MORPHOSYNTAX OF THE NIVACLE VERB AND SOME COMPARISONS WITH THE OTHER LANGUAGES OF THE GRAN CHACO REGION AND BEYOND[1]

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Abstract

The following paper explores the morphosyntax of Nivacle verbs. Like most Gran Chaco languages, Nivacle is understudied. Additionally, it exhibits interesting typological rarities. Particular typological topics are also addressed, offering comparisons with other languages both within the Gran Chaco area and on a wider geographical scale, but no attempt has been made to offer a systematic typological comparison of each particular problem. However, the paper does not address purely lexical derivation, which I have considered elsewhere (Fabre 2016: 327–343)[2] nor such topics as coordination, subordination, multi-verb constructions and relative clauses. Of course, verbs play a central role in those constructions and they will be spotted in many examples. For more information, the interested reader is referred to Fabre (2016: 388–433).

Vowels :(a) modal /i, e, a, ɒ, o, u/ (b) glottalized /ḭ, ḛ, a̰, ɒ̰, o̰, ṵ/

Consonants /p, t, k, pˀ, tˀ, kˀ, ʔ, f, s, ʃ, x, ʦ, ʧ, ʦˀ, ʧˀ, ɬ, k͡l, m, n, j, v/

[1] I am very grateful to Rodrigo Montani for detailed comments and suggestions concerning not only Wichí, his own field of expertise, but also many other technical aspects of this paper. I also wish to thank Hannes Kalisch for sharing with me in numerous occasions his first-hand knowledge of Enlhet-Enenlhet languages and putting me on the right track wherever I misinterpreted the data. Needless to say, I am alone to blame for any remaining inaccuracies.

[2] Please contact me if you need a copy.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	Agent	M	Masculine
AM	Associated motion	MED	Mediative
ANAPH	Anaphoric	MID	Middle
ANLP	Analeptic	N	Noun
ANTICAUS	Anticausative	NEG	Negative
ANTIPAS	Antipassive	NMLZ	Nominalizer
ANT.VENT	Anticipated ventive	NON.HUM	Non-human
APL	Applicative	O	Object
BEN	Benefactive	P	Patient
CAUS	Causative	PL	Plural
CIS	Cislocative	PLC	Pluractional
CL	Classifier	POS	Possessor
COL	Collective	POS.QUAL	Positive quality
		PROG	Progressive
COMP	Companion	PROH	Prohibitive
COMP.DG	Comparative degree marker	PRON	Pronoun
CON	Conative	PROLP	Proleptic
COORD.PL	Coordinative plural	PROSP	Prospective
D	Deictic classifier	PROX	Proximal
D.F.	Deitcit classifier, feminine	PUNCT	Punctual
D.M	Deitcic classifier, masculine	PURP	Purposive
DEM	Demonstrative	R	Recipient
DES	Desiderative	RECIP	Reciprocal
DIF	Different	REFL	Reflexive
DIR	Directional	REL	Relative
DIST	Distal	REM.PST	Remote past
DOM.ANIMAL	Domestic animal (classifier)	REPORT	Reportative
DUR	Durative	S	Subject
EQ.DG	Equative degree marker	SAP	Speech act participant
		SG	Singular
EPENT	Epenthesis	SIM	Similar
F	Feminine	SUB_1	Realis subordinator
HORT	Hortative	SUB_2	Irrealis subordinator
HUM	Human	T	Theme (Ditransitive O)
IN	In, Inside	V	Verb
INCL	Inclusive	VBLZ	Verbalizer
IND	Indefinite	VENT	Ventive
INF	Inferential		
INH	Inherent		
INST	Instrumental		
INT	Intensive		
IRR	Irrealis		
IT	Itive		
ITER	Iterative-continuative		

1. Introduction. Nivacle is one of the languages spoken in the Gran Chaco region of South America (Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay and Brazil, see Table 1). The Gran Chaco has been recognised as a linguistic area comprising four linguistic families: Guaykurú (four languages: Toba, Pilagá, Mocoví and Kadiweu), Mataguayo (four languages: Wichí, Chorote, Maká and Nivacle), Enlhet-Enenlhet (six languages: Enlhet, Enxet, Angaité, Sanapaná, Enenlhet-Toba and Guaná) as well as Zamuco (two languages: Ayoreo and Chamacoco). There are also two isolated languages, Besïro (Chiquitano) and Vilela[3] (Campbell 2012; Campbell & Grondona 2012; Combès, Villar & Lowrie 2009; Comrie, Golluscio, González & Vidal 2010).

The Nivacle data have been gathered during three self-financed field trips in Filadelfia (Boquerón department, Paraguayan Chaco) with native speakers in June/July of 2007, 2009, and 2011. I am especially grateful to my main consultant Félix Ramírez. I have also taken examples published in a series of readers edited by Father Seelwische.[4] These are particularly reliable because they mostly consist of transcripts of original recordings made by native Nivacle assistants in different Nivacle settlements under his supervision. Since Félix Ramírez was among those who carried out the recordings, I have been able to discuss with him many topics related to the analysis and interpretation of those texts. Additional examples have been taken from the Nivacle translation of the Bible (Sociedad Bíblica del Paraguay 1994).

[3] The Gran Chaco region is also home to two Tupí-Guaraní languages (Western Guaraní/Chiriguano Tapiete and Guarayo) and one of the Arawak family, Terena. Since these are known to be relatively late-comers in the region, they display less areal features which are typical of Chaco languages.

[4] An exhaustive list of Seelwische's works can be found in Bohnert (2009: 353-357). See also Fabre (2016: 502-503).

FAMILY	LANGUAGE	
MATAGUAYO	Wichí / ‘Weenhayek (dialect chain)	Argentina (N), Bolivia (SE)[5]
	Chorote (3 varieties)	Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay
	Nivacle	Paraguay, Argentina (NE)
	Maká	Paraguay
GUAYKURÚ	Toba	Argentina (N & NE)
	Pilagá	Argentina (NE)
	Mocoví	Argentina (NE)
	Kadiwéu	Brasil (SW)
ENLHET-ENENLHET (“Lengua-Maskoy”)	Enlhet	Paraguay
	Enxet	Paraguay
	Angaité	Paraguay
	Sanapaná	Paraguay
	Enenlhet-Toba	Paraguay
	Guaná	Paraguay
ZAMUCO	Ayoreo	Bolivia (SE), Paraguay
	Chamacoco	Paraguay, Brasil (SW)
TUPÍ-GUARANÍ	Western Guaraní	Argentina (NW), Bolivia (SE), Paraguay
	Tapiete	Argentina (NW), Bolivia (SE), Paraguay
ARAWAK	Terena/Kinikinau	Brasil (SW)
VILELA*	Vilela (moribund)	Argentina (NE)
CHIQUITANO*	Besïro	Bolivia (SE), Brasil (SW)

Table 1. Languages of the Gran Chaco (* = unclassified/isolate language)

Nivacle is a radically head-marking language with a high degree of polysynthesis.[6] The two main word classes are verbs and nouns. The others are deictic classifiers, pronouns, particles, conjunctions, and interjections. Words that correspond to adjectives, quantifiers and some manner adverbs are inflected like verbs. Nivacle lacks impersonal forms, infinitives and converbs. All verbs minimally index one argument. Instead of relying on adverbs, Nivacle uses particles or verbs, especially multi-verbal constructions. Instead of nominal cases and adpositions, Nivacle uses applicatives (5.2.2.). Argument marking in Nivacle is always of the indexing type, and flagging on arguments (Haspelmath 2005) is impossible. Three word classes are inflected: 1) nouns, 2) verbs, and 3) deictic classifiers. Some particles exhibit distinctive but fossilised verb suffixes. Word order is quite free.

• Nouns (or noun phrases) are obligatorily preceded by a deictic classifier, which marks them as referring words. Many nouns can be inflected for possessor either directly through a prefix or indirectly by means of a possessive classifier. Many nouns can be inflected for number. Few nouns cannot be inflected at all.

Regarding possession, nouns fall into three subclasses. Part of the nouns can never receive possessive marking. Among those that can appear in possessive constructions, some can directly receive

[5] For more on these languages and their location see the entries under the corresponding families or isolates in www.ling.fi/DICCIONARIO.htm

[6] However, noun incorporation is not productive in Nivacle. The few cases that have been documented are all lexicalised.

possessive prefixes, and others must employ one of about twenty possessive classifiers. All possessive classifiers but one are also independent nouns.[7] The possessor noun hosts the possessive prefix (§ 1.2)

Nouns have no case inflection. Since there are no adpositions either, the language lacks altogether oblique/ adpositional phrases.

Personal pronouns consist of a small closed class of eight words formed from the root *-våʧa*. This root has no other use in Nivacle. In the third person, it is much more usual to employ pronouns derived from the deictic classifiers. Personal pronouns formed from the *-våʧa* root combine nominal and predicative properties. They are obligatorily preceded by a possessor prefix (1st person *ji-våʧa*, 1st person inclusive *kas-våʧa*, 2nd person *a-våʧa*, 3rd person *ła-våʧa*).[8] Their plural *-eł* is typical of verbs[9], but unlike nouns, they preclude the use of deictic classifiers. Personal pronouns are not obligatory and are mostly used for emphasis. They may refer back to almost any argument or participant (subject, object, possessor, etc.). They inflect for two categories only, possessor and plural.

A very small number of relational nouns (only six are attested in my data base)[10], which are used without deictic classifiers in direct combination with a verb already having a locative applicative suffix.

• Deictic classifiers obligatorily modify nouns or noun phrases. They inflect for 1) visual evidentiality of speaker at time of speech with four values: a) non-existent (never seen), b) presently seen, c) seen before but activated (known to be existing) and d) seen before but deactivated (deceased, destroyed, no longer existing); 2) number with two values: a) singular and b) plural; 3) gender with two values: a) if the noun is singular: masculine (unmarked) vs. feminine, b) if the noun is plural: human vs. non-human. The combination of all possible features yields a total of sixteen distinct basic markers. The total number of forms is significantly higher because the basic markers are used to derive further categories such as demonstratives, third-person pronouns, anaphoric pronouns, relative pronouns, differential pronouns, and question words. Moreover, even the basic markers can be optionally expanded.[11]

[7] See list with examples in Fabre (2016: 125-131).
[8] This formation is not unlike English *myself*, *yourself*, etc.
[9] The verbal plural *-eł* has two readings: speech act participant plural (we-INCL, you-PL) and coordinated plural (with any person).
[10] See Fabre (2016: 131-133) for the list and examples.
[11] For more details see Fabre (2016: 87-101). See also Gutiérrez (2011) and Gutiérrez & Matthewson (2012) for an analysis of the basic forms. For a comparison with the determinant system in Chorote see Carol (2011b). Messineo, Carol & Klein (2016) provide an areal point of view of these systems in Mataguayo and Guaykurú languages.

1.1. Verbs and nouns.

The limit between nouns and verbs is remarkably fluid. Any verb or verb phrase, irrespective of how complex its internal morphology is, acquires nominal status when it is preceded by a deictic classifier. Conversely any noun or NP acquires predicate status if it is stripped from its deictic classifier. This is not to say that verbs and nouns cannot be distinguished from each other in Nivacle. It is unsurprising that if a word W_1 can (among other things) be coindexed with an argument marker in another word W_2, the chances are very high that the former will be a member of the N category and the latter a member of the V category. The usual semantic and morphological criteria also apply in differentiating nouns from verbs. Even if words such as 'house' or 'shoe' can acquire predicative status, their frequency as nouns is significantly higher. However, it is not rare at all that Nivacle speakers opt for employing a canonical verb preceded by a deictic classifier rather than a canonical noun. Although crosslinguistically not frequent, this strategy has been attested in polysynthetic languages of different parts of the world, especially in the Americas and the Caucasus. As the following table shows, the minimal grammatical unit in Nivacle may consist of one word (head) only. Regardless of whether this word has been recruited from the class of nouns or verbs, it will by itself constitute a VP. By contrast, the minimal NP consists of at least two words, the first of which is a deictic classifier and the second the head of the phrase. Whether the head is recruited from the class of nouns or verbs is irrelevant. When expanded, the minimal phrases preserve the morphology of the original word class (N or V) as well as any of its modifiers (see examples below). It is well known that many languages, in which the limit between nouns and verbs is fluid, may use determinants in order to convert a verb into a noun, without resorting to any nominalisation morphology.[12]

FREQUENCY		
HIGHEST		**LOWEST**
$[D + N]_{NP}$	=	$[D + V]_{NP}$
$[V]_{VP}$	=	$[N]_{VP}$

Table 2. Minimal values for Nivacle grammatical NPs/VPs

In (1), the noun 'shoe' is used in a canonical way, i.e. $[D + N]_{NP}$. Example (2) shows two verbs corresponding to what would rather be conceived as nouns, 'shoes/feet' and 'seat', i.e. $[D + V]_{NP}$. Such examples are not unknown in English, but they are stylistically highly confined to crosswords or conundrums ('people walk in them', suggesting as an answer the noun 'shoes', 'people sit on it' suggesting the noun 'seat' etc.). Similar word-formation strategies are well attested in American polys-ynthetic languages and elsewhere. See Mithun (2001: 148)[13] for Mohawk (Iroquoian) and Young and Morgan (1987: 4-7) for Navajo (Athapaskan) examples.

Although Nivacle speakers have deverbal nominalisers at their disposal, the simplest strategy consists in preposing a deictic classifier to the verb or the VP. Instead of employing basic nouns '(the) shoes' and 'the/a seat' (2) actually says 'the [ones] s/he walks-along' and 'the/a s/he-sits-on-it'. The locative applicative *-ʧʔe* of the verb 'walk' indicates that the event involves a long object (tree, path, foot/shoe, finger, arm, etc.) that may be present or omitted. The second verb 'to be located' is obligatorily

[12] To mention only a few, such languages are Nahuatl (Launey 1992, 1994), Tagalog (Lemaréchal 1992) and Northwest Caucasian languages (Lander 2016).

[13] In this respect, Mithun (2001: 148) notes that "Verbs can also function syntactically as nominals, providing descriptive labels for arguments without nominalizing morphology".

followed by a locative applicative. There are distinct possibilities. Here we have two applicatives proximal *-ʔe*, which refers to the place where a participant is located, and *-ʃaʔne* 'down', which refers to the ground. The combination of 'to be located' + *-ʃaʔne* indicates the traditional way of sitting (i.e. directly on the ground) or on a seat. In other contexts the applicative *-ʔapɛ̂* 'on (horizontal surface)' could also be used if one is sitting on a mat, hide, horseback or a fallen trunk.

(1)

a-nklan-ʃi	*na-va*	*a-kfiy-is*
2S.IRR-take.off-INH	D-PL	2POS-shoe-PL

'Take off your shoes!'

(2)

Ø-is-xop	*tˀe*	*na*	*Ø-ʋs*	*na-nklan-ʃi*
3S-be.good-PURP	INF	D.M	2POS-son	3S.IRR-take.off-INH
na-va	***tˀ-ʋs-ʧˀe***	***na***	***j-i-ʔe-ʃaʔne***	
D-PL	3S-walk-LONG	D.M	3S-be.located-PROX-DOWN	

'Could your son take off his shoes/feet from the seat?'

Example (3) consists of a verb followed by its object NP. The same verb preceded by a deictic classifier and followed by its object result into a compound lexeme (4), a strategy that is indistinguishable from a frequent type of relative clauses. Note that the basic noun *pa profeta*, a widely known Spanish loan, could equally be employed.

(3)

ʧi-j(i)-tʋi-xat-a	*pa-va*	*Ø-vaklan*
IND.A-3P(3R)-know-CAUS-PUNCT	D-PL	3S-take.shape

'Somebody predicts the future events'

(4)

pa	*ʧi-j(i)-tʋi-xat-a*	*pa-va*	*Ø-vaklan*
D.M	IND.A-3P(3R)-know-CAUS-PUNCT	D-PL	3S-take.shape

'The/a prophet'

The same derivation strategy is used in (5) and (6).

(5)

xa-klʋn-ʔe
1A(3P)-kill-PROX
'I killed it/him/her on this very spot'

(6)

xa	*xa-klʋn-ʔe*
D.M	1A(3P)-kill-PROX

'The very place I killed it/him/her'

As the pairs (7) – (8), (9) – (10), (11) – (12), (13) – (14), and (15) – (16a) demonstrate, nouns in predicative function can readily acquire verbal morphology while retaining some of its nominal morphology.

(7)
xa ji-problema
D.M 1POS-problem' (Spanish loan)
'My problem'

(8)
ji-problema-e-ʃ-eɬ pa jinv̊t
1POS-problem-3-INST-SAP.PL D.M water
'We have a problem with water'

(9)
ɬ-xa ɬ-kum-xafa-ʧe-e-ʃ
F-D 3POS-work-COMP-F-3-INST
'His/Her (female) colleague'

(10)
ɬ-kum-xafa-ʧe-e-ʃ
3POS-work-COMP-F-3-INST
'She is his/her (female) colleague'

(11)
pa ji-dios
D.M 1POS-God
'My God'

(12)
a-vå̊ʧa ji-dios-ʔa-ʃ
2POS-PRON 1POS-God-2-INST
'You are my God'

(13)
xa-pi ɬ-kles
D-HUM.PL 3POS-sons
'His/her sons'

(14)
ɬ-kles-eɬ-ʔa-ʃ
3POS-SAP.PL-2-INST
'You (pl.) are his/her sons'

(15)
xa nu̇̊t
D.M night
'The/a night'

(16a)
nu̇̊t-xo̊̇-i
night-1INCL-DIST
'Night is falling on us'

Because the noun *vsʧ^{ʔ}ak-ʧe* 'widow' (16d) cannot take possessive prefixes (16e), one may start by using the dependent *-ʧ^{ʔ}akfa* 'spouse'. To turn a 'spouse' (16b) into a 'widow' (16c) will require no less than three suffixes: *-ɬ* 'third person', *-t* 'reflexive-reciprocal', and locative applicative *-apė̊* 'on (surface)', i.e. the bereaved spouse remaining 'on top of' her deceased husband.[14] Particularly interesting here is the use of a reciprocal, to which I will return under 5.1.2.3.

(16b)
ɬ-xa ɬ-ʧ^{ʔ}akfa
F-D 3POS-spouse
'His wife'

(16c)
ɬ-xa ɬ-ʧ^{ʔ}akfa-ɬ-t-apė̊
F-D 3POS-spouse-3-REC-ON
'His widow' (lit. wife-upon-him)

(16d)
ɬ-xa vsʧ^{ʔ}ak-ʧe
F-D widow-F
'The/A (female) widow'

(16e)
**ɬ-xa ɬ-vsʧ^{ʔ}ak-ʧe*
F-D 3POS-widow
'His/Her (female) widow'

The categories 'noun' and 'verb' are thus clearly distinguished in Nivacle. As has been shown in the examples above, it is generally unproblematic to determine whether a lexical word in argument

[14] Cf. the use of a similar combination - but with second instead of third person suffix in (67) 'I will jump over you'.

function belongs to the noun category or has been derived without derivational morphology from a verb. Conversely, it is easy to find out if a lexical word in predicative function belongs to the verb category or has been derived without derivational morphology from a noun. The possessive and plural systems provide a first general diagnostic. This peculiar translation mechanism may be graphically represented Tables 3 for original Nouns and Table 4 for original Verbs.

There are strikingly few incompatibilities, the most important being that a noun can only exceptionally take verbal person prefixes[15] and a verb do not admit possessive prefixes unless it has an overt nominalizer suffix, in which case it can be a source N in Phase 1 of Table 3. Otherwise, almost any verbal marker can appear on a $[N]_{VP}$. Since verb morphology is much more complex than nominal morphology, it is to be expected that verbal morphology can be significantly more complex in any Phase 3 noun than nominal morphology in Phase 3 verbs.

PHASE 1	**PHASE 2**	**PHASE 3**
Noun (canonical)	Erase D & Pick up verb morphology	Add D Retain verb morphology from Phase 2
$[D\ N]_{NP}$	➔$[Ø\ N]_{VP}$	➔$[\ D\ [Ø\ N]_{VP}]]_{NP}$

Table 3. From Noun to Verb and Noun again without overt verbalizer

PHASE 1	**PHASE 2**	**PHASE 3**
Verb (canonical)	Add D & Pick up noun morphology	Erase D Retain noun morphology from Phase 2
$[V]_{VP}$	➔$[D\ V]_{NP}$	➔$[Ø\ V]_{NP}]]_{VP}$

Table 4. From Verb to Noun and Verb again without overt nominalizer

1) Examples of N ➔ V (➔ N). See als (8), (10), (12), (14), (16a)

(16f)
ji-kum-xafa-s-e-ʃ-xop *xa* *ɬ-kum-xajaʃ*
1POS-work-COM-PL-3-INST-PURP D.M 3POS-work-NMLZ
'They are my colleagues for his (i.e. our boss's) job'

(16g)
jaʔ-kliʃ-e-ʃ-xop *pa* *ni-vat-kaku-xajaʃ-a*
IND.POS-speech-3-INST-PURP D.M NEG-IND.POS-distrust-NMLZ-IRR
'This is a discourse of faith'

2) Examples of V ➔ N (➔ V). See also (2), (4), (6)

[15] For example, with a few kinship nouns.

(16h)
pa ɬ-en-ʧejaʃ-eɬ-ji-ʃ
D.M 3POS-to.love-NMLZ-SAP.PL-1-INST
'The love he shows for us'

(16i)
pa ni-vat-vaf-xajaʃ-a
D.M NEG-IND.POS-to.die-NMLZ-IRR
'Immortality' (lit. Somebody's undying)

(16j)
nɒ-ke vat-jɒxi-xat-e-m na-pi
D.M-DEM IND.POS-to.order-NMLZ-3-BEN D-HUM.PL
na ɬ-xunaʃ-vat-kˀoja nivakle-iʧa-k
any 3POS-likeness-REC-ANT.VEN Nivacle-DIF-PL
'The following is the Indigenous Law' (lit. the law for all the different people)'

1.2. More on nouns.

The possessive system distinguishes between two classes of lexical words pertaining to the noun category (A) dependent nouns, which obligatorily take possessive prefixes and (B) independent nouns, which do not admit possessive prefixes.

Some dependent nouns (group A) can also be used in a possessive derivation construction together with the bound neutral classifier *-k(a)- ~ -kˀ(a)*[16]. I have adopted here the term 'possessive derivation' from Montani (2017: 507-514 and p.c.), which describes a similar pattern in Wichí. Note that the pragmasemantic differences between underived and derived possessive constructions are not always easy to describe.

With regard to independent nouns (group B), these are divided into two subgroups: B1 consists of independent nouns that can combine with a possessive classifier (which hosts the possessive prefix), and B2, independent nouns that can never be used in a possessive construction.

About twenty relational possessive classifiers are available to nouns pertaining to the B1 subclass. They indicate the kind of relationship that holds between the possessor and the possessed entity (21-23).[17] The most frequent of these is *-klɒʔ* 'pet; domesticated animal' (21). All relational possessive classifiers function also as dependent (obligatorily possessed) nouns. When they are employed as possessive classifiers the possessed entity (which itself cannot take possessive prefixes) appears in apposition and the whole NP is preceded by a deictic classifier.

Lexical words pertaining to the verb category (see above for very few exceptions) are not subjected to this system. Note that (19a) and (19b) are deverbal nouns. As such they have inherited two properties from their original category, the antipassive and the root verb *-ɨs* 'to mark/write'. However, they have been nominalised with the suffix *-xaʔvat* 'place of activity' and must be used with a possessive prefix. At the same time they are also preceded by the deictic classifier.

[16] Interestingly *-k(a)- ~ -kˀ(a)* is also used in mediative function with both nouns and verbs (see examples 228a-b and 229b-g).
[17] A list of the classifiers can be found in Fabre (2016: 125-131). For a view of possessive systems and classifiers in the languages of the Gran Chaco area see Fabre (2007).

A) Nouns that obligatorily take possessive prefixes (17-19b and 20b), and possessive derivation of dependent nouns (20a).

