX CAUS-die
    ‘He finished tying up the [dead] animals.’

The NFC in (277) is a transitive Oc, as is the MC.

(277) wete ni onahabi
    wete na.NFIN o-na-ahaba +M
    tie AUX 1SG.A-CAUS-end
    ‘I finished tying it [the deer] up.’

A.3 aima na ‘ignore’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(278) Ati mee aima hine.
    ati mee aima hi-na + M
    voice 3PL.A ignore OC-AUX
    ‘They didn't pay any attention to what she was saying.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (279) is a transitive Ac.

(279) Yama tai aima onara o.
    yama taa.NFIN aima o-na-hara o-
    thing.F be dense ignore 1SG.A-AUX-IP.E + F 1SG.A
    ‘I didn't care about the dense vegetation [i.e. I ran through it anyway].’

A.4 amosa ‘be good’ (vi)

NO NFC:
RAISING: The NFC in (281) is intransitive; this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(281) *Tika*  *sai*  *ni*  amosabone  *tike.*
 ti-kaa  sai  na.NFIN  amosa-habone  ti-ke
 2SG.POSS-POSS  go away  AUX  be good-INT + F  2SG.POSS-DECL + F

‘You go away nicely [i.e. without making trouble].’

The NFC in (282) is a transitive Ac.

(282) *Yama*  *ahi*  *ni*  ee  amosa
 yama  ahi  na.NFIN  ee  amosa + F
 thing.F  work on  AUX  1IN.S  be good
‘if we work well’

In (283) the NFC is a transitive Oc. There is no overt raising, as seen in the fact that the prefix *hi-* is overt in the NFC rather than in the MC. This undoubtedly has to do with the fact that the verb *amosa*, even though it is an inflected verb, never takes a person prefix (Dixon 2004:120).

(283) *mati*  *hikamini*  amosabonehe.
 mati  hi-kamina.NFIN  amosa-habone-he
 3SG.POSS.mother.F  OC-tell  be good-INT + F-DUP

‘so that her mother will tell about her well’

The source of (283) was Okomobi, who is middle-aged. Bibiri, who is also middle-aged but younger than Okomobi, did not accept (283), but offered (284), which has *hi-* in the normal position, in the MC. In this case there is a different MC verb, and it is transitive. It is the causative of *tamina*, which is a synonym of *amosa*.

(284) *Mati*  *kamina*  hinataminaboneke.
 mati  kamina.NFIN  hi-na-tamina-habone-ke
 3SG.POSS.mother.F  tell  OC-CAUS-be good-INT + F-DECL + F

‘Her mother will tell about her well.’

CONTROL: The NFC is a detransitivized transitive verb as in (285), and I analyze this as a case of backward control rather than the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(285) *Hiyama*  *mee*  *kabi*  amosatee  *mee*  amake.
 hiyama  mee  kaba.NFIN  amosa-tee  mee  ama-ke
 white-lipped peccary.M  3PL.S  eat  be good-HAB  3PL.POSS  SEC-DECL + F

‘White-lipped peccaries are good to eat [lit., the eating of white-lipped peccaries is good].’
A.4.1 namosa ‘clean’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(286) bari ini se o kana, fatara namos e bonah a.
bari ini se o ka-na fatara na-am osa-hibona-ha
ax.F blade + F sharpen COMIT-AUX garden.F CAUS-be good-INT + M-DUP
‘He sharpens the ax, too, so he can reburn his field.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC in (287) is intransitive.

(287) haso kai namose
haso kaha.NFIN na-am osa + M
taro sp.M be toasted CAUS-be good
‘He took the skins off some haso taros.’

A.5 ati na ‘say’ (vi)

NO NFC: With no NFC present, this verb is transitive when the quote is an indirect quote (288), but probably is intransitive on the surface with a direct quote (289).

(288) Af iyao son em ona mee hinareka.
afi yao sona-h im o na mee ati hi-na- hare-ka
airplane.M fall-REP + M 3PL.A sayOC-AUX-IP.E + M-DECL + M
‘The others said the plane had crashed.’

(289) Yinero tama tikana hi Haimota ati ne
yinero tama ti-ka-na-hi Haimota ati na + M
money.M hold onto 2SG.A-COMIT-AUX-IMP + F (woman’s name).F say AUX
‘“You hold onto the money,” Haimota said.’

CONTROL: The quote is usually a direct quote, as in (290), but it can also be an indirect quote, as in (291). In both cases, the MC verb is intransitive on the surface, since a shared pronominal argument is always overt in the NFC and never in the MC. Note that there is possessor agreement in (290).

(290) Faa tee aawa nahi o ko haa ni ati
faha tee a-awa na-hi o-kaa haa na.NFIN ati
water.F 2PL.A DUP-see AUX-IMP + F 1SG.POSS-POSS call AUX say
nara o ke.
na-hara o-ke
AUX-IP.E + F 1SG.POSS-DECL + F
‘“You watch the water [coming out of the boat motor],” I said, calling out.’
A.5.1 ati nama‘come back and say’ (vi)

NO NFC: There is no example with this derivation in the corpus in a context not involving an NFC.

CONTROL: This derivation with directional -ma seems to have the same character as ati na, i.e. it behaves like an intransitive verb, with backward control (292).

A.6 awa ‘see’ (vt)

NO NFC: This verb has two related meanings, ‘see’ (293) and ‘feel’ (294).
Jarawara Complement Clauses

(295) tama kawini awa tonakatee
tama ka-wina.NFIN awa + F to-na-ka-tee
epiphyte sp.F COMIT-lie in hammock see away-CAUS-go/come-HAB

amake bisa.
am-a-ke bisa
SEC-DECL + F also
‘When some tama aerial roots are seen hanging, they are gone after.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (296) is a transitive Ac.

(296) Awa homi awebona
awa homa.NFIN awa-hibona
tree.F lie on ground see-INT + M
‘He wanted to see where the log was lying.’

(297) is similar, except that the meaning is ‘feel’.

(297) tee akari tee awi yaa
tee akara.NFIN tee awa.NOM + F yaa
2PL.S be satiated 2PL.A feel ADJNCT
‘when you feel full’

The NFC in (298) is likewise intransitive, but the verb is a detransitivized transitive verb. The MC is again a transitive Ac.

(298) mee kaa ami nabowi mee awaha
mee kaa ami na-aboha.NFIN mee awa + F
3PL. POSS mother.F CAUS-die 3PL.A see
‘They saw their mother who had been killed.’

(299) is similar, with the additional detail of the notional A of the NFC being represented as an alienable possessor.

(299) Tokomaki fati kaa kona saa ni
to-ka-maki+M fati kaa kona saa na.NFIN
away-go/come-following 3SG.POSS.wife.F POSS plant sp.M release AUX

awematamonaka.
aw-himata-mona-ka
feel-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
‘He went, and saw where his wife had put kona roots in the water.’

The MC in (300) is a transitive Oc.

(300) mee kakami otaa awaremeteke.
mee ka-ka-ma.NFIN otaa awa-ra-hemete-ke
3PL.S COMIT-go/come-back 1EX.A see-NEG-FP.N + F-DECL + F
‘We didn’t see when the two of them came back.’
Example (301) is similar, except that the NFC is postposed.

(301) Owarerika tokomi.
o-awa-ra-hiri-ka to-ka-ma.NFIN
1SG.A-see-NEG-RP.E + M-DECL + M away-go/come-back
‘I didn’t see it [the airplane] go.’

A.7 bao na ‘hit the ground’ (vi)

NO NFC: There is no example of this verb in the corpus in a context not involving an NFC, but (302) contains the derivation bao nama ‘come down to the ground’.

(302) Mee nafi kamaweemetemoneke neme kaa
mee nafi ka-ma-waha-hemete-mone-ke neme kaa
3PL.POSS all go/come-back-change-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F sky LOC
yaa, mee bao namabani mati.
yaa mee bao na-ma-haba-ni mati
ADJUNCT 3PL.S go/come down AUX-back-FUT + F-IP.N + F 3PL.S
‘They all came from the sky. Then they came down to the ground.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (303) is a transitive Ac.

(303) Anoti weye ni bao ne
anoti weye na.NFIN bao na + M
3SG.POSS older brother.M carry AUX come down AUX
‘He was hitting his feet on the ground as he carried his older brother.’

A.8 bara tona ‘stop’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(304) Faha bara tonake.
faha bara to-na-ke
water.F stop CH-AUX-DECL + F
‘The rain stopped.’

RAISING: The NFC in (305) is intransitive, so this is an example of the use of a raising verb without overt raising. There is an adjective modifying the NFC.

(305) faa kaki eebotee bara tona
faha ka-kl.NFIN ehebotee bara to-na + F
water.F go/come-coming big stop CH-AUX
‘The hard rain ended.’
A.9 *bari na* ‘impede’ (vt)

NO NFC:


   hawi bari ti-na
   trail.F impede 2SG.A-AUX
   ‘Block the path.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The intransitive NFC is the A of the MC, which is a transitive Oc.

(307) Inamatewe ohi ne ohi ni narabo bari hine.

   inamatewe ohi na+M ohi na.NFIN narabo bari hi-na+M
   child.M cry AUX cry AUX ear+M impede OC-AUX
   ‘The boy was crying. His crying kept [the Yima] from hearing [lit., impeded his ears].’

A.10 *bata na* ‘pick’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(308) Sina bata onaabone oke.

   sina bata o-na-habone o-ke
   tobacco.F pick 1SG.A-AUX-INT+F 1SG.A-DECL+F
   ‘I’m going to pick tobacco leaves.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC in (309) is the O of the MC, which is a transitive Ac.

(309) watama hati bata ne

   watama hata.NFIN bata na+M
   tree sp.F be ripe pick AUX
   ‘He picked ripe watama fruits.’

A.10.1 *bata kana* ‘take by surprise’ (vt)

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC in (310) is the A of the MC, which is a transitive Ac.

(310) yama soki owa bata kana

   yama soki.NFIN owa bata ka-na+F
   thing.F be dark 1SG.O surprise COMIT-AUX
   ‘Darkness came on me unexpectedly.’

(311) is similar, except that the MC is a transitive Oc.
(311) yama soki bata hikane
yama soki.NFIN bata hi-ka-na + M
thing.F be dark surprise OC-COMIT-AUX
‘ Darkness overtook him.’

A.11 behe nisa ‘be diagonal’ (vi)

NO NFC: There are no examples with this verb in the corpus that do not involve NFCs. The verb behe tona ‘be turned’ in (312) is a related derivation.

(312) inohowe yara mee kaa hineno abowi behe
inohowe yara mee kaa hi-na-hino abohi behe
alligator sp. M Brazilian. M 3PL.A chop OC-AUX-IP.N + M dead body turn over
tonaareka fahi awa beheri yaa.
to-na-hare-ka fahi awa beheri yaa
CH-AUX-IP.E + M-DECL + M then tree.F side ADJNCT
‘ A dead alligator which the Brazilians had cut was lying on its side next to the log.’

RAISING: The NFC in (313) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized intransitive verb. This is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(313) Bari yaa koba kaa na kaa ni behe nisatee
bari yaa koba kaa na + F kaa na.NFIN behe na-risa-tee
ax.F ADJNCT copaiba.F chop AUX chop AUX turn over AUX-down-HAB

amake, haa yaa.
am-a-ke haa yaa
SEC-DECL + F DEM ADJNCT
‘ If a copaiba tree is cut with an ax, the cut is diagonal.’

A.12 bere nama ‘walk on top’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(314) bere onamabone owisi bere kanisa
bere o-na-ma-habone o-isi bere ka-na-risa + F
be across 1SG.S-AUX-back-INT + F 1SG.POSS-leg + F be across COMIT-AUX-down
‘ I was going to walk on top [of the mud], and my legs went down into it.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (315) is a transitive Ac.

(315) bayaro tama kani bere onama
bayaro tama ka-na.NFIN bere o-na-ma + F
fish sp.M hold onto COMIT-AUX be across 1SG.S-AUX-back
‘I came back on top [of the log], holding the bayaro fish.’
A.13 bete nawaha ‘run away’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(316) Bete  nawaa
    bete  na-waha + F
    run    AUX-change
  ‘She ran away.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (317) is a transitive Ac.

(317) wati  bati  kani  bete  nawemetemoneke.
    wati  bati  ka-na.NFIN  bete  na-waha-hemete-mone-ke
    arrow  pinch  COMIT-AUX  run  AUX-change-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
  ‘She ran holding a broken off arrow under her arm.’

A.14 bita ‘be bitter’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(318) Aba  bitaka.
    aba  bita-ka
    fish.M  be bitter-DECL + M
  ‘The fish is bitter.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (319) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of backward control.

(319) Yama  kabi  bitahamone
    yama  kaba.NFIN  bita-hamone
    thing.F  eat  be bitter-REP + F
  ‘It is said to be bitter when it is eaten.’

A.15 boko na ‘be a small amount’ (vi)

NO NFC: There is no example with this verb in the corpus in a context not involving an NFC.

RAISING: The NFC in (320) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(320) Otaa  tafi  boko  naro  otake.
    otaa  tafa.NFIN  boko  na-haro  otaa-ke
    1EX.S  eat  be a small amount  AUX-RP.E + F  1EX.POSS-DECL + F
  ‘We didn't eat much.’
A.16 bori namaki ‘get closer’ (vi)

NO NFC: The second clause in (321) has no NFC.

(321) haa ni bori namaki bori namaki
haa na.NFIN bori na-maki bori na-maki
 call AUX get close AUX-following get close AUX-following

nematamonaka.
na-himata-mona-ka
AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
‘Her calling got closer, and he got closer.’

CONTROL: The first part of (321) above has an NFC that is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

A.17 bosa na ‘get up early’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(322) mee amo na mee bosa nemetemoneke.
mee amo na+F mee bosa na-hemete-mone-ke
3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S get up early AUX-FP.N+F-REP+F-DECL+F
‘They slept, and then got up early.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (323) is postposed. If it were in the normal preverbal position, the sentence would be yama siba ni bosa onaara oke. The NFC is a transitive Ac.

(323) bosa onaara oke yama siba ni.
bosa o-na-hara o-ke yama siba na.NFIN
get up early 1SG.S-AUX-IP.E+F 1SG.S-DECL+F thing.F look for AUX
‘I got up early to look around.’

A.18 boyo na ‘touch’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(324) yamata boyo ne
yamata boyo na+M
food.F feel AUX
‘He felt the food [in the dark].’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC in (325) is the A of the MC, which is a transitive Ac.

(325) Yama irabo tiwa boyo na awineni.
yama irabo.NFIN tiwa boyo na+F awine-ni
thing.F be bad 2SG.O feel AUX seem+F-BKG+F
‘Some bad being has affected you.’
A.19 ee na ‘be like’ (vi)

NO NFC: This verb means ‘be like’ in declarative sentences and polar questions (326), and is also used in content questions as a very broad question word. In (327) it means ‘how many?’

(326) Ee naba ama ahi?
    ee na-haba ama ahi
    be similar AUX-FUT+F SEC this
    ‘Should it be like this?’

(327) Bari ee na awineri?
    bari ee na+F awineri
    ax (question) AUX seem+F-CQ+F
    ‘How many axes are there?’

   It should be noted that there are some difficulties with the analysis of this verb. In most examples, it appears to be straightforwardly a non-inflecting intransitive verb with the auxiliary na, but then there are other examples in which it appears that ee and na are separate syntactic objects, such as (328).

(328) Ee owati nabisabana oke.
    ee o-ati na-bisa-habana o-ke
    like this 1SG.POSS-voice AUX-also-FUT+F 1SG.POSS-DECL+F
    ‘That is what I will say [lit., my word will be like that].’

   Because the inalienably possessed noun owati comes between ee and na in this sentence, it appears that ee na cannot be a verb, but is probably a demonstrative of some kind plus an auxiliary. The alternative owati ee nabisabana oke is also fine, and in this case ee na may be analyzed as a verb as in (327). For the present I will continue to analyze ee na as an intransitive verb (excepting examples like (328)), because so far I have not seen any irregularities involving NFCs. This is in contrast to the case of forima na discussed in section 2.1 above, in which there are irregularities involving NFCs.

RAISING: The NFC in (329) is intransitive, so this is an example of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(329) Ora onaha oko ora ni ee nara
    ora o-na+F o-ka ora na.NFIN ee na-hara
    pray 1SG.S-AUX 1SG.POSS-POSS pray AUX be similar AUX-IP.E+F
    oke.
    o-ke
    1SG.POSS-DECL+F
    ‘As I prayed, I prayed like this.’

   The NFC in (330) is a transitive Ac. The O in the NFC is represented by possessive tika rather than the object form tiwa, but tiwa is acceptable here as well.
A.20 *eheto* ‘be good’ (vi)

**NO NFC:**

(331) Yama ee botiha eetoteera amake.
    yama ee boti +F eheto-tee-ra +F ama-ke
    thing.F 1IN.A steal be good-HAB-NEG SEC-DECL +F
    ‘It’s not good to steal things.’

**CONTROL:** The NFC in (332) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. I analyze this as a case of backward control rather than the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(332) Mee *kabi* ehetotee mee amake.
    mee kaba.NFIN eheto-tee mee ama-ke
    3PL.S eat be good-HAB 3PL.POSS SEC-DECL +F
    ‘They [*ote fish] are good to eat.’

A.21 *fama* ‘be two’ (vi)

**NO NFC:**

(333) Mee famake, kanawaa mee ori na mati.
    mee fama-ke kanawaa mee ori na.+F mati
    3PL.S be two-DECL +F canoe.F 3PL.A paddle AUX 3PL.A
    ‘There are two people paddling the canoe.’

**RAISING:** The NFC in (334) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(334) *arakawa haa ni* fame yaa.
    arakawa haa na.NFIN fama.NOM +M yaa
    chicken call AUX be two ADJNCT
    ‘when the rooster had crowed twice’

In (335) the NFC is likewise intransitive, but in this case it is a detransitivized transitive verb.
(335) Kamini  famake.
   kamina.NFIN  fama-ke
tell  be two-DECL + F
‘There were two tellings [i.e. two stories were told as one].’

The NFC in (336) is a transitive Ac.

(336) Awani  mee  mowa  ni  fame
   awani  mee  mowa  na.NFIN  fama + M
   wasp.M  3PL.O  fight  AUX  be two
‘He fought the wasps twice.’

The NFC in (337) is a transitive Oc.

(337) Saa  kani  mee  hifame
   saa  ka-na.NFIN  mee  hi-fama + M
   shoot with arrow  COMIT-AUX  3PL.S  OC-be two
‘They shot it [the jaguar] with two arrows.’

A.21.1 tofamamaki ‘go with someone after something’ (vi)

NO NFC: There are no examples of this derivation in the corpus in contexts not involving an NFC. The closely related derivation famama ‘come back with someone’ in (338) is suggestive.

(338) Yobeto  fati  famamareka.
   Yobeto  fati  fama-ma-hare-ka
   Bob.M  3SG.POSS.wife.F  be with-back-IP.E + M-DECL. + M
‘Bob came back with his wife.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (339) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(339) wabori  yaa  kana  ni  tofamamaki
   wabori  yaa  kana  na.NFIN  to-fama-makI + M
   3SG.POSS brother-in-law.M  ADJNCT  run  AUX  away-be with-following
‘He was running with his brother-in-law [after the white-lipped peccaries].’

A.22 fari nama ‘come back’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(340) Mee  fari  nameememetemoneke  fahi.
   mee  fari  na-ma-hemete-mone-ke  fahi
   3PL.S  return  AUX-back-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F  then
‘Then they turned back.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (341) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.
fawa na ‘disappear’ (vi)

(341) oko kana ni fari nama
    o-kaa kana na.NFIN fari na-ma+F
1SG.POSS-POSS run AUX return AUX-back
‘I came back running.’

A.23 fawa na ‘disappear’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(342) Hiyama mee otaa kiyoha mee fawa
hiyama mee otaa kiyoha+F mee fawa
white-lipped peccary.M 3PL.O 1EX.A chase 3PL.S disappear

narake ahi faha yaa.
na-hara-ke ahi faha yaa
AUX-IP.E + F-DECL + F then water.F ADJNCT
‘We went after the peccaries, but they got away in the water.’

RAISING: The NFC in (343) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(343) mee haahaa ni fawa nineni.
mee haaaha na.NFIN fawa na-ne-ni
3PL.S laugh AUX stop AUX-CONT + F-BKG + F
‘They stopped laughing.’

The NFC in (344) is also intransitive, but the verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(344)Yawita kabi fawa ne yaa
yawita kaba.NFIN fawa na+M yaa
peach palm eat stop AUX ADJNCT
‘when the eating of peach palm fruits stops’

The NFC in (345) is a transitive Ac.

(345) sofa tii kani fawa onahamaro oke.
sosa tii ka-na.NFIN fawa o-na-hamaro o-ke
tree sp.F cut through COMIT-AUX stop 1SG.S-AUX-FP.E + F 1SG.S-DECL + F
‘I finished clearing brush around the sofa tree.’

The NFC in (346) is a transitive Oc.
(346) Mee toma hine, *toma ni* mee fawa
mee toma hi-na + M toma na.NFIN mee fawa
3PL.A suck OC-AUX suck AUX 3PL.S stop

hinematamonaka.
hi-na-himata-mona-ka
OC-AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
‘They sucked on him to make him well. After several tried, they stopped trying.’

**A.23.1 fawa kana‘disappear because of something’ (vi)**

**NO NFC:**

(347) Mee ati fawa kana mee naohemetemoneke.
mee ati fawa ka-na + F mee na-ho-hemete-mone-ke
3PL.POSS voice disappear COMIT-AUX 3PL.S stand-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
‘They stopped talking [because someone told them to be quiet] and stood there.’

RAISING: The NFC in (348) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(348) Faya mee ohi ni fawa kaneemetemone mee
faya mee ohi na.NFIN fawa ka-na-hemete-mone mee
so 3PL.S cry AUX stop COMIT-AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F 3PL.POSS

amani.
aman-i
SEC-BKG + F
‘Then they stopped crying [when they saw someone coming].’

**A.23.2 fawa nisa‘diminish’ (vi)**

**NO NFC:**

(349) kanawaa fawa nisarake.
kanawaa fawa na-risa-hara-ke
canoe.F disappear AUX-down-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘The canoe was low in the water.’

RAISING: The NFC in (350) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.
(350) Faya otaa hiyara otaa hiyari fawa nisa otake faya otaa hiyara+F otaa hiyari.NFIN fawa na-risa+F otaa-ke so 1EX.S speak 1EX.S speak stop AUX-down 1EX.POSS-DECL+F

fahi waha.
fahi waha then now
‘We were talking, and then we stopped talking.’

A.23.3 fawa tokana ‘two die’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(351) Faya Kakawa biti mee fawa faya Kakawa biti mee fawa so (man’s name).M 3SG.POSS.son.M 3PL.S disappear
tokanarake, sarabo ihi. to-ka-na-hara-ke sarabo ihi CH-COMIT-AUX-IP.E + F-DECL + F measles.F because of + F
‘Then Kakawa’s two sons died of the measles.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (352) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(352) Mee fami fawa tokanemetemoneke.
mee fama.NFIN fawa to-ka-na-hemete-mone-ke 3PL.S be two disappear CH-COMIT-AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
‘Both of them died.’

A.23.4 fawa tokaniha ‘kill two’ (vt)

NO NFC: There is no example in the corpus with ka- that is not in a context with an NFC, but (353) without ka- is suggestive.

(353) Hiyama mee mee fawa tonihememetone fawa to-niha-na-hemete-mone white-lipped peccary.M 3PL.O 3PL.A disappear CH-CAUS-AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F
‘They killed almost all the white-lipped peccaries.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC in (354) is postposed, but could be pronounced in the normal preverbal position with no difference in meaning. That is, the order could be mee fami fawa hikanihememetoneke faaro.
(354) mee fawa hikanihemetemoneke faro,  
me fawa hi-to-ka-niha-na-hemete-mone-ke faro  
3PL.O disappear OC-CH-COMIT-CAUS-AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F that + F  
mee fami.  
me fama.NFIN  
3PL.S be two  
‘He [the jungle monster] killed the two of them.’

A.24 fiya na ‘pass’ (vi)

Several derivations of this root occur with NFCs.

A.24.1 fiya nama‘pass, coming’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(355) Otara mee fiya nama otaa  
otara mee fiya na-ma+F otaa  
1EX.O 3PL.A pass AUX-back 1EX.S  
tokifiaamabisaro otake.  
to-ka-fl-waha-ma-bisa-haro otaa-ke  
avay-go/come-water-change-back-also-RP.E + F 1EX.S-DECL + F  
‘They passed us as we were going down to the water.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (356) is a transitive Ac.

(356) Nisori mee yoro ni fiya name  
nisori mee yoro na.NFIN fiya na-ma+M  
3SG.POSS.younger brother.M 3PL.S stand AUX pass AUX-back  
‘He came past his two younger brothers as they stood there.’

A.24.2 fiya nama‘pass by, coming’ (vi)

NO NFC: This derivation is different from the preceding in that it is intransitive, as in (357).

(357) Otaa fiya nama otake.  
otaa fiya na-ma+F otaa-ke  
1EX.S pass AUX-back 1EX.S-DECL + F  
‘We didn’t stop to sleep at Samaúma on the way back [lit., we passed by, coming].’

CONTROL: The NFC in (358) is a transitive Ac.

(358) mee weye ni fiya onamimaro amani.  
mee weye na.NFIN fiya o-na-ma.NOM+F-maro ama-ni  
3PL.O carry AUX pass 1SG.S-AUX-back-FP.E + F be-BKG + F  
‘I came on past [the others] carrying them [the white-lipped peccaries].’
A.24.3 *fiya tonakosama* ‘pass by, going’ (vi)

NO NFC: There aren't any examples of this derivation in the corpus in contexts not involving an NFC, but the various related derivations are suggestive.

**CONTROL:** The NFC in (359) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(359) *oi ni fiya tonakosame*
    *ohi na.NFIN fiya to-na-kosa-ma + M*
    *cry AUX pass away-AUX-middle-back*
    *‘He went [past the houses] crying.’*

A.24.4 *fiya tonama* ‘pass, going’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(360) *Nanato ite fiya toname amaka.*
    *Nanato ita + M fiya to-na-ma + M ama-ka*
    *Nonato sit pass away-AUX-back SEC-DECL + M*
    *‘He passed by Nonato, who was sitting on the ground.’*

**NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL:** The MC in (361) is a transitive Ac.

(361) *mee yowiri ni fiya tonama*
    *mee yowiri na.NFIN fiya to-na-ma + F*
    *3PL.S sing woman's song AUX pass away-AUX-back*
    *‘She went past them as they were singing.’*

A.25 *fora na* ‘shoot with a blowgun’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(362) *bani mee mee fora na*
    *bani mee mee fora na + F*
    *animal.M 3PL.O 3PL.A shoot with blowgun AUX*
    *‘They shot game with blowguns.’*

**NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL:** In (363) the MC is a transitive Ac.

(363) *Wafa mee yaka ni fora ne*
    *wafa mee yaka na.NFIN fora na + M*
    *wooley monkey.M 3PL.S walk AUX shoot with blowgun AUX*
    *‘He shot the wooley monkeys with blowgun darts as they were moving.’*

A.26 *fore* ‘lie on a raised surface’ (vi)

NO NFC:
(364) yomee  awa  mese  yaa  fore
yomee  awa  mese  yaa  forI
jaguar.M  tree.F  surface  ADJNCT  lie on top
‘The jaguar was lying on top of a log.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (365) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(365) amo  ni  forematamona
amo  na.NFIN  forI-hima-mona
sleep  AUX  lie on top-FP.E + M-REP + M
‘He lay on the floor sleeping.’

The configuration in (366), from a traditional story, is the same, but the intransitive
NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(366) Famarawa  kabi  foremetemone  amake  faaro,
fama-rawa+F  kaba.NFIN  forI-hemete-mone  ama-ke  faaro
be two-F.PL  eat  lie on top-FP.N + F-REP + F  SEC-DECL + F  that + F

tabasi  hirawaaro
tabasi  hi-na-rawa-haaro
roast on rack  OC-AUX-F.PL-IP.E + F
‘Half-eaten pieces of the two women were lying [on the rack], which he had roasted.’

A.26.1 forekosa ‘lie exposed’ (vi)

NO NFC: There are no examples of this derivation in the corpus in contexts not involving
an NFC.

CONTROL: The NFC in (367) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(367) Amo  ni  forekosehinoka.
amo  na.NFIN  forI-kosa-hino-ka
sleep  AUX  lie on top-middle-IP.N + M-DECL + M
‘He slept lying on the floor.’

A.27 fota ‘be big’ (vi)

NO NFC: This verb has the same meaning as nafi, but is used when the S is plural, as in
(368).

(368) Awa  mate  fotakere.
awa  mate  fota-ke-re
tree.F  base + F  be big-DECL + F-NEG + F
‘The stumps aren't big.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (369) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.
There are a couple derivations of this root that occur in the corpus with NFCs.