(17)

xa	*ji-tɒsex*	/	*a-tɒsex*	/	*ɬ-tɒsex*	/	*kas-tɒsɛ̊x*	/	*vat-tɒsɛ̊x*
D.M	1POS-eye	/	2POS-eye		3POS-eye		1INC-eye		IND.POS-eye
‘My eye’			‘Your eye’		‘His/her/its eye’		‘Our eye’		‘The/an eye’

(18)

ɬ-xa	*ji-ʧ^{ə}akfa*	/	*xa*	*a-ʧ^{ə}akfa*
F-D	1POS-spouse		D.M	2POS-spouse
‘My wife’			‘Your husband’	

(19a)

xa	*kas-vank^{ʔ}-is-xaʔvat*
D.M	1INCL.POS-ANTIPAS-mark/write-NMLZ.PLACE
‘Our school’	

(19b)

xa	*vat-vank^{ʔ}-is-xaʔvat*
D.M	IND.POS-ANTIPAS-mark/write-PLACE
‘The/a school’	

(20a)

na-va	*ji-ka-nu-s*
D-PL	1POS-CL.POS-bone-PL
‘My bones (not my own; bones of my prey/on my plate, etc.)’	

(20b)

na-va	*ji-nu-s*
D-PL	1POS-bone-PL
‘My bones (of my own body)’	

B1) Independent nouns that can take possessive classifiers (21, 22, 23).

(21)

xa	*ɬ-klɒʔ*	*kuvɒju*	(**ɬ-kuvɒju*)
D.M	3POS-CL.DOM.ANIMAL	horse	
‘His/her horse’			

(22)

ɬ-xa	*j-ɒk*	*asaktsetax*	(**j-asaktsetax, *ji-k-asaktsetax*)
F-D	3POS-food	orange	
‘My orange’			

(23)

na	*ji-vůn*	*saxeʧ*	(**ji-saxeʧ, *ji-ka-saxeʧ*)
D.M	1POS-flesh	fish	
‘My fish’			

B2) Nouns that are incompatible with any kind of possessive marking[18]

(24a)

ɬa	**ɬ-smitka*	*na*	**ji-utex*
D.F	3POS-peanut	D.M	1POS-stone
'His/her/its peanut'		'My stone'	

I have found seven independent nouns which can be used as dependent provided they are preceded by the possessive derivation prefix v- (24b).[19]

(24b)
itɒx 'fire' ➔ -v-itɒx 'fire; fireplace' (and also -v-itɒ-xij 'lighter; tinder', -v-itɒ-vat 'fireplace')[20]
ɒjintʃe 'chili pepper' ➔ -v-ɒjintʃe id.
ɒjak 'small ground in the forest which can be used for cultivation'[21] ➔ -v-ɒjak id.
utex 'stone' ➔ -v-utex 'stone that is thrown with a lasso in hunting'
(j)itsu̯k 'samu'u; palo borracho (Chorisia insignis)' ➔ -v-itsuk 'canoe made of a samu'u trunk'
jiʔjɒ̯x 'jaguar' ➔ -v-iʔjɒx 'tiger-spirit of a shaman'
(j)inɒ̯t 'water' ➔ -v-inɒt id.

Additionnaly, nine nouns exhibit the derivation prefix ɬav-, which obviously consists of the fossilised third person possessive prefix ɬ(a)- followed by v-.[22] Note that despite the presence of ɬa-, the third person possessive reading is blocked and the noun functions like any *bona fide* independent.[23] A – so far as I am know – unique case is that of the independent noun ɒstʃʔak-tʃe 'widow', from which a dependent can be derived with the help of two prefixes: -ka- and v-: ɬ-ka-v-ɒstʃʔak-tʃe 'his widow' (-tʃe is a feminine marker. The expected *-v-ɒstʃʔak-tʃe is not attested).

If a lexical word can take the plural suffixes *-s, (V)i, -k ~ kl-(V)* or *-eɬ* it belongs to the noun category with the following caveats:

a) A few verbs from the first conjugation have nominal plural forms *-s, (V)i, -k ~ kl-(V),* in which case they function like pluractionals. Others have the third person verbal morpheme *-ʃaʔne* as a pluractional, even when there is no third person involved (25b). Nouns in predicative function behave in the same way. There are two plural morphemes in (25a): pluractional *-s* (*jaʔ-tox-e-i-klɛ̯* 'I am/was quite far') and speech act participant plural *-eɬ*, which is coindexed to the subject (*jaʔ-…-eɬ*). Note that the respective order of speech act participant and pluractional in (25a) and (25b-c). If the

[18] There are, however, a few doublets (most of them neologisms through metaphor) like *sivɒklɒk* 'spider' (independent) vs 'bike' (dependent).
[19] In some other cases, it is not clear to me how the semantics of the two nouns differ from each other. Both -nuʔ and -v-nuʔ can be use for 'bone'; -xoke and -v-xoke refer both to a 'hole in the ground', but the latter may also refer to an animal's den or burrow. Another example of possessive derivation with v- (at least synchronically) maybe akɒjetʃ 'honey (generic)' ➔-v-ɒkɒjetʃ id.. However, this is a rather transparent secondary derivation from ɬa-jɛ̯tʃ 'its/their honeycomb (of the bees)' (-ka-jetʃ 'honey hunter's honeycomb or honey'.
[20] Cf. also -itɒ-tax ~ -v-itɒ-tax 'lamp; match (to make fire)'. With some nouns, the derivation suffix -tax 'similar but somewhat different and/or sometimes not traditional' appears to allow the presence of v-: xɔ̯k 'Bulnesia sarmientoi (wood)' ➔-xok-itax ~ -v-xok-itax 'spade (at least originally made of Bulnesia sarmientoi wood)'.
[21] This word is probably a loan from Toba or Pilagá (cf. Toba wyaq).
[22] In Fabre (2016: 120) I dubbed this prefix 'dispossessive'.
[23] The only exception I am aware of is the biblical ɬav-kʔ-ilxen-ax 'Saviour', which can take possessive prefixes, albeit these are added directly before the /ɬav/ element: ji-ɬav-kʔ-ilxen-ax 'my Saviour', kas-ɬav-kʔ-ilxen-ax 'our Saviour' (< -kʔ- 'mediative derivation', -iɬxen 'to save', -(n)ax 'nominalizer').

pluractional morpheme is nominal (*-s, -[V]i, -k ~ -kl-*) it comes first, if it is verbal (*-ʃaʔne*) the SAP plural morpheme comes first. In (25c) *-ʃaʔne* appears in its canonical function of third person verbal plural, in which case the same ordering rule applies as in (25b).

(25a)
*jaʔ-to-**s**-eɬ-e-i-klɛ̊* *xa* *ɬa-vtå̊t*
1S-be.far-PLC-PL.SAP-3-DIST-RATHER D.M. 3POS village
'We were rather far from their village'

(25b)
*aʔ-aklox-eɬ-**ʃaʔne***
2S-be.many-PL.SAP-PLC
'You (2S+3S) are many'

(25c)
pa-pi *nivakle* *ʃiʔ* *pa-va* *ɬ-klɒ-i*
D-HUM.PL man/men and D-NON.HUM.PL 3POS-cattle-PL
*ji-jɒ-eɬ-ʃi-**ʃaʔne*** *pa* *jinɒ̊t*
3A(3P)-drink-SAP.PL-INH-PLC D.M water
'The men and their cattle drink water together'

b) *-eɬ* is homophonous with the coordinative plural of any verb (26a-b). In (27), the noun in predicative function exhibits two plural morphemes, the nominal plural which is equivalent to a pluractional, and the coordinative plural *-eɬ*. For more on verb plurals see § 4.3.

(26a)
*t-asinɒ-i-**eɬ*** *xa* *Ricardo*
3S-conversation-HAVE-COORD.PL D.M Ricardo
'S/he has/had a conversation with Ricardo'

(26b)
*ji-sklan-e-ʃ-**eɬ**-vat-xuɬ* *xa* *ɬ-ʧeklaʔ*
3A(3P)-keep/care.for-3-INST-COORD.PL-REC-REACT D.M 3POS-elder.brother
'S/he and his/her brother are/were in good terms/reconciliated with each other'

(27)
*jaʔ-kʔutxa-s-**eɬ*** *na* *ji-xaʔja*
1S-old.person-PLC-COORD.PL D.M 1POS-spouse
'We are old people, me and my husband'

c) *-eɬ* is also homophonous with the plural of speech act participants (see examples 25a-b-c). In fact, plural of speech act participants and coordinative plural can be lumped together in Nivacle, in which case it may be claimed that the Nivacle person system has only four members: first, first inclusive, second and third. Under this analysis, a literal translation of (25a) would be "I-together-with-him/her/them was rather far from their village".

2. The verb in Nivacle. Linguists have for a long time reflected over the pivotal role of the verb in many polysynthetic languages, in which this part of speech may stand by itself as a fully-fledged grammatical utterance. Nivacle is no exception in this respect. Due to the lack of nominal case marking and adpositions, the Nivacle verb marks, alongside its valency-required core arguments, peripheral entities/participants such as locatives and instrumentals. With the exception of those expressing time relations, no NP can appear in the sentence if it is not coindexed within the verb. If this is not the case, the sentence is ungrammatical. This is illustrated in (28), in which the first NP is coindexed with the object prefix and the second with the applicative *-ʔapɛ̊*. The function of each of the NPs could not be determined without the corresponding indexation on the verb. Note that the indexation rule holds in one direction only, namely from NP to VP. The reverse is not true because indexation is often anaphoric within the discourse (29). Moreover, many verbs are used with one or more applicative(s) which do not seem to be linked to overt NP. It is not always easy to tease out instances of - at least synchronically - unmotivated lexicalisation/derivation from pragmatically motivated cases such as the third person instrumental in (28), which reflects the obvious fact that in order to spread or extend a rug, one needs hands to perform the action. When I was trying to understand why 'I write it' in (30a), whose prefix is saturated by two arguments (Agent and Patient), could not be used without two applicatives (proximate and instrumental), my consultant looked surprised and wondered how one could write without both a pen and paper (i.e. the very NPs which happened to be "omitted" in the discourse). As can be seen, the causative derivation (30e) behaves in the same way. Examples (30b), (30c) and (30d) illustrate other uses of the same verb.

(28)
xa-ʧ̊an-e-ʃ-ʔapɛ̊ [*na* *xopovo*]$_{NP}$ [*na* *va(t)-tsaxkun-xaʔvat*]$_{NP}$
1A(3P$_i$)-extend-3-INST-ON$_j$ [D.M rug]$_i$ [D.M IND.POS-eat-PLACE]$_j$
'I am putting the rug on the table'

(29)
xa-ʧ̊an-e-ʃ-ʔapɛ̊ [*na* *xopovo*]$_{NP}$
1A(3P$_i$)-extend-3-INST-ON [D.M rug]$_i$
'I am putting it on it$_{ANAPH/EXOPH}$' (<= the already mentioned table; or the table in front of me)

(30a)
kʔ-ɨ̊s-e-ʃ-ʔe
1A(3P)-mark-3-INST-PROX
'I am writing it'

(30b)
kʔ-ɨ̊s-ʃi *na* *a-tako*
1A(3P)-mark-INH D.M 2POS-face
'I am tattooing your face' (cf. note under 30d)

(30c)
kʔ-ɨ̊s-ʃaʔne *xa-va* *ji-klɒ-i*
1A(3P)-mark-3PL.O D-PL 1POS-cattle-PL
'I brand my cattle'[24]

[24] The omission of the instrumental here is due to the traditional context. Branding iron and cattle or bone/thorn and skin are tied to each other in their function as much as pen and paper, but the latter are quite recent in Nivacle culture.

(30d)
kˀ-ɨ̊s-ʃ-e-m
1A(3P)-mark-INST-3-BEN
'I write/wrote it to him/her'[25]

(30e)

kˀ-is-xajan-e-ʃ-ʔe	*na*	*pisarron*
1A(3P)-mark-CAUS-3-INST-ON	D.M	blackboard (Spanish loan)

'I make him/her write on the blackboard'

Nivacle is a tenseless language.[26] Non-obligatory temporal particles or time expressions (NPs) may be added if clarification is needed. The obligatory deictic classifiers may also provide indirect temporal clues, although these will not be watertight.[27] This strategy corresponds to Comrie's lexical items and lexically composite expressions (Comrie 1985: 11). The prospective particle *xaju*, however, is obligatory. It appears postposed to the verb but may be separated from it by other material. Since morphological boundedness is not required for a morpheme to be considered as tense, it would be a viable option to consider Nivacle as a two-tense language (non-prospective vs. prospective).

Although verbs can be inflected with three tense-like markers, these do not qualify as tenses. There is a wide consensus that one of the main functions of tense is to assign to a word (most frequently a verb) an absolute or relative place on a time line. By this token, the prospective particle *xaju* could be regarded as the only tense marker in Nivacle. Because obligatoriness is the only significant feature that distinguishes it from the other time particles, I prefer to consider that *xaju* belongs to the same category. Note also that *xaju* – like other time particles – can modify nouns as well as verbs (30f-i).[28]

[25] I assume that here the omission of the proximal is due to the salient (human) benefactive.

[26] Nivacle reflects the general situation in the core language families of the Gran Chaco region (Mataguayo, Guaykurú, Enlhet-Enenlhet, and Zamuco), albeit Wichí, Chorote and Enlhet-Enenlhet languages appear to have developed a few morphological verbal tenses. For Chorote, Carol (2014: 294) notes that although some morphemes can generate temporal readings, they also have other functions and/or are optional. For the other Mataguayo languages, this leaves only Wichí which distinguishes between future and non-future (unmarked). True, there are four or five optional past markers in the verb but they can cliticize to nouns or demonstratives as well (Nercesian 2014: 295). The 'Weenhayek variety follows the same general pattern (Alvarsson & Claesson 2014: 455). The notion of tense in Enlhet-Enenlhet languages has been broadly addressed in Unruh, Romero & Kalisch (2003: 225). Note that in these languages, tense always means relative tense, the reference time-point being given by the main verb. The main and dependent verb can both be marked for tense, but the tenses need not be identical unless they describe events that take place at the same time. The authors distinguish between future, recent past, and past. The Enlhet-Enenlhet future is used in the same way as the Nivacle prospective particle.

[27] Although the deictic classifier *na* in *na xpɒjiɟ̊* 'the/a house' indicates that the house is being seen by the speaker at the moment of speaking, it would be left unchanged in a context such as 'I built the house five years ago' where it would be ungrammatical to use *xa* 'seen before but not present at time of speaking' instead of *na*. Were the house not in sight, *xa* would be the correct option in the same context. What it at stake here is that visual evidentiality and temporal distance are tight within the same marker and cannot be separated from each other.

[28] I have not been able to find differences between the three remote past particles. Nivacle time particles are difficult to analyse, and display idiosyncratic behaviour. For example, *xaju* is always postponed to the word which it modifies. The last syllable of a few otherwise uninflected particles appears to be an applicative suffix (*-ɟ̊ˀe* 'analeptic' for *łaɟ̊ˀe* or *-e-ʃ* 'third person instrumental for *łapeʃ*). Unsurprisingly, these particles (uninflected apart from their frozen applicative) may function like independent time predicates ('It happened long ago') which can be combined with a normally inflected main predicate.

(30f)
pa-vɒ-ke *nału-s* ***xaju***
D-PL-DEM day-PL PROSP
'The future/ The days to come'

(30g)
ka-pi *nivakle* ***łaʧ^{ə}e***
D-PL Nivacle REM.PST
'The ancient (now dead) Nivacle'

(30h)
ka-va *ła-vtsat-is* ***łapeʃ***
D-PL 3POS-village-PL REM.PST
'The old villages (that do not exist any longer)'

(30i)
xɒxiklai *ji-stan-'in* *pa-pi* ***p^{ʔ}ałå*** *nivakle*
already/not.yet 3S-be.unaware-INT D-PL REM.PST Nivacle
pa-v-eł *ma:tas*
D-PL-DIF things
'Many things were unknown to the ancient Nivacle'

An utterance like *She will sing* presupposes that it is the singing which is going to take place. In the same vein, *She wasn't hungry because she had eaten* presupposes a certain arrangement of events on the time line, *eating* as the anterior event and *not being hungry* as the posterior event. This situation holds even in languages where the category of tense can be hosted by locative or temporal adverbs or even adpositions. What makes Nivacle tense-like markers different from tenses is that they refer to some other event or state of affairs (including its participants) that held before or after that of the host predicate. This is clearly seen in (31) where the *telling* event is in no way situated on a time line. Rather, it refers back to a implicit anterior event like *Someone told me this story*. Nivacle has three such markers, all of them polyfunctional: *-ʧ^{ə}e ~ -k^{ʔ}e* 'analeptic' is elsewhere a locative applicative (§ 6.2) or an associated motion suffix (§ 6.3). Both *-xuł* 'simultaneous reaction' and *-k^{ʔ}oja* 'proleptic' are also used as associated motion suffixes (§ 6.3) and degree markers in comparative constructions, where the former indicates comparison of equality and the second comparative degree (Fabre, forth.). For lack of better linguistic labels for two of these peculiar tense-like markers, *-ʧ^{ə}e ~ -k^{ʔ}e* and *-k^{ʔ}oja*, I have borrowed from literary studies the terms *analeptic* for the former and the *proleptic* for the latter, although I am aware that these labels refer to (inserted) textual substance rather than morphemes.[29] The Nivacle analeptic *-ʧ^{ə}e ~ -k^{ʔ}e* also shares a few properties with the pluperfect, an absolute-relative tense.[30]

[29] The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines analepsis as "A description of an event or scene from an earlier time that interrupts a chronological narration". The Oxford Concise Dictionary of Literary Terms (Baldick 2001: 10) provides the following definition of analepsis as "A form of anachrony by which some of the events of a story are related at a point in the narrative after later story events have already been recounted. Commonly referred to as retrospection or flashback, analepsis enables a storyteller to fill in background information about characters and events. A narrative that begins *in media res* will include an analeptic account of events preceding the point at which the tale began".

[30] Comrie (1985: 65) gives the following definition for the (English) pluperfect: The meaning of the pluperfect is that there is a *reference point in the past*, and that the situation in question is located *prior to that reference point*" (my emphasis).

As (31) shows, analeptic and prospective do not exclude each other. Obviously, the analeptic marker cannot be the past tense of 'to tell' because it refers back to a previous event when the speaker heard a story. One might say that *-ʧˀe ~ -kˀe* refers to a previous experience of the speaker. The prospective particle does refer to the later (future) activity of telling. As a result, the first person argument is simultaneously tied to two events, one belonging to the past (I was told) and another to the future (I will repeat [what I was told]). Remarkably, Nivacle analepsis can be exophoric since, unlike an anaphor, it lacks an antecedent. [31] Example (31) is also the most frequent formula employed by storytellers before embarking on their speech.[32]

(31)
*xai-ʧai-**ʧˀe*** *xaju*
1S-tell-ANLP PROSP
'I will (next) tell (about a past event I was told)'

(32) and (33a) are lexically composed time-expressions quantifier verb and an NP.

(32)
*Ø-puʔxaʔna-**ʧˀe*** [*pa-va* *nału-s*]$_{NP}$
3S-be.three-ANLP D-PL day-PL
'(It was) three days later' (i.e. when three days had past)

(33a)
Ø-puʔxaʔna [*pa-va* *Ø-am-**kˀoja*** *nału-s*]$_{NP}$
3S-be.three D-PL 3S-lack-PROLP day-PL
'In two days; three days later' (i.e. three days still lacking until X happens)

Tense-like suffixes are very often found with experiencer and psychological verbs. This is rather logical since stimulus => reaction events typically replicate a timeline BEFORE => AFTER. Although *-ʧˀe ~ -kˀe* is expected to be more often used than the proleptic suffix *-kˀoja*, the latter is not rare and may convey a semantic change in the translation. To have knowledge about a past event amounts to remember it (35, 36). To have knowledge about something and to be able to make use of this knowledge when the need arises is equivalent to understand it (37, 38). Tense-like suffixes may also be employed in derivation.[33]

(33b)
pa *fitsɒkˀɒjiʧ* *ji-vklan-xat* *na* *nału* *ti* *Ø-seis-e-ʃ-**ʧˀe***
D.M God 3A(3P)-form-CAUS D.M world SUB$_1$ 3S-be.six-3-INST-ANLP
vỏi *ti* *Ø-siete-**ʧˀe*** *pa* *tˀ-iʃ-xop-ʔin*
and.then SUB$_1$ 3S-be.seven-ANLP and 3S-rest-SIDE-INT
'God created the world in six days, and on the seventh he rested'

[31] It is however possible – if quite rare – for the analeptic *-ʧˀe ~ -kˀe* to have an overt antecedent.

[32] There are more sophisticated variants of this formula like the following: *j-ẻʃˇka ji-ʧai-ʧˀe jĭn xaju* [1S-intend SUB$_2$ 1S.IRR-say-ANALP next/soon PROSP]. In any case, they all combine *-ʧˀe* and *xaju*.

[33] One has to be cautious here. To invoke derivation here can reflect *our* conception of the world (and/or linguistic traditions) rather than that of the native speaker.

(33c)
*ni-tɒvaklu-**kˀe*** *ka-va* *ma:tas* *xa* *kˀutsåx*
3S-forget-ANLP D-PL things D.M old.man
'The old man forgets/forgot things'

(34)
*ni-tɒvaklu-e-m-**ʧˀe***
3S-forget-3-BEN-ANLP
'S/he forgives/ forgave him/her' (lit. forget/forgot for him what s/he had done)

(35)
*tsi-tɒi-**ʧˀe*** *ka* *ɬ-ei*
3S-know-ANLP D.M 3POS-name
'I remember/remembered his/her/its name (I have/had heard before)'

(36)
*na-tɒi-**ʧˀe**-ja-m* *a-våʧa* *ti* *ɬ-tsi-vklan-xat*
2S-know-ANLP-1-BEN 2POS-PRON SUB_1 2A-1P-become-CAUS
ɬta-xuɬ-tax-e-i *tˀe-jum* *ti* *ni-a-tsi̊-sklan-e-ʃ-ʃi*
2S-be.enough-CON-3-DIST INF-INT SUB_1 NEG-2A-1P-care-3-INST-INH
ti *ɬ-ts-apun* *ti* *ɬa-s-nɒkl-it-e-ʃ-e-m*
SUB_1 2A-1P-despise SUB_1 2A-1P-appear-CAUS-3-INST-3-BEN
pa-va *j-ɒjin-ʧˀe* *pa-pi* *Ø-oxij-is*
D-PL 3A(3P)-prepare-ANLP D-PL 3S-be.evil-PL
'You remember that you created me; Does it pleases you to press me, to spurn the work of your hand?' (Job 10:3)[34]

(37)
*tsi-tɒi-**kˀoja*** *ka* *nivakle* *ɬ-kli̊ʃ*
1S-know-PROPL D.M Nivacle 3POS-language
'I understand the Nivacle language' (lit. I know it whenever the situation arises)

(38)
*ni-nas-tɒi-ʔa-**kˀoja***
NEG-1S.IRR-know-2-PROLP
'I don't understand you (whatever you will tell me)'

[34] Note that 'the work of your hand' (translated as 'you remember that you crated me') appears first in the translation. Since German-speaking Mennonites have supervised the Nivacle translation, it may be of interest to give the German text too: 'Gefällt dir's, daß du Gewalt tust und mich verwirfst, den deine Hände gemacht haben…'. From the point of view of translation, the text of the Nivacle Bible appears to be a remarkable achievement. Although the literal English retranslation may suggest plain simplified style, there are plenty of instances where the Nivacle text of the Bible is significantly more complex and provides more information (or indeed more than would be required by the grammar of Nivacle) than the original, even when a simpler literal translation would have been possible. The Nivacle version of Job 10:3 could be paraphrased as "(You) remember that you created me; do you think it is OK not to take care of me and despising me in front of the others, showing me their evil ways".

(39)
Ø-vat-van-e-ʃ *ti* ***ni-n-aitʃavaɬ-e-i*** *ka* *ni-tuma*
3S-REFL-see-3-INST SUB_1 NEG-3S.IRR-think-3-DIST SUB_2 3S.IRR-be.pregnant
'She found herself pregnant' (without thinking about getting pregnant)

(40)
jåx *ka* *a-ntɒvaklu-kˀe* *ka* ***Ø-aitʃavaɬ-tʃˀe***
PROH SUB_2 2A.IRR-forget-IT SUB_2 2S.IRR-think-IT
'Learn it by rote!' (lit. "don't forget what you remember"; remember = think about something past)

(41)
a-snatʃ-eɬ *kɒ-ke* *pa* ***a-n-aitʃavaɬ-ʃ-eɬ-ji-tʃˀe-en***
1A(3P)-make-PL.SAP D.M-DEM and 2S.IRR-CIS-think-INST-PL.SAP-1-IT
'(You-all) Do this in memory of me!' (lit. "think-about-me-retrospectively") (Luke 22:19)

Compare (42) and the two verbs in (43). In (43) 'to like the smell' exhibits a analeptic marker (I know it because I have smelled it before). But the proleptic suffix in the second verb is justified because the speaker is now longing after the fragrance. A slightly more concrete example which combines two tense-like suffixes can be seen in the pair (44, 45).

(42)
*ji-nsitsˀa-**kˀoja*** *pa* *ɬ-niˀʃ* *pa* *xåɬpa* *ji-nsitsˀa*
3S-smell-PROLP D.M 3POS-smell and at.last 3S-smell
'S/he sniffed [trying to perceive] his/her/its smell and at least s/he succeeded'

(43)
*kˀa-kɒn-**tʃˀe*** *ti* *xa-nsitsˀa-**kˀoja*** *ka* *a-kɒn-aʃ*
1A(3P)-like.the.smell-ANLP SUB_1 1S-smell-PROLP SUB_2 2POS-smell-NMLZ
'Your fragrance is sweet' (lit. I-like-the-smell [arising from you] that I-smell-anticipating your-smell) (Song of Solomon 1:3)[35]

(44)
*xa-ʔvai-xat-**kˀoja*** *na* *ʧaʔnu-vo* *na* *fiʔjat*
1A(3P)-be.on.this.side-CAUS-PROLP D.M rain-IMPLEMENT D.M south.wind
'I am making a rain shelter against the south wind' (the shelter is not ready and the wind is not yet blowing)

(45)
*xa-ʔvai-xat-**xuɬ-kˀoja*** *na* *ʧaʔnu-vo* *na* *fiʔjat*
1A(3P)-be.on.this.side-CAUS-VENT-PROLP D.M rain-IMPLEMENT D.M south.wind
'I am making a rain shelter against the south wind' (the shelter is not ready but the wind is blowing)

[35] Compared to the English (or German: Hohelied 1:3 'Lieblich duften deine Salben') version the Nivacle text is a sophisticated translation. For a smell to be perceived it must first have been emitted. This is exactly what suggests the suffix *-tʃˀe* on the first verb. As for the suffix *-kˀoja* 'anticipated event/state of affairs' on the second verb, it reflects the logical course of events which induces someone who has experienced a particularly attractive smell or taste to yearn for the experience to be repeated again and again.

(46) and (47) do no exhibit any tense-like suffix since speech time and event time correspond. This is not the case in (48) which represents two (almost) consecutive events, the exit of the power and the subsequent perception of this event.

(46)
ni-nan-ʧaʔvai-ji-t-ai
NEG-3S.IRR-feel-1-REF-DIST
'I'm feeling bad' (lit. I don't feel myself)

(47)

ʃtan-ʧaʔvai-katsi-t-ai	*ti*	*t-axuɬ-e-i*	*pa*	*kas-xunaʃ*
1INC-feel-1INC-REF-DIST	SUB_1	3S-be.OK-3-DIST	D.M	1INCL.POSS-likeness

'We are feeling good'

(48)

*tsi-ʧaʔvai-e-ʃ-ji-**ʧʔe***	*ti*	*t-ai-ji-t-ʃi*	*pa*	*j-unax*
1S-feel-3-INST-1-ANLP	SUB_1	3S-escape-1-REF-INH	D.M	1POS-strength

'I felt power go out from me' (Luke 8:46)

(49)

a-vå̊ʧe-eɬ	*ka*	*a-peʔja-tax-eɬ-**ʧʔe***
2POS-PRON	SUB_2	2A(3P)-hear-CON-SAP.PL-ANLP

na-va	*xaj-c̊ʧ-eɬ-ʔa*
D-PL	1S-say-SAP.PL-2

'If you (pl.) hear what I have to say' (relevant point of time *after* you have heard me)

(50)

mc̊ɬ	*ɬɒn*	*ti*	*ji-peʔja-**ʧʔe***
when	REPORT	SUB_1	1A(3P)-hear-ANLP

'When/After I had listened to him…' (I heard him and…)

Note that the absence of the analeptic in (51). In contraposition to (50), which needs to be completed by a further event, (51) constitutes a complete assertion by itself.

(51)

jaʔ-ɬakɒmʔa-eɬ	*ti*	*kˀa-pe'je-e-ʃ-eɬ*	*ka*	*ɬt-c̊ʃ*
1S-be.all-SAP.PL	SUB_1	1A(3P)-hear-3-INST-SAP.PL	D.M	2S-say

'All of us have/had heard what you have/had said'

Sometimes the Nivacle tense-like markers share the same temporal properties as *back, re-*, *de-* or *pro-* in *give back, remember, repeat, derail, project* or *promise*, which involve physical or metaphorical motion in space and time.[36] However, there is a great deal of idiosyncratic variation, both cross-linguistically and within the same language. This is not unexpected since temporal relations are typically bipolar. Utterances such as *Could you please repeat? /* or *Give it back to me!* is

[36] This is even clearer if we take into account their Latin etymology and cognates in other Indo-European languages.

simultaneously oriented towards the past (*you said something/ you took something from me*) and the future (*you must repeat/ I expect you will give it back*). Lexical words and morphemes are no less prone to this phenomenon. The conditions of use of Nivacle tense-like suffixes are particularly hard to work out since they also play a role in bringing about various shades of meanings.

(52)
j-asinɒ-ki
3S-talk-PLC
'They speak/spoke about X'

(53)
*j-asinɒ-ki-**xuɬ***	*pa-va*	*va-klan*	*xaju*
3A(3P)-talk-PLC-VENT	D-PL	3S-become	PROSP

'S/he predict/predicted (talk while seeing it coming) the future'

(54)
kˀ-asinɒ-ki-e-m	*xaju*
1A(2P)-talk-PLC-3-BEN	PROSP

'I will speak to them about you (SG)'

(55)
ʧi-j-ɒjin-ʧʔe-kˀoja		*pa*	*ʧi-t-asinɒ-ki*
IND.A-3A(3P)-prepare-ANLP-PROLP		and	IND.A-3A(3P)-talk-PLC

'One has to be prepared before a speech'[37]

(56)
*x-ɒjin-**ʧʔe**-xop*	*xa-va*	*Ø-is-is*	*a-xunaʃ-eɬ*
1A(3P)-prepare-ANLP-FOR	D-PL	3S-be.good-PL	2POS-likeness-SAP.PL

'I have good plans for you'

(57)
apis	*ti*	*ɬ-ɒjin-ja-m*	*na*	*Ø-is*	*j-ɒk*
already	SUB_1	2A(3P)-prepare-1-BEN	D.M	3S-be.good	1POS-food

'You (SG) have prepared a good meal for me'

Temporal cues can also be inferred from the deictic classifiers[38] which are preposed to practically every NP. The basic function of these classifiers is similar to that of articles, except that instead of indicating (in)definiteness they combine number and evidentiality features. Their scope, however, does not extend beyond the head noun. Because such interpretations are due to inference from the visual evidentiality feature and other pragmatic implications, the temporal cues provided by deictic classifiers cannot be hundred percent reliable.

[37] Note that in the corresponding Latin *pre+parare*, there is only one marker pointing back in time where Nivacle adds a second one, oriented towards the future. In (57) *apis ti…* shows than both may be omitted. I presume this is due to the presence of food on the table as well as that the speaker is focusing on the present.

[38] In the Gran Chaco region, deictic particles are a typical property of Guaykurú and Mataguayo languages. In her Toba grammar, Klein (1974: 223) called them 'locative particles'. For a general presentation of deictic and locative classifiers see Aikhenvald (2000: 172-183).

The deictic classifiers indicate two main features, number and evidentiality. Number (singular vs. plural) displays a simultaneous dependent sub-feature of gender (masculine vs. feminine in the singular, human vs. non-human in the plural). Evidentiality[39] in Nivacle means eyewitness, and comes under four different forms: a) the speaker *has before his/her eyes* the entity s/he is referring to, b) the speaker *has had before his/her eyes* the entity s/he is referring to, but this entity is not seen by him/her at speaking time, c) the speaker *has had before his/her eyes* the denoted entity before but the speaker knows that *this entity does not exist anymore*, and d) the speaker *has never seen* the entity s/he is taking about.

Aspect is not grammaticalised. Although it is possible to add a conative suffix in order to denote an uncompleted, attempted or iterated activity, but this strategy cannot be equated to a bona fide aspect. State verbs are not differentiated from inchoatives/inceptives, unless one resorts to multi-verb constructions.

Verbs have two modes, realis and irrealis, which have (partially) distinct prefixed argument indexing. Conditionals and imperatives (positive imperative and prohibitive) are also marked with the irrealis argument indexing. The prohibitive marker is *jåx* followed by the irrealis subordinator *ka* (58). When the irrealis is preceded by the negative *ni-* ~ *na-*, the verb is followed by the suffix *-a* (60)[40]. The positive imperative is not distinguished from the irrealis form of the verb - apart from the absence of the irrealis suffix *-a* – (59).

As for conditional sentences, the protasis consists of the irrealis subordinator *ka* followed by the irrealis verb form, and almost always include the conative suffix *-tax*.[41] The verb in the apodosis part of the construction is in the canonical irrealis (60). If the conditional in counterfactual, one must add the reportative particle *łɒn* after the first verb (61).

(58)
jåx *ka* *a-nxovai-ʃi*
PROH SUB_2 2S.IRR-be.afraid-INH
'Don't be afraid!'

(59)
a-nen-xat-ʧiʃam *na* *a-ʃateʧ*
2A(3P).IRR-go.up-CAUS-ABOVE D.M 2POS-head
'Raise your head!'

(60)
ka *ni-j-klɐ̊ʃ-tax-a-ʃaʔne* *na-va* *a-fo-k*
SUB_2 NEG-1A(3P).IRR-wash-CON-IRR-3P D-PL 2POS-foot-PL
pa *tan* *ka* *Ø-is-a-xop* *xaju* *ka* *viʔ-ji-xop*
and/so NEG SUB_2 3S-be.good-IRR-PURP PROSP SUB_2 2S.IRR.be.located-1-SIDE
'If you don't let me wash your feet, you will not be able to stay with me' (John 13:8)

[39] Hearsay evidentiality is marked by the particle *łɒn*, whose scope may be NP, VP or a further segment of the narration. Unlike the mentioned deictic particles, it is not obligatory.
[40] For simplicity's sake the verbal suffix *-a* will be simply glossed IRR throughout the text.
[41] Note that the conative suffix in (62a) is attached to the second verb on the construction.

(61)

ka	*nitsʔi-jipku-n*	*ɬɒn*	*tan*	*ka*	*xa-nfak-tax-ʔa-m*
SUB_2	1S.IRR-hunger-VBLZ	REPORT	NEG	SUB_2	1A(3P)-say-CON-2-BEN

'If I were hungry, I would not tell you'

Apart from the fact that the benefactive is singular in the last verb of (61) and plural in (62a), both are identical. Note that the second word of (62a) is a verb in Nivacle although it must be rendered as 'until'.[42] Therefore (62a) consists of a chain of three verbs, the last of which is subordinated.

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(62a)

a-mɒnɬe-eɬ-ʔe-en	*Ø-am-x-eɬ-e-i*
2S.IRR-stay-SAP.PL-PROX-INT	2S.IRR-go-INST-SAP.PL-3-DIST

ka	*xa-nfak-tax-eɬ-ʔa-m*
SUB_2	1A(3P)-say-CON-SAP.PL-2-BEN

'Stay there (in Egypt) until I tell you so' ("you-pl-stay-here (at the above-mentioned location) + you-pl-go-with-over-there (spatial > temporal) + that I-tell-it-to-you-pl" (Matthew 2: 13).

3. Basic intransitivity and transitivity in Nivacle. Basic (in)transitivity can be defined as the number of arguments allowed in the prefix slot. A minimum of one core argument (S/A) is needed, the maximum being two (A+P/T/R). With one core argument (S/A) the verb is a basic intransitive. Any additional participant must be indexed as a suffix, in which the verb will become a derived transitive. If two arguments are allowed in the prefix slot (A + P/T/R), the verb will be a basic transitive.

Nivacle has five conjugation classes (§ 4.1), which can be classified according to their basic (in)transitivity. The verbs belonging to the conjugations I, II, III, and IV are basic intransitives, those pertaining to conjugation V are basic transitives. There are no ambitransitive verbs. Moreover, all basic transitives are monotransitives (A+P/T or A+R). Polytransitives are always derived, and the indexes corresponding to the additional participants are suffixed.

There are four persons, first, first inclusive (1+2 or 1+2+3), second, and third. Apart from the first person inclusive, which represents a group, the prefixes do not mark plural. Speech act participants have a plural suffix *-eɬ*. Plural forms of verbs are treated in § 4.3. First person plural is exclusive (1+3 or 1+3+3). This pattern of non-singular marking corresponds to the ONLY-INCLUSIVE type of Cysouw (2009: 84) which this author illustrates with examples from Nivacle's sister language Maká taken from Gerzenstein 1994 [1995].

For the third person, plural marking of the core arguments is both complex and often optional. Plurality may include S/A as well as P/T/R. Some verbs have a pluractional marker. I address this question in a paper in preparation.

4. Indexing of participants. As mentioned above, the prefix slot hosts the core argument(s), and any further argument, be it core or peripherical, is suffixed.

4.1. The prefix slot: indexing of core arguments. The following tables show the personal index series of the five Nivacle conjugations. The tables have been arranged along the schemes presented

[42] This verb agrees in person and number with the preceding one. In this function, it is always followed by the instrumental and third person distal applicative.

in Cysouw (2003). S (SUBJ) is a cover term for all subjects (S, Sp, A)[43], and O (OBJ) for all objects (P, T, R). Except for the first person inclusive (1+2 or 1+2+3), the same prefixes are used for singular and non-singular (group). As can be seen throughout the tables, the prefix slot does not differentiate number. The five conjugations will be distinguished from each other by its argument prefix type within square parentheses followed by the Roman number corresponding to the conjugation: [SUB]$_{I}$, [SUB]$_{II}$, [SUB]$_{III}$, [SUB]$_{IV}$ for the basic intransitives and [A+P/T]$_{V}$, [A+R]$_{V}$ for the basic transitives.

	REALIS & IRREALIS	
	kas- ~ kats- ~ kats^{ʔ}(i)-	**1+2S**
		1+2+3S
1S	*jaʔ-*	**1+3S**
2S	*aʔ-*	**2+3S**
3S	*Ø-*	**3+3S**
SG		**NON-SG**

Table 5. First conjugation (basic intransitive: [SUB]$_{I}$)

	REALIS	**IRREALIS**	
	ʃt(a)- ~ ʃt^{ʔ}(a)-		**1+2S**
			1+2+3S
1S	*xaj- ~ xaʔji-* *NEG: j(i)-*		**1+3S**
2S	*łt(a)- ~ łat- ~ łt^{ʔ}(a)-* *NEG = IRREALIS*	*a- ~ Ø-*	**2+3S**
3S	*t(a)- ~ t^{ʔ}(a)-* *NEG: nt- ~ nat- ~ nt^{ʔ}(a)-*	*n(i)- ~ nt- ~ nit- ~ nt^{ʔ}a-*	**3+3S**
SG			**NON-SG**

Table 6. Second conjugation (basic intransitive: [SUB]$_{II}$)

[43] Except in table 9 (fifth conjugation), where A replaces systematically S.

	REALIS	IRREALIS	
	(1) *ʃtan-* (2) *ʃin- ~ ʃiʔna-*	*ʃin- ~ ʃiʔn(a)-*	**1+2S** **1+2+3S**
1S	*ts(i)- ~ ts^{ʔ}(i)-* NEG = IRREALIS	*n(i)ts- ~ ~ nas-* *~ n(i)tsi- ~ n(i)ts^{ʔ}i-*	**1+3S**
2S	(1) *ɬ(a)n-* (2) *n(a)-* NEG = IRREALIS	*a- ~ n(a)- ~ an-*	**2+3S**
3S	(1) *n(i)-* (2) *j(i)-* (3) *Ø-* NEG = IRREALIS	*n(i)- ~ nin- ~ na- ~ nan-*	**3+3S**
SG			**NON-SG**

Table 7. Third conjugation (basic intransitive: [SUB]$_{III}$ where SUB = S$_P$)[44]

	REALIS	IRREALIS	
	ʃt(a)- ~ ʃt^{ʔ}(a)-		**1+2S** **1+2+3S**
1S	(1) *x(a)-* (2) *k^{ʔ}(a)-* NEG: j(i)-		**1+3S**
2S	(1) *ɬ(a)-* (2) *t^{ʔ}(a)-*	*a- ~ Ø-*	**2+3S**
3S	(1) *j(i)-* (2) *va-* (3) *Ø-*	*n(i)- ~ na-*	**3+3S**
SG			**NON-SG**

Table 8. Fourth conjugation (basic intransitive: [SUB]$_{IV}$)

[44] See corresponding object indexes in Table 9.

	REALIS	IRREALIS	
	ʃt(a)- ~ ~ ʃtˀ(a)-		**1+2A(&3O)**
			1+2+3A(&3O)
	ʃin(a)- ~ ʃiˀn-		**(3A&)1+2O**
			(3A&)1+2+3O
1A(&2O)	*kˀ(a)-*		**1+3A(&2O)**
1A(&3O)	(1) *x(a)-* (2) *kˀ(a)-* NEG: j*(i)-*		**1+3A(&3O)**
(3A&)1O	*ts(i)- ~ tsˀ(i)-*	*nts(i)- ~ nits(i)- ~ ntsˀ- ~ na-s-*	**(3A&)1+3O**
2A-1O	*ɬ-ts(i)- ~ ɬ-tsˀ- ~ ɬa-s-*	*a-ts(i)- ~ a-s-*	**2+3A-1O**
2A(&3O)	(1) *ɬ(a)-* (2) *tˀ(a)-*	*a- ~ Ø-*	**2+3A(&3O)**
(3A&)2O	*n(a)-*	*n(i)n- ~ na-*	**(3+3A&)2O**
3A(&3O)	(1) *j(i)-* (2) *Ø-*	*n(i)- ~ na-*	**3+3A(&3O)**
SG			**NON-SG**

Table 9. Fifth conjugation (basic transitive: [SUB+OBJ]V where OBJ is normally replaced by P/T or R, depending on the requirements of the verb)

The personal prefix of all verbs belonging to the fifth conjugation hold two arguments: A+P/T or A+R. Except for the combination 2A+1OBJ (i.e. 2A+1P/T or 2A+1R), alignment is hierarchical, the hierarchy being 1>2>3, which means that the highest argument alone, irrespective of whether it represents A or P/T/R, will surface. Prefixed argument combinations are shown in the next table. The last row is ambiguous since there is no way to decide whether the surfacing argument represents A or P/T/R (neither direct/indirect nor proximate/obviative distinction are marked in Nivacle). I will assume the surface argument represents the A.

UNDERLYING COMBINATIONS	HIERARCHY RULE	OVERT REALISATION	PRACTICAL NOTATION
1A + 2OBJ	+	1A	1A(2OBJ)
1A + 3OBJ	+	1A	1A(3OBJ)
1INCL.A + 3OBJ	+	1INCL.A	1INCL.A(3OBJ)
2A + 1OBJ	does not apply	2A+1OBJ	2A-1OBJ
2A + 3OBJ	+	2A	2A(3OBJ)
3A + 1OBJ	+	1OBJ	(3A)1OBJ
3A + 1INCL.OBJ	+	1INCL.OBJ	(3A)1INCL.OBJ
3A + 2OBJ	+	2OBJ	(3A)2OBJ
3A + 3OBJ	+	3A	3A(3OBJ)

Table 10. Prefix combinations in the fifth conjugation.[45]

[45] Note that the glosses of the examples systematically use P/T or R instead of OBJ.

Unlike the template for verb suffixes (see Table 23), the template for verb prefixes is straightforward (Table 11).

NEG	IND.S/A	ARGUMENT INDEX	REC/REF ANTIPAS CISLOC	ROOT
ni-	*ʧi-*	see § 4.2.	see § 5.1.2.	**V**

Table 11. Template for verb prefixes

4.2. The suffix slot: indexing of peripheral arguments and other participants. There is no morphological distinction between core and peripherical arguments/participants. Because Nivacle lacks both nominal case and adpositions, all NPs are equally unmarked. This means that there is no oblique NPs. Every relation must be indexed inside the verb, including locative and instrumental, to the exception of time particles and nouns, which are normally not indexed in the word.[46]

Personal suffixes. There are two series of personal suffixes for the first persons (1 and 1INC). In the second person I and II are merged, and in the third there are four possibilities. In some combinations, especially with applicatives, an expected third person suffix is omitted. This also may happen in some cases before a reflexive-reciprocal marker. In combination with some verbs third person is idiosyncratically represented by the punctual applicative.

			FOLLOWED BY
1	I	*-ji*	Ø, REF/REC, APL
	II	*-ja*	BEN
1INC	I	*-xo̰*	Ø, APL
	II	*-katsi*	REF/REC
2	I/II	*-ʔa*	Ø, REF/REC, APL
3	I	*-e*	Ø, APL
	II	*-ɬa*	REF/REC
	III	*-a*	(= PUNCT)
	IV	*Ø*	

Table 12. Personal suffixes

4.3. Plural forms. An exceptional number of plural markers are attested in Nivacle. This is also the case in Maká (Gerzenstein 1995: 101-104 and 158-159) and Chorote (Carol 2014: 137-142, 145-149, 149-151 and 184-186) and, to a lesser extent (at least for the verbal markers), in Wichí (Nercesian 2014: 228-233 and 233-235) and languages of the Guaykurú family (Carpio 2007, Carpio, Marioni & Montani 2002).

[46] The noun 'night' in the context 'EVENT + in the night' would seem to be an exception, but I prefer to analyse it as a normal locative expression just like English makes no formal difference between 'in the night' and 'in the water'.

Apart from the relatively great number of available plural markers, one must also take into account a) their polyfunctionality, b) their optional vs. obligatory use, c) their combinatorial possibilities with markers of other categories and d) the co-occurrence of more than one plural marker.