A.28 foto ‘appear’ (vi)

There are a couple derivations of this root that occur in the corpus with NFCs.

A.28.1 fotoma ‘appear, coming’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(370) Kowi fotome
Kowi foto-ma + M
(man's name).M appear-back
‘Kowi appeared [in our village].’

CONTROL: The NFC in (371) is a transitive Ac.

(371) yifari weye kani fotomamari amake
yifari weye ka-na.NFIN foto-ma.NOM + M-mari ama-ke
banana.F carry COMIT-AUX appear-back-FP.E + M be-DECL
‘He appeared carrying some bananas.’

This example illustrates a point about nominalized clauses, and that is that when there is a tense-modal suffix in a nominalized clause, the masculine agreement preceding it is a rather than e. The tense-modal in this case is far past -mari. The tense-modal in a nominalized clause also does not have the -hV syllable which it would have in a finite clause. Other instances of nominalized clauses with a tense-modal and masculine agreement are (851), (893), and (964).

A.28.2 fotomake ‘appear, coming’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(372) Faya bite fotomakeemetemone fahi.
faya bite foto-makI-hemete-mone fahi
so 3SG.POSS.daughter.F appear-following-FP.N + F-REP + F then
‘Then his daughter appeared.’

RAISING: The NFC maka ohi ni in (373) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.
When it got dark, the sound of baby crying came to them. It was the jungle monster crying.

**A.28.3 tofotoma ‘appear, going’ (vi)**

NO NFC:

(374) Mee tabori yaa mee tofotomeemetemoneni.

CONTROL: The NFC in (375) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(375) bite kana ni tofotomeemetemoneni.

‘His daughter appeared, running.’

**A.29 foya ‘be inside’ (vi)**

NO NFC:

(376) Bohasa foyehinoka oko makari kaa boso

CONTROL: The NFC in (377) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(377) tonokorisi foyaareka.

The NFC in (378) is a transitive Ac.
(378) Okaniso  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>o-kaa niso</th>
<th>tama</th>
<th>na.NFIN</th>
<th>o-foya-hara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG.POSS-POSS-younger brother.M hold onto AUX 1SG.S-be inside-IP.E+F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

oke. 
o-ke 
1SG.S-DECL+F 
‘I was inside [the large basket] holding onto my younger brother.’

A.30 haahaa kana ‘laugh at’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(379) Mee haahaa nارoke owa mee haahaa ka-na mati. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mee haahaa na-haro-ke</th>
<th>owa mee haahaa ka-na+F mati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3PL.S laugh AUX-RP.E+F-DECL+F 1SG.O 3PL.A laugh COMIT-AUX 3PL.A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They laughed, laughing at me.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (380) is a transitive Ac.

(380) Sikari ayaki mee haahaa kana mati. 
| Sikari ayaka.NFIN mee haahaa ka-na+F mati |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| (man’s name).M sing 3PL.A laugh COMIT-AUX 3PL.A |

‘They were laughing at Sikari’s singing.’

A.31 haahaani ‘be funny’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(381) Owati haahaani nofara oke. 
| o-atì haahaani nofa-hara o-ke |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| 1SG.POSS-voice be funny recently-IP.E+F 1SG.POSS-DECL+F |

‘I was just kidding.’

RAISING: The NFC in (382) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(382) MoweTati hiyari haahaaniraba re
| Mowe Tati hiyara.NFIN hahani-raba na-ra+M |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| (man’s name).M speak be funny-a bit AUX-NEG |

‘Mowe Tati’s speech was funny.’

A.32 hahata ra ‘be quick’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(383) owa ni nokobisa hahata ra 
| owa ni nokobisa ha-hata na-ra+F |
|---------------------|----------|
| 1SG to sleepiness.F DUP-be fast AUX-NEG |

‘I am getting sleepy quickly.’
RAISING: The NFC in (384) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(384) *Yasito*  

\[
\text{Yasito} \quad \text{kaa} \quad \text{yama} \quad \text{fora} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{hahata} \\
\text{Yasito} \quad \text{kaa} \quad \text{yama} \quad \text{fora} \quad \text{na.NFIN} \quad \text{ha-hata} \\
\text{(man's name).M} \quad \text{POSS} \quad \text{thing.F} \quad \text{shoot with blowgun AUX} \quad \text{DUP-be fast} \\
\text{rarake.} \\
\text{na-ra-hara-ke} \\
\text{AUX-NEG-IP.E + F-DECL + F} \\
\text{‘Yasito is fast at blowgunning.’} \\
\]

A.33 *hasi na* ‘be left’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(385) *Towi miyo* tohe hasi nareka. 

\[
\text{Towi miyo} \quad \text{to-he} \quad \text{hasi} \quad \text{nareka.} \\
\text{towi miyo} \quad \text{to-ha + M} \quad \text{hasi} \quad \text{na-hare-ka} \\
\text{two thousand.M} \quad \text{CH-be} \quad \text{be left} \quad \text{AUX-IP.E + M-DECL + M} \\
\text{‘There are two thousand Reals left.’} \\
\]

RAISING: The NFC in (425) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(386) *Inamatewe* tamine kamini hasi na iisi 

\[
\text{inamatewe} \quad \text{tamine} \quad \text{kamina.NFIN} \quad \text{hasi} \quad \text{na + F} \quad \text{i-iisi} \\
\text{child.F} \quad \text{news about} \quad \text{tell} \quad \text{be left} \quad \text{AUX} \quad \text{DUP-be small} \\
\text{‘There is a little left to tell about the child.’} \\
\]

A.34 *hawa toha* ‘be finished’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(387) *Hinaka* yobe baikani hawa toikime 

\[
\text{hinaka} \quad \text{yobe} \quad \text{baikani hawa} \quad \text{to-ha-kima + M} \\
\text{3SG.POSS house.M} \quad \text{middle} \quad \text{be finished} \quad \text{CH-AUX-two} \\
\text{‘The two parts of the middle of his house were done.’} \\
\]

RAISING: The NFC in (388) is intransitive, so this is an example of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(388) *otaa* tafi hawa toa otake. 

\[
\text{otaa} \quad \text{tafa.NFIN} \quad \text{hawa} \quad \text{to-ha + F} \quad \text{otaa-ke} \\
\text{1EX.S} \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{be finished} \quad \text{CH-AUX} \quad \text{1EX.S-DECL + F} \\
\text{‘We finished eating.’} \\
\]

The NFC verb in (389) is likewise intransitive, but is a detransitivized transitive verb.
We finished tying up our hammocks.'

The NFC in (390) is a transitive Ac.

We finished looking at the dog [to see if it had been bitten by the snake].'

The NFC in (391) is likewise a transitive Ac. There is no overt raising, as seen in the fact that the A of the NFC, *otaa*, is overt in the NFC rather than in the MC.

We finished covering the roof [with thatch].'

The NFC in (392) is a transitive Oc.

We rubbed Kowisari's legs, and I finished rubbing his legs.'

The NFC in the first part of (393) is likewise a transitive Oc. This example is unusual in having the prefix *hi-* in the NFC, and the same prefix is repeated in the MC.

The jaguar had finished eating their guts [i.e. of the girls that it had killed], and he [the father of a girl] looked all around at all their guts.'
The NFC in (394) is likewise a transitive Oc. This example is unusual in that there are two pronominals in the NFC, referencing the A and the O. It would be more normal for the pronominal referencing the A to be raised to the MC, i.e. *mee waka ni mee hawa hihi yaa*.

(394) mee mee waka ni hawa hiwi yaa.
   mee mee waka na.NFIN hawa hi-to-ha.NOM+F yaa
   3PL.O 3PL.A kill AUX be finished OC-away-AUX ADJNCT
   ‘when they were done killing them’

A.34.1 *hawa toniha‘finish’ (vt)*

NO NFC:

(395) Mee tafeba tee hawa toniha.
   mee tafe-ba tee hawa to-niha-ha
   3PL.POSS food +F-FUT 2PL.A be finished CH-CAUS-AUX
   ‘Get their food ready.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (396) is a transitive Ac.

(396) yobe kowi otaa hawa toniha
   yobe kowa.NFIN otaa hawa to-niha +F-ha
   thatch.M weave 1EX.A be finished CH-CAUS-AUX
   ‘We finished weaving the thatch.’

The NFC in (397) is a transitive Oc.

(397) ataro iti hawa onihe
   ataro iti.NFIN hawa o-to-niha-ha +M
   skin +M skin be finished 1SG.A-CH-CAUS-AUX
   ‘I finished skinning it [the cougar].’

A.35 *hiri na‘say’ (vt)*

NO NFC: The central meaning of this verb is ‘make’ or ‘do’, but one of the related meanings is ‘say’ (398).

(398) Keye hiri tine tike.
   keye hiri ti-na-ne ti-ke
   lie.F say 2SG.A-AUX-CONT+F 2SG.A-DECL+F
   ‘You are telling a lie.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The meaning may refer to imitating someone or something else (399), or to making one’s own utterance (400).
(399) tee kaa aki mee yowiri ni tee hiri
teetee aki mee yowiri na.NFIN tee hiri
2PL POSS grandmother.F 3PL.S sing woman's song AUX 2PL.A say

nahi.
aux-imp + F
‘You (pl) sing your grandmothers' songs.’

(400) mee yee ni mee hiri na mati.
mee yee na.NFIN mee hiri na+F mati
3PL.S yell AUX 3PL.A say AUX 3PL.A
‘They [the white-lipped peccaries] were doing their yell.’

A.36 hiyara ‘speak’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(401) Faya otaa hiyara otaa naoha, bahi fawa nise yaa.
faya otaa hiyari+F otaa naho+F bahi fawa na-risa+M yaa
so 1EX.S speak 1EX.S stand sun disappear AUX-down ADJNCT
‘We were standing in the clearing talking when the sun set.’

CONTROL: There are two successive non-finite verbs in (402). The second one, i.e. hiyari, is the MC for the first one, kamini. The entire complex NFC in turn has as its MC the finite verb ati na ‘say’. The NFC kamini is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of backward control.

(402) Mee one mee mee tisa, kamini hiyari
mee one mee mee tisa kamina.NFIN hiyara.NFIN
3PL other+F 3PL.O 3PL.A shoot with arrow tell speak

aati toemetemone okaki aati
a-ati to-ha-hemete-mone o-kaaaki a-ati
DUP-say CH-AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F 1SG.POSS-POSS-grandmother DUP-say

toaamaroke.
to-ha-hamaro-ke
CH-AUX-FP.E + F-DECL + F
‘They shot other people with arrows, the story always said, my grandmother always said.’

A.37 hiyara ‘be bad’ (vi)

NO NFC: This verb almost always occurs with the negative suffix -ra.
(403) Heroso hiyarareka.
   heroso hiya-ra-hare-ka
   watch be bad-NEG-IP.E + M-DECL + M
   ‘The watch is broken.’

RAISING: The NFC in (404) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(404) Oko amo ni hiyarara oke
   o-kaa amo na.NFIN hiya-ra-hara o-ke
   1SG.POSS-POSS sleep AUX be bad-NEG-IP.E + F 1SG.POSS-DECL + F
   ‘I slept badly.’

CONTROL: When the NFC is a detransitivized transitive verb as in (405), I analyze this as a case of backward control.

(405) Yama kabi hiyararake okobabonehe.
    yama kaba.NFIN hiya-ra-hara-ke o-kaba-habone-he
    thing.F eat be bad-NEG-IP.E + F-DECL + F 1SG.A-eat-INT + F-DUP
    ‘The food is bad for me to eat.’

A.37.1 hiihya na ‘be different’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(406) Hawi hiihya narake.
    hawi hi-hiya na-hara-ke
    trail.F DUP-be different AUX-IP.E + F-DECL + F
    ‘This is a different trail.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (407) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(407) Ati yana ni hiihya nemata awaka.
    ati yana na.NFIN hi-hiya na-himata awa-ka
    voice start AUX DUP-be different AUX-FP.E + M seem + M-DECL + M
    ‘He spoke with a different voice [i.e. he disguised his voice].’

A.37.2 tohiya‘change into something else’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(408) Mee tohiyabone mee ati narani.
    mee to-hiya-habone mee ati na-hara-ni
    3PL.S CH-be different-INT + F 3PL.A say AUX-IP.E + F-BKG + F
    ‘They want to turn into [white-lipped peccaries].’

RAISING: The NFC in (409) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.
(409) haa ni tohiyematamonaka.
   haa na.NFIN to-hiya-himata-mona-ka
   call AUX CH-be different-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
   ‘His calling changed [into the calling of a white-lipped peccary].’

CONTROL: The NFC in (410) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(410) Mee ohari tohiyemetemone.
   mee ohari.NFIN to-hiya-hemete-mone
   3PL.S be one CH-be different-FP.N + F-REP + F
   ‘They all turned into animals together.’

A.38 hohowariwaa na ‘be a short time’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(411) Yama hohowariwaa kawahi yaa afiyao tasi
   yama ho-howariwaha ka-na-waha.NOM + F yaa afiyao tasi
   thing.F DUP-be short-across COMIT-AUX-change ADJNCT airplane.M emerge

   nakeareka fahi.
   na-kl-hare-ka fahi
   AUX-coming-IP.E + M-DECL + M then
   ‘In a short time the plane appeared.’

RAISING: The NFC in (412) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(412) tee toki hohowariwaa ni yaa
   tee to-ka.NFIN ho-howariwaha na + F yaa
   2PL.S away-go/come DUP-be short-across AUX ADJNCT
   ‘a short time after you left’

A.39 homa ‘lie on the ground’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(413) Sone homematamona
   sona + M homa-himata-mona
   fall lie on ground-FP.E + M-REP + M
   ‘He fell, and lay on the ground.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (414) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(414) yomee tafti homeno
   yomee tafa.NFIN homa-hino
   jaguar.M eat lie on ground-IP.N + M
   ‘The jaguar had been lying on the ground, eating.’
The configuration in (415) is the same, but the intransitive NFC is a detransitivized transitive verb. The reason that the verb form homa is not marked for gender is that it is a list construction.

(415) Hinaka yowi mee soki nakosi homa.
    hinaka yowi mee soki na-kosa.NFIN homa.LIST
    3SG.POSS brown capuchin.M 3PL.S tie up AUX-middle lie on ground
    ‘His bunch of brown capuchin monkeys tied together were lying on the ground.’

The NFC in (416), from a traditional story, is a transitive Oc. The evidence for this is the absence of an O NP in the NFC.

(416) Yori ni ohoma
    yori na.NFIN o-homa+F
    have sex with AUX 1SG.S-lie on ground
    ‘I lay on the ground having sex with her.’

A.39.1 kahoma ‘many lie on the ground together’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(417) Awa kahamarake, kasohanihi faa
    awa ka-homa-hara-ke ka-sona-hani-hi faha
    tree.F COMIT-lie on ground-IP.E + F-DECL + F COMIT-fall-IP.N + F-DUP water.F

    sai ihi.
    sai.NFIN ihi
    be empty because of+F
    ‘There were lots of logs together, trees that had fallen, because of the water level lowering.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (418) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(418) Honofe yaa aba mee haro
    honofe yaa aba mee haro.NFIN
    plant sp.M ADJNCT fish 3PL.S be boiled

    kahamemetemoneke.
    ka-homa-hemete-mone-ke
    COMIT-lie on ground-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
    ‘There were boiled fish lying on the honofe leaves.’

A.40 homa ‘have something’ (vi)

NO NFC:
(419) Ee    honake.
ee    hona-ke
1IN.S have something-DECL + F
‘We have gotten fish.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (420) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(420) Otaa tami    honini.
ota tama.NFIN hona-ni
1EX.S be many have something-BKG + F
‘Many of us have killed people.’

A.41 iba ‘put down’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(421) Bira    oba    oke.
bira    o-iba    o-ke
battery.F 1SG.A-set down 1SG.A-DECL + F
‘I’m setting the battery on the ground.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The verb in the NFC in (280) is a detransitivized transitive verb, and the MC is a transitive Ac.

(422) tamiyara keho ni    iberi    amaka    kanawaa    tori.
tamiyara keho na.NFIN iba-hiri    ama-ka    kanawaa    tori
tree sp.M roll up AUX set down-RP.E + M SEC-DECL + M canoe.F inside + F
‘He put the roll of tamiyara inner bark in the canoe.’

A.42 iha ‘be put’ (detransitivized)

NO NFC: This is actually a transitive verb, but the occurrence with an NFC in (425) below is detransitivized, as is also the case in (423).

(423) Numero    siko    ihibana?
nomo siko iha.NOM + F-bana
number five.F put-FUT
‘Should number five be put?’

For comparison, (424) is an example with the normal transitive use.

(424) yama    wiye    yaa    noki    tee    iharawi    yaa.
yama    wiye yaa noki tee iha-rawa.NOM + F yaa
thing.F container + F ADJNCT seed + F 2PL.A have-F.PL ADJNCT
‘when you put the seeds in the container’

RAISING: The NFC in (425) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.
(425) *otamine kamini iha, iisi,
o-tamine kamina.NFIN iha.LIST i-isi.LIST
1SG.POSS-news about tell put DUP-be small

narake.
nahara-ke
AUX-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘There is a little to be told about me, too.’

A.43 ima ‘be fat’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(426) Aba imakara.
aba ima-ka-ra
fish.M be fat-DECL + M-NEG
‘The fish doesn't have much fat.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (427) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(427) okasima nafi amosi imahaaro
o-kaa asima nafi amosa.NFIN ima-haaro
1SG.POSS-POSS-younger sister.F all be good be fat-IP.E + F
‘My younger sister was fine, she was fat.’

A.44 iisi na ‘be a little’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(428) Aberika, iisi nari, biti.
ahaba-hiri-ka i-isi na-hari biti
die-RP.E + M-DECL + M DUP-be small AUX-IP.E + M small + M
‘A small [white-lipped peccary] died.’

RAISING: The NFC in (429) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(429) Oko hasi ni iisi naro ama
o-kaa hasi na.NFIN i-isi na-haro ama
1SG.POSS-POSS breathe AUX DUP-be small AUX-RP.E + F SEC

oke.
oke
1SG.POSS-DECL + F
‘I was hardly breathing.’

The NFC in (430) is a transitive Ac.
A.45 ita ‘sit’ (vi)

NO NFC: The central meaning of this verb is ‘sit on the ground’, as in (432), but it can also mean ‘be located’, as in (433).

(432) Tokowisa fati itaani
Tokowisa fati ita-hani
(man's name).M 3SG.POSS.wife.F sit-IP.N+F
towasimakimatamonaka.
to-wasi-makl-himata-mona-ka
away-find-following-FP.E+M-REP+M-DECL+M
‘He found Tokowisa's wife sitting on the ground.’

(433) Hato Abono ai bai ite yaa yifo tafa
Hato Abono ahi bahi ita+M ya yifo tafa
(man's name).M there sun.M be located ADJUNCT firewood split
nematamonaka.
nahimata-mona-ka
AUX-FP.E+M-REP+M-DECL+M
‘When the sun was this high, Hato Abono was cutting firewood.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (434) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.
(434) *Yama* amosi ita yaa yiko mee
*Yama* amosa.NFIN ita + F ya yiko mee
thing.F be good be located ADJNCT howler monkey.M 3PL.S

kawaa.
ka-waa + F
COMIT-be located
‘The howler monkeys were at a place where there was no underbrush in the forest.’

**A.45.1 itabasa‘sit on the edge’ (vi)**

NO NFC:

(435) Nanato Morena itabasabise narabo Isaki nima hine
Nanato Morena ita-basa-bisa + M narabo Isaki nima hi-na + M
(man’s name).M sit-edge-also ear + M *Izac.M* communicate OC-AUX
‘Nanato Morena was sitting by the water, and *Izac* made him a request.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (436) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(436) *Kabikana* tama ni owitabasi onofa ama
kabikana tama na.NFIN o-ita-basa o-nofa + F ama
fish hook.F hold onto AUX 1SG.S-sit-edge 1SG.S-recently SEC

oni.
o-ni
1SG.S-BKG + F
‘I have been sitting on the stream bank, holding a hook and line.’

The transitive NFC *kabikana tama ni* in (437) is postposed. If it were in the normal preverbal position, the sentence would be *kabikana tama ni owitabasa okani*. The NFC is a transitive Ac.

(437) Owitabasa okani *kabikana* tama ni.
o-ita-basa o-kani kabikana tama na.NFIN
1SG.S-sit-edge 1SG.S-? + F fish hook.F hold onto AUX
‘I sat on the bank of the stream, holding onto a hook and line.’

**A.45.2 itari‘sit on a raised surface’ (vi)**

NO NFC:

(438) Tokowisa yobe yoto ne itari
Tokowisa yobe yoto na + M ita-rl + M
(man’s name).M *house.M* cover AUX sit-raised surface
‘Tokowisa sat roofing the house.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (439) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.
(439) Kai bote itaririhi.
kaha.NFIN bote ita-rl-rihi
be toasted old sit-raised surface-NEG.LIST
‘There are no old pieces of charred meat.’

The NFC in (440) is a transitive Ac.

(440) Yama kamiti tiwitarehi.
yama ka-mita.NFIN ti-ita-rl-hi
thing.F COMIT-hear 2SG.S-sit-raised surface-IMP + F
‘Sit there listening.’

The NFC in (441) is a likewise a transitive Ac, but in this sentence the NFC is postposed.

(441) Asima tiwitarehi wafe faki ni
asima ti-ita-rl-hi wafe faki na.NFIN
younger sister.F 2SG.S-sit-raised surface-IMP + F cotton spin.F AUX
‘Sister, sit down here and roll cotton thread.’

A.45.3 kawita‘be in a docked boat’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(442) Kanawaa yaa tee kawiti yaa betira tee hoka
kanawaa yaa tee ka-ita.NOM + F yaa betira tee hoka
canoe.F ADJNCT 2PL.S COMIT-sit ADJNCT rock.F 2PL.A yank

nawaake ahi.
na-waha-ktI ahi
AUX-change-coming here
‘Pull the rock this way, as you are in the canoe.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (443) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(443) Faya otaa amo ni kawita
faya otaa amo na.NFIN ka-ita + F
so 1EX.S sleep AUX COMIT-sit
‘We slept in the docked boat.’

A.45.4 kawitabasa‘sit on the edge’ (vi)

NO NFC: The meaning of the comitative prefix in (444) is ‘inside’, i.e. inside a boat, whereas in (445) below the comitative prefix means ‘hurt/grieving’, but these differences in the meaning of the comitative prefix have nothing to do with the presence or not of an NFC.
(444) Otaa kobo kana otaa kawitabasa
    otaa kobo ka-na+F otaa ka-ita-basa +F
1EX.S  arrive COMIT-AUX 1EX.S COMIT-sit-edge
    ‘We arrived in the boat and pulled up to shore.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (445) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(445) ohi ni kawitabasa
    ohi na.NFIN ka-ita-basa +F
    cry AUX COMIT-sit-edge
    ‘She sat by [her son’s grave] crying.’

A.45.5 kawitare ‘sit on something making noise’ (vi)

NO NFC: In the example below with an NFC, the comitative prefix ka- apparently is used because the monkey was singing. In (446) which has no NFC, it seems that the comitative prefix ka- is used because the tree was broken.

(446) Baikani yaa awa kawitareemetemoneke
    baikani yaa awa ka-ita-rl-hemete-mone-ke
    middle.F ADJUNCT tree.F COMIT-sit-raised surface-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
    ahi.
    ahi
    then
    ‘There was a broken tree hung up on itself in the middle [of the garden].’

CONTROL: The NFC in (447) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(447) Ayaki kawitare
    ayaka.NFIN ka-ita-rI
    sing COMIT-sit-raised surface
    ‘It [the howler monkey] was sitting in the tree, howling.’

A.45.6 tokowitarikosa ‘be left behind in a house’ (vi)

NO NFC: There are no examples with this derivation in the corpus that are in contexts not involving an NFC, but (448), containing the closely related derivation tokowitakosa, is suggestive.

(448) Oyene tokowitakosematamonane.
    oyene to-ka-ita-kosa-himata-mona-ne
    light + M CH-COMIT-sit-middle-FP.E + M-REP + M-BKG + M
    ‘Its [the lizard's] fire was left behind.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (449) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.
A.46 ita ‘pierce’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(450) Yima itematamonaka
    yima ita-himata-mona-ka
  Yima.M pierce-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
  ‘He speared the Yima.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (451) is a transitive Oc.

(451) Amo ni yima hitematamonaka.
    amo na.NFIN yima hi-ita-himata-mona-ka
  sleep AUX Yima.M OC-pierce-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
  ‘The Yima speared him as he slept.’

A.47 iti ‘take out’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(452) Bani toro ee ititeha amake hato yaa.
    bani toro ee iti-te+F ama-ke hato yaa
  animal.M guts + M 1IN.A take out-HAB SEC-DECL + F bamboo.F sp ADJNCT
  ‘We take out the guts of the animal with the hato cutter.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (453) is a transitive Ac.

(453) Ayori yifo hiri ni titi.
    ayori yifo hiri na.NFIN ti-iti
  older brother.M fire.F catch fire AUX 2SG.A-take out
  ‘Older brother, get a coal.’

A.47.1 kakiti ‘take out’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(454) fatara yaa yifari kakitino
    fatara yaa yifari ka-iti-hino
  garden.F ADJNCT banana.F COMIT-take out-IP.N + M
  ‘He took the bunch of bananas off the stalk in the garden.’
NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (455) is a transitive Ac.

(455) haro kakitirawe
    haro.NFIN ka-iti-rawa + M
    be boiled COMIT-take out-F.PL
    ‘He took out the boiled [spider monkeys].’

A.48 ka ‘come/go’ (vi)

This intransitive root occurs in Jarawara only in derived stems with at least one prefix or suffix.

A.48.1 kaaki ‘come making noise’ (vi)

NO NFC: In contexts not involving NFCs, this verb can have several meanings, one of which is ‘come in a canoe’, as in (456). In this case the comitative prefix ka- means ‘inside’. This is not the meaning of ka- in the example with an NFC below; in this case the ka- seems to mean that the monkey was making noise.

(456) Manakobisa ofoya owakakeha
    manakobisa o-foya + F o-ka-ka-ki + F
    then 1SG.S-be inside 1SG.S-COMIT-go/come-coming
    ‘I got in the canoe and came on.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (457) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(457) Biyo kayawi
    biyo ka-yawa.NFIN
    spider monkey.F COMIT-be excited

    kaakieemetemoneke ahi, Towisawa wai
    ka-ka-ki-hemete-mone-ke ahi Towisawa wa.NOM
    COMIT-go/come-coming-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F there (man’s name) stand
    yaa ahi.
yaa ahi
ADJNCT there
    ‘The spider monkeys, excited, came to where Towisawa was standing.’

A.48.2 kaaki ‘bring’ (vt)

NO NFC:
Okobi o-kaabi farina
1SG.POSS-POSS-father.M manioc meal.F

kaakibonaka.
ka-ka-kl-hibona-ka
COMIT-go/come-coming-INT + M-DECL + M
‘My father is going to bring manioc meal.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (459) is a transitive Ac.

Awi kahi sorowaha mee kaakiabone mera
awi kaha.NFIN sorowaha mee ka-ka-kl-habone mera
tapir.M be toasted Zuruwaha.M 3PL.A COMIT-go/come-coming-INT + F 3PL.O

haa ne
haa na + M
call AUX
‘He called the Zuruwahas so that they would bring roasted tapir.’

A.48.3 kabasawahama‘come back along the edge’ (vi)

NO NFC:

Wakari mee kabasawahamarake.
wakari mee ka-basa-waha-ma-hara-ke
Paumari.M 3PLS go/come-edge-change-back-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘The Paumaris came to the edge [of the lake].’

CONTROL: The NFC in (461) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

Faa witi kaa yaa tika kana ni
faha witi kaa yaa ti-kaa kana na.NFIN
water.F edge LOC ADJNCT 2SG.POSS-POSS run AUX

kabasawaamibeya ahi.
ka-basa-waha-ma-be-ya ahi
go/come-edge-change-back-IMMED + F-now then
‘Run along the stream back [to the village].’

A.48.4 kakama‘two come back’ (vi)

NO NFC:

Tee kakamahi.
tee ka-ka-ma-hi
2PLS COMIT-go/come-back-IMP + F
‘You two come here.’
CONTROL: The NFC in (463) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(463) mee oi ni kakamemetemoneni
     mee ohi na.NFIN ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ni
     3PL.S cry AUX COMIT-go/come-back-FP.N + F-REP + F-BKG + F
     ‘The two of them came back crying.’

The NFC in (464) is a transitive Oc.

(464) tiwa kani otaa kakame
     tiwa ka-na.NFIN otaa ka-ka-ma + M
     carry on shoulder COMIT-AUX 1EX.S COMIT-go/come-back
     ‘The two of us came carrying him on our shoulders [in the casket].’

A.48.5 kakama ‘bring back’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(465) Aba mee mee kakamemetemoneke.
     aba mee mee ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke
     fish.M 3PL.O 3PL.A COMIT-go/come-back-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
     ‘They brought the fish back.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (466) is a transitive Ac.

(466) biyo haro kakamarawe
     biyo haro.NFIN ka-ka-ma-rawa + M
     spider monkey.F be boiled COMIT-go/come-back-F.PL
     ‘He brought the boiled spider monkeys.’

The MC in (467) is a transitive Oc.

(467) Heyao fami Tafi hekame
     heyao fama.NFIN Tafi hi-ka-ka-ma + M
     real.M be two David.M OC-COMIT-go/come-back
     ‘David brought two Real notes.’

A.48.6 kakamake ‘two come’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(468) Ee tee kakamakiya.
     ee tee ka-ka-maki-yahi
     yes 2PL.S COMIT-go/come-following-DIST.IMP + F
     ‘All right, you two come.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (469) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.
*kakatimama* ‘come upstream in a boat’ (vi)

(469) **mee kana ni** kakamake

mee kana na.NFIN ka-ka-makI
3PL.S run AUX COMIT-go/come-following
‘The two of them came back running.’

[A.48.7 *kakatimama*‘come upstream in a boat’ (vi)]

NO NFC:

(470) **faya otaa kakatimama** otake fahi.

faya otaa ka-ka-tima-ma + F otaa-ke fahi
so 1EX.S COMIT-go/come-upstream-back 1EX.S-DECL + F then
‘Then we came upstream in the canoe.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (471) is a transitive Ac.

(471) **faa koho ni** otaa kakatimama

faha koho na.NFIN otaa ka-ka-tima-ma + F
water.F hit AUX 1EX.S COMIT-go/come-upstream-back
‘We came upstream in the canoe, hitting the water [with reeds, to attract fish].’

[A.48.8 *kake*‘come’ (vi)]

NO NFC:

(472) **Okobi** taa kakehibonaka.

o-kaabi taa ka-kl-hibona-ka
1SG.POSS-POSS-father.M contrast go/come-coming-INT + M-DECL + M
‘My father will come.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (473) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(473) **Mee hii ni** kakearoni.

mee hii na.NFIN ka-kl-haro-ni
3PL.S yell AUX go/come-coming-RP.E + F-BKG + F
‘They came yelling, “Hii, hii.”’

The NFC in (474) is a transitive Ac.

(474) **isiri taa weye ni** kakematamonane.

isiri taa weye na.NFIN ka-kl-himata-mona-ne
basket.F contrast carry AUX go/come-coming-FP.E + M-REP + M-BKG + M
‘He came carrying only a basket.’

The NFC in (475) is a transitive Oc, as seen by the repetition of the pronominal referencing the O in the third position of the MC. The pronouns referencing both the A and the O of the NFC are overt in the NFC, i.e. the A pronominal is not overt as the S of the MC. Note the adjective modifying the NFC.
(475) Otara  mee  naha  kani  bite  kakeraro  otaa
      otara  mee  naha  ka-na.NFIN  bite  ka-ki-ra-haro  otaa
      1EX.O  3PL.A  open  COMIT-AUX  small + F  go/come-coming-NEG-RP.E + F  1EX.O

amake.
am-a-ke
SEC-DECL + F
‘No one came to open [the car door] for us.’

A.48.9 kama‘come back’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(476) kamebona  ati  nareka.
      ka-ma-hibona  ati  na-hare-ka
      go/come-back-INT + M  say  AUX-IP.E + M-DECL + M
‘He said he will come back.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (477) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(477) hiyama  mee  kana  ni  kameemetemonone
      hiyama  mee  kana  na.NFIN  ka-ma-hemete-mone
      white-lipped peccary.M  3PL.S  run  AUX  go/come-back-FP.N + F-REP + F

ahi.
ahi
then
‘Then the white-lipped peccaries came running back.’

The NFC in (478) is likewise intransitive, and is postposed. If the NFC were in the
normal position, it would be a case of backward control, but since the NFC is postposed,
the pronominal S must be overt in both the NFC and the MC.

(478) tee  kamiya
      tee  ka-ma-yahi
      2PL.S  go/come-back-DIST.IMP + F  2PL.S  run  AUX
‘You come running.’

The NFC in (479) is a transitive Ac.

(479) moto  tiwa  ni  okoma
      moto  tiwa  na.NFIN  o-ka-ma + F
      motor.M  carry on shoulder  AUX  1SG.S-go/come-back
‘I came back carrying the motor.’

In (480) and (481) in each case the NFC is a transitive Oc.
(480) Noko baa ore sone, tiwa
noko baa o-na-ri sona + M tiwa
face + M hit 1SG.A-AUX-raised surface fall carry on shoulder

omise tiwa ni okome
o-na-misa + M tiwa na.NFIN o-ka-ma + M
1SG.A-AUX-up carry on shoulder AUX 1SG.S-go/come-back
‘I hit it [the white-lipped peccary] on the face. It fell. I hoisted it up to carry on my shoulder. I came carrying it.’

(481) Tiwa ni hikamematamona.
tiwa na.NFIN hi-ka-ma-himata-mona
carry on shoulder AUX OC-go/come-back-FP.E + M-REP + M
‘He came carrying it [the jaguar] on his shoulders.’

A.48.10 kamaki ‘come’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(482) Kamaki kobo namaki
ka-makI + M kobo na-makI + M
go/come-following arrive AUX-following
‘He came and arrived.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (483) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(483) mee yowiri ni kamakieemetemoneke
mee yowiri na.NFIN ka-makI-hemete-mone-ke
3PL.S sing woman’s song AUX go/come-following-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F

fahi
fahi
then
‘They were coming along singing.’

The NFC in (484) is a transitive Ac.

(484) awa tama ni okomake
awa tama na.NFIN o-ka-makI
wood.F hold onto AUX 1SG.S-go/come-following
‘I came carrying a stick.’

The NFC in (485) is a transitive Oc.
(485) \textit{weye} \textit{ni} okomake  \\
\quad \textit{weye} na.NFIN o-ka-maki  \\
\quad carry AUX 1SG.S-go/come-following  \\
onawarisierika atami ate yaa.  \\
o-na-waa-risa-hiri-ka atami ate yaa  \\
1SG.A-CAUS-stand-down-RP.E+M-DECL+M hill.F bank+F ADJNCT

‘I came along carrying him, and I set him down at the top of the hill.’

\textbf{A.48.11 kariwaha‘cross’ (vi)}

NO NFC:

(486) \textit{Kokosi yifori} kariwaaka hawi yaa.  \\
\quad \textit{kokosi yifori} ka-riwaha-ka hawi yaa  \\
vine sp.M go/come-across-DECL+M trail.F ADJNCT

‘The \textit{kokosi yifori} vine is growing across the path.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (487) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(487) \textit{Mee} \textit{kana ni} kariwahimaro amake ahi.  \\
\quad \textit{mee} \textit{kana} na.NFIN ka-riwaha.NOM+F-maro ama-ke ahi  \\
3PL.S run AUX go/come-across-FP.E+F be-DECL then

‘The [the white-lipped peccaries] ran across [the path].’

\textbf{A.48.12 katimama‘come back upstream’ (vi)}

NO NFC:

(488) \textit{Biti} \textit{sana ne}  \\
\quad \textit{biti} \textit{sana} na+M  \\
3SG.POSS.son.M carry strapped on shoulder AUX

‘He was carrying his son in a sling.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (489) is a transitive Ac.

(489) \textit{biti} \textit{sana ni}  \\
\quad \textit{biti} \textit{sana} na.NFIN  \\
3SG.POSS.son.M carry strapped on shoulder AUX

\quad \textit{katimamemamatamonaka}.  \\
\quad \textit{ka-tima-ma-himata-mona-ka}  \\
\quad go/come-upstream-back-FP.E+M-REP+M-DECL+M

‘He came upstream carrying his son in a sling.’
**A.48.13 katimamaki‘come upstream’ (vi)**

NO NFC:

(490) manakobote mee kaa koko
   manakobote mee kaa koko
   then 3PL POSS mother's brother.M

   katimamakimatamonaka ahi, faha yaa
   ka-tima-makI-himata-mona-ka ahi faha yaa
   go/come-upstream-following-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M there water.F ADJNCT

   faa boti yaa, aba hiwa tonihaari.
   faa boti yaa aba hiwa to-niha-ha-haari
   water.F inside ADJNCT fish.M 3SG.REFL.M CH-CAUS-be-IP.E + M
   ‘Then their uncle came upstream in the water, underwater, having turned into a fish.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (491) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(491) mee haa ni katimamakia mee
       mee haa na.NFIN ka-tima-makI + F mee
       3PL.S call AUX go/come-upstream-following 3PL.POSS
   ‘They came upstream calling out.’

**A.48.14 kifewaama‘come to water’ (vi)**

NO NFC:

(492) faa kabine yaa yima fana kifewaamarawa
       faha kabine yaa yima fana ka-fl-waha-ma-rawa + F
   ‘Some Yima women came to the water at the port.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (493) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(493) Sire kana ni kifewaame
       sire kana na.NFIN ka-fl-waha-ma + M
       river turtle.M run AUX go/come-water-change-back
   ‘The river turtle came fast back to the water.’

The NFC in (494) is a transitive Ac.

(494) moto tiwa ni kifewaame
       moto tiwa na.NFIN ka-fl-waha-ma + M
       motor.M carry on shoulder AUX go/come-water-change-back
   ‘He came to the water carrying the motor on his shoulder.’
A.48.15 kimisama ‘come up’ (vi)

NO NFC: One of the specific meanings of ‘come up’ is ‘come onto land’ from a boat, as in (495).

(495) otaa kimisamaamaro otake fahi.
      otaa ka-misa-ma-hamaro otaa-ke fahi
      1EX.S go/come-up-back-FP.E+F 1EX.S-DECL+F then
    ‘Then we came onto the land.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (496) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(496) oko kana ni kimisamaara oke.
      o-kaa kana na.NFIN ka-misa-ma-hara o-ke
      1SG.POSS-POSS run AUX go/come-up-back-IP.E+F 1SG.POSS-DECL+F
    ‘I came running up the river bank.’

The NFC in (497) is a transitive Ac.

(497) iyawa tiwa ni kimisame
      iyawa tiwa na.NFIN ka-misa-ma +M
      manioc mash.F carry on shoulder AUX go/come-up-back
    ‘He came onto the shore carrying the [basket full of] manioc mash.’

A.48.16 kimisamaki ‘come up’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(498) otaa nowati yaa mee kimisamakia
      otaa nowati yaa mee ka-misa-makI +F
      1EX.POSS behind ADJNCT 3PL.S go/come-up-following
    ‘They came up [the bank] behind us.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (499) is a transitive Oc.

(499) horo ni okomisamake mano tama one
      horo na.NFIN o-ka-misa-makI mano tama o-na +M
      drag AUX 1SG.S-go/come-up-following arm +M hold onto 1SG.A-AUX
    ‘I came up [the hill] pulling him along, holding on his arm.’

A.48.17 kisama ‘come down’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(500) Faya kisamemetemoneke.
      faya ka-risa-ma-hemete-mone-ke
      so go/come-down-back-FP.N+F-REP+F-DECL+F
    ‘So she came down [from the tree].’
CONTROL: The NFC in (501) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(501) \textit{Tika} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{kana ni} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{kisamahi.} \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} ti-\text{kaa} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{kana na.NFIN ka-risa-ma-hi} \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} 2SG.POSS-POSS \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} run AUX \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} go/come-down-back-IMP + F \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} ‘Come down [from the tree] fast.’ \end{tabular}

\textbf{A.48.18 naaki ‘come after’ (vt)}

NO NFC:

(502) \textit{Hobeto} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{yamata naakiareka.} \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} \textit{Hobeto} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{yamata na-ka-kl-hare-ka} \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} Bob.M \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} food.F \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} CAUS-go/come-coming-IP.E + M-DECL + M \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} ‘Bob came to get the food.’ \end{tabular}

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (503) is a transitive Ac.

(503) \textit{hoo} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{ona} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{oko} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{hoo} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{ni} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{naaki} \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} hoo \textit{o-na + F} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{o-ka} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} hoo \textit{na.NFIN} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{na-ka-kl + M} \end{tabular}
call hoo \begin{tabular}{l} 1SG.S-AUX \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} 1SG.POSS-POSS \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} call hoo AUX \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} CAUS-go/come-coming \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} ama\text{ haa.} \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} ama \text{ haa} \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} SEC DEM \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} ‘I was calling “hoo”, and he came after me as I was calling.’ \end{tabular}

The MC in (504) is a transitive Oc.

(504) \textit{haa ni} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{yama} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{hinakakeino} \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} haa \textit{na.NFIN} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{yama} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} hi-na-ka-kl-hino \end{tabular}
call AUX \begin{tabular}{l} jungle monster.F \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} OC-CAUS-go/come-coming-IP.N + M \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} ‘A jungle monster came after him while he was calling.’ \end{tabular}

\textbf{A.48.19 toka ‘go’ (vi)}

NO NFC:

(505) \textit{Hika} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{hawi tokateeni} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{amari?} \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} hika \textit{hawi} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} to-ka-tee-hani \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} ama-ri\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} where \textit{trail.F} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} away-go/come-HAB-IP.N + F \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} SEC-CQ + F \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} ‘Where does the path go?’ \end{tabular}

CONTROL: The NFC in (506) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(506) \textit{Faya} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{oko} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{kana ni} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{tokaara} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{oke.} \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} faya \textit{o-kaa} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \textit{kana na.NFIN to-ka-hara} \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} o-ke \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} so 1SG.POSS-POSS \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} run AUX \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} away-go/come-IP.E + F \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} 1SG.POSS-DECL + F \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l} ‘Then I ran away.’ \end{tabular}
The NFC in (507) is a transitive Ac.

(507) \textit{inamatewe} \textit{tiwa} \textit{ni} \textit{okaaro}
\textit{inamatewe tiwa na.NFIN o-to-ka-haro}
\textit{child.F carry on shoulder AUX 1SG.S-away-go/come-RP.E+F}
\begin{itemize}
\item oke
\item o-ke
\end{itemize}
\textit{1SG.S-DECL+F}

‘I went carrying the baby.’

The NFC in (508) is a copular clause. It behaves like a transitive clause because it has two arguments.

(508) \textit{yetene} \textit{tohi} \textit{waha} \textit{yaa} \textit{tokahaari}.
\textit{yetene to-ha.NFIN waha yaa to-ka-haari}
\textit{teen-age boy CH-be flooded forest.F ADJNCT away-go/come-IP.E+M}

‘[A jaguar attacked him] when he went into the flooded forest one day, when he was a young man.’

The NFC in (509) is a transitive Oc.

(509) \textit{weye} \textit{kani} \textit{hikematamonaka}.
\textit{weye ka-na.NFIN hi-to-ka-himata-mona-ka}
\textit{carry COMIT-AUX OC-away-go/come-FP.E+M REP+M-DECL+M}

‘He [the monster] went along carrying him [the man, in a basket].’

\textbf{A.48.20 tokifiwahama ‘go to water’ (vi)}

NO NFC:

(510) Faya otaa afi nabone otaa tokifiwahama
\textit{faya otaa afi na-habone otaa to-ka-fl-waha-ma+F}
\textit{so 1EX.S bathe AUX-INT+F 1EX.S away-go/come-water-change-back}

‘We went to the stream to bathe.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (511) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(511) \textit{otaa} \textit{kana} \textit{ni} \textit{tokifiwaamimaro} \textit{amake}
\textit{otaa kana na.NFIN to-ka-fl-waha-ma.NOM+F-maromaro ama-ke}
\textit{run AUX away-go/come-water-change-back-FP.E+F be-DECL}
\begin{itemize}
\item Fa Sawa ya.
\item Fa Sawa ya
\end{itemize}
\textit{(name of stream).F ADJNCT}

‘We went running to the Fa Sawa stream.’

The NFC in (512) is a transitive Ac.
tokifiwahawiti ‘go to water’ (vi)

(512) iserato tiwa ni
isserato tiwa na.NFIN
waterproof bag.F carry on shoulder AUX

okifiwaama.
o-to-ka-fl-wahma + F
1SG.s-away-go/come-water-change-back
‘I went to the river carrying the bag.’

A.48.21 tokifiwahawiti ‘go to water’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(513) tahafa sota tokane tokome
tahafa sota to-ka-na + M to-ka-ma + M
casting net.F remove CH-COMIT-AUX away-go/come-back

tokifiwawaawiti
to-ka-fl-wah-witI + M
away-go/come-water-change-out
‘He took the casting net off [the nail], and went to the water.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (514) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(514) Yima fana nabakoro kana ni tokifiwawitia
yima fana naba koro kana na.NFIN to-ka-fl-wah-witI + F
Yima.M female.F pregnant run AUX away-go/come-water-change-out
‘The pregnant Yima woman went running to the water.’

The NFC in (515) is a transitive Oc.

(515) tiwa ni hikifiwawiti koro
tiwa na.NFIN hi-to-ka-fl-wah-witI + M koro
carry on shoulder AUX OC-away-go/come-water-change-out throw

hifewitemarika.
hi-to-na-fl-witl-himari-ka
OC-away-AUX-water-out-FP.E + M-DECL + M
‘He carried him to the water and threw him in.’

A.48.22 tokisama ‘go downstream’ (vi)

NO NFC:
(516) Faya otaa tokisama otaa kobo tonisama
    faya otaa to-ka-risa-ma + F otaa kobo to-na-risa-ma + F
so 1EX.S away-go/come-down-back 1EX.S arrive away-AUX-down-back
    otake.
    otaa-ke
1EX.S-DECL + F
‘We went downstream, and arrived.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (517) is a transitive Oc.

(517) sire weye ni hikisame
    sire weye na.NFIN hi-to-ka-risa-ma + M
river turtle.F carry AUX OC-away-go/come-down-back
‘The turtle went downstream carrying him [i.e. it was a big river turtle, and the
man was on top of it].’

A.48.23 tokisamaki ‘go downstream’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(518) mee tokisamakieemetemoneke ahi.
    mee to-ka-risa-makI-hemete-mone-ke ahi
3PL.S away-go/come-down-following-FP.N. + F-REP. + F-DECL. + F then
‘They went downstream.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (519) is a transitive Ac.

(519) yama kari ni tokisamaki
    yama kari na.NFIN to-ka-risa-makI + M
thing.F wave AUX away-go/come-down-following
‘He went downstream waving it [the brand].’

A.48.24 tokiyoma ‘go in’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(520) kobaya tokiyomeno hoti yaa
    kobaya to-ka-yoma-hino hoti yaa
collared peccary.M away-go/come-through-IP.N + M hole.F ADJNCT
‘The collared peccary had gone into a hole.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (521) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.
Awa

ItiBote

Tokiyomemamonaka

Tokoma

Tika
The NFC in (526) is a transitive Ac.

(526) hawa weye ni tokomematamonaka.
    hawa weye na.NFIN to-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka
    palm sp.F carry AUX away-go/come-back-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
    ‘He went home carrying the hawa fruits.’

The relevant part of (527) is the first part, and the NFC is a transitive Oc.

(527) Sire saa kabote re sire weye ni
    sire saa na-kabote na-ra + M sire weye na.NFIN
    river turtle.F release AUX-quickly AUX-NEG river turtle.F carry AUX

hikame, faa faha yaa sire tama ne,
hi-to-ka-ma + M faa yaa sire tama na + M
OC-away-go/come-back water.F ADJUNCT river turtle.F hold onto AUX

inohowe mee hinabowenoka.
inohowe mee hi-na-aboha-hino-ka
alligator sp.M 3PL.A OC-CAUS-die-IP.N + M-DECL + M
‘He didn’t let go of the turtle, and the turtle went off carrying him. He was holding onto the turtle in the water, and the alligators killed him.’

A.48.27 tokomake‘go’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(528) faa kii nebona tokomake
    faa kii na-hibona to-ka-maki
    water.F look at AUX-INT + M away-go/come-following
    ‘He went fishing.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (529) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(529) Oko kana ni tokomakebisi amake ahi.
    o-kaa kana na.NFIN to-ka-makI-bisa.NOM + F ama-ke ahi
    1SG.POSS-POSS run AUX away-go/come-following-also be-DECL then
    ‘Then I went running after [him], too.’

In (530) the NFC is a transitive Ac.

(530) isiri weye ni okomakehara oke.
    isiri weye na.NFIN o-to-ka-maki-hara o-ke
    basket.F carry AUX 1SG.S-away-go/come-following-IP.E + F 1SG.S-DECL + F
    ‘I went carrying the basket.’

The NFC in (531) is a transitive Oc.
(531) faya tama ni hikamake rama ahi.
    faya tama na.NFIN hi-to-ka-makI rama ahi
so hold onto AUX OC-away-go/come-following unusual then
'It [the harpy eagle] went carrying him.'

A.48.28 tokomisa 'go up' (vi)

NO NFC:

(532) Tokomisaabone bata hikanemetemoneke.
to-ka-misa-habone bata hi-ka-na-hemete-mone-ke
away-go/come-up-INT+F surprise OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N+F-REP+F-DECL+F
'She was going to go up [the tree] when he came on her by surprise.'

CONTROL: The NFC in (533) is a transitive Ac.

(533) Yao horo ni tokomisehirika yama
    yao horo na.NFIN to-ka-misa-hiri-ka yama
sloth sp.M drag AUX away-go/come-up-RP.E+M-DECL+M thing.F
ate yaa.
ate yaa
bank+F ADJNCT
'It [the weasel] went up the bank, dragging the sloth.'

A.48.29 tokomisama 'go back up' (vi)

NO NFC:

(534) Maiko tokomisamematamonaka.
    Maiko to-ka-misa-ma-himata-mona-ka
    (man's name).M away-go/come-up-back-FP.E+M-REP+M-DECL+M
'Maiko went onto the shore.'

CONTROL: The NFC in (535) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(535) Bete ni tokomisame
    bete na.NFIN to-ka-misa-ma+M
run AUX away-go/come-up-back
'He went running up [the hill].'

The NFC in (536) is a transitive Ac.

(536) kanawaa horo ni okomisama
    kanawaa horo na.NFIN o-to-ka-misa-ma+F
    canoe.F drag AUX 1SG.S-away-go/come-up-back
'I went onto the shore dragging the canoe.'
A.48.30 tokomisamake ‘go up’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(537) otaa tokomisamake
       to-ka-misa-makI
1EX.S away-go/come-up-following
‘We went into the building.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (538) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(538) Kana ni tokomisamake
       kana na.NFIN to-ka-misa-makI
run AUX away-go/come-up-following
‘He went fast up into the tree.’

A.48.31 tokomisawite ‘go up’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(539) Okobise tokomisawite ware
       o-kaabise to-ka-misa-witI wa-ri
1SG.POSS-POSS-uncle.M away-go/come-up-out stand-raised surface
‘My uncle climbed up [into a tree] and stood there.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (540) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(540) KanaBiri kana ni tokomisawitemari amaka
       Kana Biri kana na.NFIN to-ka-misa-witI-himari ama-ka
       (man's name).M run AUX away-go/come-up-out-FP.E + M SEC-DECL + M

awa yaa.
awa yaa
tree.F ADJNCT
‘Kana Biri climbed up a tree fast.’

The NFC in (541) is a transitive Oc.

(541) Faya hinaabowa horo ni hikamisawite
       faya hi-na-aboha +F horo na.NFIN hi-to-ka-misa-witI
so OC-CAUS-die drag AUX OC-away-go/come-up-out
‘It [the jaguar] killed her and dragged her up [on top of the log].’

A.48.32 tonakamaki ‘go after’ (vt)

NO NFC:
(542) Mee tee tonakamakihi  hike kaa mati.
mee tee to-na-ka-makI-hi  hike kaa mati
3PL.O 2PL.A away-CAUS-go/come-following-IMP +F far which 3PL
‘You go after the ones [fish] over there.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC in (543) is intransitive, and the MC is a transitive Oc.

(543) yomee habo ne  habo ni  otaa tonakamaki
yomee habo na + M  habo na.NFIN  otaa  to-na-ka-makI +M
dog.M bark AUX  bark AUX  1EX.A  away-CAUS-go/come-following
‘The dog barked, and we went after its barking.’

A.48.33 towaka‘two go’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(544) Yama mee yete nabone  mee towaka
yama mee yete na-habone mee to-ka-ka +F
forest.F 3PL.A hunt AUX-INT +F  3PL.S away-COMIT-go/come
‘The two of them went out hunting.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (545) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(545) Mee  kana ni  towakemetemoneke  ahi.
mee  kana na.NFIN  to-ka-ka-hemete-mone-ke  ahi
3PL.S run AUX  away-COMIT-go/come-FP.N +F-REP +F-DECL +F then
‘Then the two of them went running into the forest.’

The NFC in (546) is a transitive Oc.

(546) tiwa  kani  otaa towake  otaa
tiwa  ka-na.NFIN  otaa  to-ka-ka +M  otaa
carry on shoulder  COMIT-AUX  1EX.S away-COMIT-go/come  1EX.A

kakibariserika.
ka-iba-risa-hiri-ka
COMIT-set down-down-RP.E +M-DECL +M
‘The two of us went carrying him on our shoulders [in the casket], and we set him down.’

A.48.34 towaka‘take’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(547) hiyara bai  towakarake.
hiyara bahi  to-ka-ka-hara-ke
talk.F  sun.M away-COMIT-go/come-IP.E +F-DECL +F
‘They talked until sundown [lit., the talk took the sun].’
NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The intransitive NFC in (548) is the A of the MC, which is a transitive Oc.

(548) Faya ohi ne oi ni bai heeke
    faya ohi na. + M ohi na.NFIN bahi hi-to-ka-ka + M
    so cry AUX cry AUX sun.M OC-away-COMIT-go/come
    ‘He cried, and he cried until sundown [lit., his crying took the sun].’

The NFC verb in (549) is likewise intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. The NFC is the A of the MC, which is a transitive Ac.

(549) awa kaa ni bai towaki yaa
    awa kaa na.NFIN bahi to-ka-ka.NOM+F yaa
    tree chop AUX sun away-COMIT-go/come ADJUNCT
    ‘when we cut down trees until sundown [lit., when the cutting down of the trees takes the sun]’

A.48.35 towakafarama‘two go into an open space’ (vi)

NO NFC: Whereas the comitative prefix ka- means that there is a dual S in (551) below, in (550) it means that the people referred to by the S were inside a canoe. In both cases, the verb is intransitive.

(550) Mee yoko okanama mee
    mee yoko o-to-ka-na-ma + F mee
    3PL.O push 1SG.A-away-COMIT-AUX-back 3PL.S

towakafarama mee amake.
to-ka-ka-fara-ma + F mee ama-ke
away-COMIT-go/come-open space-back 3PL.S SEC-DECL + F
‘I pushed them in the canoe, and they went out into the middle of the stream.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (551) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(551) Otaa kana ni towakafarama
    otaa kana na.NFIN to-ka-ka-fara-ma + F
    1EX.S run AUX away-COMIT-go/come-open space-back
    ‘The two of us went running into a clearing.’

A.48.36 towakama‘two go back’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(552) Faya mee towakamemetemoneke.
    faya mee to-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke
    so 3PL.S away-COMIT-go/come-back-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
    ‘So the two of them went there.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (553) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.
A.48.37 **towakama ‘take’ (vt)**

**NO NFC:**

(554) Hika yama mee towakamarini?
    hika yama mee to-ka-ka-ma-ri-ni
    where thing.F 3PL.A away-COMIT-go/come-back-CQ + F-IP.N + F
    ‘Where did they take the things?’

CONTROL: This is the MC verb in (555), but it is detransitivized in this sentence. Since the NFC also is intransitive, this is a case of backward control. The following example (556) shows the same detransitivized verb in a context not involving an NFC as the S. There happens to be an NFC within the S, but it is part of a relative clause. The S is *kanawaa ‘canoe’, and hiri ni aaba ‘the making of which is finished’ is a relative clause that modifies it.

(555) Mee kai towakamaabanake.
    mee kai-na.NFIN to-ka-ka-ma-haba-na-ke
    3PL.S be toasted away-COMIT-go/come-back-FUT + F-DECL + F
    ‘The roasted [fish] will be taken back.’

(556) **Kanawaa hiri ni aaba towakamatee**
    kanawaa hiri na.NFIN ahaba + F to-ka-ka-ma-tee
    canoe make AUX end away-COMIT-go/come-back-HAB

    amake faa kabine yaa.
    ama-ke faha kabine yaa
    SEC-DECL + F port ADJNCT
    ‘When a canoe is done being made, it is taken to the port.’

**NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL:** The MC in (557) is a transitive Ac.

(557) bani mee kai mee towakama mee
    bani mee kai-na.NFIN mee to-ka-ka-ma+F mee
    animal.M 3PL.S be toasted 3PL.A away-COMIT-go/come-back 3PL.A
    ‘They took roasted meat there.’