VERBAL PLURAL MARKERS			OTHER VALUES
-eɬ	SAP.PL	1) Participant in prefix slot: S, A, P/R 2) Participant in suffix slot	
	COORD.PL		
-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne	3PL.S	S Participant in prefix slot	APL; AM; INT
	3PL.O	O in prefix or suffix slot	
-ʧʔe ~ -kʔe	3PL.S DISTR.S (?)	S Participant in prefix slot	APL; AM; ANLP
	3PL.O DISTR.O (?)	O in prefix or suffix slot	
-vat-iʧʔe	COL.PL (S)	S/A Participant in prefix slot	
-ʃam ~ -xam	COL.PL (S)	S/A Participant in prefix slot	APL
-vat-ʃam, -t-ʃam	COL.PL (S)	S/A Participant in prefix slot	
-vat-am	COL.PL (S)	S/A Participant in prefix slot	
-ʧi ~ -ʧe ~ -ki ~ -ke	PLC	S/A Participant in prefix slot + at least one Participant	
-(V)s	PLC	S Participant in prefix slot	Nominal plural
-k (~ -kl+V)	PLC	S Participant in prefix slot	Nominal plural
-i	PLC	S Participant in prefix slot	Nominal plural
tsʔivẻ (particle)	PL	S/A/P/R Participant in prefix slot	
	DISTR		

Table 13. Nivacle plural number markers

4.3.1. *-eɬ* plural. As a plural marker *-eɬ* can be added to any word that may take prefixed person indexes, i.e. verbs, dependent (possessed) nouns, and predicative personal pronouns. With dependent nouns *-eɬ* indicates a plurality of possessors. With a predicative personal pronoun *-eɬ* corresponds to the non-singular of the basic pronoun. Note that the inclusive has two forms, *kas-våʧa* and *kas-våʧe-eɬ*. The first is the unmarked minimal inclusive (1+3 or 1+3+3), the latter the expanded version (1+3+3…). In this section we will be concerned exclusively by *-eɬ* as a verbal plural marker.

The verbal plural morpheme is ambiguous (except obviously in the third person) because it is used to mark the plurality of SAPs or indicate coordinative plural. It is my impression that SAP plural could be dispensed since person indexes (either prefixed or suffixed) never distinguish between singular and plural, as can be seen in Tables 5-9 and 12. For ease of presentation, I have maintained the SAP glosses in the examples.

4.3.2. *-eɬ* 'coordinative plural'. In what follows, this term will only include cases where two or more participants are involved in a common activity.[47] Cross-linguistically coordinative plural (also referred to as associative plural) can – but need not – have a devoted marker.[48] Since it is the

[47] I take the presence of a predicate as a prerequisite, which will exclude some 'pure' NP coordination cases covered for example in Stassen (2000).

[48] A wide range of constructions are known under the names 'associated plurals', 'coordinative plurals', or 'comitatives' (other names can also be found in the literature). For comparative typological purposes, different terms are handy in

prevailing case, it is usually taken for granted that when there is an associative marker, this will be most likely be hosted by a noun. In their WALS survey, Daniel and Moravcsik (2013) found that associative and additive plural markers were homophonous in 104 out of 237 languages, 96 had a devoted associative marker (either bound or non-bound), and 37 did not recognise any associative plural category. Only one language (Plains Cree) in the authors' database patterned like Nivacle with the associated marker hosted by the verb. It is also often the case that comitative and instrumental are marked in the same way. This is not so in Nivacle, where the coordinative (comitative) requires two animate participants whereas the instrumental applicative combines a human user and a tool.[49]

According to Stolz, Stroh & Urdze (2006: 17-18) a prototypical accompaniment situation requires a) an accompanee, b) a relator, and c) a companion. However, 'not all of the three have to be overtly present and the linguistic expressions representing the two participants as well as the relator may combine in one word'.

Stassen's typology (2000) distinguishes, on the one hand, between a coordinative strategy ('AND-languages', *John and Mary left*), and a comitative one ('WITH-langages', *John left with Mary* – where *Mary* is backgrounded), on the other. There are two main differences between the two strategies: structural rank of participants (equal in the first case, unequal in the second), and constituency (both NPs form a constituent only in the first case). Note that since Nivacle is a head-marking language, where the verb can index two or more participants, Stassen's requirement of two NPs must be relaxed.[50] Stassen notes that although all AND-languages have also WITH-constructions, not all WITH-languages have AND-constructions. Interestingly, Nivacle belongs to the latter group without having a devoted WITH-marker,[51] and using instead the plural marker *-eł*. Stassen (2000: 39) writes that the comitative requires or at least allows plural agreement on verbs, and this is what Nivale does simultaneously, combining both. As for the AND-constructions (with the coordinative *ɬi ~ ʃiʔ*), their main use is as enumerative type. Using *ɬi ~ ʃiʔ* to coordinate two human subject NPs is a markedly dispreferred option, albeit it must be employed if the NPs are non-human. Additionally, Stassen finds two correlational parameters which also hold for Nivacle and Maká at least. The parameter of casedness (Stassen 2000: 44) stipulates that WITH-languages tend to be non-cased, and the parameter of tensedness (Stassen 2000: 46) that WITH-languages tend to be tenseless.

Associative/comitative/coordinative constructions are also attested in some languages that lack any devoted morpheme. For example, Icelandic (Svavarsdóttir & Jónsdóttir 2009: 22-23) has a coordinative plural construction which consists of a personal pronoun combining with a person's name or an NP (62b-g). Note that in the first two can have two readings. Although the nominative pronouns are plural and they agree in number with the verb, there may be total of two or more participants involved in the situation: 1SG+3SG ~ 1PL+1SG in (62b) and 2SG+3SG or 2PL+3SG in (62c). This was not the case in Old Icelandic, which had dual pronouns for the SAPs (but not for the third person).[52] In (62d-g) the first participant represents a third person (singular in 62d-e and plural in 62f-g) and the verb agrees with it. However, the second pronoun indicates a plurality (at least two)

classifying each specific construction. However, those constructions always share some features and they could be arranged along a continuum (cf. Stassen 2000).

[49] In Nivacle, the instrumental applicative is also used for other purpose. In fact, most Nivacle instrumentals do not depict situations involving a user and a tool.

[50] Stassen (2000: 43) notes that comitative encoding in North American languages is often 'non-stardard' and puzzling, especially when the languages are head-marking.

[51] The Nivacle instrumental applicative (often translated 'with') cannot be used for accompaniment.

[52] In Old Icelandic, (62b) would also contrast *vit* (dual – indicating two participants) and *vér* (plural – indicating more than two participants), and (62c) *þit* (dual) and *þér* (plural).

of participants. The case form of the additional pronoun is governed by the verb.[53] In (62b-c), the additional participant noun appears to be 'floating' (lit. 'We [i.e. SUBJECT I and] *Ólav* do not eat fish'). In (62d-g) the SAP participants have merged. Even if all participants in (62d) are affected by the activity performed by the subject (lit. 'he helps *us* [i.e. OBJECT *me* and] *the girls*'), and the pronoun *okkur* agrees in case and number with the following noun, there is one more referent than the girls. On the one hand, there is a group of girls, and on the other an 'invisible' first person, which may well be a boy (unlike third persons, the SAP pronouns do not display gender). The same principle holds in (62e-g). Despite the considerable structural differences between Icelandic and Nivacle, the overall effect of these 'floating' participants is strikingly similar to that of the Nivacle examples in (63a) (63j) (64), and (65).

(62b)
Við *Ólav-ur* *borð-um* *ekki* *fisk*
1PL.PRON.NOM Olaf-NOM.M.SG eat-1PL NEG fish.NOM.INDEF.SG
'I/Us and Ólav (1SG+3 or 1PL+3) do not eat fish' (Icelandic, Svavarsdóttir & Jónsdóttir 2009: 22; segmentation and glosses AF)

(62c)
þið *Una* *er-uð* *góð-ir* *krakk-ar*
2PL.PRON.NOM Una.NOM be-2PL good-NOM.PL boy-NOM.M.INDEF.PL
'You (SG/PL) and Una are good lads' (Icelandic, Svavarsdóttir & Jónsdóttir 2009: 22; segmentation and glosses AF)

(62d)
Hann *hjálp-ar* *okkur* *stelp-unum*
3SG.PRON.M.NOM help-3SG 1PL.PRON.DAT girl-DAT.F.DEF.PL
'He helped me and the girls' (Icelandic, Svavarsdóttir & Jónsdóttir 2009: 23; segmentation and glosses AF)

(62e)
Hún *skamm-ar* *ykkur* *syst-urnar*
3SG.PRON.F.NOM scold-3SG 2PL.PRON.ACC sister-ACC.F.DEF.PL
'She scolds you and the sisters' (Icelandic, Svavarsdóttir & Jónsdóttir 2009: 23; segmentation and glosses AF)

(62f)
þau *heils-a* *okkur* *Birn-u*
3PL.PRON.N.NOM[54] greet-3PL 1PL.PRON.ACC Birna-F.ACC
'They greet me and Birna'(Icelandic, Svavarsdóttir & Jónsdóttir 2009: 22; segmentation and glosses AF)

(62g)
þeir *hjálp-a* *ykkur* *Ing-a*
3PL.PRON.M.NOM help-3PL 2PL.PRON-DAT Ingi.M-DAT
'They help you and Ingi' (Icelandic, Svavarsdóttir & Jónsdóttir 2009: 22; segmentation and glosses AF)

[53] Accusative and dative are not distinguished in the SAP plural pronouns.
[54] The third person plural pronoun is neuter when the participants belong to different genders.

Very similar constructions can be found in Saami languages (62h-i).

(62h)
moai *áhči-in* *mana-ime* *dohko*
1DUAL.NOM father-COMITATIVE go-1DUAL.PRETERIT there
'My father and I went there' (Northern Saami, Nickel 1990: 500; segmentation and glosses AF)

(62i)
dat *lea* *munno*
this.NOM be.3SG.PRESENT 1DUAL.PRON.GEN
vielja-in *dállu*
brother-COMITATIVE house.NOM
'This house belongs to me and my brother' (Northern Saami, Nickel 1990: 500; segmentation and glosses AF)

Another variant of comitative constructions has a wide distribution in Slavic languages. It combines two participants, the first of which is represented by a plural pronoun (or a singular noun), and the second by the preposition *z* followed by the corresponding pronoun or noun in the instrumental case. Interesting variations of this construction can be observed both between different Slavic languages and within the same language (62k-l). Note that in Polish the subject pronoun is usually omitted (62m) unless it is stressed.

(62j)
my *z* *nym* *piš-ly* *het'*
1PL.PRON.NOM with 3MASC.SG.PRON.INST go-PAST.M.PL away
'He and I went away' (Ukrainian, Shevelov 2002: 982; segmentation and glosses AF)

(62k
žinka *z* *čolovik-om* *plaka-ly*
woman/wife with man/husband-INST cry-PAST.PL
'The woman/wife and the man/her husband cried' (Ukrainian, Shevelov 2002: 982; segmentation and glosses AF)

(62l)
plaka-la ~ *plaka-ly* *žinka* *z* *čolovik-om*
cry-PAST.F.SG cry-PAST.PL woman/wife with man/husband-INST
'The woman/wife and the man/her husband cried' (Ukrainian, Shevelov 2002: 982; segmentation and glosses AF)

(62m)
pójdzi-emy *z* *tob-ą* *do* *kin-a*
go-1PL with 2SG.PRON-INST to cinema-N.GEN
'You (SING or PL) and I will go to the cinema' (Polish, Rothstein 2002: 733; segmentation and glosses AF)

(62n) illustrates the dedicated 'comitative' plural marker *-c-* inside a verb in Abaza (Northwest Caucasian).[55]

[55] O'Herin (2002: 215) writes that " the comitative indicates an argument which is somehow a coparticipant in the action of the verb".

(62n)
q'aplan-y *asyat-y* *mʕʷa* *y-hə-**c**-ʕakʷəl-t'*
Kapland-and Astay-and way 3p-1p-COMITATIVE-set.out-DYNAMIC
'Kapland and Asyat set out on the way with us' (Abaza, O'Herin 2002: 215)

Within the Gran Chaco area, a devoted comitative verbal suffix is attested in Toba (Guaykurú), where it can combine with plural suffixes as can be seen in González's examples (62o-q).[56]

(62o)
so *yale* *r-asot-tag-**eʔ*** *a-ra* *ʔalo*
D man 3S-dance-PROG-COM F-D woman
'The man is dancing with the woman' (Toba, González 2011: 150)

(62p)
ra *Juan* *r-asot-tag-**et**-oʔ* *ra-wa* *ʔalo-l*
D Juan 3S-dance-PROG-COM-PL D-PL woman-PL
'Juan is dancing with the women' (Toba, González 2011: 152)

(62q)
ñi-wa *shiyaGaʔw* *n-yom-**t**<**r**>**ag**-eʔ* *so* *Pedro*
D-COMP people.PL 3S-drink-PROG$_1$-PL-PROG$_2$-COM D Pedro
'Those people are drinking with Pedro' (Toba, González 2011: 163)

Apart from the pragmatic fact that plurals of SAPs and plurals of third person cannot overlap, one could in theory maintain that Nivacle still makes a distinction at clause level since the presence of the NP corresponding to the additional companion must be COORD.PL rather than SAP.PL (63a). Note that the coordinated member must be human.[57] The absence of indexation between *-eł* and the NP will yield a canonical SAP reading (63b-d), but this is probably a side-effect. Recall that it is only for ease of presentation that I have maintained the distinction in the glosses of the examples. Even if we can say that from a semantic point of view *We went to the shop* and *I went to the shop with him/her* are roughly equivalent, we know that they are not identical, but this is not necessarily the case in Nivacle. In fact, Nivacle who are also fluent speakers of Spanish will often say *Fui al mercado con él* instead of *Fuimos al mercado* in contexts where Spanish would definitely use the latter (e.g. first person plural as topic – shop as comment). The situation is more complex in Nivacle, where the only distinction subject prefixes make are 1 (SG = EXCL.PL), 1INCL, 2 (SG = PL), and 3 (SG = PL). Independent pronouns can help make a difference, but they are only used when disambiguation and/or special emphasis is needed.[58]

[56] The glosses have been slightly altered. Note that (62q) the plural marker *-r-* is infixed inside the comitative *-tag*. The same verbal suffix appears also in Mocoví, whereas Pilagá can use *-wa* or *-ek* in this function. However, in the latter language, *-wa* appears to be mostly employed as a nominal derivation marker 'companion'. Note that Mataguayo languages do not conflate comitatives and instrumentals. The Guaykurú situation is more difficult to assess since comitatives and instrumentals are among the most underrepresented topics in the available works on these languages.

[57] Otherwise one must resort to the instrumental applicative (*I went-with* to the shop + my bag) or the verb 'to use' obligatorily followed by the instrumental applicative (*I use-it-with* + my bag to go shopping).

[58] There are two series of independent personal pronouns. The first, which uses the root *-våʧa*, behaves like a dependent noun and has distinct forms for all persons. The prefixes do not distinguish between singular and plural. In the plural, pronouns are marked with the verbal suffix *-eł*, i.e. SAP.PL/COORD.PL. The *-våʧa* series is as follows: *ji-våʧa* '1SG' vs. *ji-våʧe-eł* '1EXCL.PL', *kas-våʧa* '1INCL' (unmarked or minimal number of participants) ~ *kas-våʧe-eł* '1INCL' (more than two participants); *a-våʧa* '2SG' vs. *a-våʧe-eł* '2PL'; *ła-våʧa* '3SG' vs. *ła-våʧe-eł* '3PL'. As far as third person

Note that in the first person *-eɬ* marks exclusive plural, i.e. 1+3(+3) rather than 1+2(+3), which surfaces as inclusive. In this respect, example (65a) involves a rather complex relation since the subject of the verb is first exclusive but the associated companion has an inclusive prefix. The speaker claims that she and her granddaughter, excluding the addressee, are afraid of the jaguar. However, the addressee must be the grandfather since the possessive prefix in inclusive (grandmother + grandfather). The word *(-)nitʃˀa* in (63a) can be used as a noun '(a/the) youth'or as a verb 'to be young; to be new; to be a youth' as in (63b). Its ambiguous status is reflected in the plural markers it can combine with: *-k(l)* is a canonical nominal plural but it is retained when the word is in predicative function (here indicated as PLC, i.e. 'the ones [that] are lads'). The noun in (63a) also combines with the third person verbal plural *-ʃaʔne*. As shown in Table 24, plural morphemes appear in three different positions, which can all be filled as in (63b): 1) immediately post-root (PLC in CELL-1), 2) CELL 5 (PL-1), and 3) CELL 10 (PL-2).

Unexpectedly, we find a third person plural marker in (63b). In such a constellation, Nivacle always has minimally 1SG + 3SG = we + 3PL, 2SG + 3SG = you + 3P, 3SG+3SG = they + 3PL. Strictly speaking, we should talk about 'participant plural' rather than 'third person plural'. This use of *-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne* is further illustrated in (63c-j). The first part of this construction may better understood if translated as if always were a coordinative plural: 'I am young with him/her' etc. For a better comprehension of the second part, contrast (63c-h) with (63i-j), where the two last examples are in third person.

(63a)
*t-asinɒ-i-**eɬ-ʃaʔne*** ***pa-pi*** ***nitʃˀa-k-ʃaʔne***
3S-talk-HAVE-COORD.PL-3PL D-PL young/youth-PLC$_1$-3PL
'S/he talks/ralked with the lads'

(63b)
*jaʔ-nitʃʔa-**kl**-eɬ-**ʃaʔne***
1S-be.young-PLC$_1$-SAP.PL-3PL
'We (EXCL) are/were young'

(63c)
*aʔ-aklox-eɬ-**ʃaʔne***
2S-be.many-SAP.PL-3PL
'You are numerous'

(63d)
*ɬa-s-kɒt-xat-eɬ-**ʃaʔne*** *ɬ-pa* *stʃät*
2A-1P-fall-CAUS-SAP.PL-3PL F-D net
'You tricked us (made us fall in your net)'

(63e)
*a-is-eɬ-**ʃaʔne**-ji-kˀoja*
2S-be.good-SAP.PL-3PL-1-COMP.DG
'You (SG) are better than us'

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independent pronouns and demonstratives are needed, forms derived from the deictic classifiers are always preferred since they can make very fine-grained distinctions. For more details see Fabre (2016: 95-100).

(63f)
*ja-is-is-eɬ-**ʃaʔne***
1S-be.good-PLC-SAP.PL-3PL
‘We live in peace with them’

(63g)
*n-etse-s-eɬ-**ʃaʔne***
2S-be.drunk-PLC-SAP.PL-3PL
‘You (PL) are drunk’

(63h)
a-ɬakɒmʔa-eɬ *a-vɑ̊ʧe-eɬ* *ɬa-vaf-eɬ-**ʃaʔne*** *xaju*
2S-be.all-SAP.PL 2POS-PRON-SAP.PL 2S-die-SAP.PL-3P PROSP
‘All of you will die’

(63i)
*Ø-van-en-eɬ-**ʃaʔne*** *na-pi* *palavai*
3S-REC-like/love-SAP.PL-3PL D-PL Paraguayan(s)
‘They made friends with the Paraguayans’

(63j)
pa *jiʔjekle* *j-ɒxkʔen-eɬ-**ʃaʔne*** *ɬ-pa* *jiʔjɒ̆x* *ɬ-ʧˀakfa*
D.M tapir 3S-copulate-COORD.PL-3PL F-D jaguar 3POS-spouse
‘The/A tapir copulated with the jaguar’s wife’

(64)
pa *vɒnxaɬɒx* *ji-kɒven-**eɬ*** ***ɬ-pa*** ***feʧˀatax***
D.M rhea 3S-race-COORD.PL F-D tick
‘The rhea and the tick competed in a race’

(65a)
xɒʔ *ɬɒn* *ka* *ni-nas-xovaʔj-**eɬ**-kˀoja*
INT REPORT SUB$_2$ NEG-1S.IRR-fear-SAP.PL/COORD.PL-AWAY
a-nʔe ***katsi-ntɒkliʃʧˀe*** *pa* *jiʔjɒ̆x*
F-D 1INCL.POS-grand.daughter D.M jaguar
‘If only we (EXCL) weren’t afraid of the jaguar, me and our grandaughter!’

I have not been able to find examples of verbal coordinative plural suffixes in other Chaco languages than in Nivacle, Maká, Toba, and Enlhet. Allowing a comitative verbal suffix to appear instead of a plural marker, one may add Toba (62n-p). Although she does not say anything about coordinative constructions, Gerzenstein (1995: 176) provides examples of the use of personal pronouns which pattern in the same way as Nivacle. Note that the coordinative plural and the SAP plural marker are homophonous in Maká and Nivacle (both appear in 65c). Gerzenstein gives (65d) and (65e) as equivalent but since she does not elaborate further, it would be worth pursuing this study with native speakers.

The nominal plural suffix *-łajis* suffix is described as an associative ‘and group; family; friends’ in ‘Weenhayek (Claesson 2017: 24), and as collective postposed particle in Wichí (Nercesian 2014:

193).[59] The segment *-is* corresponds beyond doubt a plural suffix. The Nivacle cognate is the collective suffix *-(i)łaj* (masculine singular), *-łaj-ɬe* (feminine singular), *-(i)łaj-is* (masculine plural), and *-(i)-łaj-ɬe-i* (feminine plural), which is lexicalized for certain professional categories (as well as a few ethnonyms).[60] As far as 'Weenhayek is concerned, the use of *-łajis* would very closely correspond to that of the Hungarian collective suffix *-ék* in *barát-om-ék* (friend-1POS-COL) 'my friend and his family/friends'.[61] However, those examples do not exactly correspond to those presented here for Nivacle, Maká, Toba, and Enlhet.

(65b)
haj-qatxatej-iɬ *ts-a-khaan*
1S-cook-COORD.PL D-M-DEM
'I cook with him (lit. I-cook-with+ he)' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1995: 176)

(65c)
j-ekhewel-iɬ *haj-qatxatej-iɬ*
1POS-PRON-SAP.PL 1S-cook-COORD.PL
'We (EXCL) cook (lit. we + I-cook-with)' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1995: 176)

(65d)
a-khaʔ *xit-otoj*
2POS-PRON 1INCL-dance
'I dance with you (lit. you + we-dance)' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1995: 176)

(65e)
in-ekhewe-l *xit-otoj*
1INCL-PRON-PL 1INCL-dance
'I dance with you (lit. we + we dance)' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1995: 176)

(65f)
hoj-otoj-iɬ *ts-e-kheen*
1S-dance-COORD.PL D-F-PRON
'I dance with her (lit. I-dance-with + she)' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1995: 176)

Associative constructions with plural markers are also attested in Enlhet-Enenlhet languages. Like Nivacle, they lack both a special marker for associated activity[62] and a coordinative morpheme. A plural/distributive prefix[63] is used with the NP/PRON representing the companion(s), much like in

[59] I am grateful to Rodrigo Montani for pointing out to me that the associative or comitative is one of the functions of the Wichí instrumental applicative /-ex/ as described in Terraza (2009: 216). Interesingly, the Wichí varieties investigated by Terraza are geographically much closer to 'Weenhayek than those studied by Nercesian.

[60] The initial /i/ within parentheses is an epenthetic vowel. Gerzenstein does not mention this suffix in her Maká grammar but her dictionary (Gerzenstein 1999: 279) includes an entry *notoqowit* 'man from the Toba Guaykurú tribe', and its corresponding feminine form *notokowitłeiki'*, which easily lends itself to be segmented as *notoqowit-łei-kiʔ* (Toba-COL-F). However, this is an isolated case, and other ethnonyms in the dictionary do not have forms in *-łei*.

[61] The Hungarian nominal plural marker is *-k* (after vowels) ~ *-Vk* (after a consonant),, where V is subject to vowel harmony (*-ak, -ok, -ek, -ök*). The plural and collective markers have the same origin (Proto-Finno-Ugrian **-kkV* 'collective'). Note, however, that the Hungarian collective has only one allomorph and its use is restricted to groups of humans.

[62] Enlhet (and the other languages of the Enlhet-Enenlhet family) has an alternative construction with the adposition *łamook* (singular) 'one-together', *łamookʔa* (plural) 'more-than-one-together'. Incidentally, this adposition has been borrowed (with metathesis) into Nivacle as a verb *łakɒmʔa* 'to be all'. Since there are no cognates in other Mataguayo languages, the direction of the loan is clear.