A.48.38 **towakamaki ‘two go’ (vi)**

**NO NFC:**
(558) Tee towakamaki hee ni yaa.
tee to-ka-ka-makI hee ni yaa
2PL.S away-COMIT-go/come-following 3SG to ADJNCT
‘You two go to him.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (559) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(559) mee kana ni towakamakia mee
mee kana na.NFIN to-ka-ka-makI+F mee
3PL.S run AUX away-COMIT-go/come-following 3PL.POSS
‘The two of them went.’

In (560) the configuration is the same, but the NFC is postposed, so the pronominal
must be overt in both the NFC and the MC.

(560) Mee towakamaki amake, mee kana ni.
mee to-ka-ka-makI.NOM ama-ke mee kana na.NFIN
3PL.S away-COMIT-go/come-following be-DECL+F 3PL.S run AUX
‘The two of them went running that way.’

The NFC in (561) is a transitive Ac.

(561) Wati tisa ni mee towakamakia
wati tisa na.NFIN mee to-ka-ka-makI+F
arrow.M shoot AUX 3PL.S away-COMIT-go/come-following
‘The two of them went along shooting arrows.’

A.48.39 towakifewahama‘two go to water’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(562) faa otaa kii nabone otaa kana tokana otaa
faha otaa kii na-habone otaa kana to-ka-na+F otaa
water.F 1EX.A look at AUX-INT+F 1EX.S run CH-COMIT-AUX 1EX.S

towakifewaama
to-ka-ka-fl-waha-ma+F
away-COMIT-go/come-water-change-back
‘The two of us went running to the water to go fishing.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (563) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.
The text discusses the meanings of various verbs in the context of particular grammatical constructions. For example, the verb "towakimisawiti" (go up) is analyzed with respect to its usage and the meanings it conveys, especially in the context of transitive and intransitive verbs. The text also includes phrases translated into English to provide context and examples of how these verbs are used in sentences. The sentences include examples of how the verbs are used in natural conversation, with notes on the grammatical structure and the roles of the participants in the sentence. The text is structured to provide a clear understanding of the grammatical and lexical aspects of the language being studied.
A.50 kaakosa ‘leave behind’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(568) Mee heekanakose kawine
      mee hi-ka-kana-kosa + M ka-wina + M
3PL.A OC-COMIT-leave-middle COMIT-lie in hammock
‘They left him behind, and he lay sick in his hammock.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC in (569) is intransitive, and the MC is a transitive Oc.

(569) Yomee oi ni otaa kaakosemarika.
yomee ohi na.NFIN otaa ka-kana-kosa-himari-ka
jaguar.M cry AUX 1EX.A COMIT-leave-middle-FP.E + M-DECL + M
‘We left the crying jaguar behind.’

A.51 kaba ‘eat’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(570) Aba mee ee kababa ee amake.
      aba mee ee kaba-haba ee ama-ke
fish.M 3PL.O 1IN.A eat-FUT + F 1IN.A SEC-DECL + F
‘We are going to eat fish.’

CONTROL: There is a complex NFC in (571), and here I focus on the first one. In mee kai kabi, the MC kabi is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. The NFC kai is also intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(571) Mee kai kabi eeto nofa mee amake.
mee kaha.NFIN kaba.NFIN eheto nofa + F mee ama-ke
3PL.S be toasted eat be good recently 3PL.POSS SEC-DECL + F
‘Roasted, they [the fish] are good eating.’

In (572) there is a detransitivized use of kaba not involving an NFC.

(572) Mee kaa fowa kabaremosatamonaka.
mee kaa fowa kaba-ra-himata-mona-ka
3PL POSS manioc.M eat-NEG-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
‘Their manioc was not eaten.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (573) is a transitive Ac.

(573) biyo haro mee kabarawemetemoneke.
      biyo haro.NFIN mee kaba-rawa-hemete-mone-ke
spider monkey.F be boiled 3PL.A eat-F.PL-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
‘They ate the boiled spider monkeys.’
Almost all the examples with *kaba* ‘eat’ are like (573); that is, the NFC apparently is an adjunct, and the S of the NFC is the O of the MC verb. But this is not a possible analysis for (574), since the dog did not eat Rita, it ate her vomit.

(574) *Rita saa ni yomee kaba neri amaka.*

Rita saa na.NFIN yomee kaba na-hiri ama-ka
(woman's name).F vomit AUX dog.M eat.List AUX-RP.E + M SEC-DECL + M
‘The dog ate Rita's vomit.’

The configuration in (575) is the same, but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(575) *kobaya wahati karawi otaa kabaabone kobati kobaya wahati ka-rawa.NFIN ota kaba-habone kobati collared peccary.M liver COMIT-stir fry 1EX.A eat-INT. + F compadre.M*

Maneo owa haa ne
Maneo owa haa na.+M
Manoe.M 1SG.O call AUX
‘Compadre Manoe call me so that we could eat the stir-fried collared peccary liver.’

A.52 *kaboto* ‘be very ripe’ (vi)

NO NFC: The only example I have seen with the comitative prefix *ka-* is the example with backward control below, in which the comitative prefix means that it was a bunch of bananas; but (576) without the comitative prefix is suggestive.

(576) *Awa botokare, awa yati ke.*
awa boto-ka-re awa yati na-ke
(tree.F be old-DECL-NEG + F tree.F be new AUX-DECL + F
‘The tree is not old, it's young.’

CONTROL: Both the MC and the NFC in (577) are intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(577) *Yifari hati kabotoa yifari hata.NFIN ka-botoa + F banana.F be ripe COMIT-be old* ‘The bunch of bananas were very ripe.’

A.53 *kafowa* ‘be in water, in a boat’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(578) *okofowa, boroko wasiareka fahi.*
o-ka-fowa + F boroko wasi-hare-ka fahi
1SG.S-COMIT-be in water arapaima.M get caught-IP.E + M-DECL + M then
‘As I was sitting in the canoe, an arapaima fish got caught [in the net].’
CONTROL: The NFC in (579) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(579) **Inamatewe oi ni** kafowematamona **fare**

inamatewe ohi na.NFIN ka-fowa-himata-mona **fare**

child.M cry AUX COMIT-be in water-FP.E + M-REP + M same + M

bati kaa kanawaa yaa.
bati kaa kanawaa yaa

3SG.POSS.father.M POSS canoe.F ADJNCT

‘The child was crying in his father's canoe.’

A.54 **kakatoma** ‘watch’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(580) mee kaa koko waa nematamonaka, mera

mee kaa koko waa.LIST na-himata-mona-ka mera

3PL.POSS mother's brother.M stand AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M 3PL.O

kakatomahaari.
ka-katoma-haari
COMIT-look at-IP.E + M

‘Their uncle was also standing there, watching them.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (581) is a transitive Ac.

(581) **Faya awa hiri ni** mee kakatomememoneke

faya awa hiri na.NFIN mee ka-katoma-hemete-mone-ke

so tree.F catch fire AUX 3PL.A COMIT-look at-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F

fahi.
fahi
then

‘Then they watched the garden burning.’

The configuration in (582) is the same, but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(582) **Bora taro ni** otaa kakatoma otake.

bora taro na.NFIN otaa ka-katoma otaa-ke

ball.M kick AUX 1EX.A COMIT-look at 1EX.A-DECL + F

‘We watched a soccer game [lit., we watched the kicking of a ball].’

A.55 **kakayoma** ‘become in the dark’ (vi)

NO NFC:
A.56 kamina ‘tell about’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(585) Kanawaa ee kaminamatahi.
kanawaa ee kamina-mata-hi
      canoe.F 1IN.A tell-short time-IMP + F
      ‘Let’s talk a while about canoes.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (586) is a transitive Oc.

(586) Yima Abono hiyari hikaminaha
Yima Abono hiyara.NFIN hi-kamina + F
(name of spirit).M speak OC-tell
      ‘Yima Abono told what she said.’

The configuration in (587) is the same, but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(587) Hiba o-kaa yobe yama nibonaha yara
hiba o-kaa yobe yama na.NFIN-bona-ha yara
      wait 1SG.POSS-POSS house.M work on AUX-INT + M-DUP Brazilian

      hikamine wati owaamatibe.
hi-kamina + M wati o-na-waha-mata-be
      OC-tell remember 1SG.A-AUX-change-short time-IMMED + F
      ‘Wait, I'm going to recall the Brazilian telling about the building of my house.’

A.56.1 kaminama ‘come back and tell about’ (vt)

NO NFC:
(588) Mee towakemetemoneke, 
   mee to-ka-ka-hemete-mone-ke 
   3PL.S away-COMIT-go/come-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F story.F 3PL.A

   kaminamabani mati.
   kamina-ma-haba-ni mati
   tell-back-FUT + F-IP.N + F 3PL.A

   ‘Two of them went out, and they later told the news when they came back.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC verb in (589) is a detransitivized transitive verb. The MC is a transitive Ac.

(589) Mee tokomake,  
   Mee to-ka-makI 
   3PL.S away-go/come-following (man’s name).M shoot COMIT-AUX 3PL.A

   kaminamaabani mati.
   kamina-ma-haba-ni mati
   tell-back-FUT + F-BKG + F 3PL.A

   ‘They went, and later when they got back they told about Mano Baka being shot.’

A.57 kamo nama ‘be kinked’ (vi)

NO NFC: There is no example of this verb in the corpus in a context not involving an NFC, but (590) is an example with the closely related derivation kamo nawahama ‘curl up’.

(590) Kamo nawaamaka.
   kamo na-waha-ma-ka
   be kinked AUX-change-back-DECL + M

   ‘It [the centipede] curled up.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (591) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(591) Oko amo ni kamo namaani oke.
   o-kaa amo na.NFIN kamo na-ma-hani o-ke
   1SG.POSS-POSS sleep AUX be kinked AUX-back-IP.N + F 1SG.POSS-DECL + F

   ‘I got a kink in my neck when I was sleeping.’

A.58 kana na ‘run’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(592) Hibaka hiyama mee kana naba mee amariya?
   hibaka hiyama mee kana na-haba mee ama-rí-ya
   where white-lipped peccary.M 3PL.S run AUX-FUT + F 3PL.S SEC-CQ + F-now

   ‘Where are the white-lipped peccaries going to run?’

CONTROL: The NFC in (593) is a transitive Ac.
'run to' (vt)

Anoti horo ni kana nematamonaka
anoti horo na.NFIN kana na-himata-mona-ka
3SG.POSS older brother.M drag AUX run AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M

mai mee boti yaa.
mai mee boti yaa

army ant sp.M 3PL.POSS middle ADJNCT

‘He ran, dragging his older brother in the midst of the mai army ants.’

A.58.1 kana kana‘run to’ (vt)

NO NFC: The example in (594) can be compared with (595) below, even though there is no comitative ka- in (594), because the ka- in (595) just means that the man in the sentence was “hurt”; i.e. he was grieving.

(594) Mee kana hinaareka.
    mee kana hi-na-hare-ka
3PL.A run to OC-AUX-IP.E + M-DECL + M

‘They ran after her.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (595) is a transitive Oc.

(595) hinakati ohi ni kana
    hinakaati ohi na.NFIN kana
3SG.POSS-older sister.F cry AUX run to

hikanematamonane
hi-kana-himata-mona-ne
OC-go/come-AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M-BKG + M

‘His older sister ran to him as he was crying.’

A.59 kanaha ‘be heavy’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(596) Yifari ate baka toneke, kanahi
    yifari ate baka to-na-ne-ke kanahi.NOM + F
banana.F stalk+F break CH-AUX-CONT+F-DECL+F be heavy

kaaro.
kaaro
because of
‘The banana plant broke under the weight of the bananas.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (597) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of backward control.
(597) Yama weye ni kanahi nofa amake.
yama weye na.NFIN kanaha nofa + F ama-ke
thing.F carry AUX be heavy recently SEC-DECL + F
‘The loads are always heavy.’

A.60 kanawana ‘start’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(598) Kabobone mee kanawana mee
kabo-bone mee kanawana + F mee
airstrip.F-INT + F 3PL.A start 3PL.A
‘They started [making] the airstrip.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (599) is a transitive Oc.

(599) Saa ni hikanawanematamonaha, aba mee saa
saa na.NFIN hi-kanawana-himata-mona-ha aba mee saa
release AUX OC-start-FP.E + M-REP + M-DUP fish.M 3PL.O shoot with arrow
  kanahaari.
  ka-na-haari
  COMIT-AUX-IP.E + M
  ‘He started releasing [the kona poison into the water], and spearing fish.’

A.61 kasawari ‘frustrate’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(600) awa hikasawarimatamonaha.
awa hi-ka-sawari-himata-mona-ha
tree.F OC-COMIT-frustrate-FP.E + M-REP + M-DUP
‘The tree frustrated him [i.e. he couldn't break it].’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (601) is a transitive Oc.

(601) haa ni hikasawari
haa na.NFIN hi-ka-sawari + M
call AUX OC-COMIT-frustrate
‘He called, but the other man didn't answer [lit., the other man frustrated him].’

A.62 kasiro ‘persist’ (vi)

NO NFC: The normal meaning of this verb is ‘persist/be uncontrollable/be uncooperative’ (602).
(602) Oteme kasiroara oke okobi ati
    o-teme kasiro-hara o-ke o-kaabi ati
1SG.POSS-foot persist-IP.E+F 1SG.POSS-DECL+F 1SG.POSS-POSS-father.M say
neri amaka.
a-hiri ama-ka
AUX-RP.E+M SEC-DECL+M
“‘My feet won’t go,’ my father said.’

RAISING: In raising contexts this verb means ‘not stop/be intense’. The NFC in (603) is
intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(603) Barako kaa ferekesi mee yobi ni kasiro
    Barako kaa ferekesi mee yobi na.NFIN kasiro
Branco.M POSS client.M 3PL.S go back and forth AUX persist

nafaarake.
nofa-hara-ke
recently-IP.E+F-DECL+F
‘Branco's clients have been coming around all the time.’

The NFC in (604) is a transitive Ac. Note that since the verb abiyo ends in o and not a,
the non-finite form does not end in i (see fn. 52).

(604) Ifana owa abiyo kasiroareka.
    Ifana owa abiyo.NFIN kasiro-hare-ka
(woman's name).M 1SG.O want the presence of persist-IP.E+M-DECL+M
‘Ifana always wants me [her mother].’

The NFC in (605) is a transitive Oc.

(605) Nafi okanikaboneke,
    kaniki mee hikasirohaaro.
    Nafi o-ka-nika-habone-ke ka-nika.NFIN mee hi-kasiro-haaro
all 1SG.A-COMIT-buy-INT+F-DECL+F COMIT-buy 3PL.S OC-persist-IP.E+F
‘I’m going to buy all [the rest of the safety pins], because the others are buying
them up.’

A.62.1 kasiro kana‘do faster’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(606) Faya ayaka mee kasiro kanaamaro mee ama fahi.
    faya ayaka mee kasiro ka-na-hamaro mee ama fahi
so dance.F 3PL.A hurry up COMIT-AUX-IP.F+F 3PL.A SEC then
‘Then they did the dance faster.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC verb in (607) is a detransitivized transitive
verb, and the MC is a transitive Oc. The notional A of the NFC is represented by an
alienable possessor.
(607) Hinaka yama ahi ni kasiro hikanani
    hinaka yama ahi na.NFIN kasiro hi-ka-na-hani
3SG.POSS thing.F work on AUX hurry up OC-COMIT-AUX-IP.N + F
‘He had hurried up his work.’

A.63 katoma ‘attack’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(608) Arakawa yomee katomaka.
arakawa yomee katoma-ka
chicken.M dog.M attack-DECL + M
‘The chicken is fighting with the dog.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC is the A in (609), and the MC is a transitive Ac.

(609) Okatao yama irabo katomarawake.
    okatao yama irabo.NFIN katoma-rawa-ke
    my son.M thing.F be bad attack-F.PL-DECL + F
‘Some terrible beings attacked my son.’

A.64 kawaha ‘be present at dawn’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(610) Faha kawaharake.
faha ka-waha-hara-ke
water.F COMIT-shine-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘It rained until dawn.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (611) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(611) Mee ayaka mee ayaki kawahemetemoneke.
mee ayaka +F mee ayaka.NFIN ka-waha-hemete-mone-ke
3PL.S dance 3PL.S dance COMIT-shine-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
‘They danced. They danced until dawn.’

The configuration in (612) is the same, but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(612) mee tisa ni kawahaba mati
    mee tisa na.NFIN ka-waha-haba mati
3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX COMIT-shine-FUT + F 3PL.POSS
‘They were being shot with arrows all night long, until morning.’
A.65 kawanamaki ‘start right in’ (vi)

NO NFC: The root wana when in conjunction with directional suffixes often means ‘start right in’. There is no example in the corpus of the present derivation in a context not involving an NFC, but (613), which contains a related derivation, is suggestive.

(613) tokomake ati
     to-ka-makI ati
     away-go/come-following voice

    towanamakimatamonaka.
    to-wana-makI-himata-mona-ka
    away-be attached-following-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
    ‘He went. He spoke right away [as soon as he arrived].’

RAISING: The NFC in (614) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(614) hiyari kawanamakibanoho
     hiyara.NFIN ka-wana-makI-hiba-no-ho
     speak COMIT-start right away-following-FUT + M-IP.N + M-DUP

    mati ni yaa.
    mati ni yaa
    3SG.POSS.mother to ADJNCT
    ‘He started speaking right away to his mother [right after arriving].’

A.66 kayawa ‘hold back’ (vt)

NO NFC: This verb usually means ‘protect/be jealous of/not share’ (615).

(615) Inamatewe rabi kayawaka.
     inamatewe rabi ka-yawa-ka
     child.M pencil.F COMIT-be upset-DECL + M
     ‘The boy doesn't want to give up his pencil.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The meaning in (616) is something like ‘hold in’. The MC is a transitive Ac.

(616) oko ohi ni okayawa
     o-kaa ohi na.NFIN o-ka-yawa + F
     1SG.POSS-POSS cry AUX 1SG.A-COMIT-be upset
     ‘I avoided crying.’

The meaning in (617) is ‘not share’. The MC is a transitive Ac.
(617) *Awa Yima Wari wai bai mee kayawake.*
Awa Yima Wari waa.NFIN bahi mee ka-yawa-ke
(place name).F stand thunder.M 3PL.A COMIT-be upset-DECL + F
‘The thunder doesn’t let anyone go to the Awa Yima Wari village.’

The MC verb has this same meaning in (618), and it is likewise a transitive Ac. The NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(618) *mowe kabi kayawaaro.*
mowe kaba.NFIN ka-yawa-haaro
Brazil nut.M eat COMIT-be upset-IP.E + F
‘She wanted to eat all the Brazil nuts [i.e. she didn’t want to share them with anyone].’

The meaning in (619) is similar. The configuration is interesting, because in a finite clause, *yobe* could not be the S of *wina*, since it is where people live; it would be an adjunct. But *yobe* is the S of the NFC here.

(619) *Manakobisa yobe wini okayawa okare.*
manakobisa yobe wina.NFIN o-ka-yawa o-ka-re
then house.M live 1SG.A-COMIT-be upset 1SG.A-DECL-NEG + F
‘I am not jealous of the house [i.e. I let other people stay in it].’

A.67 *keho na* ‘roll up’ (vt)

There are two derivations of this verb that are relevant, as discussed below.

A.67.1 *keho kana* ‘hold in one’s lap’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(620) *Yara fana yara keho kanaka.*
yara fana yara keho ka-na-ka
Brazilian.M female.F Brazilian.M wrap around COMIT-AUX-DECL + M
‘The man is holding the woman in his lap.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: There is a postposed NFC in (621). If the NFC were in its normal position, it would take the place of the O pronominal *owa*, i.e. the sentence would be *Bai Nafira oko amo ni keho kanete amake*. The MC is a transitive Ac.

(621) *Bai Nafira owa keho kanete amake.*
Bahi Nafira owa keho ka-na-hete ama-ke
(woman’s name).F 1SG.O wrap around COMIT-AUX-RP.N + F SEC-DECL + F

oko amo ni.
o-kaa amo na.NFIN
1SG.POSS-POSS sleep AUX
‘Bai Nafira held me in her lap as I slept.’
**A.67.2 keho nawaha ‘be crooked’ (vi)**

NO NFC: There is no example of this derivation in the corpus in a context not involving an NFC, but (622), containing the related derivation kekeho na ‘be crooked’, is suggestive.

(622) Awa kekeho ke.
awa ke-keho na-ke
wood.F DUP-be crooked AUX-DECL+F
‘The stick is crooked.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (623) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(623) Yomee amo ni keho nawahaka.
yomee amo na.NFIN keho na-waha-ka
dog.M sleep AUX be crooked AUX-change-DECL+M
‘The dog is sleeping in a twisted position.’

**A.68 kerewe ra ‘not take a long time’ (vi)**

NO NFC: This verb nearly always occurs in NFC contexts, as a raising verb. There are, however, a few examples like (624), in which there is no NFC.

(624) Kerewe orahabone oke, yama taa onahabone
kerewe o-na-ra-habone o-ke yama taa o-na-habone
be slow 1SG.S-AUX-NEG-INT+F 1SG.S-DECL+F thing.F give 1SG.A-AUX-INT+F
owa.
owa
1SG.A
‘I won’t take long to sell things.’

This verb almost always occurs with the negative suffix -ra as in (624), and in the few instances in which it does occur without the negative suffix, it still has the same negative meaning.

RAISING: The NFC in (625) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(625) otaa kami kerewe raba otake.
oata ka-ma.NFIN kerewe na-ra-haba otaa-ke
1EX.S go/come-back be slow AUX-NEG-FUT+F 1EX.POSS-DECL+F
‘We will come back soon.’

The syntax in (626) is unexpected, since the pronominal referencing the shared argument is in the MC rather than in the NFC, in a context in which overt raising is supposed to be ungrammatical.
It is true that the alternative without overt raising, i.e. *oko kami kerewe nabisarabana oke*, is grammatical, but it is still puzzling that (626) is considered grammatical.

In (627) the NFC is a copular clause, and the copular subject is in the NFC rather than in the MC. It is quite grammatical for the pronominal to occur in the MC, though, and this shows that the copular verb *(to-)*ha patterns with transitive rather than intransitive verbs when it is the NFC verb. So this is not a case of a raising verb with overt raising being prohibited, but of an optional lack of overt raising. If *(to-)*ha patterned with intransitive NFC verbs, the alternate *ehene tohi e kerewe teramone amake* would be ungrammatical, but it is grammatical.

'It we get sick right away from it [a spirit, if it touches us].'

The MC in (629) is a transitive Oc.

'It [the spirit] was watching us as we slept.'

The MC in (630) is a transitive Oc.

'We looked at the wound on his foot.'

A.69.1 *kikii nawahaha* 'look back' (vi)

NO NFC:
kiha ‘have’ (vt)

(631) Faya  kikii  owahamara  oke.
faya  ki-kii  o-na-waha-ma-hara  o-ke
so  DUP-look  1SG.S-AUX-change-back-IP.E+F  1SG.S-DECL+F
‘I looked back.’

CONTROL: The NFC hiyama mee weye ni in (632), a transitive Ac, is postposed. If it were in the normal preverbal position, the sentence would be hiyama mee weye ni kikii nawaamematamona.

(632) Kikii  nawamematamona  hiyama  mee
ki-kii  na-waha-ma-himata-mona  hiyama  mee
DUP-look  AUX-change-back-FP.E+M-REP+M  white-lipped peccary.M  3PL.O
weye  ni.
weye  na.NFIN
carry  AUX
‘He looked back as he carried the white-lipped peccaries.’

A.70 kiha ‘have’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(633) Oyee  wami  kihake.
o-yehe  wami  kiha-ke
1SG.POSS-hand  soil.F  have-DECL+F
‘My hands are dirty [lit., have dirt].’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (634) is a transitive Ac.

(634) yama  hiri  ni  otaa  kihara  otaa.
yama  hiri  na.NFIN  otaa  kiha-ra+F  otaa
thing.F  catch fire  AUX  1EX.A  have-NEG  1EX.A
‘We didn't have a light.’

A.71 kita ‘be strong’ (vi)

NO NFC: The central meaning of this verb is ‘be strong’ (635), with a variety of related meanings such as ‘be intense’ (636).

(635) Yomee  kitahi  okobamakiabana  o,  yomee  weebotee.
yomee  kita+M  o-kaba-makI-habana  o- yomee  weebotee
jaguar.M  be strong  1SG.A-eat-following-FUT+F  1SG.A  jaguar.M  big
‘I will eat a strong jaguar, a big one.’

(636) Bai  hiwene  kitaka.
bahi  hiwene  kita-ka
sun.M  heat+M  be strong-DECL+M
‘The sun is hot [lit., the sun’s heat is intense].’
RAISING: The NFC in (637) is intransitive, so this is an example of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(637) Kakawa biti mee kiya ni
Kakawa biti mee kiya na.NFIN
(man's name).M 3SG.POSS.son.M 3PL.S have a fever AUX

kitaharake, kasiro yaa
kita-hara-ke kasiro yaa
be strong-IP.E + F-DECL + F a lot.F ADJNCT
‘Kakawa’s two sons are very sick.’

The same configuration is present in (638), but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(638) Howe ni kitaraba awineke.
howe na.NFIN kita-ra-haba awine-ke
wipe AUX be strong-NEG-FUT + F seem + F-DECL + F
‘It [the clay pot] won’t be smoothed forcefully [i.e. it will be smoothed carefully, so it won’t be ruined].’

The NFC is a transitive Ac in (639).

(639) Oko kanamo mowari tama kani
o-kaa kanamo mowari tama ka-na.NFIN
1SG.POSS-POSS armband.M cotton hold onto COMIT-AUX

tikitiya.
ti-kita-yahi
2SG.S-be strong-DIST.IMP + F
“Hold on tightly to my armbands [said by the king vulture who was carrying the man in the traditional story].”

CONTROL: The NFC in (640) is intransitive; the verb is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of backward control.

(640) Aba mee kabi kitatera mee amake.
aba mee kaba.NFIN kita-te-ra + F mee ama-ke
fish.M 3PL.S eat be strong-HAB-NEG 3PL.POSS SEC-DECL + F
‘These fish are soft when they are eaten [i.e. they are not good to eat].’

A.71.1 kitamisa‘get stronger’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(641) Owati kitamisaara oke.
o-ati kita-misa-hara o-ke
1SG.POSS-voice be strong-up-IP.E + F 1SG.POSS-DECL + F
‘My voice got louder.’
RAISING: The NFC in (642) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(642) meey  ayaki  kitamisaarake  wa ha
mee  ayaka  kita-misa-hara-ke  wa ha
3PL.S  sing  be strong-up-IP.E  +  F-DECL  +  F  now
'Then they sang louder.'

A.72  kobo nama ‘arrive back’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(643)  Kame,  kobo  name
ka-ma  +  M  kobo  na-ma  +  M
go/come-back  arrive  AUX-back
'He came back, and arrived back.'

CONTROL: The NFC in (644), aba mera tama kani, is an Ac, and it is postposed. If it were in the normal preverbal position, the sentence would be aba mera tama kani kobo namematamonaka. It is not very common to have the form mera in an NFC. This is a sure sign that the NFC is an Ac, but the ambiguous form mee is more common in NFCs.

(644)  kobo  namematamonaka  aba  mera  tama
kobo  na-ma-himata-mona-ka  aba  mera  tama
arrive  AUX-back-FP.E  +  M-REP  +  M-DECL  +  M  fish.M  3PL.O  hold onto

kani.
ka-na.NFIN
COMIT-AUX
'He arrived back, carrying the fish.'

A.73  koma ‘hurt’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(645)  Otati  komake.
o-tati  koma-ke
1SG.POSS-head  hurt-DECL  +  F
'My head hurts.'

RAISING: The NFC in (646) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(646)  Oko  hasi  ni  komake.
o-kaa  hasi  na.NFIN  koma-ke
1SG.POSS-POSS  breathe  AUX  hurt-DECL  +  F
'It hurts when I breathe.'
The configuration in (647) is the same, but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(647) Tiwiti  bayirimakoni  moto  ni
ti-witi  bayi-ra-makoni  moto  na.NFIN
2SG.POSS-nose  be thick-NEG-for this reason  +F  pierce  AUX

komarineke.  
koma-ra-ne-ke  
hurt-NEG-CONT  +F-DECL  +F
‘Your nose doesn’t hurt after being pierced, because it is not thick.’

A.74 komesa na ‘begin’ (vi)

NO NFC: There is no example in the corpus of this verb in a context not involving an NFC. RAISING: The NFC in (648) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(648) Bora  taro  ni  komesa  kabona.  
bora  taro  na.NFIN  komesa  na-ka-bona  
ball.M  kick  AUX  begin  AUX-DECL  +M-INT  +M
‘The soccer game is about to begin.’

A.75 koro ‘be loose’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(649) Awa  koroke.  
awa  koro-ke  
tree.F  be loose-DECL  +F
‘The tree is easy to split.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (650) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of backward control.

(650) Awa  tafa  kari  korotee  amake.  
awa  tafa  ka-na-rI.NFIN  koro-tee  ama-ke  
tree.F  split  COMIT-AUX-raised surface  be loose-HAB  SEC-DECL  +F
‘A tree that splits easily is loose.’

A.76 koro na ‘throw’ (vt)

NO NFC: Without any derivational suffixes, this verb is transitive, as in (651). The basic meaning is ‘throw’.

(651) wakana  koro  ona  
wakana  koro  o-na  +F  
crabwood.F  throw  1SG.A-AUX
‘I threw some crabwood fruits onto the water [as fish bait].’
However, the two derivations which are found in contexts with NFCs in the corpus are both intransitive.

A.76.1 koro nake ‘be heard’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(652) Mee ati koro nakearake.
    mee ati koro na-kl-hara-ke
    3PL.POSS voice be heard AUX-coming-IP.E+F-DECL+F
    ‘Their voices could be heard [as we approached the village].’

RAISING: The NFC in (653) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(653) Yara taa hora ni koro nakesaa ne
    yara taa hora na.NFIN koro na-kl-saa na + M
    Brazilian.M contrast complain AUX be heard AUX-coming-still AUX
    amane
    ama-ne
    SEC-BKG + M
    ‘But the Brazilian could still be heard yelling.’

A.76.2 koro nama ‘be heard’ (vi)

NO NFC: There is no example of this verb in the corpus that is not in a context involving an NFC, but example (652) above with closely related koro nake is suggestive.

RAISING: The NFC in (654) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(654) Fiferati habo ni koro name
    Fiferati habo na.NFIN koro na-ma + M
    (name of dog).M bark AUX be heard AUX-back
    ‘Fiferati’s barking could be heard in the distance.’

A.77 kowato na ‘be four’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(655) Mee kowato nineke.
    mee kowato na-ne-ke
    3PL.S be four AUX-CONT+F-DECL+F
    ‘There are four of them [wooley monkeys].’

RAISING: The NFC in (656) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This example is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.
A.78 mai na ‘be a lot’ (vi)

NO NFC: There is no example of this verb in the corpus in a context not involving an NFC. It seems possible that it is only used in conjunction with NFCs.

RAISING: The NFC in (657) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising. The meaning in this example is negative ‘be not a lot’ because of the negative suffix -ra, and I don't know if the verb is used in a positive sense without the negative suffix.

(657) otaa tafi mai raro otake.
    otaa tafs.NFIN mai na-ra-haro otaa-ke
    1EX.S eat be a lot AUX-NEG-RP.E+F 1EX.PESS-DECL+F
    ‘We didn't eat much.’

A.79 mata na ‘two lie on the ground’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(658) awa mata na ya yawita
    awa mata na+F ya yawita
    wood.F lie on ground AUX ADJNCT peach palm.M

    kawari
    ka-wa-r1+M
    COMIT-stand-raised surface
    ‘He cooks the can of peach palm fruits on two logs.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (659) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(659) mee amo ni mata na mati.
    mee amo na.NFIN mata na+F mati
    3PLS sleep AUX lie on ground AUX 3PL.PESS
    ‘The two of them slept lying on the ground.’

A.80 mita ‘hear’ (vt)

NO NFC: This verb usually means ‘hear’ (660), but a related meaning is ‘sense’ (661).

(660) Wafa mee ati mitematamonaka.
    wafa mee ati mita-himata-mona-ka
    wooley monkey.M 3PL.PESS voice hear-FP.E+M-REP+M-DECL+M
    ‘He heard some wooley monkeys calling.’
(661) Kanahari  timitayaho.
    kanaha-ri  ti-mita-yaho
    be heavy-PN  2SG.A-sense-DIST.IMP + M
    ‘Weigh it [the meat].’

RAISING: In (662) the MC verb is detransitivized. Since the NFC is also intransitive, this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising. In (663) there is another example of the detransitivized use of mita, but in a context not involving an NFC.

(662) Hiyari  mitakara  mata.
    hiyara.NFIN  mita-ka-ra  mata
    speak  hear-DECL + M-NEG + M  for now
    ‘We haven’t heard him talk about the festa yet [lit., his talking hasn’t been heard yet].’

(663) Afiyao  ati  mitaka  ahi.
    afiyao  ati  mita-ka  ahi
    airplane.M  voice  hear-DECL + M  there
    ‘The plane can be heard there [at that village].’

The NFC in (664) is intransitive, because reciprocal clauses are intransitive in Jarawara (Dixon 2004:334). So this also is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising, since the MC verb again is detransitivized, as in the preceding two examples.

(664) ee  abee  haa ni  mimitaraba  teera
    ee  abee  haa na.NFIN  mi-mita-raba  na-tee-ra + F
    1IN.POSS  RECIP  call  AUX  DUP-hear-a bit  AUX-HAB-NEG
    ‘We hear each other calling.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (665) is a transitive Ac.

(665) otaa  haa ni  yara  mee  mitani  mee
    otaa  haa na.NFIN  yara  mee  mita-hani  mee
    1EX.S  call  AUX  Brazilian.M  3PL.A  hear-IP.N + F  3PL.A
    ‘The Brazilians heard us calling.’

In (666) the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb, and the MC is a transitive Ac.

(666) wati  mita  fito  tonakoseheme noneke.
    wata.NFIN  mita+F  fito  to-na-kosa-hemete-mone-ke
    catch  sense  rush  CH-AUX-middle-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
    ‘When she felt herself being caught, she tried to get away.’

The configuration is the same in (667), but the sentence is notable in that the S of the NFC is the same person as the A of the MC, but there is no control. One way we know this is that if the argument is changed to one that requires a pronominal, the pronominal must be present in both the NFC and the MC, e.g. oko haahaa ni omitarahabone ‘I will not hear myself laughing’.
(667) Haahaa ni mitarebona
    haahaa na.NFIN mita-ra-hibona
    laugh AUX hear-NEG-INT + M
    ‘He won't hear himself laughing.’

The MC in (668) is a transitive Oc.

(668) Faya kiya kani himitara
    faya kiya ka-na.NFIN hi-mita-ra + F
    so yell COMIT-AUX OC-hear-NEG
    ‘He didn’t hear her yelling.’

A.80.1 kamita‘listen to’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(669) Inamatewe yama tikamitahi.
    inamatewe yama ti-ka-mita-hi
    child.M thing.F 2SG.A-COMIT-hear-IMP + F
    ‘Child, listen!’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (670) is a transtive Ac.

(670) oko hora ni kamite
    o-kaa hora na.NFIN ka-mita + M
    1SG.POSS-POSS complain AUX COMIT-hear
    ‘He was listening to me as I was complaining.’

The MC in (671) is a transitive Oc.

(671) hiyari otaa kamite
    hiyara.NFIN otaa ka-mita + M
    speak 1EX.A COMIT-hear
    ‘We listened to him speaking.’

A.80.2 kamitama ‘listen to after coming back’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(672) Mee ati otaa kamitama otaa naomamaro
    mee ati otaa ka-mita-ma + F otaa naho-ma-hamaro
    3PL.POSS voice 1EX.A COMIT-hear-back 1EX.S stand-back-FP.E + F
    otani.
    otaa-ni
    1EX.S-BKG + F
    ‘After arriving back, we stayed there listening to what the others were saying.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (673) is a transitive Ac.
(673) mee hiyari otta kamitamaro otake.
      mee hiyara.NFIN otta ka-mita-ma-haro otta-ke
3PL.S speak 1EX.A COMIT-hear-back-RP.E+F 1EX.A-DECL+F
‘We listened to them talking after we arrived back.’

A.80.3 mitama ‘hear, coming back’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(674) mee ati mitamematomahane.
      mee ati mita-ma-himata-mona-ha-ne
3PL.POSS voice hear-back-FP.E+M-REP+M-DUP-BKG+M
‘He heard their voices as he came back.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (675) is a transitive Ac.

(675) inamatewe ohi ni mitame
      inamatewe ohi na.NFIN mita-ma+M
child.M cry AUX hear-back
‘He heard a child crying as he came back.’

A.80.4 tomitawiti ‘hear out there’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(676) Maka faha koho neno moni Maiko
      maka faha koho na-hino moni Maiko
jungle monster.M water.F hit AUX-IP.N+M sound (man's name).M

himitawitimatomonaka.
hi-to-mita-witl-himata-mona-ka
OC-away-hear-out-FP.E+M-REP+M-DECL+M
‘Maiko heard the sound of the jungle monster hitting something on the surface of
the water.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (677) is a transitive Ac.

(677) okobi tokatase, hinamati ohi ni
      o-kaabi to-ka-tasa+M hinamati ohi na.NFIN
1SG.POSS-POSS-father.M away-go/come-again spirit.M cry AUX

tomitawitimatomonaka ati nemarine.
to-mita-witl-himata-mona ati na-himari-ne
away-hear-out-FP.E+M-REP+M say AUX-FP.E+M-BKG+M
‘My father went out again into the forest, and he said that he heard a spirit crying
out there.’
A.81 moto na ‘circle around’ (vt)

There are two intransitive derivations of this verb that are found with NFCs. The verb without any derivational affixes is transitive, and it means ‘pierce’. There is a detransitivized use in (647) above.

A.81.1 moto nama ‘circle around’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(678) Otaa nafi moto nama otake.
          otaa nafi moto na-ma+F otaa-ke
     1EX.POSS all loop AUX-back 1EX.S-DECL+F
     ‘We all formed a circle.’

CONTROL: The MC in (679) is intransitive, and the NFC is a transitive Ac.

(679) Awa mee sari ni moto nama
          awa mee sari na.NFIN moto na-ma+F
     tree.F 3PL.A burn AUX loop AUX-back
     ‘They circled around setting fire to the garden.’

Note that the shared subject pronominal is in the NFC rather than in the MC. This sentence is from a story by old Siko, and Okomobi would say awa sari ni mee moto nama, i.e. with the shared subject pronominal in the MC.

A.81.2 moto nawahama ‘loop around’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(680) Tee moto nawaamibe ahi.
          tee moto na-waha-ma-be ahi
     2PL.S loop AUX-change-back-IMMED+F there
     ‘You go around the edge [of the garden].’

CONTROL: The MC in (681) is intransitive, and the NFC is a transitive Ac.

(681) Faa baro ni moto owahama
          faha baro na.NFIN moto o-na-waha-ma+F
     water.F beat AUX loop 1SG.S-AUX-change-back
     ‘I looped around [in the canoe], hitting the water [with a piece of wood].’

A.82 na ‘exist’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(682) Yamata naarake.
          yamata naa-hara-ke
     food.F AUX-IP.E + F-DECL+F
     ‘There is food.’
CONTROL: The NFC in (683) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(683) *Yama tii kawi* naarake.
    yama tii ka-na-waha.NFIN naa-hara-ke
    thing.F cut through COMIT-AUX-change exist-IP.E + F-DECL + F
    ‘There is a place where brush has been cut.’

A.83 *na ‘put in’ (vt)*

NO NFC:

(684) *Otaa tafahabone yamata otaa naha otake.*
    otaa tafa-habone yamata otaa na+F otaa-ke
    1EX.S eat-INT + F food.F 1EX.A put in 1EX.A-DECL + F
    ‘We put food on our plates so we could eat.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (685) is a transitive Ac.

(685) *kafe hiwi* metiko *naa*.
    kafe hiwa.NFIN metiko na.LIST
    coffee.F be hot doctor.M put in
    ‘The doctor put hot coffee [in the baby's head].’

A.84 *nafi ‘be big’ vi*

NO NFC: The central meaning of this verb is ‘be big’ (686), but it can also mean ‘be a lot’ (687).

(686) *Aba nafika haari.*
    aba nafi-ka haari
    fish.M be big-DECL + M that one + M
    ‘It's a big fish.’

(687) *Oko tanakone nafike.*
    o-kaa tanakone nafi-ke
    1SG.POSS-POSS sweat be a lot-DECL + F
    ‘I'm very sweaty [lit., my sweat is a lot].’

RAISING: As a raising verb, the meaning is ‘be a lot’. In (688) the NFC is intransitive, so this is an example of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(688) *Oko tafi nafirara oke.*
    o-kaa tafa.NFIN nafi-ra-hara o-ke
    1SG.POSS-POSS eat be a lot-NEG-IP.E + F 1SG.POSS-DECL + F
    ‘I didn't eat much.’

In (689) the NFC is a transitive Ac.
CONTROL: It appears that when the NFC is a detransitivized transitive verb, what is involved is backward control rather than the use of a raising verb without overt raising. This is because in these cases, the meaning is ‘be big’ rather than ‘be a lot’, as in (690) and (691).

(690) *Beeri*  *kaa*  *ni*  nafiharake.
   *beheri*  *kaa*  na.NFIN  nafi-hara-ke
   side  chop  AUX  be big-IP.E+F-DECL+F
   ‘I cut down a big section of forest [lit., a big section of forest was cut down].’

(691) *Mato*  *tati*  *soki*  *kasi*  nafihimatamonaha,
   *mato*  *tati*  *soki*  ka-na-kosa.NFIN  nafi-hima-mona-ha
   tree sp.M  unripe  tie up  COMIT-AUX-middle  be big-FP.E+M-REP+M-DUP
   tahibonehe.
   tahi-bone-he
   killer-INT+F-DUP
   ‘The bunch of unripe *mato* fruits tied together was big, to be thrown down on her.’

A.84.1 *nafimisa*  ‘get bigger’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(692) *Ahabe*  *amaka,*  nafimisahaari.
   *ahaba*  +M  ama-ka  nafi-mis-haari
   die  SEC-DECL+M  be big-up-IP.E+M
   ‘When it [the pet ocelot] died, it had gotten somewhat big.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (693) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of backward control.

(693) *inamatewe*  *weye*  *ni*  nafimise
   *inamatewe*  *weye*  na.NFIN  nafi-misa+M
   child.M  carry  AUX  be big-up
   ‘Your pregnancy was further along [lit., the baby being carried got bigger].’

A.85 *naho*  ‘many stand’ (vi)

NO NFC:
(694) matehe nahoke.
    matehe nahoke-ke
    children.F stand-DECL + F
    ‘The children are standing around doing nothing.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (695) is a transitive Ac.

(695) mee noki ni otaa nahoha otaa.
    mee noki na.NFIN otaa naho+F otaa
    3PL.O wait for AUX 1EX.S stand 1EX.S
    ‘We were standing waiting for them.’

A.85.1 nahori ‘many stand on something’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(696) awa yaa otaa naoria.
    awa yaa otaa naho-rI+F
    tree.F ADJNCT 1EX.S stand-raised surface
    ‘We stood on a log.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (697) is a transitive Ac.

(697) sina hisi ni otaa nahoria
    sina hisi na.NFIN otaa naho-rI+F
    snuff.F sniff AUX 1EX.S stand-raised surface
    ‘We stayed in the house taking snuff.’

A.86 nakomeha ‘be afraid of’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(698) yowi owa nakomeka.
    yowi owa na-komeha-ka
    brown capuchin.M 1SG.O CAUS-be fearsome-DECL + M
    ‘The brown capuchin monkey is afraid of me.’

CONTROL: Both the NFC and the MC in (699) are transitive Ac clauses.

(699) asako kaa ni mee nakomeharake.
    asako kaa na.NFIN mee na-komeha-hara-ke
    tree sp.M chop AUX 3PL.A CAUS-be fearsome-IP.E + F-DECL + F
    ‘They are afraid of cutting down the assacu tree.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (700) is a transitive Ac.

(700) yomee oi ni otaa nakomemaro otake.
    yomee ohi na.NFIN otaa na-komeha-hamaro otaa-ke
    jaguar.M cry AUX 1EX.A CAUS-be fearsome-FP.E + F 1EX.A-DECL + F
    ‘We were afraid of the crying of the jaguar.’
A.87 *natafi* ‘awaken’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(701) Tiwa onatafihara oke.
     tiwa o-na-tafi-hara o-ke
2SG.O 1SG.A-CAUS-wake up-IP.E + F 1SG.A-DECL + F
‘I woke you up.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The intransitive NFC in (702) is the A of the MC, which in turn is a transitive Oc.

(702) yomee habo ni owa natafiare oke.
     yomee habo na.NFIN owa na-tafi-hare o-ke
dog,M bark AUX 1SG.O CAUS-wake up-IP.E + M 1SG.O-DECL + F
‘A dog’s barking woke me up.’

A.88 *nawaha* ‘take a long time’ (vi)

NO NFC: This verb means ‘take a long time’, and often has the emotional implication ‘be hard to endure’, as in (703).

(703) Yama nawahemetemone amani.
     yama nawaha-hemete-mone ama-ni
thing.F take a long time-FP.N + F-REP + F SEC-BKG + F
‘It was hard to stand [i.e. healing from lip-piercing].’

RAISING: The NFC in (704) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is an example of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(704) Mee kabi nawaharake.
     mee kaba.NFIN nawaha-hara-ke
3PLS eat take a long time-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘It was hard to eat them [the fish, because there was no farinha].’

The NFC in (705) is a transitive Ac. The expected masculine gender agreement in *nawaa* is lacking because it is a list construction, in which case there cannot be gender agreement.

(705) Hiyama mee wete ni nawaa
     hiyama mee wete na.NFIN nawaha.LIST
white-lipped peccary.M 3PL.O tie AUX take a long time
‘He took a long time to tie up the white-lipped peccaries.’

A.89 *niki nake* ‘pinch’ (vt)

NO NFC:
(706) Teoso oboko niki nakeareka wata
Teoso o-bako niki na-kl-hare-ka wata
God.M 1SG.POSS-chest press on AUX-coming-IP.E + M-DECL + M dream.F

yaa.
yaa
ADJNCT
‘God pressed on my chest in the dream.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (707) is a transitive Ac.

(707) iyawa kai niki nake
iyawa kaha.NFIN niki na-kl
manioc mash.F be toasted press on AUX-coming
‘He pinched some toasted manioc.’

A.90 nofa ‘want’ (vt)

NO NFC: The meaning can be ‘like’ (708) or ‘want’ (709).

(708) Wakari mee otaa nofattee mee amake.
wakari mee otaa nofa-tee mee ama-ke
Paumari.M 3PL.O 1EX.A like-HAB 3PL.O SEC-DECL + F
‘We like the Paumaris.’

(709) Tee nofe yaa temene sawibanaka
tee nofa.NOM + M yaa temene sawi-hibana-ka
2PL.A want ADJNCT grave + M be at-FUT + M-DECL + M
‘If you want, his grave will be here.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (710) is intransitive, and the MC is a transitive Ac.

(710) ayaki onofaraara oke
ayaka.NFIN o-nofa-ra-hara o-ke
sing 1SG.A-want-NEG-IP.E + F 1SG.A-DECL + F
‘I don’t want to sing.’

The configuration is the same in (711), but in this case the pronominal referencing the S of the NFC is overt in the NFC, and not in the MC.

(711) tee tokomi nofari yaa.
tee to-ka-ma.NFIN nofa-ra.NOM + F yaa
2PL.S away-go/come-back want-NEG ADJNCT
‘if you (pl) don’t want to go away’

The NFC in (712) is likewise intransitive and the MC a transitive Ac, but in this case the shared subject is an inalienably possessed noun rather than a pronominal.
\(\text{(712) owati tokomi nonofa ra} \)
\(\text{o-ati to-ka-ma.NFIN no-nofa na-ra + F} \)
\(\text{1SG.POSS-voice away-go/come-back DUP-want AUX-NEG} \)
\‘I don’t want to go.’

The NFC in (713) is a transitive Ac, as is the MC.

\(\text{(713) bora taro ni onofari kaaro.} \)
\(\text{bora taro na.NFIN o-nofa-ra.NOM. + F kaaro} \)
\(\text{ball.M kick AUX 1SG.A-want-NEG because of} \)
\‘because I didn’t want to play ball’

The configuration in (714) is the same, but the pronominal referencing the shared subject is overt in the NFC rather than in the MC.

\(\text{(714) Tee taa yama tee tosemaki nofara} \)
\(\text{tee taa yama tee to-isI-maki.NFIN nofa-ra + F} \)
\(\text{2PL contrast thing.F 2PL.A away-drop off-following want-NEG} \)
\‘You, however, don’t want to take the stuff.’

The configuration in (715) is similar, but there is the interesting twist that the O of the NFC is the same as the A; that is, it is reflexive.

\(\text{(715) owa kamini onofara} \)
\(\text{owa kamina.NFIN o-nofa-ra + F} \)
\(\text{1SG.O tell 1SG.A-want-NEG} \)
\‘I didn’t want to tell about myself.’

The configuration in (716) is similar, with the interesting additional detail that there are two successive NFCS, the first one intransitive and the second a transitive Ac. The first NFC is the O of the second, and the complex NFC in turn is the O of the MC verb.

\(\text{(716) tee ayaki awi otaa nofari.} \)
\(\text{tee ayaka.NFIN awa.NFIN otaa nofa-ra.NOM + F} \)
\(\text{2PL.S dance see 1EX.A want-NEG} \)
\‘We don’t want to watch your dancing.’

Example (717) provides a further syntactic twist, in that the A of the MC is not the expected first person singular pronominal o-, but the inalienably possessed noun owati ‘my voice’. Semantically there is control and probably syntactically as well, in spite of the fact that it is ungrammatical to have owati as the A of the NFC if the NFC were an independent clause, i.e. *yifari owati yome ke ‘I am eating bananas.’

\(\text{(717) Yifari yome ni owati nofarini.} \)
\(\text{yifari yome na.NFIN o-ati nofa-ra-ni} \)
\(\text{banana.F swallow AUX 1SG.POSS-voice want-NEG-BKG + F} \)
\‘I don’t want to eat bananas.’
Both the MC and the NFC are transitive Ocs in (718).

(718) Oma *kabi* mee hinofatee amake.
oma kaba.NFIN mee hi-nofa-tee ama-ke
piranha.M eat 3PL.A OC-like-HAB SEC-DECL + F
‘The piranhas like to eat it [the gill net].’

The NFC in (719) is a copular clause, and the MC is a transitive Ac.

(719) *towisawa* tohi onofa okare.
towisawa to-ha.NFIN o-nofa o-ka-re
chief.M CH-be 1SG.A-want 1SG.A-DECL-NEG + F
‘I don’t want to become chief.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC in (720) is intransitive, and the MC is a transitive Ac.

(720) *Tika* toki onofa okare.
ti-ka to-ka.NFIN o-nofa o-ke-re
2SG.POSS-POSS away-go/come 1SG.A-want 1SG.A-DECL + F-NEG + F
‘I don’t want you to go.’

The NFC in (721) is a copular clause that behaves the same way as a transitive clause, since it has two arguments; and the MC is a transitive Ac.

(721) *Okaniso* towisawa tohi onofa
o-kaniso towisawa to-ha.NFIN o-nofa
1SG.POSS-POSS-younger brother.M chief.M away-be 1SG.A-want
okare.
o-ka-re
1SG.A-DECL-NEG + F
‘I don’t want my younger brother to become chief.’

In (722) the meaning of the MC verb *nofa* seems to be ‘like’ rather than ‘want’. The NFC is intransitive, and the MC is a transitive Ac.

(722) *Ee* kaa owa hiyare *hiyari* ee nofara ee kaa owa
ee kaa owa hiyara+NFIN ee nofa-ra + F ee kaa owa
1IN POSS man.M speak speak 1IN.A like-NEG 1IN POSS man

*hiyari* ee tohitee ee amake.
hiyara.NFIN ee tohi-tee ee ama-ke
speak 1IN.A reject-HAB 1IN.A SEC-DECL + F
‘If someone is talking and we don’t like what they are saying, we reject what they are saying.’

In (723) the intransitive NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb, and the MC is a transitive Ac.
(723) Bai Nafira ohi naro amake, owa wisi ni
Bahi Nafira ohi na-haro ama-ke owa wisi na.NFIN
(woman's name).F cry AUX-RP.E + F SEC-DECL + F 1SG.O saw AUX

nofamarahaaro.
nofa-ma-ra-haaro
want-back-NEG-IP.E + F
‘Bai Nafira cried, because she didn’t want me to be operated on anymore.’

The NFC in (724) is intransitive, and the MC is a transitive Oc. There is possessor agreement in the MC.

(724) yara mee kawini otaa nofateera mee amake.
yara mee ka-wina.NFIN otaa nofa-tea-ra+F mee ama-ke
Brazilian.M 3PL.S COMIT-live 1EX.A want-HAB-NEG 3PL.POSS SEC-DECL + F
‘We don’t want Brazilians living here.’

Both the NFC and the MC in (725) are transitive Ac clauses.

(725) Sari Yawini owa narifi onofo okere.
Sari Yawini owa narifa.NFIN o-nofa o-ke-re
(man’s name).M 1SG.O help 1SG.A-want 1SG.A-DECL + F-NEG + F
‘I don’t want Sari Yawini to help me.’

A.91 noki na ‘wait for’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(726) Awi mee noki onaara oke, ata yaa.
awi mee noki o-na-hara o-ke ata yaa
‘I waited for tapirs at the wallow.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC in (727) is intransitive, and the MC is a transitive Oc. There is possessor agreement in the MC.

(727) mee amo ni mee noki hina mee
mee amo na.NFIN mee noki hi-na+F mee
3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.A wait for OC-AUX 3PL.POSS
‘They waited for them as they slept.’

A.92 nokoma ‘point this way’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(728) Mee nokomarake.
mee noko-ma-hara-ke
3PL.S point-back-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘They [the white-lipped peccaries] turned around.’
CONTROL: The NFC in (729) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(729) Yee ni nokoma kane ahi, mee nao yaa yee na.NFIN noko-ma ka-na+M ahi mee naho.NOM yaa yell AUX point-back COMIT-AUX there 3PL.S stand ADJNCT
‘He directed the white-lipped peccaries [lit., he pointed this way, yelling] to where the others were waiting.’

A.93 ohari ‘be one’ (vi)

NO NFC: This verb can mean ‘be one’ (730), or ‘be alone’ (731), or ‘be only’ (732).

(730) Ohari saa okane amane.
  ohari + M saa o-ka-na + M ama-ne
be one shoot with arrow 1SG.A-COMIT-AUX SEC-BKG + M
‘I speared only one [white-lipped peccary].’

(731) Owati kamonike, owahari kaaro.
  o-ati kamon-ke o-ohari.NOM kaaro
1SG.POSS-voice feel sad-DECL + F 1SG.S-be alone because of
‘I'm sad, because I'm alone.’

(732) Hinabori oharihareka, makina rara
  Hinabori ohari-hare-ka makina rara
(woman's name).M be alone-IP.E + M-DECL + M machine.F push with foot
  naari.
  na-haari
  AUX-IP.E + M
  ‘Hinabori is the only one who [knows how to] use the manual sewing machine.’

RAISING: As a raising verb, it can mean ‘be one time’ (733) or ‘be only’ (734). The NFC in each case is intransitive, so these are instances of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(733) Tika maa tohi oharibanake waha.
  ti-kaa maa to-ha.NFIN ohari-habana-ke waha
2SG.POSS-POSS be tired CH-AUX be one-FUT + F-DECL + F now
‘You will be tired just this one time.’

(734) Otaa fami oharike.
  otaa fama.NFIN ohari-ke
1EX.S be two be alone-DECL + F
‘There are just two of us.’

The configuration in (735) is the same, but the intransitive NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.
(735) Aba mee taa mee kabi ohariaha
    aba mee taa mee kaba.NFIN ohari + F
    fish.M 3PL contrast 3PL.S eat be alone
    ‘Only fish should be eaten.’

The NFC in (736) is a transitive Ac.

(736) Tafo taa tao kani owaarimaro
    taf o tao ka-na.NFIN o-ohari-hamaro
    chacalaca sp.M contrast shoot COMIT-AUX 1SG.S-be alone-FP.E + F
    oke.
    o-ke
    1SG.S-DECL + F
    ‘I only shot one chacalaca.’

The NFC in (737) is a transitive Oc.

(737) Tamine miti mee hiwaharihamaro amake
    tamine mita.NFIN mee hi-ohari-hamaro ama-ke
    news about hear 3PL.S OC-be one-FP.E + F SEC-DECL + F
    owehene.
    o-ehene
    1SG.POSS-because of
    ‘They heard about it [the monster] just once, because I told them.’

CONTROL: In (738) this verb is used twice as a control verb, with the meaning ‘be alone’. With the first MC the NFC is a transitive Ac, and with the second MC the NFC is intransitive; so in the second use, it is backward control.