[63] Depending on TAM and the following phoneme, the plural marker can be *-kel-* ~ *-ket-* ~ *-ken-* or *-l-* ~ *-t-* ~ *-n-*.

the Nivacle examples (63a, 63i-k) and Maká (65b-f). The verbal plural prefix Enlhet-Enenlhet languages indicate a plurality of participants rather than that of the subject or object (65g-h). As can be seen in (65i-j), another options consists in having a special marker (Enlhet *łamook* ~ Sanapaná *łemoje*). Although I have glossed it 'associated plural' it does not strictly correspond to 'with' as implied in the translation. Indeed, Kalisch (p.c.) says that is is a lexilized form of *łama* 'one' + *-ook* ~ *-ooʔ* 'intensive'. If added after a verb in the intensive as in (65i), it can be translated as 'together with'. This is also the case in Sanapaná albeit, as Kalisch observes, the intensive form of the verb is getting obsolete in this language (65j).

Note that in the Enlhet-Enelhet languages participant indexing in the verb distinguishes between two possibilities: first person (singular or plural) vs. non-first person. The non-first person encodes masculine or feminine gender.[64]

(65g)
*neŋ-**et**-łeŋ-kek* *łaak* *haavok*
1PL-PL-leave-TAM RECENT my.elder.brother
'My brother and I went away' (lit. we-left + my-brother) (Enlhet, Unruh & Kalisch 2002: 39)

(65h)
paa *nło* *ŋka-**l**-łoŋ* *seemaʔ*
FUT QUERY F-PL-leave.FUT my.grandmother
'Will my grandmother and her companions go away?' (lit. Will they leave + my grandmother) (Enlhet, Unruh & Kalisch 2002: 39)

(65i)
ak-tamham'-ook *ałta* *łamook* *łeep* *amyep*
1SG-work-INT PAST ASSOC.PL 2.M.PRON field.F
'I worked (yesterday or before) with you in the field' (Enlhet, Unruh & Kalisch 1997: 224)

(65j)
Juan *ap-mame-kama* *łemoje* *as-japon*
Juan M-work-CAUS ASSOC.PL 1POS-father
'Juan works with my father' (Sanapaná, Gomes 2013: 191)

The following examples from Ayoreo (Zamuco) show a similar construction without coordination linker, albeit the verb show no special plural form.[65]

(65k)
Tito *cojñoi* *ore* *ch-isôre*
Tito gringo PRON.3PL 3-go.hunting
'Tito and a gringo went hunting' (Ayoreo, Bertinetto 2014: 405)

[64] The pronominal/deictic system is more complex, and distinguishes three persons: first (unmarked for gender), second masculine, and second feminine. For the third person, deictic/locative particles can be used. However, pronouns are seldom used except for disambiguation and/or emphasis.

[65] The Ayoreo examples are given in the practical orthography, where <jn> = /n̥/, <jñ> = /ɲ̥/ (both are voiceless nasals), <c> = /k/, <ch> /ʧ/, and <ˆ> indicates a nasal vowel.

(65l)
diga *jnana* *ujnacase* *gareode* *ore* *ch-imo*
then man son two.M.PL PRON.3PL 3-see
'Then the man and his sons saw (him)' (Ayoreo, Bertinetto 2014: 405)

4.3.3. ***-eɬ*** **'Speech act participant plural'**. The SAP plural suffix may be coindexed with a corresponding person marker in the prefix (66 and 68a) or in the suffix (67) slot. This suffix is also used with dependent (possessed) nouns, where it marks the plural of the possessed item (68c-g). Note that here too there may be two different plural markers. Note also the third person plural object in (66).

(66)
*a-jɒ-xajan-**eɬ**-ʃaʔne* *xa-va* *kuvɒju*
2A(3P).IRR-drink-CAUS-PL.SAP-3PL D-PL horse(s)
'(You-PL), give the horses to drink!' (or: you-SG and s/he, give the horses to drink)

(67)
*xaj-eklet-**eɬ**-ʔa-t-apẻ* *xaju*
1S-jump-SAP.PL-2-REC-OVER PROSP
'I will jump over you (PL)'

(68a)
*ɬ-ts^{ʔ}i-jɒitan-**eɬ***
2A-1P-criticize-SAP.PL
'You (SG) criticise us' ~ 'You (PL) criticise me'

(68b)
na-va *a-fo-k*
D-PL 2POS-foot-PL
'Your (SG) feet'

(68c)
na-va *a-fo-kl-**eɬ***
D-PL 2POS-foot-PL-SAP.PL
'Your (PL) feet'

(68d)
na-va *ji-tɒsx-**eɬ***
D-PL 1POS-eye-SAP.PL
'Our (EXCL) eyes'

(68e)
xa-pi *ji-kʧe-vot-**eɬ***
D-PL 1POS-ancestor-PL.KIN-SAP.PL
'Our (EXCL) ancestors'

(68f)
xa-va *ji-ʔv-itɒ-s-**eɬ***
D-PL 1POS-POS-fire-PL-SAP.PL
'Our (EXCL) fire(place)s'[66]

(68g)
pa-pi *xa-tʊ̌ɬ-**eɬ**-ʃam*
D-PL 1S-come-SAP.PL-COL.PL
'Our (EXCL) fathers/ ancestors'

Maká employs the cognate SAP plural suffix *-iɬ* in the same way as Nivacle.

[66] The possessive marker *-(ʔ)v* appears with a very small number of nouns that cannot appear with a possessive prefix directly attached to them.

(68h)	(68i)	
kˀe-wen-iɬ	*ne-wen-iɬ*	(Maká)
kˀa-ʔvan-eɬ	*na-ʔvan-eɬ*	(Nivacle)
1A(2P)-see-SAPL.PL	(3A)2P-see-SAPL.PL	
'I see you-PL'	'S/he sees you-PL'	

4.3.4. ***-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne*** **and** ***-ʧᵊe ~ -kˀe*** (the second allomorph of each pair appears after the back vowels /o, ɒ, u/, the nasals /n, m/ [with some exeptions], and the fricatives /x, f/). Both represent third person plural. Most verbs pick out the first allomorphs but some verbs require *-ʧᵊe ~ -kˀe* rather than *-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne* as a plural marker, but the choice often appears to be idiosyncratic. When *-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne* is not a plural marker *-ʧᵊe ~ -kˀe* will be used (69b). Conversely, if *-ʧᵊe ~ -kˀe* is not a plural marker *-ʃaʔne ~ xaʔne* will supply for it (69d). Since third person plural marking can be optional or even impossible, this is not a waterproof rule. Moreover, the presence or absence of these plural markers do not appear to depend on a +/- human or +/- animate feature as is sometimes the case. An example of both marking is shown in (69e).

(69a)	(69b)
j-iʔ-ʃaʔne	*j-i-**ʧᵊe**-ʃaʔne*
3S-be.located-DOWN	3S-be.located-PL-DOWN
'S/he sits/sat'	'They sit/sat'

(69c)	(69d)
Ø-łamis-ʧᵊe	*Ø-łamis-ʧᵊe-**ʃaʔne***
3S-be.thin-LONG	3S-be.thin-LONG-3PL
'S/he is/was slim'	'They are/were slim'

(69e)

*t-iʃxan-**ʧᵊe**-en*	*łɒn*	*pa*	*t-asinɒ-i-**ʃaʔne***
3S-sing-3PL-INT	REPORT	and	3S-speech-HAVE-3PL

'They sing/sang and speak/spoke'

The plural suffixes *-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne* and *-ʧᵊe ~ -kˀe* exhibit absolutive alignment. If the verb is intransitive, they mark the plural of the subject (75) but if it is transitive, the object is marked as plural (70-73). When the verb is transitive it is irrelevant whether the object is in the prefix slot (basic transitive) or appears suffixed (derived transitives).

(70)	(71)	
*j-efen-**ʃaʔne***	*j-efen-**ʃaʔne***	*tsʔivɛ̊*
3A(3P)-help-3PL.O	3A(3P)-help-3PL.O	PL (of 3A)
'S/he helps ~ They help them'	'They help them'	

(72)

*xa-fåʃ-**ʃaʔne***	*xaju*	*xa-va*	*jeklɒ-i*
1A(3P)-chop-3PL.O	PROSP	D-PL	wood-PL

'I will chop wood'

(73)
*a-kun-xan-eɬ-**ʃaʔne***
2A(3P).IRR-eat-CAUS-SAP.PL-3PL.O
'(You-PL) give them to eat!'

Because *-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne* and *-ɟʔe ~ -kʔe* are polyfunctional, one needs to be careful to distinguish between these different functions. The comparison between the singular (74) and plural (75) makes it clear that *-kʔe* represents the applicative.

(74)			(75)		
Ø-klaxɒx-kʔe	*na*	*nɒjiʃ*	*Ø-klaxɒx-kʔe-**ʃaʔne***	*na-va*	*nɒjʃ-ei*
3S-be,dry-LONG	D.M	path	3S-be.dry-LONG-3PL	D-PL	path-PL
'The path is dry'			'The paths are dry'		

For third person subjects, the non-distinction or optionality between singular and plural is cross-linguistically well attested, although modalities often vary both intra- and/or extra-linguistically. In this respect, the overall pattern is very similar in Mataguayo languages. However distinct the form of the plural markers may be, they are optional and may as well be replaced by plural NPs or pronouns.[67]

The Zamucoan languages show a similar distinction. In the third person, Ayoreo does not distinguish verbal plural but an optional pronoun may be added (Bertinetto 2014: 389). However, the sister language Chamaco requires a plural marker in the verb if the subject is +human. Otherwise there is no distinction (Ciucci 2016: 129).

In Toba (Guaykurú family) verbs make no difference in the third person between singular and group but restricted group is marked with *-ʔ* or – if infixed, with *-Vd, -dV, -d*, or *-ʔ*. In any case, the prefixes are neutral with respect to number (Carpio 2012: 103-131). Interestingly Kadiwéu, also from the Guaykurúan family, makes the distinction in the third person plural, where *o-* appears before the third person prefix (Griffiths 1976: 44-45).

Enlhet-Enenlhet languages exhibit a slightly different pattern. Only the first person has a special plural prefix. In all other cases, a plural marker immediately follows the number-neutral personal prefix. However, the plural morpheme can be coindexed with an agentive or patiente participant, and it can also mark a plurality of events. This patter affects all persons (Unruh, Romero & Kalisch 2003: 138 and 150).[68]

4.3.5. *-s, -k* (~ *-kl* before a vowel) and *-i* are mostly nominal plurals. Their choice is idiosyncratic and some nouns have alternative forms. Unsurprisingly any noun in predicative function will retain its plural form. However, a certain number of verbs exhibit the same plural suffixes, in which case the suffixes can be said to be pluractional.

[67] See Nercesian (2014: 227-235) for Wichí, and Carol (2014: 137-142) for Chorote. The situation seems less clear in Maká as Gerzenstein (1995: 138) does not dwell on the subject, but many examples show that here too singular and plural can share the same verbal form. If necessary, a free pronoun may be added.

[68] In the Enlhet-Enenlhet languages the personal prefixes of verbs and nouns (possessive) distinguish between first person and non-first person. The first person has singular an plural forms, and the non-first person is either masculine or feminine. Gender is grammatical. However free pronouns, whose use is optional, exhibit a different pattern. First person singular vs. plural; second person singular masculine vs. feminine; second person plural masculine vs. feminine. In the third person various demonstratives can be used. The inaccuracies in Cysouw's "Lengua" (i.e. Enlhet-Enenlhet) data (2009: 42, 132) stem from his very unreliable source (Susnik 1977).

Most of these verbs belong to the first conjugation class and display the *-s* form.[69] All but two (*-is* 'be good' and *-kavsus* 'be nice/funny')[70] end in /*x*/ in the singular and this /*x*/ is erased before the pluractional /-s/ Interestingly most of these verbs (about 31 in total) have the double suffix *-mat-sex* (allomorphs with epenthetic syllable: *-xamat-sex ~ -ʧamat-sex*), which indicates a positive quality (the corresponding negative quality is *-mat ~ -xamat ~ ʧamat*). Another option is to use *-tsex* alone, for a notable – not necessarily positive – quality. Only eleven such verbs are attested in my data base. The second part of the *-mat-sex* suffix represents *-tsex*.[71] Twelve verbs ending in /*x*/ belong to the third conjugation and one to the fourth.

(76a)
jaʔ-ʧˀan-xamatsex
1S-hear-POS.QUAL
'I am obedient'

(76b)
*kas-ʧˀan-xamatse-**s***
1S.INCL-hear-POS.QUAL-PL
'We (INCL) are obedient'

(77a)
Ø-kleʃ-xamatsex
3S-wash/rub-POS.QUAL
'It is easy to wash/washes easily'

(77b)
*Ø-kleʃ-xamatse-**s***
3S-wash/rub-POS.QUAL-PL
'They are easy to wash'

Four verbs (all in the first conjugation class) form their plural in *-k* (*-kl* before a vowel). The plural of *-tikˀin* 'to be small' is irregular[72]: *-n* is replaced by the pluractional *-k*, which is often followed by the plural marker *-ʃaʔne* (78b). The verb *-niʧˀa* 'to be new/young' behaves in the same way (79b-d). Note that the second line of (79a) is not an NP but a headless (internal) relative clause which functions as the subject of the verb in the first line. Example (63b) (repeated here as 79b) is particularly interesting since it cumulates three plural markers: 1) if *-eɬ* is analysed as a SAP plural, it is coindexed with the subject prefix. If one prefers to consider *-eɬ* as a coordinative plural, it links the subject prefix with an additional participant sharing the same semantic role, 2) the pluractional *-kl* indicates more than one teenager, and 3) *-ʃaʔne* is third person plural (1+3 = 3PL).

(78a)
*Ø-tikˀi-**k**-ʧˀe* *na-va* *a-kaklɒ-i*
3S-be.small-PLC-LONG D-PL 2POS-leg-PL
'Your legs are short'

(78b)
*Ø-tikˀi-**k*** (~ *Ø-tikˀi-**k-ʃaʔne***) *na-va* *sanijɒ*
3S-be.small-PLC (3S-be.small-PLC-PL) D-PL watermelon
'Theses watermelons are tiny'

[69] In further derivations, the base verb automatically switches conjugation, and the pluractional can no longer be used: *Ø-niʧˀa* 'S/he ~ It is young/new' => *Ø-niʧˀa-k(-ʃaʔne)* 'They are young/new' but *ji-niʧˀa-jan ~ ji-niʧˀa-nat* [3A(3P)-be.new-CAUS] 'S/he ~ It ~They renew it/them'.
[70] The plurals of these two verbs are respectively *-is-is* and *-kavsu-s* (*-kavus* + metathesis of the last two phonemes + *-s*).
[71] Nivacle has a regular morphophonological rule that simplifies consonant geminates albeit these can be retained in slow careful speech.
[72] This verb is probably derived from the noun *t(u)kˀaʔ* 'portion of something' with the verbalizer *-in*.

(79a)
n-ɒx-e-ʃ-ʧˀe *ateʃa*
3S-end-3-INST-ANLP just.like.that
pa-pi *ni-Ø-tɒiji-**kl**-a* *nivakle*
D-PL NEG-1S-be.in.natural.state-PLC-IRR Nivacle/man/men
'This ended the (old times of the) warrying men'[73]

(79b)
*jaʔ-niʧʔa-**kl**-eɬ-**ʃaʔne***
1S-be.young-PLC-SAP.PL-PL
'We (EXCL) are/were young'

(79c)
*kas-niʧˀa-**k***
1S.INCL-be.young-PLC
'We (INCL) are/were young'

4.3.6. *-vat-iʧˀe*. This collective plural represents a combination of *-vat* 'REFL/REC' and *-ʧˀe* (with an epenthetic /i/ between them. There does not seem to be any restriction on the use of this collective plural apart from that it does not combine with other plural forms. It can be coindexed with S (80b), A (82), or O (83).

(80a)
j-iʧ
3S-go
'S/he ~ They leave/left'

(80b)
*j-iʧ-**vatiʧˀe***
3S-go-COLL.PL
'They leave/left (as one man)'

(82)
*ja-ʧax-e-ʃ-**vatiʧˀe*** *tsʔivẻ* *pa* *ankɒ̌k*
3A(3P)-carry-3-INST-COLL.PL PL D.M crippled.man
'They carried (together) the crippled man'

(83)
*tsi-ʧax-e-ʃ-**vatiʧˀe***
(3A)1P-3-INST-COLL.PL
'They were (all engaged in) carrying us'

4.3.7. *-ʃam ~ -xam* (the allomorph with the velar fricative appears after the back vowels /ɒ, o, u/, the nasal /n, m/, and the fricatives /x,f/. Apart from this use as a collective plural marker, this morpheme also serves as an applicative THROUGH (§ 5.2.2.11). This is certainly not a coincidence since they share a common denominator. In one of its minor uses, this suffix indicates vertical kin relations 'through' a line. Some of these verbs can be used as nouns as can be shown in (86a-f)[74]. As a collective plural marker, it mostly relates to an activity performed as a kin group or as neighbours. It can be coindexed with S (85b, 86e), A or O (84)

[73] The verb *-tɒiji* (first conjugation < *-tɒi* 'to be conscious, to know' [third conjugation]) has no exact translation. It refers to the natural state of animates. In the case of a human, its positive form means 'sociable' but speaking of a horse this would refer to its unbroken and unschooled state. The negative form in this example points to the pre-contact, endemic intertribal war situation. For a horse the negative form would mean to be fit for riding.
[74] When the verb 'to come' retains its base sense, it can be used together with the applicative THROUGH in contexts such as 'I came through the forest/ the fence'.

(84)
*xa-teʃ-ijan-**ʃam*** *na-pi* *ji-ʧifa-s*
1A(3P)-be.harmed-CAUS-COLL.PL D-PL 1POS-neighbour-PL
'I harmed my own people'

(85a)
Ø-aklox
3S-be.many
'There are plenty of them'

(85b)
*Ø-aklox-**xam***
3S-be.many-COLL.PL
'There are many of them (in this family, in the village)'

(86a)
ka *xa-tʊ̊ɬ-**ʃam***
D.M 1S-come-THROUGH
'My father'

(86b)
ɬ-ka *xa-tʊ̊ɬ-**ʃam***
F-D 1S-come-THROUGH
'My mother'

(86c)
ka-pi *xa-tʊ̊ɬ-ʃam*
D-PL 1S-come-THROUGH
'My parents/ancestors'

(86d)
ka-pi *xa-tʊ̊ɬ-eɬ-ʃam*
D-PL 1S-come-SAP.PL-THROUGH
'Our (EXCL) ancestors'

(86e)
pa-pi *Ø-puʔxaʔna-**ʃam***
D-PL 3S-be.three-COLL.PL
'The Trinity' (lit. The-ones [that] are-three-in-the-family)

(86f)
pa-pi *Ø-tʊɬ-eɬ-ʔa-t-ʃam* pa *Ø-aklox-a-**ʃam***
D-PL 3S-come-SAP.PL-2-REC-THROUGH and 3S.IRR-be.many-IRR-COLL.PL
'Your descendency will be numerous' (Isaiah 48: 19)

4.3.8. ***-vat-ʃam, -t-ʃam***. This suffix combines the reflexive/reciprocal /*-(va)t*/, with the last mentioned collective plural marker, /*-ʃam/*. As far as I can judge, it does not imply any kin relation. It can be coindexed with any argument of the verb.

(87)
*j-ip-**vatʃam**-ʔin*
3S-cry-COLL.PL-INT
'They are/were weeping together'

(88)
*Ø-ovaɬ-eɬ-**vatʃam**-ʔin*
2A(3P).IRR-look-SAP.PL-COLL.PL-INT
'(You-all) have a look at that!'

4.3.9. ***-vat-am***. This collective suffix consists of the reflexive/reciprocal *-vat* followed by the benefactive *-am*. It can be used as a plural marker for S/A or O.

(89)
*j-asinɒ-ki-**vatam***
3S-talk-PLC-COLL.PL
'They had a conversation (with each other)'

(90)

*j-en-**vatam***	*Ø-łakɒmʔa*	*pa-pi*	*ł-ʧifa-s*
3A(3P)-like-COORD.PL	3S-be.all	D-PL	3POS-neighbour-PL

'All of his/her neighbours liked him/her'

4.3.10. ***-ʧi ~ -ʧe ~ -ki ~ -ke*** (the allomorph with the plosive may be used after the back vowels /ɒ, o, u/, the nasals /n.m/, and the fricatives /s,f/). This suffix indicates that the activity undertaken by the subject involves at least one further almost always animated participant (most frequently human, but see the exceptional 94). I analyse it as a special class of pluractional but the term comitative might be more fitting. With most verbs, this suffix is obligatory. It is probably related to the coordinative particle *ʧiʔ* 'and' as well as to the noun *-ʧi-fa* 'male neighbour; male of the same village', where *-fa* (feminine *-fa-ʧe*) is a nominalizer for 'companion'.

(91)
*ji-kɒfa-**ʧi***
3A(3P)-hate-PLC
'S/he hates him/her/it'[75]

(92a)	(92b)
ji-xoʔ-e-i	*ji-xo-**ʧi**-e-i*
3S-go-3-DIST	3S-go-PLC-3-DIST
'S/he goes/went there'	'S/he goes/went there (for a visit)'

(93a)	(93b)
t-asinɒ-i	*j-asinɒ-**ki***
3S-speech-HAVE	3S-speech-PLC
'S/he speaks/is having a conversation'	'S/he delivers a speech'

(94)
*ł-tinʃi-**ʧi***
2S-necklace-PLC
'You (sg) put a necklace around your neck' (< *-tiniʃ* 'necklace' + epenthesis)

(95a)
*Ø-vat-klɒ-**ki**-eł*
3S-REC-play-PLC-COORD.PL
'They are/were cuddling' (*vat-* 'REFL/RECIP – *vat-…-eł* 'RECIP')

The following examples (95b-f) illustrate the use of the verb *-tan-ṽi-ʧi* 'to go/come with; to accompany' (lit. 'respect each other'). Note that with this verb the reciprocal prefix alone does not trigger the expected (prototypical) reciprocal reading, which will need an additional object plural

[75] This verb is derived from a root **-kɒ* which only appears in composition: *-kɒ-fa* [*hate-COMP] 'enemy', *-kɒ-nit* [*hate-CAUS] 'to hate (trans.)', *-kɒ-nt-ai* [*hate-CAUS-VBLZ] 'to hate (intr.)', *-kɒ-nt-a* [*hate-CAUS-NMLZ] 'hate', etc. At least Chorote and 'Weenhayek have cognates.

suffix as in (95f), which results in the concatenation of three different plural markers. When the companion is overtly named (95b-c), the corresponding SAP or coordinative plural *-eɬ* is added to the verb. Recall that the first person inclusive (95d-e), unlike the exclusive prefix (95c), is inherently plural and does not need any *-eɬ* plural marker.

(95b)
*Ø-tan-ṿi-**ʧe**-eɬ* *pa* *puta*
3S-REC-respect-PLC-COORD.PL D.M rabbit
'The/A rabbit was coming with him'

(95c)
*xa-tan-ṿi-**ʧe**-eɬ* *xa* *ʧeklaʔ*
1S-REC-respect-PLC-SAP.PL D.M my.elder.brother
'My elder brother was coming with us'

(95d)
istå *ka* *ʃta-tan-ṿi-**ʧe**-e-i*
HORT SUB_2 1INC.IRR-REC-respect-PLC-3-DIST
'Let's go there together!'

(95e)
xaj-ẻʃ *a-vå**ʧ**a* *ka* *ʃta-tan-ṿi-**ʧi***
1S-want/say 2POS-PRON SUB_2 1INC.IRR-REC-respect-PLC
'I want to go together with you'

(95f)
*xa-tan-ṿi-**ʧe**-eɬ-ʃaʔne*
1S-REC-respect-PLC-SAP.PL-O.PL
'We accompany each other'

4.3.11. *ts^{ʔ}ivẻ*. This plural particle is mostly employed for emphasis or disambiguation. It can be used with both verbs and nouns. With the latter it indicates possessor's plural (96b, 97b, 98b). It can also function as a distributive (99, 100, 101). Note the different word order between (96b), (97b) and (98b) on the one hand (D + N + PL.possessor) and (100) and (101) on the other, which display headless relative clauses in object function after the initial verb (V + [D + V + PL + N]).