(738) Tiwahari yaa yobe hiri ni tiwahari yaa,
    ti-ohari.NOM yaa yobe hiri na.NFIN ti-ohari.NOM yaa
    2SG.S-be alone ADJNCT house.M do AUX 2SG.S-be alone ADJNCT
    tik a amo ni ohariabone tike yobe
    ti-ka amo na.NFIN ohari-habone ti-ke yobe
    2SG.POSS-POSS sleep AUX be alone-INT + F 2SG.POSS-DECL + F house.M
    toro yaa
    toro yaa
    inside + M ADJNCT
    ‘If you are by yourself, if you build the house by yourself, you will sleep in the house by yourself.’
A.93.1 nahari’do once’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(739) Abariko otaa naharitasi amake fahi.
abariko otaa na-ohari-tasa.NOM+F ama-ke fahi
moon.M 1EX.A CAUS-be one-again be-DECL then
‘We spent a month there again.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC in (740) is intransitive, and the MC is a transitive Ac.

(740) Okiti ayaki otaa nahari naba
o-kaiti ayaka.NFIN otaa na-ohari na-haba
1SG.POSS-POSS-grandfather.M sing 1EX.A CAUS-be one AUX-FUT + F

otake.
ootaa-ke
1EX.A-DECL + F
‘We are going to perform my grandfather's song once, too.’

A.94 saa na ‘release’ (vt)

A couple of derivations of this verb are found with NFCs in the corpus.

A.94.1 saa kana’shoot with an arrow’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(741) Aba kisame saa
aba ka-ri-sa-ma + M saa
fish.M go/come-down-back shoot with arrow

kanematamonaka ahi.
ka-na-himata-mona-ka ahi
COMIT-AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M then
‘He shot the fish with an arrow as it came downstream.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC in (742) is intransitive, and the MC is a transitive Oc.

(742) Kami saa okanarake ahi.
ka-ma.NFIN saa o-ka-na-hara-ke ahi
go/come-back shoot with arrow 1SG.A-COMIT-AUX-IP.E + F-DECL + F then
‘She [the spirit] came and I shot her with an arrow.’
A.94.2 saa tosa ‘stop’ (vt)

NO NFC: This verb usually means ‘release’ (743) when no NFC is involved, but it can mean ‘leave off’ (744).

(743) Saa hise warematamonaka.
     saa hi-to-na-kosa + M wa-rI-himata-mona-ka
release OC-CH-AUX-middle stand-raised surface-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
‘She let him go, and he stood there.’

(744) sina mee saa tosi yaa mee
     sina mee saa to-na-kosa + F yaa mee
snuff.F 3PL.A stop away-AUX-middle ADJUNCT 3PL.S

      tokifiwaha mee
to-ka-fl-waha + F mee
     away-go/come-water-change 3PL.S
‘They left off [taking] snuff, and went to the water.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (745) is a transitive Ac, as is the MC.

(745) Faya sofa siri ni saa osa
     faya sofa siri na.NFIN saa o-to-na-kosa + F
so tree sp.F scrape AUX stop 1SG.A-CH-AUX-middle
‘I left off cutting grooves in the sofa tree.’

The NFC in (746) is a transitive Oc, as is the MC.

(746) Toma ni saa hise
     toma na.NFIN saa hi-to-na-kosa + M
suck AUX stop OC-away-AUX-middle
‘He stopped sucking him [to cure him].’

A.95 sai ‘be heard’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(747) Ee Onira saihemetemone amake ahi.
     Ee Onira saihemete-mone ama-ke ahi
(name of song).F be heard-FP.N + F-REP + F SEC-DECL + F then
‘The Ee Onira song could be heard.’

RAISING: The NFC in (748) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(748) mee basa ni saiharake.
     mee basa na.NFIN sai-hara-ke
3PL.S whisper AUX be heard-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘Their whispering could be heard.’
A.95.1 *saima* ‘be heard coming back’ (vi)

NO NFC: There is no example of this verb in the corpus in a context not involving an NFC, but example (747) above with closely related *sai* is suggestive.

RAISING: The NFC in (749) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(749) mee  haahaa  ni  saima
mee  haahaa  na.NFIN  sai-ma+F
3PL.S  laugh  AUX  be heard-back
‘They could be heard laughing as they came back.’

A.96 *sasara na* ‘be low volume’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(750) Namiti  sasara  ka.
namiti  sa-sara  na-ka
throat  DUP-be low volume  AUX-DECL+M
‘His throat is hoarse.’

RAISING: The NFC in (751) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(751) Ayaka  ayaki  sasara  narake.
ayaka+F  ayaka.NFIN  sa-sara  na-hara-ke
sing  sing  DUP-be low volume  AUX-IP.E+F-DECL+F
‘The playing [of the tape recorder] is hard to hear.’

A.97 *sawi* ‘be at a location’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(752) Bari  sawiharake.
bari  sawi-hara-ke
ax.F  be at-IP.E+F-DECL+F
‘The ax is over there.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (753) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(753) Faya  okobise  kana  ni  sawiba  ne
faya  o-kaabise  kana  na.NFIN  sawi-ba  na+M
so  1SG.POSS-POSS-uncle.M  run  AUX  be at-at a distance  AUX
‘My uncle was running at a distance.’

The NFC in (754) is a transitive Ac.
(754) Afiyao noki ni tisawihi.
afiyao noki na.NFIN ti-sawi-hi
airplane.M wait for AUX 2SG.S-be at-IMP + F
‘You stay here waiting for the plane.’

A.98 sene tona ‘be a ways away’ (vi)

NO NFC: There is no other sentence in the corpus that has this derivation in a context not involving an NFC, but in (755) there is an example with the related derivation sene towahawiti, which is suggestive.

(755) Sene tiwahawitihi.
sene ti-to-na-waha-witI-hi
move a little 2SG.S-away-AUX-change-out-IMP + F
‘Scoot over.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (756) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(756) Awa Yima Wari wai sene toni ya
Awa Yima Wari waa.NFIN sene to-na.NOM + F ya
(place name).F stand move a little CH-AUX ADJNCT

Moniro itineke
Moniro ita-ne-ke
(name of lake).F sit-CONT + F-DECL + F
‘The Moniro lake is a little ways away from where the Awa Yima Wari village is located.’

A.99 siba ra ‘be all right’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(757) Siba ra awine?
siba na-ra + F awine
be all right AUX-NEG seem + F
‘Are they [the shoes] all right [i.e. do they fit]?’

RAISING: The NFC in (758) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(758) Yama awi siba kere haaro.
yama awa.NFIN siba na-ke-re haaro
thing.F see be all right AUX-DECL + F-NEG + F that one + F
‘Now I know where I am [lit., this can be seen all right].’

A.100 sii na ‘sit/stand’ (vi)

This intransitive root only occurs in derived stems with at least one prefix or suffix. The subject is always plural and inanimate (or the object when causativized).
A.100.1 sii kanihare‘set’ (vt)

NO NFC: Unlike the MC verb in (760) below, the verb in (759) contains the suffix -ma. This suffix appears not to be directional in this case, and so is probably not derivational. So the verb in (759) may be considered to be the same as the MC verb in (760).

(759) Sii tikanirimahi.
   sii ti-ka-niha-na-rI-ma-hi
   sit 2SG.A-COMIT-CAUS-AUX-raised surface-back-IMP+F
   ‘Put them [the hooks and line] back on the shelf.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (760) is a transitive Ac.

(760) fera hiri ni sii kaniareiri
   fera hiri na.NFIN sii ka-niha-na-rI-hiri
   candle.F catch fire AUX stand COMIT-CAUS-AUX-raised surface-RP.E+M
   amaka.
   ama-ka
   SEC-DECL+M
   ‘He set the lit candles [on sticks].’

A.100.2 sii nare‘stand/be located on a raised surface’ (vi)

NO NFC: Whereas in the example with the NFC below (762) the verb means ‘stand’, in this example (761) without an NFC the meaning is ‘be located’.

(761) Sii narineke.
   sii na-rI-ne-ke
   sit AUX-raised surface-CONT+F-DECL+F
   ‘They [the batteries] are on the table.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (762) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of backward control. Apparently the reason the suffix -rI ‘raised surface’ is used is that some of the trees were leaning on the others after they were partially cut through.

(762) Awa kaa onaminaabana oke ayata kaaro, kaa
   awa kaa o-na-mina-habana o-ke ayata kaaro kaa
   ni sii narebana.
   na.NFIN sii na-rI-habana
   AUX stand AUX-raised surface-FUT+F
   ‘I’m going to chop at trees tomorrow nearby, and leave them standing.’
A.100.3 sii niri ‘set’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(763) Sii oniharibaa.
    sii o-niha-na-rI-baha + F
    sit 1SG.A-CAUS-AUX-raised surface-before
'I'm going to set them [the keys, on the table].'

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (764) is a transitive Ac. The meaning here is 'leave standing' rather than 'set'.

(764) awa nafi kaa ni sii onihariba
    awa nafi kaa na.NFIN sii o-niha-na-rI + F
    tree.F all chop AUX stand 1SG.A-CAUS-AUX-raised surface
'I left all the [partially cut] trees standing.'

A.100.4 sii tokana ‘stand’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(765) Wati sii tokane tee tonakama haari.
    wati sii to-ka-na + M tee to-na-ka-ma haari
    arrow.M stand CH-COMIT-AUX 2PL.A away-CAUS-go/come-back that one + M
    ‘You go get the arrows that are standing there.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (766) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(766) fera hiri ni sii tokanaro amake.
    fera hiri na.NFIN sii to-ka-na-haro ama-ke
    candle.F catch fire AUX stand CH-COMIT-AUX-IP.E + F SEC-DECL + F
    ‘The candles stayed there burning.’

A.101 siko na ‘be five’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(767) Abariko siko ne awaka.
    abariko siko na + M awa-ka
    moon.M be five AUX seem + M-DECL + M
    ‘She is five months pregnant [lit., there are five months].’

RAISING: The NFC in (768) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(768) koba nowi nisi siko na amosabisake.
    koba nowi na-risa + F siko na + F amosa-bisa-ke
    copaiba.F drip AUX-down be five AUX be good-also-DECL + F
    ‘Five drops of copaiba oil is good [for a cold].’
A.102 soo na ‘many lie on the ground’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(769) Inamatee emene soo kanikimematamona
      inamatee emene soo na-kanikima-himata-mona
      child.M blood + M lie  AUX-scattered-FP.E + M-REP + M
      ‘The boy's blood was all over the ground.’

CONTROL: The first NFC in (770) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of backward control.

(770) Koyari yama ni soo kanikime ibe waka ni ahi
      koyari yama na.NFIN soo na-kanikima + M ibe waka na.NFIN ahi
      paddle.M make AUX lie AUX-scattered piece destroy AUX there
      ‘There are pieces of broken paddles scattered on the ground.’

A.102.1 soo tosa ‘many lie on the ground’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(771) otaa tasi nama otake fahi, awi soo tose
      otaa tasi na-ma+F otaa-ke fahi awi soo to-na-kosa + M
      1EX.S emerge AUX-back 1EX.S-DECL+F then tapir.M lie CH-AUX-middle

      yaa.
      yaa
      ADJNCT
      ‘We came to the place where the cut-up tapir was.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (772) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(772) Awa kai soo tosa afiyao kakariwaa
      awa kaha.NFIN soo to-na-kosa + F afiyao ka-ka-riwaha
      tree.F be toasted lie CH-AUX-middle airplane.M COMIT-go/come-across
      toitihitareka.
      to-na-hitI-hite-hare-ka
      away-AUX-along the way-?IP.E + M-DECL + M
      ‘The plane went hopping over the burned trees lying on the ground [in the dream].’

The configuration in (773) is the same, but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.
A.103 **taa na** ‘give’ (vt)

**NO NFC:**

(774) Faya bite taa nematamona fahi
faya bite taa na-himata-mona fahi
so 3SG.POSS.daughter.F give AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M then
‘He gave his daughter [to be married].’

**NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL:** The MC in (775) is a transitive Ac.

(775) Bani kai taa nematamona ahi.
bani kaha.NFIN taa na-himata-mona ahi
animal.M be toasted give AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M then
‘He gave the roasted meat.’

A.104 **taba** ‘be with’ (vi)

**NO NFC:** The normal meaning of this verb in contexts not involving NFCs is ‘be with’ (776).

(776) Hibake yaa tee tabaribe?
hibake yaa tee taba-ri-be
who + M ADJNCT 2PL.S be together-CQ + F-IMMED + F
‘Who is going with you?’

**RAISING:** In raising contexts, the meaning is ‘be like’ (777). In this sentence the NFC is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(777) Fara mee kaa yibote mee fawa ni yaa mee
fara mee kaa yibote mee fawa na.NOM + F yaa mee
same + F 3PL POSS husband.M 3PL.S disappear AUX ADJNCT 3PL.S

fawa ni tabemetemoneke.
fawa na.NFIN taba-hemete-mone-ke
disappear AUX be together-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
‘They disappeared, just like their husbands.’

**CONTROL:** In control contexts, this verb has its normal meaning. The NFC in (778) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.
(778) Hiyama mee kana ni yaa kana ni
hiyama mee kana na.NOM+F yaa kana na.NFIN
white-lipped peccary.M 3PL.S run AUX ADJNCT run AUX
tabemataka.
taba-himata-ka
be together-FP.E + M-DECL + M
‘He ran along with the white-lipped peccaries.’

The configuration in (779) is the same, but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(779) mee kabi tabiba.
mee kaba.NFIN taba.NOM + F-ba
3PL.S eat be together-FUT
‘so they [the boys] will be eaten together [with the monkey meat]’

In (780) the NFC is a transitive Ac.

(780) yama ahi ni ee tabi yaa
yama ahi na.NFIN ee taba.NOM + F yaa
thing.F work on AUX 1IN.S be together ADJNCT
‘when we work together’

A.105 tai toha ‘be ahead’ (vi)

NO NFC: The meaning is ‘be ahead’, in a spatial sense (781), or in relation to time (782).

(781) fati tai toa mee
fati tai to-ha+F mee
3SG.POSS.wife.F be ahead CH-AUX 3PL.S
tokemetemoneke.
to-ka-hemete-mone-ke
away-go/come-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
‘His wife went ahead, and they all went.’

(782) Ati tai tohematamonaka
ati tai to-ha-himata-mona-ka
voice be ahead CH-AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
‘He spoke first.’

RAISING: In (783) the NFC is intransitive.

(783) Tika tafl tai toahi.
ti-kaa tafa.NFIN tai to-ha-hi
2SG.POSS-POSS eat be ahead CH-AUX-IMP + F
‘You go ahead and eat.’
The NFC in (784) is a transitive Ac.

(784) Motobi yama kaniki tai tia.
Motobi yama ka-nika.NFIN tai ti-to-ha
(man’s name).M thing.F COMIT-buy be ahead 2SG.S-CH-AUX
‘Motobi, you buy things first.’

A.105.1 tai tohama ‘go ahead’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(785) Motobi tai tohame owareka.
Motobi tai to-ha-ma. + M o-awa-hare-ka
(man’s name).M be ahead CH-AUX-back 1SG.A-see-IP.E + M-DECL + M
‘I saw Motobi coming in front.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (786) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(786) Faya otaa kana ni tai toamamaro otake
faya otaa kana na.NFIN tai to-ha-ma-hamaro otaa-ke
so 1EX.S run AUX be ahead CH-AUX-back-FP.E + F 1EX.POSS-DECL + F

hawi yaa.
hawi yaa
trail ADJNCT
‘We went running ahead on the trail.’

In (787) the NFC is a transitive Ac.

(787) isiri weye kani tai oamara
isiri weye ka-na.NFIN tai o-to-ha-ma-hara
basket.F carry COMIT-AUX be ahead 1SG.S-CH-AUX-back-IP.E + F

oke.
o-ke
1SG.S-DECL + F
‘I went ahead carrying the basket.’

A.106 tama ‘be many’ (vi)

NO NFC:
‘They always caught lots of fish.’

RAISING: The NFC in (789) is intransitive, so this is an example of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

‘I’ve been going out a lot.’

The NFC in (790) is also intransitive, because reciprocal clauses are intransitive.

‘Their older brothers did not fight among themselves many times.’

The NFC in (791) is a transitive Ac.

‘I have scolded them many times.’

CONTROL: The NFC in the first part of (792) is intransitive, so this is an example of backward control.

‘He said there weren’t many fish affected [by the kona poison].’

The configuration in (793) is the same, but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.
A.107 tama na ‘hold’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(794) Fati yimawa bite tama nemetemoneke.
  fati yimawa bite tama na-hemete-mone-ke
  3SG.POSS.wife.F knife.F small +F hold onto AUX-FP.N +F-REP +F-DECL +F
  ‘His wife had a knife.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (795) is a transitive Ac. The reason the auxiliary na is deleted in the MC is that it is a list construction.

(795) iyawa kai otaa tama
  iyawa kaha.NFIN otaa tama.LIST
  manioc mash.F be toasted 1EX.A hold onto
  ‘We were carrying the manioc mash.’

A.107.1 tama kana ‘hold’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(796) wafana famarawa tama karawaari.
  wafana fama-rawa+F tama ka-na-rawa-haari
  female wooley monkey.F be two-F.PL hold onto COMIT-AUX-F.PL-IP.E +M
  ‘He was holding two female wooley monkeys.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (797) is a transitive Ac.

(797) Aba mee kai tama okariyahi.
  aba mee kaha.NFIN tama o-ka-na-ra-yahi
  fish.F 3PL.S be toasted hold onto 1SG.A-COMIT-AUX-NEG-DIST.IMP +F
  ‘I shouldn’t take the roasted fish.’

The MC in (798) is a transitive Oc.

(798) yama toho ni tama hikanaaro.
  yama toho na.NFIN tama hi-ka-na-haaro
  thing.F cough AUX hold onto OC-COMIT-AUX-IP.E +F
  ‘He is coughing all day long [lit., he is holding on to the cough].’
A.108 tamina 'be good' (vi)

NO NFC:

(799) Otaminamatahara        oke       fahi.  
     o-tamina-mata-hara             o-ke       fahi  
1SG.S-be good-short time-IP.E+F  1SG.S-DECL+F then  
'I was still feeling good at that time [before I got sick].'

RAISING: The NFC in (800) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(800) mee    bere     kani        tamina    mati.  
     mee    bere     ka-na.NFIN  tamina+F    mati  
3PL.S be across COMIT-AUX be good    3PL.POSS  
'They [the anum birds] all sit nicely in a row [in the tree].'

The configuration is the same in (801), but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(801) isi     nawani    tamina    awineni.  
     isi     na-wana.NFIN  tamina+F    awine-ni  
handle+F  CAUS-be attached be good    seem+F-BKG+F  
'The handle [of the ax] is attached well.'

The NFC in (802) is a transitive Ac.

(802) Kanawaa   tonanokomi    titaminahi.  
     kanawaa  to-na-noko-ma.NFIN  ti-tamina-hi  
canoe.F away-CAUS-point-back 2SG.S-be good-IMP+F  
'You keep the canoe headed straight.'

A.108.1 natamina 'do well' (vt)

NO NFC: I have only seen one example of this verb being used in a context involving an NFC (803), and I am not actually sure that it is the same verb, because the meaning, i.e. 'show', is quite different.

(803) Yama    mee    tai     ni     kaa    yama    afa    bani    mee  
     yama    mee    tai     na.NOM+F   kaa    yama    afa    bani    mee  
thing.F  3PL.A step on AUX which    thing.F  this+F    animal.M  3PL.O  
     owasimimaro    yaa    yama    onatamina  
     o-to-wasi-ma.NOM+F-maromaro     yaa    yama    o-na-tamina+F  
1SG.A-away-find-back-FP.E+F  ADJNCT    thing.F  1SG.A-CAUS-be good  
'I showed the place where I had found the tracks the animals had left.'

CONTROL: The NFC in (804) is a transitive Ac.
(804)  Mee   narabi  nima  ni   tinataminabana
       mee   narabi  nima    na.NFIN   ti-na-tamina-habana
       3PL.POSS ear + F communicate AUX 2SG.A-CAUS-be good-FUT + F

tike.
ti-ke
2SG.A-DECL + F
‘Tell them the correct [date for the festa].’

A.109 tasi na ‘emerge’ (vi)

There are several derivations of this root that are relevant.

A.109.1 tasi kanama ‘two come out’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(805)  Kakamarawani        tasi   kanamarawa
       ka-ka-ma-rawa-hani  tasi   ka-na-ma-rawa + F
COMIT-go/come-back-F.PL-IP.N + F emerge COMIT-AUX-back-F.PL

       kakimisamarawa    mee   abee   hiyaremtemoneke.
       ka-ka-misa-ma-rawa + F   mee   abee   hiyara-hemete-mone-ke
COMIT-go/come-up-back-F.PL 3PL RECIP speak-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
‘The two [white-lipped peccaries] came and got to the shore and came onto the
shore, talking to each other.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (806) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(806)  Mee   kakama       mee   kana  ni    tasi
       mee   ka-ka-ma + F     mee   kana    na.NFIN tasi
       3PL.S COMIT-go/come-back 3PL.S run AUX  emerge

       kanamemetemoneni.
       ka-na-ma-hemete-mone-ni
COMIT-AUX-back-FP.N + F-REP + F-BKG + F
‘The two of them came. They came out of the forest, running.’

A.109.2 tasi tona ‘emerge’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(807)  Oyo   tasi     tonaharake.
       oyo   tasi     to-na-hara-ke
oil.F emerge CH-AUX-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘The oil is coming out through the hole.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (808) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.
A.109.3 \textit{tasi toniha}'cause to appear' (vt)

NO NFC: The specific meaning in (809) is 'let out'.

(809) Araba bite tasi tonihebona ati
Araba bite tasi to-\textit{na\text{-}ha\text{-}ne\text{-}hi\text{bona}} ati
(man's name).M 3SG.POSS.daughter.F emerge CH-AUX-AUX-\textsc{int} + M say

nemonaka.
na-himona-ka
AUX-\textsc{rep} + M-\textsc{decl} + M

'Araba said he is going to have his daughter's puberty festa [i.e. he is going let her out of the seclusion hut].'

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (810) is a transitive Ac.

(810) yama hiri ni mee tasi toniha
yama hiri na.NFIN mee tasi to-\textit{ni\text{-}ha\text{-}na\text{-}hi\text{bona}} +F
thing.F catch fire AUX 3PL.A emerge CH-AUX-AUX

'They caused a flame to appear [by rotating the fire stick].'

A.110 \textit{tee na} 'put inside' (vt)

NO NFC:

(811) Faya bati mera tee ne
faya bati mera tee na + M
so 3SG.POSS.father.M 3PL.O put inside AUX

'He put his father and the others on board [the boat].'

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (812) is a transitive Ac.

(812) \textit{bani} mee \textit{kahi} mee tee na mee
\textit{bani} mee \textit{kaha}.NFIN mee tee na +F mee
animal.M 3PL.S be toasted 3PL.A put inside AUX 3PL.A

'They put the roasted game in [baskets].'

A.111 \textit{terei na} 'be three' (vi)

NO NFC:

(813) \textit{otaa} tokifiwahama otaa terei na otake.
\textit{otaa} to-\textit{ka\text{-}fl\text{-}waha\text{-}ma} + F \textit{otaa} terei na + F \textit{otaa\text{-}ke}
1EX.S away-go/come-water-change-back 1EX.S be three AUX 1EX.S-\textsc{decl} + F

'Three of us went to the water.'
RAISING: The NFC in (814) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(814) *Oko* tokisami terei naro ama
o-kaa to-ka-risa-ma.NFIN terei na-haro ama
1SG.POSS-POSS away-go/come-down-back be three AUX-RP.E + F SEC
oke
o-ke
1SG.POSS-DECL + F
‘I went downstream three times.’

The configuration in (815) is the same, but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(815) *Farina* karawi terei tee amake.
farina ka-rawa.NFIN terei na-tee ama-ke
manioc meal.F COMIT-stir fry be three AUX-HAB SEC-DECL + F
‘Three batches of manioc meal are toasted [from one batch of soaked manioc].’

The NFC in (816) is a transitive Ac.

(816) *Totoka* nawi terei onaamaro oke.
totoka na-owi.NFIN terei o-na-hamaro o-ke
brand.F CAUS-go out be three 1SG.S-AUX-FP.E + F 1SG.S-DECL + F
‘I put out three brands.’

The NFC in (817) is a transitive Oc.

(817) *Betiro* Sesowi aate ni terei hine
Betiro Sesowi a-ate na.NFIN terei hi-na + M
Peter.M Jesus.M DUP-ask AUX be three OC-AUX

yawehimatamonaka.
yawa-himata-mona-ka
be upset-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
‘Peter was upset because Jesus questioned him three times.’

A.112 *tiwa kana* ‘carry on one's shoulders' (vt)

NO NFC:
(818) Faya namoni mee hikame, ewenebona mee tii
faya namoni mee hi-ka-ma + M ewene-bona mee tii
so report 3PL.S OC-go/come-back stick + M-INT + M 3PL.A cut through
hise, mee tii
hi-na-kosa + M mee tii
OC-AUX-middle 3PL.A carry on shoulder

hikanematamonaka fahi.
hi-ka-na-himata-mona-ka fahi
OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M then
‘They told the news about him back home. They cut poles for him, and carried him.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (819) is a transitive Ac.

(819) aba mee tafowe kahi tiwa
aba mee tafowe kaha.NFIN tiwa
fish.M 3PL.POSS wrapped be toasted carry on shoulder

kanaarake, basiya yaa
ka-na-hara-ke basiya yaa
COMIT-AUX-IP.E + F-DECL + F basin.F ADJNCT
‘She was carrying wrapped roasted fish in a basin on her shoulder.’

In (820) the NFC otaa fami is postposed. The sentence could be rearranged so that the
NFC is in its normal preverbal position, i.e. okobi otaa fami tiwa kana otake. The NFC is
the A of the sentence, and the sentence is a transitive Ac.

(820) okobi otaa tiwa kanaaro
o-kaabi otaa tiwa ka-na-haro
1SG.POSS-POSS-father.M 1EX.A carry on shoulder COMIT-AUX-RP.E + F

otake otaa fami.
otaa-ke otaa fama.NFIN
1EX.A-DECL + F 1EX.S be two
‘We carried my father [in the casket], the two of us.’

A.113 toha ‘be’ (copular verb)

NO NFC: This verb means ‘be’ (821), or sometimes, ‘become’ (822). It always has the
change of state prefix to-, which however does not appear on the surface if there is a
person prefix (822).

(821) Kanawaa taoba toha tafo totee amake.
kanawaa taoba to-ha + F tafo to-na-tee ama-ke
canoe.F tree sp.M CH-be float CH-AUX-HAB SEC-DECL + F
‘A canoe that is made of taoba wood floats.’
RAISING: The NFC in (823) is intransitive, so this is an example of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(823) *Mase hii ni tohare amane.*

Mase hii na.NFIN to-ha-ra +M ama-ne
curasow.M (call of curasow) AUX CH-be-NEG SEC-BKG +M

‘That's not a curasow calling.’

The NFC in (824) is likewise intransitive. The NFC in this case is associated with the adjective yokana ‘true’.

(824) *Mee ayaki yokana tohara.*

mee ayaka.NFIN yokana to-ha-ra +F
3PL.S sing true CH-be-NEG

‘They weren’t singing well [lit., their singing was not true].’

Example (825) is similar, but with a different adjective, i.e. bokato ‘a fair amount’. It might be argued that (825) is backward control rather than the use of a raising verb without overt raising, based on a comparison with (826). This is because in (825) the adjective quantifies the number of people, whereas in (826) it qualifies the degree of the verb.

(825) *Faya mee aabi bokato toemetemone ahi.*

Faya mee ahaba.NFIN bokato to-ha-hemete-mone ahi
so 3PL.S die fair amount CH-be-FP.N + F-REP + F then
‘A good number of them died.’

(826) *Oko kitami bokato toha.*

o-ka kita-ma.NFIN bokato to-ha +F
1SG.POSS-POSS be strong-back fair amount CH-be
‘I got somewhat better.’

Example (827) is similar, except that the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(827) *Yiko mee kabi yokana toharihi.*

yiko mee kaba.NFIN yokana to-ha-rihi
howler monkey.M 3PL.S eat true CH-be-NEG.LIST

narake.
a-hara-ke
AUX-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘Howler monkeys are not very good to eat, either [lit., the eating of howler monkeys is not true, either].’
Finally, (828) is similar to (824) above, except that there is overt raising, which is generally not allowed when both the MC and the NFC are intransitive.

(828) *Amo ni yokana oharara oke.*

sleep AUX true 1SG.S-CH-be-NEG-IP.E+F 1SG.S-DECL+F

‘I didn’t sleep well [lit., my sleeping was not true].’

The NFC in (829) is a transitive Ac.

(829) *Ee wini yaa Biyi yama tao ni tohe ee wina.NOM+F yaa Biyi yama tao na.NFIN to-ha +M*

1IN.S live ADJUNCT (man’s name).M thing.F shoot AUX CH-be

awaka.

awa-ka

seem + M-DECL + M

‘Bidi seems to have shot with a shotgun at our house.’

The NFC in (830) is likewise a transitive Ac, and there is an adjective associated with the NFC.

(830) *Yama nawahake yama wato yokana otaa yama nawaha-ke yama wato.NFIN yokana otaa thing.F take a long time-DECL + F thing.F know true 1EX.S*

tohari kaaro.
to-ha-ra.NOM + F kaaro

CH-be-NEG because of

‘It takes a long time, because we don’t know [how to do it] well [lit., because our knowing of the thing is not true].’

Example (831) is similar, but with a different adjective. The reason there is no gender agreement in the MC verb is that in the context of the text, it was a list construction.

(831) *soba taa sori ni bokato toha soba taa sori na.NFIN bokato to-ha.LIST*

soup.F contrast eat AUX fair amount CH-be

‘He ate a little soup.’

In (832), the demonstrative *fare* seems to function the same as an adjective.

(832) *bani mee fora ni fare totoha ne bani mee fora na.NFIN fare to-to-ha na +M*

animal.M 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX same + M DUP-CH-be AUX

‘He was always killing animals with his blowgun.’

The NFC in (833) is a transitive Oc, and there is an adjective associated with the NFC.
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(833) Awi yokana ohateere amaka.
awaNFIN yokana o-to-ha-tee-re ama-ka
see true 1SG.S-CH-be-HAB-NEG+F SEC-DECL+M
‘I have never seen it properly [lit., my seeing of it was never true].’

The NFC in (834) is likewise a transitive Oc, but there is no adjective. This example shows that it is possible on occasion to have hi in an NFC, and it is also an example of the pronominal referencing the shared subject being located in the NFC rather than in the MC.

(834) mee mee mowa hini fara hihi kaaro
mee mee mowa hi-na.NFIN fara hi-to-ha+F kaaro
3PL.O 3PL.A fight OC-AUX same+F OC-CH-be because of
‘They [the enemies] were always fighting them [the Jarawaras].’

A.113.1 tohawa ‘come into being’ (copular verb)

NO NFC:

(835) Tee ati weye owaha okobone, tee ati
tee ati weye o-na-waha o-ke-bone tee ati
2PL.POSS voice carry 1SG.A-AUX-change 1SG.A-DECL+F-INT+F 2PL.POSS voice
yaa tohawaakibone.
yaa to-ha-waha-ke-bone
ADJNCT CH-be-change-DECL+F-INT+F
‘I’m going to speak just like you.’

RAISING: The NFC in (836) is intransitive, so this is a rare example of overt raising in such a case.

(836) Kori kasi mati ohawaamaro oke
kori ka-na-kosa.NFIN mati o-to-ha-waha-hamaro o-ke
be afraid COMIT-AUX-middle a lot 1SG.S-CH-be-change-FP.E+F 1SG.S-DECL+F
‘Then I got really scared.’

A.113.2 toniha ‘make up’ (vt)

NO NFC: This verb can mean ‘call’ (837) or ‘make into’ (838).

(837) Kararana otaa tonihatee amake bisa.
karakarana otaa to-niha-ha-tee ama-ke bisa
grass sp.F 1EX.A CH-CAUS-be-HAB SEC-DECL+F also
‘We call that [species of grass] kararana.’

(838) Sai yamasi mee hiniha hitee amaka.
sai yamasi mee hi-to-niha-ha+F hi-na-tee ama-ka
epiphyte sp.M backpack.F 3PL.A OC-CH-CAUS-be OC-AUX-HAB SEC-DECL+F
‘They make backpacks out of sai vine, too.’
NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: In (839) the MC is a transitive Ac.

(839) Orabikara  oko  rabiki  tee  tonihine  
o-rabika-ra + F  o-kaa  rabika.NFIN  tee  to-niha-ha-ne  
1SG.S-be  crazy-NEG  1SG.POSS-POSs  be  crazy  2PL.A  CH-CAUS-be-CONT + F  
‘I’m not acting crazy, you are just making it up that I am acting crazy.’

The configuration in (840) is the same, but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(840) owa  nabowi  tiniha  
owa  na-aboha.NFIN  ti-to-niha-ha  
1SG.O  CAUS-die  2SG.A-CH-CAUS-be  
‘You are imagining my being killed.’

A.113.3 tonihawa‘become accustomed to’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(841) Otara  tonihawaka.  
   otara  to-niha-ha-waha-ka  
   1EX.O  CH-CAUS-be-change-DECL + M  
   ‘He got used to us.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (842) is a transitive Ac.

(842) Mee  yama  nami  tonihawahe  
mee  yama  na-ma.NFIN  to-niha-ha-waha + M  
3PL.O  make  AUX-back  CH-CAUS-be-change  
‘He got used to bringing people back to life.’

A.114 tohi ‘reject’ (vt)

NO NFC: There is no example of this verb in the corpus that is not with an NFC.  
NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: Focusing on the second part of (843), the NFC ee kaa owa hiyari is intransitive, and the MC is a transitive Ac.

(843) Ee  kaa  owa  hiyare  hiyari  ee  nofara  ee  kaa  owa  
eee  kaa  owa  hiyara + M  hiyara.NFIN  ee  nofa-ra + F  ee  kaa  owa  
1IN  POSS  man.M  speak  speak  1IN.A  want-NEG  1IN  POSS  man.M  

hiyari  ee  tohitee  ee  amake.  
hiyara.NFIN  ee  tohi-tee  ee  ama-ke  
speak  1IN.A  reject-HAB  1IN.A  SEC-DECL + F  
‘If someone is talking and we don’t like what they are saying, we reject what they are saying.’
A.115 tomi ‘imitate’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(844) Tamino abono ee ati tomitee amaka.
   tamino abono ee ati tomi-tee ama-ka
   bird sp. M spirit 1IN.POSS voice measure-HAB SEC-DECL + M
   ‘The tamino bird’s call sounds like a human voice.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (845) is a transitive Ac.

(845) Mee fanawi haa ni mee tomimetemoneni.
   mee fanawi haa na.NFIN mee tomi-hemete-mone-ni
   3PL woman.F call AUX 3PL.A measure-FP.N + F-REP + F-BKG + F
   ‘They imitated the calling of women.’

A.116 totomi na ‘try’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(846) Faha tee totomi ribana?
   faha tee to-tomi na-ra + F-bana
   water.F 2PL.A DUP-measure AUX-NEG-FUT
   ‘Aren’t you going to try the water [i.e. get in the lake]?’

CONTROL: The NFC in (847) is a transitive Ac.

(847) Yama fawi totomi onaha yama fawi
   yama fawa.NFIN to-tomi o-na + F yama fawa.NFIN
   thing.F drink DUP-measure 1SG.A-AUX thing.F drink
   onofaraharo ama oke yama onahabiharo.
   o-nofa-ra-haro ama o-ke yama o-na-ahaba-haro
   ‘I tasted it, and I didn't want to drink it, and I threw it away.’

A.117 totoro na ‘be short’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(848) Taha totoro kabote tee amaka.
   taha to-toro na-kabote na-tee ama-ka
   fish sp. M DUP-be short AUX-quickly AUX-HAB SEC-DECL + M
   ‘The taha fish is very short.’

RAISING: The NFC in (849) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising. I don't understand why this verb means ‘be long’ in this sentence, the opposite of its normal meaning.
waa ‘stand’ (vi)

(849) mee wini totoro na toimete.
    mee wina.NFIN to-toro na to-ha.NOM + F-mete
3PL.S live DUP-be short AUX CH-AUX-FP.N + F
‘Their village was very long.’

A.118 waa ‘stand’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(850) Hinaka yobe weematamona awa baikani yaa.
    hinaka yobe waa-himata-mona awa baikani yaa
3SG.POSS house.M stand-FP.E + M-REP + M garden.F middle ADJNCT
‘His house stood in the middle of the garden.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (851) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(851) mee bata hikano kaa matafo feene nowiri
    mee bata hi-ka.NOM + M-na-no kaa matafo fehene nowi-ri
3PL.A surprise OC-COMIT-AUX-IP.N + M which vine sp juice + M drip-DISTR

  ni weehimatamona.
na.NFIN waa-himata-mona
AUX stand-FP.E + M-REP + M
‘They had come upon him suddenly, and the matafo vine [that he had cut] was
there dripping.’

This example is interesting syntactically, because the MC verb waa ‘stand’ only applies
to the possessor of the NP matafo feene, i.e. matafo. The NFC (matafo) feene nowiri ni acts
like a relative clause modifying matafo.

The configuration in (852) is the same, but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive
verb.

(852) awa bisi ni waaha hora kanemarika.
    awa bisi na.NFIN waa+F hora ka-na-himari-ka
tree.F scratch AUX stand complain about COMIT-AUX-FP.E + M-DECL + M
‘He exclaimed about the scratched tree.’

The NFC in (853) is a transitive Ac. The pronominal hee in the NFC refers to the O. This
pronominal may only refer to the O of an Ac clause, not the O of an Oc. (Hee can also
refer to a possessor or an adjunct, cf. Dixon (2004:371ff.).)

(853) Hee kabi wee
    he kaba.NFIN waa + M
3SG.O eat stand
‘It [the harpy eagle] stood eating him [the man he had killed].’

The NFC in (854) is likewise a transitive Ac, and there is an adjective modifying the
NFC.
A.118.1 kawa‘stand, hurt’ (vi)

NO NFC: The meaning of the comitative prefix ka- in these examples is ‘hurt’ (855).

(855) Yomee kawemarika emene ahabari
(young female.F COMIT-stand-FP.E + M-DECL + M blood + M spill-IP.E + M
‘The dog stood there as his blood poured out.’)

CONTROL: The NFC in (856) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(856) mee ohi ni kawarima na
(male 3PL.S cry AUX COMIT-stand-intermittent AUX
‘They were crying intermittently standing, grieving.’)

A.118.2 kawamake‘come and stand’ (vi)

NO NFC: There is no example of this derivation in the corpus in a context not involving
an NFC, but the examples with the related derivations are suggestive.

CONTROL: The NFC in (857) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(857) ohi ni kawamakehino
(young male.F COMIT-stand-following-IP.N + M
‘He came and stood there crying.’)

A.118.3 kawari‘stand on a raised surface’ (vt)

NO NFC: One of the uses of the comitative prefix ka- is as an applicative, making a verb
transitive by bringing in an object, as in (858).

(858) yawa okoware owa.
(young male.F 1SG.A-COMIT-stand-raised surface 1SG.A
‘I was sitting down so my upset would pass.’)

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (859) is a transitive Ac. It is not obvious
that the MC verb is transitive, but this is clear when we elicit the same sentence with first
person singular agreement. It becomes oko hiyari okoware. The fact that the first person
subject must be overt in both the NFC and the MC shows both that there is not control,
and that the MC is transitive.

54The original has the name of the man, but this has been omitted.
A.118.4 *nawari* ‘set down’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(860) Inamatee tiwa ona nawarikabote
inamatee tiwa o-na + F na-waa-rl-kabote
child.M carry on shoulder 1SG.AUX CAUS-stand-raised surface-quickly

onaamaro.
ona-hamaro
1SG.AUX-FP.E + F
‘I carried the baby and set her down.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (861) is a transitive Ac. The related meaning of the verb here is ‘knock over’.

(861) *Yifari* hati nawariaba
yifari hata.NFIN na-waa-rl-haba
banana.F be ripe CAUS-stand-raised surface-FUT + F

kamakine faa.
ka-makI-ne faa
go/come-following-CONT + F that
‘Someone was coming who would knock the bananas over.’

A.118.5 *waaki* ‘come and stand’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(862) Kamo taboro yaa kobo ne waaki
Kamo taboro yaa kobo na + M waa-ki + M
(man’s name).M place + M ADJNCT arrive AUX stand-coming
‘He arrived at Kamo’s house and stood there.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (863) is a transitive Ac.

(863) *yama* kakatomi wakimatamonaka.
yama ka-katoma.NFIN wa-ki-himata-mona-ka
thing.F COMIT-look at stand-coming-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
‘He stood looking around.’
A.118.6 ware‘stand on a raised surface’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(864) akori yaa na ware
akori yaa na+F waa-rI
cotton shake down AUX stand-raised surface
‘She stood [in the tree] shaking down the fruits.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (865) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(865) tika ayaki warera tiwa.
ti-kaa ayaka.NFIN waa-rI-ra+F tiwa
2SG.POSS-POSS dance stand-raised surface-NEG 2SG.POSS
‘You were not dancing in the house [i.e. you were dancing in the plaza].’

The NFC in (866) is a transitive Ac.

(866) faya yama tama kani owaria
faya yama tama ka-na.NFIN o-waa-rI+F
so thing.F hold onto COMIT-AUX 1SG.S-stand-raised surface
‘I stood holding onto the thing [my plate].’

A.119 wao kana ‘hurt’ (vt)

NO NFC: There is no example of this verb in the corpus in a context not involving an NFC.

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: In (867) the NFC is the A, and the MC is a transitive Ac.

(867) Ino kowisi owini wao kanaka.
in o kowisa.NFIN o-ini wao ka-na-ka
tooth.M hurt 1SG.POSS-tooth+F hurt COMIT-AUX-DECL +M
‘A toothache is making my tooth hurt.’

Dixon (2004:289) considers inokowisi to be a single word, a noun. I have analyzed ino as the inherent gender form of the inalienably possessed noun ini/ino ‘tooth’. As such, it is the only such inherent gender form of an inalienably possessed noun that I know of that is masculine in gender. The verb kowisa clearly means ‘hurt’ in other contexts, for example (868).

(868) Kiri ona kowisarake.
kiri o-na+F kowisa-hara-ke
scratch 1SG.A-AUX hurt-IP.E+F-DECL +F
‘When I scratch it [my breast], it hurts.’
A.120 *wara tona* ‘understand/respond to’ (vt)

NO NFC: The basic meaning of this verb is ‘grab onto’ (869), but it also has a figurative meaning, ‘understand/respond to’ (870).

(869) Awa *wara torematamonaka.*  
awā *wara to-na-ra-himata-mona-ka*  
wood.F *grab* CH-AUX-NEG-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M  
‘He didn’t grab onto the pole.’

(870) Owati *wara toraareka.*  
o-ati *wara to-na-ra-hare-ka*  
1SG.POSS-voice *understand* CH-AUX-NEG-IP.E + M-DECL + M  
‘He didn’t understand what I said.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (871) is a transitive Ac.

(871) mee *haa hine mee haa ni wara tore*  
mee *haa hi-na+M mee haa na.NFIN wara to-na-ra+M*  
3PL.A *call* OC-AUX 3PL.S *call* AUX *respond to* CH-AUX-NEG  
‘They called him, but he didn’t respond to their calling.’

The MC in (872) is a transitive Oc.

(872) *haa ni wara one*  
haa *na.NFIN wara o-to-na+M*  
call AUX *understand* 1SG.A-CH-AUX  
‘I called back to him.’

A.121 *wasi* ‘find’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(873) Yiwa boni *yaa yima fana boko kanani mee*  
yiwā ba-noi *yaa yima fana boko ka-na-hani mee*  
ceramic pot.F ADJNCT Yima.M female.F old close COMIT-AUX-IP.N+F 3PL.A  
wasihematemoneke.  
wasī-hemete-mone-ke  
find-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F  
‘They found an old Yima woman under an [overturned] ceramic pot.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (874) is a transitive Ac.

(874) *biyo haro wasirawe*  
biyo *haro.NFIN wasi-rawa+M*  
spider monkey.F be boiled find-F.PL  
‘He found the boiled spider monkeys.’
The MC in (875) is a transitive Oc.

(875) Matehe  fawa    kani     mee  hiwasiemetemoneke
       matehe  fawa    ka-na.NFIN mee  hi-wasi-hemete-mone-ke
children.F  disappear  COMIT-AUX  3PL.A  OC-find-PP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
‘They found the two children that had disappeared.’

A.121.1  towasima ‘come upon’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(876)  tabora  bote  yaa  ota  tokoma,  aba  mee  otaa
       tabora  bote  yaa  ota  to-ka-ma+F  aba  mee  otaa
village.F  old  ADJUNCT  1EX.S  away-go/come-back  fish.M  3PL.O  1EX.A

       towasima  otake  fahi,  winika  mee  kabani  mati.
       to-wasi-ma+F  otaa-ke  fahi  winika  mee  kaba-hani  mati
away-find-back  1EX.A-DECL+F  then  cashew  sp.F  3PL.A  eat-IP.N + F  3PL.A
‘We went to an old village, and came upon fish eating winika fruits.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (877) is a transitive Ac.

(877)  Faya  Hinabori  bato  abowi  hofi
       faya  Hinabori  bato  abohi  hofa.NFIN
so  (woman’s name).M  duck.M  dead body  be in water

       towasimehinoka.
       to-wasi-ma-hino-ka
away-find-back-IP.N + M-DECL + M
‘Hinabori found a dead duck in the water.’

A.121.2  towasimaki ‘come upon’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(878)  Boyi  Abono  mee  tokomake  yima  mee  hawi
       Boyi  Abono  mee  to-ka-makI  yima  mee  hawi
(man’s name).M  3PL.S  away-go/come-following  Yima.M  3PL.POSS  trail

       mee  towasimakia  mee
       mee  to-wasi-makI+F  mee
3PL.A  away-find-following  3PL.A
‘Boyi Abono and his companions went after them, and they found the Yimas’ trail.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (879) is a transitive Ac.
wasiki ‘come upon’ (vt)

(879) Inamatee ohi ni towasimakimatamonaka.
inamatee ohi na.NFIN to-wasi-makl-himata-mona-ka  
child.M cry AUX away-find-following-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
‘He came upon the child crying.’

The MC in (880) is a transitive Oc.

(880) Fakira biti oj ni wabori  
Fakira biti oj na.NFIN wabori  
(man’s name).M 3SG.POSS.son.M cry AUX 3SG.POSS brother-in-law.M
mee hiwasimakematamonaka.
mee hi-to-wasi-makl-himata-mona  
3PL.A OC-away-find-following-FP.E + M-REP + M
‘Fakira’s brothers-in-law came upon his son crying.’

A.121.3 wasiki ‘come upon’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(881) kake mee tabori wasiki  
ka-kI mee tabori wasi-kI + M  
go/come-coming 3PL.POSS place +F find-coming
‘He came, and came upon their village.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC verb in (882) is a detransitivized transitive verb, and the MC is a transitive Ac.

(882) Mee kabi wasikino  
mee kaba.NFIN wasi-kI-hino  
3PL.S eat find-coming-IP.N + M
‘He came upon where they had been eaten [by a jaguar].’

A.121.4 wasima ‘come upon’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(883) Kame yiko mee wasime  
ka-ma + M yiko mee wasi-ma + M  
go/come-back howler monkey.M 3PL.O find-back
‘He came, and came upon some howler monkeys.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (884) is a transitive Ac.

(884) tee ayaki owasimabana oke.  
tee ayaka.NFIN o-wasi-ma-habana o-ke  
2PL.S sing 1SG.A-find-back-FUT +F 1SG.A-DECL + F
‘I will come upon you as you are singing.’
The MC in (885) is a transitive Oc.

(885) mee hiyari ot aa wasimarani.
   mee hiyara.NFIN ot aa wasi-ma-hara-ni
   3PL.S speak 1EX.A find-back-IP.E + F-BKG + F
   ‘We came upon them as they were talking.’

A.121.5 wasimake ‘come upon’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(886) mee tabori wasimakematamona.
   mee tabori wasi-makI-himata-mona
   3PL.POSS place + F find-following-FP.E + M-REP + M
   ‘He came upon their village.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (887) is a transitive Ac.

(887) Inamatee oi ni mee wasimake
    inamatee ohi na.NFIN mee wasi-makI
    child.M cry AUX 3PL.A find-following
    ‘They came upon a child crying.’

A.122 wata ‘be’ (vi)

NO NFC: This verb most commonly means ‘exist/be located’ (888), but it can also mean ‘two hang/lie in a hammock’ (889), or ‘many stand together’ (890), and I do not analyze these meanings as different lexical items.

(888) Owene watakare.
   o-ehene wata-ka-re
   1SG.POSS-victim exist-DECL-NEG + F
   ‘I didn’t kill hardly anything [lit., my victim doesn’t exist].’

(889) Hinakati tati tone mato yaa tasi
    hinakaati tati tone mato yaa tasi
    3SG.POSS-older sister.F head bone inner bark.F ADJNCT string
    tokasa watehemetemoneni, basiyoba
    to-ka-na-kosa + F wate-hemete-mone-ni basiyoba
    CH-COMIT-AUX-middle hang-FP.N + F-REP + F-BKG + F palm sp.F
    kawari yaa.
    ka-wa-rI.NOM yaa
    COMIT-stand-raised surface ADJNCT
    ‘Her two sisters’ skulls were hanging with a line of inner bark through them, on the split palm wall.’
(890) Fowa wata ka haari. manioc.M stand-DECL + M that one + M
‘There is a patch of manioc.’

RAISING: The NFC in (891) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(891) mee haa ni watara mee amake. mee haa na.NFIN wata-ra + F mee ama-ke
3PL.S call AUX exist-NEG 3PL.Poss SEC-DECL + F
‘They didn’t call [lit., there wasn’t their calling].’

CONTROL: The NFC in (892) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(892) Awa hati-hemete kahi wataarake. awa hati-emete kaha.NFIN wata-hara-ke
tree.F be burnt-FP.N + F be toasted stand-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘There were many trees standing that had burned a long time ago [in the dream].’

The configuration in (893) is the same, but the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(893) Haa yaa toki wataba ahi. haa yaa toka.NFIN wata.NOM + M-ba ahi
DEM ADJNCT partially burn be located-FUT there
‘Here is where it [the bark canoe] will be burned.’

The NFC in (894) is likewise intransitive. The NFC is postposed, so the shared pronominal S is overt in both the MC and the NFC. If the NFC were in the normal position, the pronominal would be overt only in the NFC, i.e. mee amo ni watetemoneke.

(894) mee watetemoneke mee amo ni. mee wata-hemete-mone-ke mee amo na.NFIN
3PL.S lie in hammock-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F 3PL.S sleep AUX
‘The two of them lay in their hammocks, sleeping.’

A.122.1 kawata‘wear’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(895) kanamo kawata nematamona ahi. kanamo ka-wata na-himata-mona ahi
armband.M COMIT-put AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M then
‘He also was wearing armbands.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC verb in (896) is a detransitivized transitive verb, and the MC is a transitive Ac.
(896) *yama faki ni kawataari.*
yama faki na.NFIN ka-wata-haari
thing.F roll AUX COMIT-be located-IP.E + M
‘He wore [a woman’s breach cloth] that was rolled strings.’

A.122.2 *towatama* ‘be located over there’ (vi)

NO NFC: Whereas *towatama* means ‘be located over there’ in (898) below, in (897) it means ‘two stay again over there’, in a context not involving an NFC.

(897) *Misao yaa otaa kobo tonamatasa otaa*
*mission.F ADJNCT 1EX.S arrive away-AUX-back-again 1EX.S*

towamatatas
*to-wata-ma-tasa + F*
away-exist-back-again
‘We arrived back at the mission, and the two of us stayed there again.’

RAISING: The NFC in (898) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(898) *faya yima kaa hiyama *
*we te ni*
so *Yima.M POSS white-lipped peccary.M tie AUX*

towatamaareka ahi.
to-wata-ma-hare-ka ahi
away-be located-back-IP.E + M-DECL + M there
‘The place where the Yima had tied up his white-lipped peccary was over there.’

A.123 *wato* ‘know’ (vt)

NO NFC: The normal meaning of this verb is ‘know’ (899).

(899) *Era mee watohaba ee amake.*
era mee wato-haba ee ama-ke
1IN.O 3PL.A know-FUT + F 1IN.O SEC-DECL + F
‘They are going to find out about us.’

CONTROL: In control contexts, the meaning is ‘know how/be able’. The NFC in (900) is intransitive, and the MC is a transitive Ac.

(900) *yaka ni owatoramaro oke.*
yaka na.NFIN o-wato-ra-hamaro o-ke
walk AUX 1SG.A-know-NEG-FP.E + F 1SG.A-DECL + F
‘I couldn't walk.’
The configuration is the same in (901), but the pronominal referencing the S of the NFC is overt in the NFC rather than in the MC.

(901) Oko yaka ni watorara oke.
    o-ka yaka na.NFIN wato-ra-hara o-ke
1SG.POSS-POSS walk AUX know-NEG-IP.E + F 1SG.POSS-DECL + F
‘I couldn't walk.’

When the pronominal referencing the S of the NFC is plural, it is always overt in the NFC rather than in the MC, as in (902).

(902) mee tafi watoramaro mee amake.
    mee tafa.NFIN wato-ra-hamaro mee ama-ke
3PL.S eat know-NEG-FP.E + F 3PL.POSS SEC-DECL + F
‘They couldn’t eat.’

Both the NFC and the MC in (903) are transitive Ac clauses.

(903) Owa ai ni watore
    owa ahi na.NFIN wato-ra + M
1SG.O have sex with AUX know-NEG
‘He couldn't have sex with me.’

Both the NFC and the MC in (904) are likewise transitive Ac clauses, and there is an adjective modifying the NFC.

(904) namosami bite owatoaaro.
    na-amosa-ma.NFIN bite o-wato-haar
CAUS-be good-back small + F 1SG.A-know-RP.E + F
‘I know a little how to fix them [gill nets].’

Both the NFC and the MC in (905) are transitive Oc clauses.

(905) mee fora hine karaboi mee
    mee fora hi-na + M karaboha.NFIN mee
3PL.A shoot with blowgun OC-AUX shoot with blowgun 3PL.A
    hiwatore hi-wato-ra + M
OC-know-NEG + M
‘They shot blowgun darts at it [the harpy eagle], but they couldn't hit it.’

Example (906) is similar, except that the NFC is postposed.

(906) Henani hiwatoa awineke, wari kani.
    Henani hi-wato + F awine-ke wari ka-na.NFIN
    (man's name).M OC-know seem + F-DECL + F turn COMIT-AUX
‘Henani knows how to turn [the fire stick, to make fire].’
NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (907) is a transitive Oc.

(907) Sorowaha otara mee hiyara mee hiyari
Soruwaha otara mee hiyara +F mee hiyara. NFIN
Zuruwaha.M 1EX.O 3PL.A speak to 3PL.S speak

owatoraroke.
o-wato-ra-haro-ke
1SG.A-know-NEG-RP.E + F-DECL + F
‘The Zuruahas spoke to us, but I couldn’t understand their speech.’

Example (908) is similar, except that the NFC verb is a detransitivized transitive verb.

(908) owisi wisi kani owatoraaro amake.
o-isí wisi ka-na. NFIN o-wato-ra-haro ama-ke
1SG.POSS-leg + F saw COMIT-AUX 1SG.A-know-NEG-RP.E + F SEC-DECL + F
‘I couldn’t feel my leg being operated on.’

A.124 were na ‘throw’ (vt)

NO NFC: This verb is used with plural objects (909).

(909) Awa bote were nemetemoneke.
awa bote were na-hemete-mone-ke
tree.F old throw AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
‘She threw off the logs [that were on top of her].’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (910) is a transitive Ac.

(910) Ora hati were ne
ora hata. NFIN were na + M
plant sp.M be ripe throw AUX
‘He threw down the ripe ora fruits [from the tree].’

A.125 wete na ‘return’ (vi)

This verb root has derivations that are found with NFCs.

A.125.1 wete nama’return, coming’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(911) Koriwa yaa mee were nameemetemoneke fahi.
Koriwa yaa mee were na-ma-hemete-mone-ke fahi
Curíá.F ADJUNCT 3PL.S return AUX-back-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F then
‘They turned back at the Curíá River.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (912) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.
(912) Okobise kana ni we te namematamona.
   o-ka-bise kana na.NFIN we te na-ma-himata-mona
   1SG.POSS-POSS-uncle.M run AUX return AUX-back-FP.E + M-REP + M
   ‘My uncle came back running.’

A.125.2 we te tokanama’return, going’ (vi)

NO NFC: Example (914) under we te tonama below is suggestive. What the comitative
prefix ka- contributes to (913) is the idea of being ‘hurt’.

CONTROL: The NFC in (913) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(913) Yara fana ohi ni we te tokanamaaro
   yara fana ohi na.NFIN we te to-ka-na-ma-haro
   Brazilian.M female.F cry AUX return away-COMIT-AUX-back-RP.E + F

   amake owati mita-haaro.
   ama-ke o-ati mita-haaro
   SEC-DECL + F 1SG.POSS-voice hear-IP.E + F
   ‘When the Brazilian woman heard what I said [i.e. that my father had died], she
   went back crying.’