(96a)
pa *ɬ-kum-xajaʃ*
D.M 3POS-work-NMLZ
'His/Her/Their job'

(96b)
pa *ɬ-kum-xajaʃ* ***tsʔivɛ̀***
D.M 3POS-work-NMLZ PL (possessor)
'Their job'

(97a)
ni-kʔ-oj-e-ʃ *xa* *ɬ-xaʔja*
3Sp-MED-escape-3-INST D.M 3POS-spouse
'Her husband escaped' (singular possessor)

(97b)
ni-kʔ-oj-e-ʃ *xa* *ɬ-xaʔja* ***tsʔivɛ̀***
3Sp-MED-escape-3-INST D.M 3POS-spouse PL (possessor)
'Their husband escaped' (The two women had one common husband)

(98a)
xa-va *ɬ-lkɒn-xa-i*
D-PL 3POS-kill-NMLZ-PL
'His/Their catches'

(98b)
xa-va *ɬ-lkɒn-xa-i* ***tsʔivɛ̀***
D-PL 3POS-kill-NMLZ-PL PL (possessor)
'Their catches' (in hunting or fishing)

(99)
Ø-is-xop *ka* *aʔ-veʔɬa-a-eɬ* ***tsʔivɛ̀***
3S-be.good-PURP SUB_2 2S-be.one-IRR-SAP.PL DISTR
ka *Ø-asinɒ-i-tax-e-ʃ*
SUB_2 3S-speech-HAVE-CON-3-INST
'Each one of you (lit. that it be one of you) can speak in his/her turn'

(100)
ji-ʔvan *ɬ-pa* *Ø-veʔɬa* ***tsʔivɛ̀*** *ɬ-tɒsex*
3A(3P)-see F-D 3S-be.one DISTR 3POS-seed
'S/he found one seed of each type'

(101)
ji-koxɒj-e-ʃ *pa-va* *Ø-sinko* ***tsʔivɛ̀*** *saxeʧ*
$3S_p$-catch-3-INST D-PL 3S-be.five DISTR fish
'Each of them caught five fish'

The particle *tsʔivɛ̀* can mark the plural of any animate argument (core argument or applicative) of verbs. Here again it is mostly used for disambiguation.

(102a)
ji-klɒn-ʃaʔne
3A(3P)-kill-PL.O
'S/he killed them'

(102b)
ji-klɒn-ʃaʔne ***tsʔivɛ̊***
3A(3P-kill-PL.O PL (of A)
'They killed them'

(103)
pa-pi *nivakle* *ji-vɒm-xat-ʔe* ***tsʔivɛ̊*** *xaju*
D-PL man/men 3A(3P)-disappear-CAUS-PROX PL-of-P PROSP
pa *tʔa-xovaj-i*
D.M 3POS-fear-NMLZ
'People will faint from fear' (lit. Fear will destroy men/Men will be destroyed by fear [here on the earth]') (Luke 21: 26)

Since the verb *-en* 'to like/love/want' does not require plural marking, the P can be singular or plural in (104a). Adding the plural particle will be understood as plural of P (104b). If A is intended to be plural, one may use the collective plural *-vatam* (104c). However (105) shows the possibility of *tsʔivɛ̊* being the plural marker of A as well.

(104a)
Ø-ux *ti* *j-en*
3S-be.big SUB_1 3A(3P)-like/love
'S/he loves' or 'They love him/her/them a lot'

(104b)
Ø-ux *ti* *j-en* *ʃta* ***tsʔivɛ̊***
3S-be.big SUB_1 3A(3P)-like/love also PL-of-P
na-n *a-xuna-ji-ʃ* *ti* *ɬ-ts-en*
D.M-DEM 2POS-likeness-1-INST SUB_1 2S-1P-like/love
'S/he loves them as much as you love me'

(104c)
j-en-vatam
3A(3P)-like-COL.PL
'They like him/her/it'

(105)
tsi-klɒn *xaju* ***tsʔivɛ̊***
(3A)1P-kill PROSP PL (of A)
'They will kill me'

(106)
ji-sɑ̊s-faʧʔɛ̊ ***tsʔivɛ̊*** *pa-va* *tsiʧʔe-s*
3A(3P)-chase-OUT PL (of A) D-PL devil-PL
'They expelled the devils'

(107)

j-am-xam	***ts^{ʔ}ivɐ̀***	*pa*	*klɔ̀p*
3S-go-THROUGH	PL (of THROUGH)	D.M	winter

'Winter had reached them'

(108)

Ø-kap-ʧ^{ʔ}e-ʃaʔne	***ts^{ʔ}ivɐ̀***	*na-va*	*ɬa-kfe-i*
3S-be.closed-LONG-PL.O	PL (of S)	D-PL	3POS-ear-PL

'They put their hands over their ears'

(109a)

pa	*Ø-tis*	***ts^{ʔ}ivɐ̀***	*Ø-tis-e-ʃ*	*pa*	*finɒk*
and	3A(3R)-give	PL (of A)	3A(3R)-give-3-INST	D.M	tobacco

'And they made him a present, they gave him tobacco'

(109b)

ji-xut-e-i	*ts^{ʔ}ivɐ̀*	*pa*	*t^{ʔ}-un-ax*
3A(3P)-give-3-DIST	PL (of R)	D.M.	3POS-be.strong-NMLZ

'He gives/gave them strength'

(110)

j-ɑ̊ʃeʃ	*ti*	*ji-ʧen-e-ʃ*	***ts^{ʔ}ivɐ̀***	*pa-va*	*bicicleta-s*
3S-overtake	SUB$_1$	3A(3P)-use-3-INST	PL (of A)	D-PL	bike-PL

'They mostly use bikes'

(111)

Ø-n-am-a	***ts^{ʔ}ivɐ̀***	*pa*	*jiʔjɒ̀x*
3S-CISL-go-PUNCT	PL (of PUNCT)	D.M	jaguar

'The/A jaguar was coming towards them'

Finally, *ts^{ʔ}ivɐ̀* can be used in reciprocal constructions.

(112a)	(112b)	
Ø-van-ovaɬ	*Ø-van-ovaɬ*	***ts^{ʔ}ivɐ̀***
3A-REF/REC-look	3A-REC-look	PL
'S/he look(ed)/looks at him/herself'	'They look(ed) at each other'	
'They look(ed) at each other'		

The particle *ts^{ʔ}ivɐ̀* has an exact cognate in Maká *e-tsi-weʔ*, where *e-* and *-weʔ* are both plural markers, separated by the demonstrative referring to a distant entity in sight of the speaker. Note that the third element of the Maká word is the exact cognate of Nivacle *-va* and Chorote *-wa*, both 'non-human plural of the deictic/demonstrative series'. The Maká demonstrative marker *-tsi-* has cognates in Wichí *=tsi* 'towards the speaker' (Nercesian 2014: 180),[76] 'Weenhayek *-tsi(h)* 'this/that (not moving or coming towards the speaker' (Claesson 2008: 465), and possibly also Chorote *syu-*, which is cliticized to demonstratives. According to Carol (2014: 396), it serves to introduce a referent in the discourse.

[76] Rodrigo Montani (p.c.) notes that Terraza (2009) defines this suffix as a positional demonstrative rather than a directional, which is corroborated by his own data on Wichí.

The irregular correspondence between the plural element Maká /-*weʔ*/ and Nivacle /-*vɛ̰*/ instead of the expected /-*va*/, the unique instance of a /tsi/ deictic marker in Nivacle, and the fact that Maká /*e-tsi-weʔ*/ has corresponding singular forms /*ts-aʔ*/ 'masculine', /*ts-eʔ*/ feminine (as well as similar deictic forms such as /*p-aʔ, p-eʔ, pe-khe-weʔ*/ 'entity/entities unknown/never seen by the speaker') - which is not the case in Nivacle, where /*tsʔivɛ̰*/ has no counterpart - suggest a direct loan from Maká to Nivacle.

4.3.12. Combination of plural markers are frequent. Examples have been presented in (63a-j), (66), (71), (73), (78b), (79b), (88-89), (95a-b), (95f), (102b), (108). Further examples are shown here (113-120b).

(113)
pa-pi *nivakle* *ʃiʔ* *pa-va* *ɬ-klɒ-i*
D-HUM.PL man/men and D-NON-HUM.PL 3POS-cattle-PL
*ji-jɒ-**eɬ**-ʃi-**ʃaʔne*** *pa* *jinɒ̰t*
3A(3P)-drink-COORD.PL-INH-3PL D.M water
'The Nivacle and their cattle drank (from) the same water'

(114)
Ø-puʔxaʔna *tuɬ-is* *t-klɒi-ʔe-**eɬ-ʃaʔne*** *pa-pi* *ɬ-kles*
3S-be.three night-PL 3S-dance-PROX-COORD.PL-3PL D-PL 3POS-children
'During three nights she danced with her children'

(115)
*jaʔ-kʔutsxa-**s-eɬ*** *na* *ji-xaʔja*
1S-(be)old-PLC-SAP.PL D.M 1POS-spouse
'My husband and I, we are old '

(116)
*Ø-is-**is-ʃaʔne***
3S-be.good-PLC-3PL
'They are good'

(117)
*tʔa-kum-ʔe-**vatam*** ***tsʔivɛ̰*** *pa* *ji-klɒn*
3A(3P)-catch-PROX-COL.PL PL and 3A(3P)-kill
'They caught him and killed him'

(118a)
*Ø-niʧʔa-**k-ʃaʔne***
3S-be.young/new-PLC_1-PLC_2
'They are young'

(118b)
*jaʔ-niʧʔa-**kl-eɬ-ʃaʔne***
1S-be.young/new-PLC_1-SAP.PL-PLC_2
'We (excl.) are young'

(119)
*ɬ-nijɒxi-**eɬ-ji-tʃam***
2S-order-SAP.PL-1-COL.PL
'You (sg) give us orders'

(120a)
*j-asinɒ-**ki-vatʃam***
3S-speak-PLC-COL.PL
'They have/had a conversation (with each other)'

(120b)
*ts-asinɒ-**ki*** ***ts^{ʔ}ivɛ̊*** *ti* *ji-t^{ʔ}eʃ-ja-m…*
(2P)1R-speak-PLC PL SUB_1 3S-speak-1-BEN
'They spoke to me and said to me…'

4.4. Nominal predication and possessive nominal predicates. Any noun in predicative function will inflect like a first conjugation verb and will take the same personal prefixes (4.1, Table 1). Because the third person prefix is always zero in those verbs, it is frequent, though not obligatory, to employ a third person suffix *-e* followed by the instrumental applicative *-ʃ*.[77] The benefactive is also possible if the possessor is coindexed with an NP like in (123). As mentioned under 1.2, there are two classes of nouns, those that cannot take possessive prefixes and those that must. The first are unproblematic and all what has been said above in 4.1 applies to them.

(121)
jaʔ-kapatas(*-e-ʃ*)
1S-foreman(-3-INST)
'I am/was his foreman'

(122)
jaʔ-taʃiŋʃa(*-e-ʃ*)
1S-stag(-3-INST)
'I am a stag' (e.g. in children's play)

(123)
aʔ-fitsɒkʔɒjitʃ-e-m *xa* *Israel*
2S-God-3-BEN D.M Israel
'You are the God of Israel'

As for the nouns that always require possessive prefixes, there are two possibilities. In the most frequent case the possessive prefix is coindexed with the possessor and the subject of the predication is represented by a person suffix of type I (4.2, Table 6) followed by the instrumental applicative *-ʃ* (*-x* after 1INCL *-xo̊*).

(124)
aʔ-tata-eɬ-ji-ʃ
2POS-father-SAP.PL-1-INST
'I am your father (of you all)'

[77] As far as the third person is concerned, this phenomenon bears some resemblance to the use of the Finnish *-nA* essive vs. nominative in some constructions with the copula verb 'to be' in which a property or characteristic attributed to a certain entity is seen as less permanent than with the nominative: *hän on opettaja* [3PRON.NOMIN 3S.be teacher] 'X is/works as a teacher (no hint of thisbeing a temporary job)' vs. *hän on opettaja-na* [3PRON.NOMIN 3S.be teacher-ESSIVE] 'X is/works as a teacher (but tomorrow X might as well be a taxi driver'. With other verbs, the nominative may be obligatory or ungrammatical, depending on the verb: *hän työskentele-: opettaja-na* (**opettaja*) [3PRON.NOMIN work-3SG teacher-ESSIVE] 'X works as a teacher', *häne-stä tul-i opettaja* (**opettaja-na*) ~ *hän tul-i opettaja-ksi* (**opettaja-na / *opettaja*) [3PRON-ELATIVE come-PAST.3SG teacher ~ 3PRON.NOMIN come-PAST.3SG teacher-TRANSLATIVE] 'X became a teacher'. The elative option may be paraphrased as "out of X came a teacher" and the translative option as "X came [changed] into a teacher" (no magics intended!).

(125)
pa-łeʧ *ɬ-ɒs-a-ji-ʃ* *xaju*
D.M-ANAPH 3POS-son-IRR-1-INST PROSP
'He will be a son for me' (Hebrews 1:5)

(126)
ɬa-mimi-ʔa-ʃ
2POSS-mother-2-INST
'You are his/her mother'

(127)
tˀ-eixats-xanaʧ-ʔa-ʃ
3POS-teach-NMLZ-2-INST
'You are his/her teacher'

(128)
vatʔ-uixatshi-jis-e-ʃ
IND.POS-cloth-PL-3-INST
'These are (someone's) clothes'

The second possibility is available for a few kinship nouns as well as some other nouns denoting human relations, where the noun root is used as a basic transitive verb and takes the personal prefixes of the fifth conjugation (4.1, Table 4). As a further prerequisite, both participants must be SAPs.

(129)
***kˀa**-tata-ʔa-ʃ*
1A(2P)-father-**2**-INST
'You are my father'

(130a)
aʔ-łeʧ ***kˀa**-nvakle*
2S-ANAPH 1A(2P)-boss
'It's you [who] are my boss'

(130b)
***kˀa**-nvakle-e-ʃ*
1A(2P)-boss
'You (sg) are my boss'

(130c)
ni-aʔ-łeʧ-a *ka* ***kˀa**-nvakle-a*
NEG-2S-ANAPH-IRR SUB_2 1A(2P)-boss-IRR
'It's not you who are my boss'

(130d)
ni-jaʔ-łeʧ-a *ka* ***a-s**-nvakle-a(-e-ʃ)*
NEG-1S-ANAPH-IRR SUB_2 2A-1P-boss-IRR(-3-INST)
'It's not me who are your boss'

(131)
***kˀa**-tata-eɬ-vatam* *ɬ-ɒv-xiʔ* *na* *vv̊s*
1A(2P)-father-SAP.PL-COLL.PL 2S-be.located-INH D.M sky
'Our Father who art in heaven' (lit. you-sg are the father of all of us + you are in the sky)'

(132)
ɬa-s-ʧ*ʔ*ini*ʃ*-eɬ
2A-1P-young.brother-SAP.PL
'I am your (pl.) brother'

(133)
k*ʔ*-aʋs*(*-e-*ʃ*)
1A(2P)-son(-3-INST)
'You are my son'

Interestingly, Maká follows a slightly different pattern with SAPs since the verb prefixes may also combine with possessive markers (134).

(134)
k*ʔ*e-yi-tata
1A(2P)-1POS-father
'I am your father' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1995: 163)[78]

(135)
e-ts-k*ʔ*inix
2POS-1POS-young.brother
'You are my younger brother' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1995: 163)

Examples (136-138) and (143) are further illustrations of possessive nominal predication taken from the Maká New Testament.

(136)

in-e-khewe-l	*ɬe-lits-in-i-x*	*p-a-khaan*
1INCL-PL-PRON-PL	3POS-family/sons-1INCL-3-INST	D-M-PRON

'This (Jerusalem) is our mother' (lit. We - his/her-sons/family-like-to-us - this) (Maká, Galatians 4:26)[79]

(137a)

haʔne	*j-as*
D.M	1POS-son

'He is my son' (Maká NT)

(137b)

a-khaʔ	*k*ʔ*a-j-as*
2POS-PRON	1A(2P)-1POS-son

'You (sg) are my son' (Maká NT)

[78] Although these are the only examples given by Gerzenstein, they provide an interesting background for comparison with Nivacle. Gerzenstein's transcription and glosses have been slightly altered in order to make the comparisons with Nivacle easier.

[79] The comparison with 'mother' is lost in Maká because Jerusalem (represented by the second pronoun) is masculine. This explains the replacement noun 'sons/family'. Note that the third person instrumental *-i-x*, which exactly corresponds to Nivacle *-e-ʃ*.

(138)
me *a-khaʔ* *eʔ-wi[t]-tata* ... *jeʔ-wi[t]-tata*
Q 2POS-PRON 2POS-IND.POS-father 1POS-IND.POS-father
'Are you a king? … 'I am a king' (Maká, John 18:37)[80]

In Chorote non-possessive predicative form are unmarked in the third person but the SAPs exhibit fusion of person markers with the locative/dative applicative *-jam* (139c-d-e). According to Carol (2014: 274-275), when this suffix refers to humans it marks an experiencer (139a) or a recipient (139b).

(139a)
kyo'yo-k'i'm
calor-1SG.APL
'Tengo calor' (Chorote, Carol 2014: 275)

(139b)
i-win-k'i'm
3A(3P)-give-1SG.APL
'S/he gives it to me' (Chorote, Carol 2014: 275)[81]

(139c)
kya'le-k'im
child-1SG.APL
'I am a child' (Chorote, Carol 2014: 152)

(139d)
kya'li-s-ts'e'm
child-PL-1PL.APL
'We are children' (Chorote, Carol 2014: 153)

(139e)
kya'le-ts'a-s-e'm
child-2PL-PL-APL
'You (pl.) are children' (Chorote, Carol 2014: 153)

In case of possessive nominal predication, the possessive prefix is used together with the same suffix combinations as above (140 and 141).

(140)
ji-nya-yis-k'i'm
3POS-father-PL-1SG.APL
'I am their father' (Chorote, Carol 2014; 153)

(141)
'a-s-a'an *ja* *i-lis-a-'a-s-e'm*
2POS-PL-PRON PROSP 1SG.POS-son.PL-IRR-PL-APL
'You (pl.) will be my children' (Chorote, 2 Corinthians 6: 18 in Carol 2014: 153)

(142)
a-tata-ji-ʃ-eł *xaju* *a-våʧe-eł*
2POS-father-1-INST-SAP.PL PROSP 1POS-PRON-SAP.PL
pa *a-våʧe-eł* *kʔa-kles-ʃ-eł* *xaju*
and 2POS-PRON-SAP.PL 1A(2P)-children-INST-SAP.PL PROSP
'I will be your father and you will be my children' (Nivacle, 2 Corintians 6: 18)

[80] Here Maká uses the word for 'father'. With the inclusive possessive prefix (*in-tata)*, it translates both 'our father' and our Lord'. With the indefinite possessor prefix *wi[t]-* this noun corresponds to '(male) authority' or 'chief'. In this example *wi[t]-* is preceded by the second and first person possessive marker, resp. *eʔ-* and *-jeʔ.*

[81] I slightly altered the glosses (A.F.) although the original transcription (more or less phonological practical orthography) is maintained.

(143)
qa *y-akha'* *qu'* *a-tata-yi'iɬ-yi-j,* *qa*
and 1POS-PRON SUB_2 2POS-father-IRR-SAP.PL-3-INST and
e-khewe-l-i'ɬ *qa'* *k'e-ji-lits-i'ɬ-i-j*
2POS-PRON-PL-SAP.PL SUB? 1A(2P)-1POS-children-SAP.PL-3-INST
qa *k'a-j-as-i-yi'ɬ* *iye*
and 1A(2P)-1POS-son-F-SAP.PL also
'I will be your father and you will be my sons and my daughters' (Maká, 2 Corintians 6: 18)

(144)
'a-s-a'an *ja* *i-lis-a-'a-s-e'm*
2POS-PL-PRON PROSP 1SG.POS-son.PL-IRR-2-PL-APL
ti *a-s-ejnia-ye-'a-s-e'm,* *siu'neje* *ti* *ayijnie-sts'a-s-e'm*
? 2-PL-padre-IRR-2-PL-APL D.M? SUB ?
'You (pl.) will be my sons and my daughters and I (will be) your father' (Chorote, 2 Corinthians 6: 18)

(145)
a-'am *'yi-jejna-jwa-ki'-a'-m*
2POS-PRON 1POS-?-COMP-F-2-APL
'You (SG) are my (girl)friend' (Chorote, Drayson 1999)

'Weenhayek examples from Alvarsson & Claesson (2014: 446)

(146a)
'o-la-wuuk
1POS-3POS-boss
'I am his boss'

(146b)
'aa-la-wuk
2POS-3POS-boss
'You are his boss'

(146c)
la-wuuk
3POS-boss
'S/he is his boss'

(146d)
'o-la-wuuh-uyh
1POS-3POS-PL
'We (EXCL) are his boss'

(146e)
'inaa-la-wuh-uyh
1.INCL.POS-3POS-boss-PL
'We (INCL) are his boss'

According to Montani (c.p.), /k/ is frequently inserted in Wichí between the focus /-häp/, the irrealis /-hi/ and the future /-la/. This must also be the case in (147).

(147)
'o-hààp-q-hi-la *'a-jkyaayayh* *wet* *Ø-aam-ey*
1S-COP-?-IRR-FUT 2POS-father.PL and 2.PRON-PL
'aa-hàp-q-hi-la *'oo-les*
2S-COP-?-IRR-FUT 1POS-children
'I will be your (PL) father and you (PL) will be my children' ('Weenhayek, 2 Corinthians 6: 18)

As can be seen in (148) and in the second copula *-häp* in (149a), the future *-hila* appears segmented as *-hi…-la ~ -hi…-a*. The following excerpt from the first general descriptive grammar of Wichí may give us a first clue. Although not a professional linguist, the Anglican missionary Richard J. Hunt made a profound impact on subsequent research on this language. Writing about the future tense, he noticed that

"LA and its various forms LAK, LEK, LAME, AME are not quite so easily affixed as the particles of the past and present. It has to accommodate itself by change of form and position to different types of words and phrases, and in general an internal change has to be made with the verb itself […] it is inserted between verbal-stem and modifying particle as Yen **la** thi – will make […] I **la** no yej 'will be with me […] The common form of the future may be known by the presence of HI in the verb followed by the characteristic particle thus: … Yekche Go with – Oyek **hi la** am che I shall go with you" (Hunt 1949: 64, my emphasis AF.).

Nercesian (2014: 303) proposes the following analysis of a similar example in (148). The last morpheme of *a-häp-k-hi-hen-**a*** in (149a) is also the result of assimilation /*n-la*/ > [*n-na* > *n-a*].

(148)
atsinha-y *itsek-**hi**=hen-**la*** (> [itseʧiːhena])
woman-PL [3SUB]sew-FUT=PL-FUT
'The women will sew [the clothes]' (Wichí, Nercesian 2014: 303, my emphasis A.F.)

(149a)
o-häp-k-hila *Ø-am-el* *a-jcha* *wet* *Ø-am-el*
1S-COP-?-PL 2POS-PRON-PL 2POS-father and 2.POS-PRON-PL
a-häp-k-hi-hen-a *o-les* *tä* *hin'o-l* *lhäy'e*
2S-COP-?-IRR-PL-FUT 1POS-sons that man-PL and
tä *atsinha-y*
that woman-PL
'I will be your (PL) father and you (PL) will be my children male and female' (Wichí, 2 Corinthians 6: 18)

4.5. The hybrid forms *-fanif* 'to do; to act' and *-n-fanaf* 'to be treated'. Nivacle makes much use of two hybrid words who share nominal and verbal features. Like dependent nouns, they have obligatory possessive prefixes and can be preceded by a deictic classifier. Their suffixes, however, are entirely verbal. Their overall meaning is 'to do; to perform' without entailing concrete achievement or making. They form a pair in which *-fanif* is the centrifugal 'to do something to somebody or something' and *-n-fanaf* the centripetal member of the par (note the middle prefix *-n*) 'to be treated; to have something happen; to have a history'. Both words can be used either separately (149c, 149e, 149h, 149i, 159j) or in multi-verb constructions (149b, 194d, 194g).