A.125.3 we te tonama’return, going’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(914) Ami ee we te tonamahi fara ee taboro
   ami ee we te to-na-ma-hi fara ee taboro
   mother.F 1IN.S return away-AUX-back-IMP + F same + F 1IN.POSS place

   yaa.
   yaa
   ADJNCT
   ‘Mother, let’s go back to our own village.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (915) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(915) mee kana ni we te tonamaba mati.
   mee kana na.NFIN we te to-na-ma-haba mati
   3PL.S run AUX return away-AUX-back-FUT + F 3PL.POSS
   ‘They [the Yimas] will go running back.’

A.126 we ye na ‘carry on one's back’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(916) Aba mee mee we ye na
   aba mee mee we ye na + F
   fish.M 3PL.O 3PL.A carry AUX
   ‘They carried fish.’
NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (917) is a transitive Ac.

(917) *hiyama meeka hikha meewe*  
hiyama kaka.NFIN mee weye  
white-lipped peccary.M 3PL.S be toasted 3PL.A carry  
naabemetemoneke.  
na nahaba-hemete-mone-ke  
AUX-at night-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F  
‘They carried the white-lipped peccaries at night.’

The MC in (918) is a transitive Oc.

(918) *Ehene kai wabori meewe*  
ehene kaka.NFIN wabori mee weye  
victim + M be toasted 3SG.POSS brother-in-law.M 3PL.A carry  
hinematamonaka  
hi-na-himata-mona-ka  
OC-AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M  
‘His brothers-in-law carried what he had killed, which was roasted.’

A.126.1 *weye kana* ‘carry a little’ (vt)

NO NFC: With the addition of the comitative prefix *ka-* , this verb means that the basket was not full (919).

(919) *Aba meewe okana.*  
aba meewe o-ka-na + F  
fish.M 3PL.O carry 1SG.A-COMIT-AUX  
‘I carried the basket half full of fish.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (920) is a transitive Ac.

(920) *bani kai meewe kana*  
bani kaka.NFIN mee weye ka-na + F  
animal.M be toasted 3PL.A carry COMIT-AUX  
‘They carried some roasted meat on their backs.’

A.126.2 *weyeri kawaha* ‘carry’ (vt)

NO NFC: In this derivation, the verb refers to many subjects carrying many objects (921).

(921) *Wati meewe weyeri kawahemetemoneke.*  
wati meewe-ri ka-na-waha-hemete-mone-ke  
arow.M 3PL.A carry-DISTR COMIT-AUX-change-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F  
‘They [the white-lipped peccaries] carried arrows [which they had been shot with].’
NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (922) is a transitive Ac.

(922) bani  mee  kai  mee  weyeri
   bani  mee  kaha.NFIN  mee  weye-ri
   animal.M  3PL.S  be toasted  3PL.A  carry-DISTR

   kawahateehamoneni.
   ka-na-waha-tee-hamone-ni
   COMIT-AUX-change-RP.N  +  F-REP  +  F-BKG  +  F
   ‘They were all carrying roasted meat.’

A.127 wina ‘lie in a hammock’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(923) yifo  yaa  owinara  oke.
   yifo  yaa  o-wina-hara  o-ke
   hammock.M  ADJNCT  1SG.S-lie in hammock-IP.E  +  F  1SG.S-DECL  +  F
   ‘I lay in the hammock.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (924) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(924) Karasa  amo  ni  wineete  amake.
   Karasa  amo  na.NFIN  wina-hete  ama-ke
   Graça.F  sleep  AUX  lie in hammock-RP.N  +  F  SEC-DECL  +  F
   ‘Graça was in her hammock sleeping.’

   The NFC in (925) is a transitive Ac.

(925) Yama  kamiti  wine
   yama  ka-mita.NFIN  wina  +  M
   thing.F  COMIT-hear  lie in hammock
   ‘He lay in his hammock listening.’

A.127.1 kanawina ‘hang up many’ (vt)

NO NFC: I don’t have an elicited example in which the comitative ka- means ‘many’ as it does in (927) below. In (926) the ka- means ‘inside’, that is, the milk was in a container.

(926) inamatewe  kaa  retibone  mee
   inamatewe  kaa  reti-bone  mee
   child.F  POSS  milk.F-INT  +  F  3PL.A

   kanawinawatasaroke.
   ka-na-wina-waha-tasa-haro-ke
   COMIT-CAUS-hang-change-again-RP.E  +  F-DECL  +  F
   ‘Then they hung up some milk for the baby again.’
NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (927) is a transitive Ac. There is no gender agreement in the MC verb because it is part of a list construction in the text.

(927) *Yifari* hati kanawina  
yifari hata.NFIN ka-na-wina.LIST  
banana.F be ripe COMIT-CAUS-hang  
‘He hung a bunch of bananas up.’

A.127.2 *kawina*‘lie in a hammock’ (vi)

NO NFC: I'm not sure what the comitative prefix *ka-* contributes to the meaning in (929). In other contexts, it can mean that the S was sick, or in the case of (928), dead.

(928) *Hiwa* kawinaka.  
hiwa ka-wina-ka  
only.M COMIT-lie in hammock-DECL + M  
‘Let him lie there dead.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (929) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(929) *ayaki* kawinematamonaka.  
ayaka.NFIN ka-wina-himata-mona-ka  
sing COMIT-lie in hammock-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M  
‘He was in the hammock singing.’

A.127.3 *kawina*‘take care of’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(930) *Inamatewe* okowinasaa oke,  
inamatewe o-ka-wina-saa o-ke  
child.F 1SG.A-COMIT-lie in hammock-still 1SG.A-DECL + F  
mati yama ahi naaro.  
mati yama ahi na-haaro  
3SG.POSS.mother.F thing.F work on AUX-IP.E + F  
‘I am still taking care of the baby, while his mother is working.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (931) is a transitive Ac.

(931) *Ifaneti* amo ni kawinemonaka.  
Ifaneti amo na.NFIN ka-wina-himona-ka  
(woman's name).F sleep AUX COMIT-lie in hammock-REP + M-DECL + M  
‘She said Ifaneti was sleeping as she [Haimota] was taking care of her.’
A.127.4 *towinakosa*‘be left in a hammock’ (vi)

No NFC:

(932) Mee bana mee hima hine yaka re, 
   mee bana + F mee hima hi-na + M yaka na-ra + M 
3PL.S move away 3PL.A call to go OC-AUX walk AUX-NEG 

towinakosebona 
   mee heekanakosebona 
to-wina-kosa-hibona 
   mee hi-ka-kana-kosa-hibona 
CH-lie in hammock-middle-INT + M 3PL.A OC-COMIT-leave-middle-INT + M 

mee hine 
mee ati hi-na + M 
3PL.A say-OC-AUX 

‘They were going to move, and they called him to go along, but he couldn't walk. He was going to stay behind in the house, because they were going to leave him behind.’

Control: The NFC in (933) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(933) Faya Noko Wene hinakiti amo ni 
faya Noko Wene hinakaiti amo na.NFIN 
so (man's name).M 3SG.POSS-grandfather.M sleep AUX 

towinakose 
   to-wina-kosa + M 
CH-lie in hammock-middle 

‘Noko Wene's grandfather was left sleeping in his hammock.’

A.127.5 *winama*‘come back and lie in a hammock’ (vi)

No NFC:

(934) tabora yaa kame winamematamonaha. 
tabora yaa ka-ma + M wina-ma-himata-mona-ha 
village.F ADJNCT go/come-back lie in hammock-back-FP.E + M-REP + M-DUP 

‘He came back to the village and lay in his hammock.’

Control: The NFC in (935) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(935) amo ni winama naati 
amo na.NFIN wina-ma nahatI + M 
sleep AUX lie in hammock-back daytime 

‘He slept in his hammock all day back in the village.’
A.128 *yabo* ‘be far’ (vi)

NO NFC: This verb usually means ‘be far’ (936) or ‘be long’ (937) in a spatial sense, but it can mean ‘be long’ (938) in relation to time.

(936) Tabawa batori yaborini yaa afiyao
   Tabawa batori yabo-ra.NOM+F-ni yaa afiyao
   Tapauá.F mouth be-NEG-IP.N+F ADJNCT airplane.M
   
   rabikerika fahi.
   rabika-hiri-ka fahi
   be sick-RP.E+M-DECL+M then
   ‘Near the mouth of the Tapauá River, the airplane had a mechanical problem.’

(937) Yee atari yaborawaarake, yimawa nima.
   yehe atari yabo-rawa-hara-ke yimawa nima
   hand nail+F be-long-F.PL-IP.E+F-DECL+F knife.F like
   ‘They have long claws, like knives.’

(938) Ati yaboareka.
   ati yabo-hare-ka
   voice be-long-IP.E+M-DECL+M
   ‘It [the motor] ran for a long time.’

RAISING: In raising contexts, this verb means ‘be a long time’. In (939) the NFC is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(939) oko sawi yaboharo ama oke esibitao
   o-kaa sawi.NFIN yabo-haro ama o-ke esibitao
   1SG.POSS-POSS be at be far-RP.E+F SEC 1SG.POSS-DECL+F hospital.M
   
   yaa.
   yaa
   ADJNCT
   ‘I stayed a long time in the hospital.’

The NFC in (940) is a transitive Oc. Middle-aged and younger speakers would normally say *namosi mee hiyabo*, with both *mee* and *hi-* in the MC, and no *hi-* in the NFC.

(940) mee hinamosi hiyabo
   mee hi-na-amosa.NFIN hi-yabo+M
   3PL.A OC-CAUS-be good OC-be long
   ‘They [the *bowa* fish] cleaned him for a long time.’

CONTROL: In control contexts, this verb means ‘be far’ (941) or ‘be far away’ (942). In each case the NFC is intransitive.
(941) *oko tokatimi yabohara oke.*
    o-ka to-ka-tima.NFIN yabo-hara o-ke
    1SG.POSS-POSS away-go/come-upstream be far-IP.E+F 1SG.POSS-DECL+F
    ‘I went a long ways upstream.’

(942) *Otaa wini yaboha otaa awineni.*
    otaa wina.NFIN yabo+F otaa awine-ni
    1EX.S live be long 1EX.POSS seem + F-BKG+F
    ‘We live far away.’

The NFC in (943) is an Oc.

(943) *Mee weye ni hiyaborarake.*
    mee weye na.NFIN hi-yabo-ra-hara-ke
    3PL.O carry AUX OC-be far/be long-NEG-IP.E+F-DECL+F
    ‘He didn’t carry them [the wooley monkeys] far.’

This example is interesting, because there is no indication in the sentence that the A is masculine in gender. Gender cannot be indicated in the NFC, and in the MC there is gender agreement with the O of the NFC because of raising. However, this phenomenon is not a property exclusively of sentences involving NFCs. In (944), for example, which is a complete sentence, there is no indication of the gender of the A. In the context of the story, however, we know that it is a man. There is no NP representing the A in the sentence, and grammatically all we know is that the A is third person, because of *hi*.

(944) *Faya tiki hinemetemoneke, haahaa nabonehe.*
    faya tiki hi-na-hemet-e-mone-ke haahaa na-habone-he
    so tickle OC-AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL+F laugh AUX-INT + F-DUP
    ‘Then he tickled her, so she would laugh.’

**A.128.1 toyabo ‘be a long time’ (vi)**

NO NFC:

(945) *yama toyabo yaa okomabana oke.*
    yama to-yabo.NOM yaa o-ka-ma-habana o-ke
    time.F CH-be long ADJUNCT 1SG.S-go/come-back-FUT+F 1SG.S-DECL+F
    ‘In the future I’m going to come back here.’

RAISING: The NFC in (946) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(946) *otaa naho toyaboa amake fahi.*
    otaa naho.NFIN to-yabo+F ama-ke fahi
    1EX.S stay CH-be long SEC-DECL+F then
    ‘We stayed a long time.’
A.128.2 *yabokira* ‘be near’ (vi)

NO NFC: This derivation always occurs with the negative suffix -ra, so the resulting meaning is ‘not far’ = ‘near’. The meaning of the derivation in (948) below has reference to space, but in (947), in which there is no NFC, the reference is to time.

(947) Okoko ati yana tee amake faa fowe
    okoko ati yana na-tee ama-ke faha fowe
dove sp.M voice start AUX-HAB SEC-DECL+F high water season.F

    yabokiri kaaro.
yabo-kl-ra+F kaaro
be far-coming-NEG because of
‘The okoko dove coos because the high water season is near.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (948) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(948) kaki yabokirahaari.
    ka-kl.NFIN yabo-kl-ra-haari
go/come-coming be far-coming-NEG-IP.E+M
‘He is coming, and is getting close.’

A.129 *yai nakosa* ‘bite off’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(949) Inohowe omano yai nakose
    inohowe o-mano yai na-kosa +M
alligator sp.M 1SG.POSS-arm bite off AUX-middle
‘An alligator bit off my arm.’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The MC in (950) is a transitive Oc. The NFC is modified by the adjective *yokana* ‘true’.

(950) Sitakari wani yokana yai hisa rama ahi.
sitakari wana.NFIN yokana yai hi-na-kosa+F rama ahi
gall bladder be attached true bite off OC-AUX-middle unusual then
‘He bit right into her gall bladder.’

A.130 *yaka na* ‘walk’ (vi)

NO NFC: There is an example of this verb in (932) above in a context not involving an NFC.

CONTROL: The NFC in (951) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(951) tika ohi ni yaka nine niniihi.
ti-ka ohi na.NFIN yaka na-ne na.NOM +F-ni-hi
2SG.POSS-POSS cry AUX walk AUX-CONT+F AUX-IP.N+F-DUP
‘You have been crying as you walked [on the trail].’
A.131 *yana* ‘grow’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(952) Yamata yanake haaro.
    yamata yana-ke haaro
    food.F grow-DECL + F that one + F
    ‘The crops are growing there.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (953) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of backward control.

(953) Inamatewe iisi kabote na weye ni yamaha
    inamatwe e-iisi na-kabote na + F weye na.NFIN yana + F
    child.F DUP-be small AUX-quickly AUX carry AUX grow
    ‘when your pregnancy was beginning [lit., the tiny baby being carried grew]’

A.132 *yana na* ‘start’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(954) Hima ee yana nahi.
    hima ee yana na-hi
    let’s go 1IN.S start AUX-IMP + F
    ‘Come on, let’s get going.’

RAISING: The NFC in (955) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(955) faya oko haa ni yana na
    faya o-kaaa haa na.NFIN yana na + F
    so 1SG.POSS-POSS call AUX start AUX
    ‘I started to call out.’

Example (956) is a case of two successive NFCs. The second NFC verb, *yana ni*, has a double function: it is the MC for the preceding NFC, *oko hiyari*; and the MC *oharia* relates to the complex NFC *oko hiyari yama ni*.

(956) Oko hiyari yana ni oharia
    o-kaaa hiyari.NFIN yana na.NFIN ohari + F
    1SG.POSS-POSS speak start AUX be one
    ‘I only spoke once.’

A.132.1 *yana kamisama* ‘come back up’ (vi)

NO NFC: There is no example with this derivation in the corpus in a context not involving an NFC.

CONTROL: The NFC in (957) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(957) Non-FNC: (952) Yamata yana-ke haaro.
    yama yana ke haaro
    food.F grow-DECL + F that one + F
    ‘The crops are growing there.’
(957) Bao nise fati hoka hine haahaa ni yana
    bao na-risa +M fati hoka hi-na +M haahaa na.NFIN yana
fall AUX-down 3SG.POSS.wife.F yank OC-AUX laugh AUX start

kamisanemamatamona.
ka-na-misa-ma-himata-mona
COMIT-AUX-up-back-FP.E + M-REP + M
‘He fell. His wife pulled him up, and he got up laughing.’

A.132.2 yana nama‘start, coming’ (vi)

NO NFC: The suffix -ma has two different meanings, one being a directional meaning ‘back’, and the other being ‘again’. Whereas the meaning of -ma in yana nama in the raising context in (961) below is ‘back’, it appears that the meaning -ma in yana nama in contexts not involving NFCs is always ‘again’, as in (958).

(958) ati yana namaareka fahi.
    ati yana na-ma-hare-ka fahi
voice start AUX-back-IP.E + M-DECL + M then
‘The sound [of the motor] started up again.’

The difference between the two meanings of -ma seems to not be insignificant. While I have not seen both meanings together in the same word, I have seen a morphological difference associated with the two meanings. The verb stem tokoma has directional -ma, as in (959).

(959) Tee tokomahi.
    tee to-ka-ma-hi
2PL.S away-go/come-back-IMP + F
‘You all go home.’

But when -ma with the meaning ‘again’ is applied to toka, we get tokama as in (960), and not tokoma. That is, the phonological rule that changes toka to toko in the presence of -ma (cf. Dixon 2004:45) seems only to apply when the meaning is the directional ‘back’.

(960) Oyee ame tokamarake.
    o-yehe ame to-ka-ma-hara-ke
1SG.POSS-hand blood + F away-go/come-back-IP.E + F-DECL + F
‘My hand is bleeding again.’

This suggests that there may actually be two different -ma suffixes, and that possibly only directional -ma should be considered derivational.

RAISING: The NFC in (961) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.
He called out as he went, and they started calling as they came.

A.132.3 yana tokana ‘two start/start because of something’ (vi)

NO NFC: In (962) the meaning of the comitative suffix ka- is that the S is dual.

(962) Faya mee yana tokanemetemone fahi, yifo tabo
      faya mee yana to-ka-na-hemete-mone fahi yifo tabo
      so 3PL.S start CH-COMIT-AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F then hammock.M bunch + M

      mee itikimakabote.
      mee iti-kima-kabote
      3PL.A take out-two-quickly
      ‘So the two of them got ready to go, quickly grabbing their rolled up hammocks.’

I can't find an example in the corpus of this derivation in which the meaning of ka- is ‘because of something’, in a context not involving an NFC, but ka- has this meaning, for example, in the verb fawa kana ‘disappear because of something’ in (347) above.

RAISING: The NFC in (963) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(963) mee kakami yana tokanemetemone.
      mee ka-ka-ma.NFIN yana to-ka-na-hemete-mone
      3PL.S COMIT-go/come-back start CH-COMIT-AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F
      ‘The two of them decided to come back.’

The meaning of the comitative suffix ka- in (963) is that the S is dual, but in (964) the meaning is ‘because of something’. The configuration is the same as in (963).

(964) heko ni yana tokana namatamona
      heko na.NFIN yana to-ka-na na.NOM + M-mata-mona
      hiccup AUX start CH-COMIT-AUX AUX-FP.N + M-REP + M
      ‘He started hiccuping [because of what he had seen in the forest].’

The man in the story had seen an alligator attacking a deer, and that's why he had started hiccuping.

A.132.4 yana tona ‘start’ (vi)

NO NFC:
(965) Mee yana tona mee bokehemetemoneke.
    mee yana to-na +F mee boka-hemete-mone-ke
3PL.S start CH-AUX 3PL.S enter water-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
‘They were ready, and they went in the water.’

RAISING: The NFC in (966) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(966) mayawari mee ayaki yana toneemetemone
      mayawari mee ayaki.NFIN yana to-na-hemete-mone
    titi.M 3PL.S sing start CH-AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F
‘The titi monkeys started to sing.’

The NFC in (967) is a transitive Ac. The pronominal in the NFC is notable in being the subject form otaa rather than the object form otara, but otara is also grammatical.

(967) Otaa haa ni yana tonemarine.
      otaa haa na.NFIN yana to-na-himar-ine
1EX.O call AUX start CH-AUX-FP.E + M-BKG + M
‘He started to call us.’

A.132.5 yana tonama‘start, there’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(968) Moni yana tonamareka hike yaa.
    moni yana to-na-ma-hare-ka hike yaa
sound start away-AUX-back-IP.E + M-DECL + M far ADJUNCT
‘That was the sound of him far away.’

RAISING: The NFC in (969) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(969) tokomeno ohi ni yana
    to-ka-ma-hino ohi na.NFIN yana
away-go/come-back-IP.N + M cry AUX start
tonamematamonaka.
    to-na-ma-himata-mona-ka
away-AUX-back-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
‘He went. He started crying there.’

A.132.6 yana tonamake‘start, going’ (vi)

NO NFC: The only example of this verb in the corpus in a context not involving an NFC is (970). This should probably be analyzed as a distinct derivation, since to- means ‘change of state’ and does not refer to movement away from the speaker, as it does in (971). Furthermore, -makI is not directional as it is in (971), but instead means ‘again’.

(970) Yama yana tonamakehaba ama-ke.
yama yana to-na-makI-haba ama-ke
thing.F start CH-AUX-following-FUT + F SEC-DECL + F
'It's going to rain again.'

RAISING: The NFC in (971) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(971) Haa ni yana tonamakematomaka hike
haa na.NFIN yana to-na-makI-himata-mona-ka hike
call AUX start away-AUX-following-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M far

yaa.
yaa
ADJNCT
‘He began calling a ways away as he went.’

A.132.7 yana towiti 'start, out there' (vi)

NO NFC: There is no example of this derivation in the corpus, in a context not involving an NFC.

RAISING: The NFC in (972) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(972) haa ni yana towiti
haa na.NFIN yana to-na-witi + M
call AUX start away-AUX-out
‘He started calling out as he was out there.’

A.133 yati na ‘be new’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(973) Awa botokare,
awa yati ke.
awa boto-ka-re awa yati na-ke
tree.F be old-DECL-NEG + F tree.F be new AUX-DECL + F
‘The tree is not old, it's young.’

RAISING: The NFC in (974) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(974) Tati rawi yati ka.
tati rawa.NFIN yati na-ka
head trim be recent AUX-DECL + M
‘He recently got his hair cut.’
A.134 *yobi na* ‘go back and forth’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(975) Mee yee hone iso ne yobi
      mee yehe hone iso na + M yobi
      3PL.POSS hand weapon + F carry off AUX go back and forth

nematamonaka.

AUX-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M

‘He went back and forth carrying off their weapons.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (976) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(976) ohi ni yobi natimatamonaka.
      ohi na.NFIN yobi nanahatl-himata-mona-ka
      cry AUX go back and forth AUX-daytime-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M

‘He was going around crying all day long.’

The NFC in (977) is a transitive Ac.

(977) Faya Okomobi yama siba ni yobi ne
      faya Okomobi yama siba na.NFIN yobi na + M
      so (man’s name).M thing.F look for AUX go back and forth AUX

‘Then Okomobi went back and forth looking [for his brother, who had disappeared].’

A.135 *yofi na* ‘show’ (vt)

NO NFC:

(978) Oteme yofi onaara oke
      o-teme yofi o-na-hara o-ke
      1SG.POSS-foot show 1SG.A-AUX-IP.E + F 1SG.A-DECL + F

‘I showed my foot [which I said was hurting].’

NEITHER RAISING NOR CONTROL: The NFC in (979) is intransitive, and the MC is a transitive Ac.

(979) hihiya ni yofi nane.
      hihiya na.NFIN yofi na.CONT + M-ne
      DUP-be bad AUX show AUX-BKG + M

‘He is pointing out his wound.’
A.136 yora tomisama ‘jump up’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(980) okoyo yora o-kaa ayo yora 1SG.Poss-Poss-OlderBrother.M jump
tomisamabisaramako, taokana yati forine
to-na-misa-ma-bisa-ra-mako taokana yati forI-ne
away-AUX-up-back-also-NEG-therefore + M shotgun new lie on top-CONT+F
rama onehimari amane.
rama +F atio-na-himari ama-ne
unusual say-1SG.A-AUX-PP.E+M SEC-BKG+M
‘I told my older brother that he should jump back up [into the house and get] the new shotgun that was lying there.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (981) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(981) kana ni yora tomisame
kana na.NFIN yora to-na-misa-ma+M
run AUX jump away-AUX-up-back
‘She went running and jumping [up the steps].’

A.137 yota kana ‘swing’ (vi)

NO NFC: There is no example of this derivation in the corpus in a context not involving an NFC, but (982), which contains the related derivation yota nawaha ‘be hung up’, is suggestive.

(982) Awa yota nawahineni?
awa yota na-waha-ne-ni
tree.F be hung up AUX-change-CONT+F-BKG+F
‘Is the tree hung up on a vine [i.e. keeping it from falling after it was chopped down]?’

CONTROL: The NFC in (983) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(983) ayaki yota kanematamonaka.
ayaka.NFIN yota ka-na-himata-mona-ka
sing swing COMIT-AUX-PP.E+M-REP+M-DECL+M
‘He was singing as he was swinging back and forth in the hammock.’

A.138 yoto ‘be behind’ (vi)

NO NFC: The meaning is usually ‘follow’ in a spatial sense (984), but it can be in relation to time as well (985).
(984) Yotoino hinaka yomee yama kiyohimatemonaka.
yoto-hino hinaka yomee yama kyo-hima-temona-ka
follow-IP.N + M 3SG.POSS dog.M thing.F chase-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M
‘He was going along behind the others, and his dog chased an animal.’

(985) Ee kaa abi meeteeba mee yotoemetemoneke.
ee kaa abi mee-tee-ba mee yote-heme-mone-ke
1IN POSS father.M 3PL-HAB-FUT 3PL.S follow-FP.N + F-REP + F-DECL + F
‘Our forefathers came after.’

RAISING: The NFC in (986) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(986) oka amo ni yotoabana oni.
o-kaa amo na.NFIN yote-hana o-ni
1SG.POSS-POSS sleep AUX follow-FUT + F 1SG.POSS-BKG + F
‘I will sleep after you.’

The NFC in (987) is also intransitive, but this is because it is a reciprocal construction, and so involves surface detransitivization.

(987) mee abee mowa ni yotoha mee
mee abee mowa na.NFIN yoto + F mee
3PL.POSS RECIP fight AUX follow 3PL.POSS
‘They fought among themselves afterwards.’

In (988) the NFC is a transitive Ac.

(988) boro kabi otaa yototasa
boro kaba.NFIN otaa yote-tasa + F
cake.M eat 1EX.S follow-again
‘We ate cake afterwards.’

CONTROL: In (989) the NFC is intransitive.

(989) Inohowe kana ni yotohimari otaa nowati yaa.
inohowe kana na.NFIN yoto-himari otaa nowati yaa
alligator.M sp run AUX follow-FP.E + M 1EX.POSS behind ADJNCT
‘The alligator was coming fast behind us.’

The NFC in (990) is a transitive Ac.

(990) Kanawaa horo ni oyotoa
kanawaa horo na.NFIN o-yoto + F
canoe.F drag AUX 1SG.S-follow
‘I went behind dragging the canoe.’
A.138.1 yotowaama ‘come after’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(991) Bai Nafira tafebani okobaro oke
     Bahi Nafira tafe-ba-ni o-kaba-haro o-ke
     (woman's name). F food + F-FUT-IP.N + F 1SG.A-eat-RP.E + F 1SG.A-DECL + F

     fahi, yotowaamaaro.
     fahi yoto-waha-ma-haaro
     then follow-change-back-IP.E + F
     ‘I ate Bai Nafira's food afterwards.’

RAISING: The NFC in (992) is intransitive, so this is a case of the use of a raising verb without overt raising.

(992) manakobisa mee hiyari yotowaamarake fahi.
     manakobisa mee hiyara.NFIN yoto-waha-ma-hara-ke fahi
     then 3PL.S speak follow-change-back-IP.E + F-DECL + F then
     ‘Then after that they talked.’

A.139 yowa ‘reach’ (vi)

NO NFC:

(993) Hika hawi yowariniya?
     hika hawi yowa-ri-ni-ya
     where trail.F reach-CQ + F-IP.N + F-now
     ‘At what point did you turn back on the trail [lit., where did the trail reach to]?’

CONTROL: The NFC in (994) is intransitive; it is a detransitivized transitive verb. This is a case of backward control.

(994) Kabi yowematamonaka ete mete yaa
     kaba.NFIN yowa-himata-mona-ka ete mete yaa
     eat reach-FP.E + M-REP + M-DECL + M abdomen + M ADJUNCT
     ‘The parts of him that had been eaten included his abdomen.’

A.140 yowaba na ‘be in a line’ (vi)

NO NFC:
(995) Baro  baro  baro  mee  yowaba
         baro  baro  baro  mee  yowaba
         (sound of beating) (sound of beating) (sound of beating) 3PL.S be in a line
         nemetemone  ahi,  okobi  mee  ati
         na-hemete-mone  ahi  o-kaabi  mee  ati
         AUX-FP.N + F-REP + F then  1SG.POSS-POSS-father.M  3PL.A say
         toaamaroke.
         to-ha-hamaro-ke
         CH-AUX-FP.E + F-DECL + F
         “Baro, baro, baro” [went the sound of them beating the kona roots] as they were
         all in lines, my father and the others used to say.’

CONTROL: The NFC in (996) is intransitive, so this is a case of backward control.

(996) Mee  hii  ni  yowaba  naro  mee  ama.
        mee  hii  na.NFIN  yowaba  na-haro  mee  ama
        3PL.S yell  AUX  be in a line  AUX-RP.E + F  3PL.POSS SEC
        ‘They came yelling “Hii, hii” in a line.’
References