1) *-fanif* 'to do; to perform an certain activity'

(149b)
ji-tʋʔjif *ti* *ɬ-fanif-ɬa-vat-f*
3S-know SUB_1 3POS-do-3-REF-INST
'S/he knows his/her (own) job'

(149c)
naɒ *tʔe* *pa* *kas-fanif-e-f*
what INF D.M 1INCL.POS-do-3-INST
'(Oh dear,) What have we done?'

(149d)
ta *tˀe* *a-faniʃ-e-ʃ-eɬ* *xaju*
what INF 2POS-do-3-INST-SAP.PL PROSP
na *kuvɒju* *ti* *ɬ-nuke-e-ʃ-eɬ*
D.M horse SUB_1 2A(3P)-untie-3-INST-SAP.PL
'Why on earth do you have to let loose this horse?'

(149e)
na-tvʔj-eɬ-kˀoja *ka-vɒ-ke* *ji-faniʃ-e-ʃ-eɬ-ʔa-m* *na*
2S-know-SAP.PL-PROLP D-PL-DEM 1POS-do-3-INST-SAP.PL-2-BEN just
'Do you (pl) understand what I have just done to you?'

(149f)
pa-ɬeʃ *ɬ-faniʃ-ʔa-ʃ* *xaju* *ti* *ji-kˀas-t-e-ʃ-ʔa-t-apė*
D.M-ANAPH 3POS-do-2-INST PROSP SUB_1 3A(3P)-split-CAUS-3-INST-2-REF-ON
'S/he will tear it (your shirt) out from you'

2) *-n-fanaʃ* 'to be treated'

(149g)
nɒ-ke *ɬa-n-fanaʃ* *ti* *ʧi-j-vɒm-xat-ʃaʔne*
D.M-DEM 3POS-MID-do SUB_1 IND.A-3A(3P)-disappear-CAUS-PL.O
'It (will) happen to you that they will destroy you'

(149h)
j-ei-xatsxan-e-ʃ-ʃaʔne *pa* *ɬa-n-fanaʃ* *ɬ-pa* *tvpxeʔ*
3A(3R)-name-CAUS-3-INST-PL.O D.M 3POS-MID-do F-D spear
'He taught them how to throw a spear'

(149i)
katsi-n-fanaʃ-xuɬ *xa-va* *taʃiɲʃ-ta-s*
1INCL-MID-do-REACT D-PL deer-SIM-PL
'They treat us like sheep'

(159j)
a-vaj-eɬ-e-m-xuɬ *pa-va* *ɬa-n-fanaʃ-kˀoja*
2S-be.on.this.side-SAP.PL-3-BEN-REACT D-PL 3POS-MID-do-PROLP
'Be on their side (against whatever danger approaching them)!'

5. Valency and agentivity.

5.1. Valency decreasing strategies.

5.1.1. Antipassive. There are three antipassive derivation markers, two of which *-xan and -xai*, are suffixes. The third marker, *vank(a)- ~ vankˀ(a)-*, is a prefix. The allomorphs ending in a vowel appear before consonants. It is not clear what triggers the glottalization of the plosive. Verbs which take the antipassive suffixes belong to the second conjugation. Those which take the antipassive prefix belong to the fourth conjugation. Examples (149k) illustrate derivations the basic intransitive verb $_{IV}$*-naxai* 'to have a bath/ to swim', of which (150-152) are causative derivations. In (153-154), the verb is made intransitive again by adding the antipassive prefix. The derivation chain is as follows: $_{IV}$*-naxai*

'to have a bath/to swim' => V-*naxai-an* 'to bath/to baptise/to make swim (causative)' => IV-*vanka-naxai-an* 'to bathe/baptise/to make swim (antipassive)'. Note that an antipassive marker cannot erase a causative because it targets *any* transitive verb, irrespective of whether it is causative or not.

(149k)
va-nai
3S-have.a.bath/swim
'S/he has/had a bath/swims/swam'

(150)
ji-na-xajan	*na*	*ɬ-ɒs*
3A(3P)-take.a.bath-CAUS	D.M	3POS-son

'S/he bathes his/her son'

(151)
kˀa-na-xajan-ʃ-eɬ	*pa*	*jinv̊t*
1A(2P)-take.a.bath-CAUS-INST-SAP.PL	D.M	water

'I wash/baptise you-pl with water'

(152)
xa-na-xajan-e-ʃ-ɬˀe-en	*ti*	*xa-na-xajan-ɬˀe*
1A(3P)-take.a.bath-CAUS-3-INST-LONG-INT	SUB_1	1A(3P)-take.a.bath-CAUS-LONG

'I keep on watering it (my garden)'

(153)
pa	*ta*	*tˀe*	*ti*	*ɬa-**vanka**-na-xajan*?
and	what	INF	SUB_1	2S-ANTIPAS-take.a.bath-CAUS

'Why do you baptise people? (John 1: 25) [IV-*naxai* 'to have a bath' => V-*naxai-an* 'to bath/baptise (causative)' => IV-*vanka-naxai-an* 'to bathe/baptise (antipassive)'

(154)
*ji-**vanka**-na-xajan-e-ʃ*	*pa*	*jinv̊t*
1S-ANTIPAS-take.a.bath-CAUS-3-INST	D.M	water

'I baptise people with water' (John 1: 26)

The verb 'to see' appears twice in (155). First, it appears in intransitive use with the antipassive suffix *-ɬai*. This is a canonical example of the function of the antipassive as an object erasing device. Depending on the context, it could be translated as 'I see (i.e. I am not blind, my eyes are open or I can see in the dark)' or 'I have a vision'. Because the second occurrence of the verb has a specific object, it must be appear in its original transitive use (*xa-ʔvan* 'I see' cannot be used intransitively). (156) and (157a) show that the antipassive is compatible with the presence of an object (as a third person instrumental). The difference between the intransitive (antipassive) II-*ʔvan-ɬai* and its transitive counterpart V-*ʔvan* is that the prefix of the former can hold a single argument – the subject – whereas the latter takes two arguments – subject and object.[82] Instead of erasing the object, the antipassive in those two examples only demotes the object. In (156) the brutality is quite palpable, but it is perceived by the subject as multiple tokens of brutal actions, which can serve as testimony.

[82] The fact that the hierarchical rule ousts the lower (here object) argument is irrelevant, and the prefix slot remains biargumental.

In (157a) the effect of the antipassive is slightly different, since the second occurrence of 'to see' is a canonical transitive. The negative predicate is followed by an unspecified object [*ka-vɒ-ke ɬ-xunaʃ*]$_{NP}$ 'such things', whose referent is a non-existent entity. This 'failed' object is cross-referenced in the first verb as a third person instrumental applicative. However, the spokesperson of the group focuses on a real, but completely new visual experience, expressed by the same verb in its canonical transitive use (last word of the example).

(155)
*xai-ʔvan-**ʧai*** *pa* *xa-ʔvan* *xa* *ɬ-kånvakle*
1S-see-ANTIPAS and 1A(3P)-see D.M 3POS-Lord
'I fell into a trance and saw the Lord' (Acts 22: 17-18)

(156)
*xai-ʔvan-**ʧai**-e-ʃ* *xa* *ɬ-kan-klɒn-ijaʃ*
1S-see-ANTIPAS-3-INST D.M 3POS-kill/strike-NMLZ
'I saw (i.e. witnessed repeatedly) their brutality'

(157a)
ni-Ø-veɬe-e-ʃ *ka* *ji-ʔvan-**ʧai**-e-ʃ-eɬ*
NEG-3S.IRR-be.one-3-INST SUB_2 1S.IRR-see-ANTIPAS-3-INST-SAP.PL
ka-vɒ-ke *ɬ-xunaʃ* *ti* *xa-ʔvan-eɬ*
[D-PL-DEM 3POS-likeness] SUB_1 1A(3P)-see-SAP.PL
'We (excl.) have never seen (witnessed) such a thing as we saw'

(157b)
ʃta-kɒxija-n *nɒ-ke* *ne-klɒ̊ts-iʧ*
1INC(3P)-be.yellow/green-CAUS D.M-DEM 3S-hoe-NMLZ.RESULT
'We sow this maize'

(157c)
nɒ-ke *ʃta-kɒxija-n-**xan**-ʔe* *xaju*
D.M-DEM 1INC.S-be.yellow/green-CAUS-ANTIPAS-PROX POSP
'Here shall we sow'

(157d)
*ni-nat-kɒxija-n-**xan**-ʃi* *pa* *klo̊p*
NEG-3S.IRR-be.yellow/green-CAUS-ANTIPAS-INH D.M winter
'S/he doesn't sow during winter-time'

(157e)
ni-n-kaku *pa* *fitsɒkˀɒjiʧ*
NEG-3A(P).IRR-doubt D.M God
'S/he believes in God'

(157f)
*ni-nat-kaku-**xan**-e-ʃ-klė*
NEG-3S.IRR-doubt-ANTIPAS-3-INST-DIM
'S/he didn't hesitate about it for a moment'

5.1.2. Middle constructions. In the introduction of her pioneering work on the middle voice, Kemmer (1993: 2) writes that "Perhaps because of the disparate nature of the kinds of phenomena to which the term 'middle' has been applied, this term has in recent literature often been replaced by other terms which tend to stress the relation of the constructions described to other linguistic categories. Some terms that have been employed by various writers for various subsets of the phenomena illustrated above are: 'medio-passive'. 'quasi-reflexive', 'pseudo-reflexive', 'neuter' (usually in its French form 'neutre'), 'patient-subject construction' and 'deponent'". Creissels (2006, 2: 35) states more bluntly that "[…] any verbal form which can be described as reflexive, reciprocal, autocausative, decausative or autobenefactive should be considered – at least partially - as an instantiation of middle voice".[83]

It will be seen shortly that Nivacle has five such prefixes (*n-, vat-, tat-, tan-* and *van-*) and seven suffixes (*-vat, -vaʔne ~ -vʔne, -vat-ai, -vat-am, -vat-ʃ, -v,* and *-t*) albeit the latter appear to be shortened or enlarged variations of one basic form *-vat,* which itself is identical to one of the prefixed forms.

Morphology:
(1) One-form middle systems [most frequent]
(2) Two forms [heavy vs. light, cf. Slavic sebe/ -sja]
(3) Two forms but they are morphologically and historically distinct [Latin se / -r]
(4) Intermediate type [only one part is common, cf. Dutch zich/ zichzelf]

5.1.2.1. **Anticausative**.

(1) About twenty anticausative verbs have a distinct morphology as well as an ergative-absolutive alignment, which sets them apart from the other verbs belonging to the same conjugation (the second), where alignment is accusative. These anticausatives verbs are derived from other verbs or nouns by adding the middle prefix *n-* as well as the suffix *-ʧai ~ -xai,* whose first allomorph is homophonous with the antipassive we saw in the last paragraph.[84]

(158) [SUB]$_{II}$-*eklets* 'to jump; to attack' (basic intransitive, second conjugation) => *-n-eklets-xai* 'to be assaulted'[85]

xaji-n-eklets-xai
1S-ANTICAUS$_1$-jump-ANTICAUS$_2$
'I was assaulted'

(159)
-ei 'name' => *-n-ei-xai* 'to be famous'
-ʧʔan 'to hear (basic transitive, fifth conjugation) => *-n-ʧʔan-xai* 'to be listened to; to be a/the boss'
-klɒvaɬ 'to look; to watch' (basic transitive, fifth conjugation) => *-n-klɒvaɬ-ʧai* 'to be watched'

[83] « Une utilisation cohérente de la terminologie devrait conduire à reconnaître comme relevant au moins partiellement de la notion de voix moyenne toute marque morphologique dont la présence dans une forme verbale caractérise cette forme comme apte à exprimer une variété de significations qui dans le détail peuvent relever de l'un des types suivants : réfléchi (de l'objet ou du datif), réciproque, autocausatif, décausatif, autobénéfactif » (Creissels 2006, 2 : 35).
[84] For a list of these verbs see Fabre (2016: 263). Note that the antipassive has only one allomorph /-ʧai/. When this suffix is anticausative it has the allomorphs /-xai/ in certain cases (notably after the affricate /ts/) and /-kai/. The distributions of these allomorphs is not clear.
[85] The Roman number preceding certain roots refers to the verb's conjugation. Note that for example in (158), [SUB] marks (syntactic) subject. Obvioisly this does not correspond to the semantic role of Patient this subject assumes.

(2) Another subgroup of such anticausatives, all of which end in a vowel, have the suffix *-i* instead of *-ʧai ~ -xai ~ -kai*. Note that some verbs ending in a vowel take the last mentioned suffix. I found only six examples in my corpus:

(160)
-kɒfa 'enemy', *-kɒfa-ʧi* 'to hate' (basic transitive, fifth conjugation) => *-n-kɒfa-i* 'to be hated'
-kɒnta 'hate' => *-n-kɒnta-i* 'to be hated'
-ei 'name' => *-n-e̊i-Ø* (← *-n-e̊i-i/*) 'to be informed; to know'

Note that these examples cannot be considered as passives. All passive constructions demote the subject, agent of causation, and promote the original patient as the new subject. Some languages allow the demoted agent to be maintained as an adjunct. This is impossible in Nivacle. Although (161) might be considered as a viable agentive passive construction, this is the only one I ever met in Nivacle. Moreover, should we wish to analyse the first person benefactive as an agent, we would have to consider that the roles of Experiencer and Agent can be conflated.

(161)
ta-n-xovaj-i-ja-m
3S-ANTICAUS$_1$-fear-ANTICAUS$_2$-1-BEN
'He is/was much feared, I think'
?* 'He is/was feared by me'

Maká has a similar construction but instead of anticausative prefix there is a devoted suffix, which Gerzenstein (1995: 115) calls 'passive or indefinite agent'. Just like in Nivacle, the presence of this suffix triggers a change of conjugation type. Interestingly, of the eight different conjugations of Maká, this language picks up the one that corresponds exactly to Nivacle.[86]

(162a)
*hay-xayan-**hetii**-pham-kii*
1S-accompany-IND.A-UP-INT
'I am being persecuted (by someone)' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1995: 115)[87]

(162b)
*te-ɬin-**hetii*** *n-e'* *efu*
3S-save-IND.A D-F woman
'The woman was saved' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1995: 115)

(162c)
p-a' *Felipe* *qa* *te-'wen-**heti**'-yi'* *pa'aj* *wi-tset* *Azoto*
D-M Phillip and 3S-see-IND.A-IRR long.ago IND.POS-village Azotus
'Philip appeared (= was seen) in a city called Azotus' (Maká, Acts 8: 40)[88]

[86] Maká, conj. 1 (realis): *hVy-, ɬ(V)-, t(V)-, xit(V)-* / (irrealis): *hVy-, (V)-, nVt-, xint(V)-* ~ Nivacle: Table 2 under § 4.1.
[87] I guess the intensive suffix triggers the change of meaning from 'to accompany' (basic transitive, conj. 6) > 'to be hounded'.
[88] The somewhat unexpected presence of the irrealis suffix may be due to Phillip being seen first around the city.

(162d)
*qa qu' ne't-'wen-**hetii**-tax hatse' h-a' Cristo* hi-kha' in-iła'x
and SUB 3S.IRR-see-IND.A-CON soon D-M Christ REL? 1INC-life
'And when Christ, who is our life, comes again…' (Maká, Colossians 3: 4)

(162e)
*ma' qa e-khewel-i'ɬ qa' e-'wen-**hetii**-ji-i'ɬ-ek hatse'*
but? and 2POS-PRON-SAP.PL SUB 2S.IRR-see-IND.A-IRR-SAP.PL-PART soon
*qa' week e-'wen-**heti'**-yi'-ɬ ha-kha'an p-a' qi łesa'x*
SUB all 2S.IRR-see-IND.A-IRR-SAP.PL M-PRON D-M 3.be.big glory?
''Then you too will appear (and all will be) with him in glory' (Maká, Colossians 3: 4)[89]

The situation in Wichí and Chorote is more akin to Nivacle than to Maká. Indefinite subject is marked with the prefix *to- ~ ti-* in Wichí. This marker is homophonous with that of the first person inclusive, but the corresponding exclusive prefix is *no-* (identical with the first person singular) + *-hen* (plural suffix). The same indefinite marker is also used with dependent nouns when no possessor is indicated (i.e. a/the leg' vs. his/her leg). Interestingly, there is only one possessive marker for the first person plural in Wichí, *ła-*. However, the 'Weenhayek variety always makes the distinction: *no(o)-* 'indefinite subject' (162g) or indefinite possessor (162h), *ʔo(o)-* 'first person exclusive' with both nouns (162l) and verbs (162j)[90] vs. *łaa-* and *ʔijaa-* 'first person inclusive' resp. for nouns (162m) and verbs (162k).

(162f)
***ti**-potsin-ʧe niyokw*
IND.S-prepare-APL rope
'The rope is being prepared' (Wichí, Nercesian 2014: 379)

(162g)
***'no**-tujw*
IND.SUBJ-eat
'Somebody eats/ They (generic) eat'

(162h)
***'noo**-ky'ila'*
IND.POSS-elder.brother
'Elder brother' ('Weenhayek)

(162i)
'o-mà'
1S-sleep
'I sleep'

(162j)
'o-màà-hen'
1S(EXCL)-sleep-PL
'We (excl) sleep'

(162k)
'iyaa-mà-hen'
1S.INCL-sleep-PL
'We (incl.) sleep' ('Weenhayek)

(162l)
'oo-qa-honhat
1POS(EXCL)-POS.CL-land
'Our land'

(162m)
lhaa-qa-honhat
1POS.INCL-POS.CL-land
'Our land' ('Weenhayek)

Although Chorote does not contrast inclusive and exclusive, this language has an impersonal subject prefix *ti- ~ ta- ~t-* which combines with a plural suffix *-a(x) ~ -Vk*. It also has an indefinite possessor

[89] Gerzenstein (1995: 225) writes that *-ek ~ -ik* is a masculine participle, adding that this marker is used with the indefinite possessor prefix *wit(i)-, which can be preceded by a person prefix: -opheł 'to bind'* ➔ *wit-olheł-ik 'bound'* ➔ *ye-wit-opheł-ik* 'I am bound (I am a prisoner)'. As the example from the Colossians shows, the indefinite possessor prefix is not always necessary. The literal (and tautological) meaning would be something like 'you too will soon be ones who are seen and so that all of you will be seen'.

[90] Note that verbs add a plural suffix.

prefix *in-* (Carol 2014: 189). As can be seen, Mataguayo languages display variants of a common general pattern.

Nivacle	*vat(a)-* ~ *vatˀ(a)-* 'indefinite possessor'
	tin- ~ *tn-* 'indefinite possessor' [rare]
	n(i)- 'indefinite possessor' [rare]
Maká	*wit-* 'indefinite possessor'
	n- 'indefinite possessor' [rare]
	-hetii 'indefinite subject suffix'
	i(n)- 'first person inclusive possessor'
Chorote	*ti-* ~ *ta-* ~ *t-* 'indefinite subject'
	in- 'indefinite possessor'
Wichí	*to-* ~ *ti-* 'indefinite possessor', 'indefinite subject', 'first person inclusive subject'
	no- 'indefinite possessor' (in some varieties of NW, Rodrigo Montani, c.p.)
	ina- 'first person inclusive' (in some varieties of NW Argentina, Rodrigo Montani, c.p.)
'Weenhayek	*ʔno(o)-* 'indefinite possessor', 'indefinite subject'
	ʔinaa- 'first person inclusive subject' [with some verbs]

If we turn our attention to Toba (Guaykuruan), the situation is partly different. Like in Mataguayo languages, an dependent noun can occur with the unknown/indefinite possessor prefix *n-* (162o). Note however that this suffix is identical to the third person possessor prefix used with non-obligatory possessed nouns (162p).

(162n)	(162o)	(162p)
l-aqayk	***n-aqayk***	*n-epe*
3POS-head	IND.POS-head	3POS-forehead
'His/Her head'	'(A) Head'	'His/Her forehead' (Toba)

As for verbs, there is a three-way distinction: 1+2, i.e. *h-* 'singular' vs. *h-…-q* 'group' vs. *qaw-* 'restricted group'. The combination 1+3 opposes only two forms: *h-* 'singular' vs. *qad-* 'plural' (Carpio 2012: 103). The strategy used in Toba and Nivacle to mark indefinite subjects is strikingly alike. Both languages prefix an indefinite subject marker to a third person person prefix (162r). Contrast with the Nivacle examples in (204) and (206a) under § 5.1.3.

Interestingly, Carpio (2012: 124) notes that the third subject index *n-* is generaly used with verbs whose agent is somewhat affected (experiencers). The verbs (Type II) included in the examples provided by Carpio (2012: 124-128) show that almost all appear to be unaccusatives. Somewhat unexpectedly, the verb 'to clip' is used with the same person index in (162q), which must be bivalent. This may be however be accidental and Buckwalter & Buckwalter's Toba dictionary (2001) lists that many transitive verbs such as 'to call', 'to untie', 'to search', 'to accuse', etc, pertain to the same type.[91] Since the distributional criteria of verbs into different classes defined by the type of personal

[91] Because there are no infinitives in Toba, verbs are conveniently listed with the third person prefix, which indicates the conjugation type (here third person *n-*). Sandalo (1997: 48) claims that in Kadiwéu the third person *n-* is used only with unergative verbs.

indexes they take are not quite clear, it may be simply the case that the indefinite subject prefix does not affect the third person marker it preceeds. Other examples appear to support this hypothesis. Referring to the deictic classifiers, Messineo (2003: 147-160) notes that different entities have a certain canonical (neutral) position: people and trees are conceptualised as 'vertical/standing' but animals and houses are perceived as 'sitting'. This explains *da'* for the man in (162q) and *ñi* for the horse in (162q) and (162r).

(162q)

da'-me	*n-ohotek*	*ñi*	*pegak*
D.M.STANDING-DEM	3A-clip	D.M.SITTING	horse

'He clipped the horse' (Toba, adapted from Carpio 2012: 136)

(162r)

qo-n-*hotek*	*ñi*	*pegak*
IND.SUBJ-3A-clip	D.M.SITTING	horse

'The horse was clipped/ Someone clipped the horse' (Toba, adapted from Carpio 2012: 136)

The other Southern Guaykuruan languages behave in a similar way: the indefinite agent is *qa-* in Mocoví (Grondona 1998: 126) and *qo-* in Pilagá (Vidal 2001: 147). Both are followed by the usual personal marker indicating the agent.

Kadiwéu (Northern Guaykuruan) has a different (and optional) indefinite agent marker, *eti-*, also followed by a person marker (Sandalo 1997: 48). Particulary puzzling is the almost perfect identity between the Kadiwéu prefix *eti-* and the Maká suffix *-hetii* above in (162a-e). In Sandalo's only example *eti-* is followed by a second person object. This is well documented in Nivacle too in all persons (S/A/P).

The term 'impersonal passive' is sometimes used for (morphological) passives like those of Finnish, where no NP or pronoun in Agent role can appear, with the exception of the first person plural (163c) which can be used as a colloquial alternative for the corresponding verb with the (non-passive) first person plural suffix (163d).[92] It is also possible to use an object NP or pronoun in the accusative (163e) or partitive (163f) case.[93] As example (163g) shows, Finnish can indeed add an Agent, but this strategy is not particularly frequent. Finnish passives can be derived from transitives or intransitive verbs alike.

The Nivacle and Finnish constructions are strikingly different, either as 'impersonal passive' or 'indefinite Agent constructions' (§ 5.1.5). The most obvious difference is that whereas the Finnish verb argument marker has only one form (vowel lengthening + *n*), which represents the indefinite Agent, the Nivacle anticausative prefix can combine with all four persons (158, 161). As for the Nivacle indefinite subject maker *ɬi-*, as will be seen in §5.1.3, it does not erase the Agent prefix (204, 206a).

[92] In such a context, an NP or pronoun typically represents an object: *talo rakenn-ett-i-:n* (house-NOM build-PASS-PAST-PASS.PERS) 'the house was built', *talo-a rakenn-ett-i-:n* (house-PART build-PASS-PAST-PASS.PERS) 'the house was being built'. See also (163e-g).

[93] In these examples, PASS.PERS glosses the only available person marking, where /:/ marks the lengthening of the preceding vowel. For a detailed presentation of the complex problems related to the Finnish impersonal/passive constructions, see Hakulinen et al. (2004: 137-139; 1253-1281). Note that the accusative case (*-t*) is only used with personal pronouns. The marking of objects is a very complex in Finnish, which can involve four different morphological cases: nominative, genitive, partitive, and accusative, the latter being only used with personal pronouns.

(163a)
näh-dä-:n
see-PASS.PRES-PASS.PERS
'People see' (not *[Someone] is being seen)[94]
'See you later!'

(163b)
*näh-t-i-:*n
see-PASS-PAST-PASS.PERS
'One saw' (*[Someone] was seen)

(163c)
me näh-dä-:n ~
we see-PASS.PRES-PASS.PERS
'We see'

(163d)
(me) näe-mme
(we) see-1PERS.PL

(163e)
sinu-t näh-t-i-:n
1PRON.SG-ACC see-PASS-PAST-PASS.PERS
'You were seen/ Somebody saw you/ (Colloquial:) We saw you'

(163f)
sinu-a tarkkail-la-:n
2PRON.SG-PART watch-PASS.PRES-PASS.PERS
'You are being watched'

(163g)
häne-t kanne-tt-i-:n kahde-n miehe-n voim-in
3PRON-ACC carry-PASS-PAST-PASS.PERS two-GEN man-GEN strength-INST
'S/he was carried by two men/ Two men were needed to carry him/her' (the last word may also be in the adessive case: *voima-lla* 'strength-ADESS')

In Finnish, the derivation suffixes *-U-, -tU, -UtU and -VntU* can also be used as passives.[95] However, they can also be reflexives or anticausatives. Indeed, this is not always easy to distinguish between those different readings. U-passives may express a (mostly non-human) agent or causer, which is marked in an oblique case (164c). Unlike the impersonal passives, the U-suffixes combine with all personal forms of the verb. Another difference is that impersonal passives suppose a human agent (164a) whereas there is no such restriction with U-passives (164b) (Hakulinen et al. 2004: 1278-1280; Koivisto 1991; Kulonen-Korhonen 1985).

(164a)
ovi ava-tt-i-:n
door open-PASS-PAST-PASS.PERS
'The door opened'
(Somebody opened the door)

(164b)
ovi ava-utu-i
door open-PASS-3.PAST
'The door opened'
(somebody or a gust of wind opened it
or: it opened itself, automatically)

[95] Because of vowel harmony upper case U stands for the alternation between back vowels /u/ and /y/.

(164c)
yllät-y-i-t-kö *(asia-sta)?*
surprise-PASS-PAST-2.SG-WH (fact-ELAT)
'Were you surprised (by that)?'

Probably because their connections with anticausatives, the Finnish U-forms come quite near the Nivacle anticausative example presented above (158). The cognate personal passive is very well attested in Saami languages (Nickel 1990: 225-227; Sammallahti 1998: 84-85), and the reconstructed **u* marker as a passive/reflexive can be traced back at least to the Finno-Ugric protolanguage. For a comparative view of this suffix in Ob-Ugrian languages see Kulonen (1989).

Ambrazas et al. (2006: 232) give the following pair of similar Lithuanian examples of converse reflexives (164d-e). Here again we can see a connection between reflexive and passive/anticausative, where the use of the reflexive would correspond to the Finnish U-forms (164f-g) and Nivacle *n-* in the anticausatives (158) and (160).

(164d)
ežer-as *at-spiñd-i* *dañg-ų*
lake-NOM back-radiate-3SG/PL.PRES sky-ACC
'The lake reflects the sky' (Lithuanian; Ambrazas 2006: 232; segmentation and glosses AF)

(164e)
dang-ùs *at-si-spiñd-i* *ežer-è*
sky-NOM back-REF-radiate-3SG/PL.PRES lake-LOC
'The sky is reflected in the lake' (Lithuanian; Ambrazas 2006: 232; segmentation and glosses AF)

(164f)
järvi *heijasta-:* *taivas-ta*
lake-NOM reflect-3SG sky-PARTITIVE (one of the object cases)
'The lake reflects the sky' (Finnish, own translation of Lithuanian 164d)

(164g)
taivas *heijast-u-:* *järve-:n* ~ *järve-stä*
sky-NOM reflect-PASS-3SG lake-ILLATIVE ~ lake-ELATIVE
'The sky is reflected in the lake' (Finnish, own translation of Lithuanian 164e)[96]

5.1.2.2. The *n-* prefix. The polyfunctional prefix *n-* represents three different markers: a) middle b) reflexive-reciprocal, and c) cislocative. Since they are also semantically related, I assume polysemy is involved rather than casual homophony. This is important, because *n-* is also a (non-related) irrealis prefix, with which the first mentioned three morphemes must not be confounded. For example, in (165) *n-* is the irrealis prefix, which corresponds to the realis *ji-* in (166). In what follows, middle and reflexive-reciprocal will be treated under 5.1.4.

[96] Illative and elative are internal locative cases in Finnish. Here the illative describes an activity directed into the lake and the elative depicts one originating from the opposite direction, out of the lake. Although both options are possible here, on most cases they are not interchangeable.

(165)
Ø-ampa *ka* *n-xut-e-i*
3S-be.inexistant SUB_2 3A(3P).IRR-give-3-DIST
'S/he doesn't/ didn't give him/her/them anything'

(166)
ji-xut-e-i
3A(3P)-give-3-DIST
'S/he gives/gave it to him/her/them'

In what follows, none of the *n-* prefixes will be an instantiation of the irrealis morpheme. In the first set of examples (167b, 167d, 168a-e) *n-* represents the cislocative. This prefix indicates directionality towards a reference point which often corresponds, but not necessarily, to the subject. Directionality may be physical (167a-d) or fictitious (168a-e).

(167a)
x-am
1S-move.away
'I go/went'

(167b)
xa-n-am
1S-CISL-move.away
'I come/came'

(167c)
ɬ-am
2S-move.away
'You-sg go/went'

(167d)
ɬa-n-am
2S-CISL-move.away
'You-sg come/came (to my place)'

(168a)
Ø-ni$_j$-xut-eɬ-ʔa$_j$-m ~ *Ø-ni$_j$-xut-eɬ-ʔa$_j$-i*
3A(3P)-CISL-give-SAP.PL-2-BEN 3A(3P)-CISL-give-SAP.PL-2-DIST
'S/he gives/gave it to you-pl'

(168b)
ʧi-Ø-n$_j$-xut-e$_j$-m
IND.A-3A(3P)-CISL-give-3-BEN
'Someone gives/gave it to him/her/them'

(168c)
na-a-n$_j$-xut-ji$_j$-(i) pa inɒ̰t
NEG-2A(3P).IRR-CISL-give-1(-DIST) D.M water
'You-sg don't/didn't give/gave me water'[97]

(168d)
xa-n$_j$-ʧen-ʔa$_j$-i
3A-CISL-send-2-DIST
'I send it to you'

[97] The combination of the first person suffix *-ji* with the distal applicative *-i* shows up as *-ji*.

(168e)
Ø-n-ovaɬ-ji ~ *ts-ovaɬ*
3A-CISL-see-1 (3A)1P-see
'S/he sees/saw me'

In (169a) *n-* is reflexive. For more examples see next section (§ 5.1.4)

(169b) [reflexive]
xa-n-eixatsxan-e-ʃ *ka* *nivakle* *ɬ-kl̓ʃ*
1S-REF-teach-3-INST D.M Nivacle 3POS-language
'I study (teach myself) the Nivacle language'

(169c) [not reflexive]
kˀ-eixatxan-e-ʃ *ka* *nivakle* *ɬ-kl̓ʃ*
1A(3R)-teach-3-INST D.M Nivacle 3POS-language
'I teach him/her the Nivacle language'

(169d) [not reflexive]
ʧi-tsˀ-eixatxan-ʔe *nʊ-ke* *Filadelfia*
IND.A-(A3)1R-teach-PROX D.M-DEM Filadelfia
'I went to school here in Filadelfia' (As narrated in Filadelfia: people taught me here)

5.1.2.3. Reflexive and reciprocal. Reflexive and reciprocal are expressed with the same markers. A special reciprocal construction is available, but its frequency is rather low.

Reflexive-reciprocal markers appear (1) between the personal prefix and the root of the verb or (2) suffixed. In the first case, the markers are *vat-, van-, tan-, tat-* or *n-*, whereas in the latter case, they are *-vat* (followed by *-ai* 'distal, *-am* 'benefactive' *or -ʃ* 'instrumental), *-t-* (followed by *-ai* 'distal' or *-am* 'benefactive'), and *v-* (followed by *-ai* 'distal', *ʔakfi* 'under', *-am* 'benefactive', *-kop* 'beside', and *-kˀoja* 'proleptic/anticipated ventive'). The use of reflexive-reciprocal prefixes or suffixes, as well as that of their allomorphs appears to be mostly lexicalised. The choice of the prefixes or suffixes appears to be lexicalised.

5.1.2.3.1. Reflexive and reciprocal prefixes

There are five reflexive and reciprocal prefixes: *vat-, van-, n-, tan-, tat-*. Remember that the prefix *n-* is polyfunctional can also be cislocative, in which case it indicates movement.

REFLEXIVE-RECIPROCAL PREFIXES	
n-	116
vat-	87
tat-	22
tan-	20
van-	7
t(a)-	very few

Table 14. Number of verbs bearing reflexive/reciprocal prefixes (cislocative excluded)

The following six pages give examples of reflexive/reciprocal verbs distributed among some semantic types (170a-184). They are illustrated in (170b, 171a-e, 172a-c, 185-189).

1) Verbs of grooming/body care (reflexives)

(170a)
IV-***n***-*in* 'to make up; to paint oneself' (< V-*in* 'to paint')
IV-***n***-*is* 'to mark oneself; to tattoo' (< V-*is* 'to mark')
IV-***vat***-*klɛ̊ʃ* 'to wash (oneself)'
IV-***vat***-*pˀaklan* 'to smear oneself'
II-*axa*-***vat***-*xuł* 'to fold one's arms or hands' (lit. to have extended [the arms/hands] towards one another' - i.e. reciprocal suffix < II-*axai* 'to touch; to extend')
IV-***vat***-*is*-*inat* ~ IV-***vat***-*is*-*ijan* 'to embellish; to trim' (V-*is*-*inat* 'to embellish' < I-*is* 'to be good')
IV-***van***-*kˀɒ*-*kleʃ* 'to wipe one's bottom' (N -*kˀɒ* 'bottom; asshole', V -*klɛ̊ʃ* 'to scrub; to wash')
IV-***tat***-*kasis* 'to scratch one's head'
IV-***tat***-*kafɒm* 'to have one's guts coming out'(< V-*n*-*kafɒ̊m* 'to disembowel; to operate on')
IV-***tat***-*klan*-*ʔe* 'to get rid of'
IV-***ta***-*nisxakleʃ* 'to scratch oneself' (< V-*nisxakleʃ* 'to scratch')

(170b)

Ø-*is*-*xop*	*ka*	*ni*-***vå̊t***-*kleʃ*	*xaju*	*ła*-*vå̊ʃa*	
3S-be.good-PURP	SUB_2	3S.IRR-REF-wash	PROSP	3POS-PRON	
pa	*łeʃeʃ*	*Ø*-***vat***-*is*-*ijan*	*xaju*		
and	then	3S-REF-be.good-CAUS	PROSP		

'S/he should wash himself and then s/he will be clean'

Verbs of grooming/body care without reflexive marker

(171a)
IV-*kˀas* 'to scratch oneself'
IV-v*ɒ̊mkɒ* 'to wash (oneself or hands)'
IV-*ɟˀakl*-*e*-*i* 'extract a thorn from one's body'
III-*ntaxɒ*-*ła* 'to blow one's nose' (< N -*nxaɒʔ* 'moco' + VBLZ -*ła*)
V-*klɛ̊ʃ* + body-part name (transitive)
V-*vokˀa*-*xat* + APL + body-part name (transitive, causative) 'to shear; to shave'
V-t*ˀovos* + APL + body-part name (transitive) 'to cut'

(171b)
Ø-vɒmkɒ-xiʔ-ʃaʔne-ʔen *(tsʔivɛ̊)*
3S-wash-INH-PL.O-INT (PL)
'They wash(ed)'

(171c)
ji-klɛ̊ʃ-ʃaʔne *xa-va* *ła-fo-k*
3A(3P)-wash-PL.O D-PL 3POS-foot-PL
'S/he washed his/her feet'

(171d)
ni-n-vɒ̊mkɒ-xop *ti* *(t-)tsaxkun*
NEG-3S.IRR-wash-PURP SUB_1 3S-eat
'S/he does not/did not wash (his/her hands) (be)for(e) eating'

(171e)
ji-vokʔa-xat-ʧʔe *Ø-łakɒmʔa* *xa* *ɬ-ʃateʧ*
3A(3P)-have.short.hair-CAUS-LONG 3S-be.all D.M 3POS-head
pa *ji-tʔovos-ʧʔe* *pa-va* *ɬ-pɒse-i*
and 3A(3P)-cut-LONG D-PL 3POS-beard-PL
'He shaved his head and cut his beard'

2) Nontransational motion (stretch, turn, bow…No change in overall position) and change in body posture (lay down, sit down, stand up, kneeling…). Note that in Nivacle most state verbs (including body posture and emotion verbs) also have inchoative readings. Nonetheless some verbs are semantically or lexically inchoatives. Otherwise inchoativity can be expressed by means of adverbs (172a) or multi-verb constructions (172c).

(172a)
xa-mɒʔ
1S-sleep
a. 'I sleep/slept'
b. 'I fell asleep'

(172b)
eʃei *ti* *xa-mɒʔ*
at.least SUB_1 1S-sleep
'I fell asleep'

(172c)
Ø-tɒɬ-e-ʃ-ʃam *ka* *n-vankʔ-is-xajan-ʃaʔne*
3S-come-3-INST-THROUGH SUB_2 3A.IRR-ANTIP-write-CAUS-O.PL
'He began teaching them (how to write)' (lit. it-had-its-origin-in that he-made-them-write)

(173) Nontransitional motion and change in body posture or appearance
IV-***n***-*akpʔasis* ~ *-n-apkʔasis* 'to lie/be lying face down' (< V-*akpʔasɨ̊s* 'to put to bed face down')
IV-***n***-*axai* 'to stretch one's arms' (< III-*axai* ~ *-axɒi* 'to be tied')
IV-***n****a-łuvu-jan* 'to get fat' (< III-*łavu-n* 'to be fat' < N ła-vů̊n 'his/her/its flesh')
III-***n***-*kafu-n* 'to be pale; to be weak' (< I-*kafɒf* 'to be skinny; to be flat [ball, tyre, etc.]'
V-***n***-*kafu-n-xat* 'to weaken (make one become weak)'
IV-***n***-*uʔ-xaʔne* 'to squat/be squatting'
IV-***n***-*tå̊kfek(l-)* 'to sit with folded legs'
IV-***tat***-*kɔ̊s-ʃam* 'to withdraw; to shrink one's legs'
IV-***tat***-*kɒi* 'to unload (from one's back)' (+ *-e-ʃ* = object)

IV-***tat***-*vai-ʧˀaklax* ‘to turn; to convert oneself’ (< V-*n-vai-ʧˀaklax* ‘to turn [tr.] < II-vai ’to be on this side’)
IV-***tan***-*ɒsʧˀaklax* ‘to streach (oneself); to twist’
IV-***van***-*tsɒt-xat* ‘to straighten up’ (< III-*tsɒtˀax* ‘to be straight; to have a right’)
IV-***van***-*kˀakxo* ‘to wallow’ (< N *kˀakxo* ‘tatú bolita’)
II-***vat***-*kˀɒn-e-ʃ-a kotsxåt* ‘to throw onelf down’ (IV-*vat-kˀɒn-ʔin* ‘to get knocked’)

(173a)

Ø-vat-*kˀɒn-e-ʃ-ʔe-kʔoja*	*kotsxåt*	*xa*	*tanuk*	*ɬ-xa*	*ʧaxaninɒxɒ*
3S-REF-strike-3-INST-PROX-PROLP	ground	D.M	cat	F-D	eagle

‘The cat was crawling on the ground in order to catch the eagle’

(174) Nontransitional motion and change in body posture or appearance without reflexive marker
II-*aʔvuj-ʃiʧam* ‘to squat’ (< II-*aʔvuj*+APL ‘bend’, + $DOWN_2$)
II-*aʔvuj-ʧˀe* ‘to nod (head) (+ LONG)’
II-*aʔvuj-ʧiʃam* ‘to rise; sit up strait’ (+ UP)
II-*akxatsui-ʃiʧam* ‘to kneel’ (< N *-akxatsui* ‘knees’ [SG *-kxů* ‘knee’] + $DOWN_2$)
IV-*iʔ-ʃaʔne* ‘to sit (sit down or be seated)’ (‘be.located’ + $DOWN_1$)
V-*sikis-ʧˀe* POS-*pɒse-i* ‘to shave’ (‘to scrape/scale a fish’ + LONG + beard)
-xoʔ-xaʔne ‘to lay’ (+ $DOWN_1$)
II-*akoi-ʃiʧam* ‘to lie/be lying face down’ (< N *-ako* ‘face; side’, V II-*ako-i* ‘to be bent’ + $DOWN_1$)
II-*aʃai-ʧiʃam* ‘to lie/be lying on one’s back’ (? < N -aʃi ‘mouth; opening’ + UP)
IV-*ʧaman* ‘to coil; to twine around’

3) Direct reflexive and external body actions

(175)
IV-***n***-*ovaɬ* ‘to look at oneself (in a mirror)’
IV-***n***-*an* ‘to fake/simulate; to put oneself’ (< V-*an* ‘to put’)
IV-***våt***-*faʃ* ‘to cut oneself with an axe or machete’
IV-***våt***-łif-eł-ʔe ‘to exterminate one another (in warfare)’ (< V-*tif* ‘to do something to the end’)
IV-***ta***-*svun* ‘to love oneself’
IV-***vå*[*t*]-*teʃijan* ‘to get hurt’
IV-***ta(t)***-*tɒsxe-ła* ‘to stare wide-eyed’
IV-***tat***-*kɒiʃ-iła* ‘to have a coughing fit’
IV-***tat***-*kafom* ‘to wash clothes’ (< V-*nofom* ‘to squeeze’)
IV-***ta***t-*kɒjɒx-xat* ‘to change clothes’ (< V-*n-kɒjɒx-xat* ‘to exchange’ < V-*n-kɒjɒx* ‘to inhetit; to go on with something’ [*xa-, ła-, Ø-, ʃta- + n-kɒjɒx*; *tsi-kɒjɒx, ła-s-kɒjɒx*)
IV-***tat***-*kastas* ‘to look through one’s own stuff’ (< *-n-kastas* ‘to look trough someone else’s stuff’ – self-benefactive middle)

4) Naturaly reciprocal events (two participants, fight, embrace, greet, converse, agree…)

(176)
IV-***n***-*ako-pxaɬ-eɬ* ‘to hug (each other)’ (< V-*ako-pxaɬ* ‘to hug [somebody]’ < *-ako* ‘waist’ + *-pxaɬ)*
IV-***n***-*akʃen(-eɬ)* ‘to mix, to mingle with’ (reciprocal or passive) (< IV-*kʃen* ‘to be mixed/among’ [state])
IV-***na***-*ʧi-fa-n* ‘to live together with’(< N *-ʧi-fa*)
IV-***n***-*apte-n-eɬ* ‘to insult one another’

IV-***n***-*asinɒ-ki-eɬ* ‘to have a chat’
IV-***vå̰t***-*xɒkl-e-ʃ-eɬ* ‘to have a row’ (V-*n-xɒ̰k(l)*- ‘to snatch; to take away’)
IV-***vå̰t***-*ɬijɒx* ‘to shoot oneself or one another’ (< V-*tijɒ̰x* ‘to shoot’)

5) Cognition and emotion middle (mental states and processes), emotive speech actions. Most have no marker.

(177)
IV-***tat***-*xatˀots-xan* ‘to wake up’ (< V-*n-xatˀots-xan* ‘to wake somebody’ i.e. ‘make him/her wake up’ < IV-*n-xatˀɔ̰* ‘to wake up’)
IV-***tat***-*xuxɒm* ‘to dream about oneself’ (< V-*n-xuxɒm* ‘to dream about’: *ɬa-s-xuxɒm* ‘you dreamt about me’)
IV-***tat***-*fak*(*l*-)‘to confess’
IV-***ta***(*t*)-*tɒiji-xat* ‘to be surprised of oneself’ (< III-*tɒiji-xat* ‘to be/get surprised’ < III-tɒiji ‘to be suprised (state)’ < III-*tɒi* ‘to be conscious; to know’
IV-***vån***-*tan* ‘to denie; to be almost depleted/finished’ (< IV-*tan*+APL ‘to need’)

6) Spontanous actions

(178)
IV-***n***-*xɒtsˀi-vai* ‘to be about to rot’
IV-***ta****[n]-nuku ~ -ta[n]-nuke* ‘to smelt; to unravel (of garment); to break loose’
IV-***tat***-*kˀat-ʔe* ‘to open (by itself)’ (< *-n-kˀå̰t*-APL [= O] ‘to open’)
IV-***vat***-*pɒkxe-t* ‘to break (by itself)/be broken’ (< V-*pɒkxe-t* ‘to beak’ < I-*pɒktex* ‘to be broken’)
IV-***va****[t]-tɒɬ-xat* ‘to sprout (by itself)’ (< V-*tɒɬ-xat* ‘to make sprout; to renew’ < IV-*tɒ̰ɬ* ‘to come; to sprout’

Spontanous actions without marker

(179)
IV-*avkˀas* ‘to bud’ (only in third person: *j-avkˀas*)
I-*Ø-naxox-kˀe* ‘to be rotten; to rot’ (only in third person with applicative: *Ø-naxɒx-kˀe-ʃaʔne* [plur.])
I-*Ø-łok-xi* ‘to be rotten; to rot’ (only third person with applicative: *Ø-łok-xi-ʃaʔne* [plur.])

7) Indirect middle/ self-benefactive

(180)
IV-***n***-*ei-xatsxan* ‘to study’ vs. V-*eixatsxan* ‘to teach’ (reflexive)
IV-***n***-*kastas ~ -kastats-xan* ‘to look through someone else’s stuff’ (cf. IV-*tat-kastas* ‘to look through one’s own stuff’)
IV-***van***-*tɒi-[j]it* ‘to learn; to study’ (< *-tɒi-[j]it* ‘to teach; to make known’ < *-tɒi* ‘to know; to be conscious’[98]
IV-***vat***-*kɒxɒiʃi-jan* ‘to acquire knowledge; to mend one’s ways’ (< V-*kɒxɒiʃi-jan* ‘to correct; to advise’ < N *-kɒxɒiʃa* ‘correctness; good manners’
IV-***vat***-*kˀałtan* ‘to practice; to drill’ (< V-*kˀałtan* ‘to try’

[98] The derivation of ‘to learn/study’ from ‘to teach’ by using a reflexive marker is also attested in Baltic and Slavic languages: Latvian *māc-u* (teach-1SG) ‘I teach’ vs. *mā-c-os* (teach-1SG-REF) ‘I study’~ Lithuanian *mok-au* (teach-1SG) ‘I teach’ vs. *mok-au-si* (teach-1SG-REF) ‘I study’ (cf. also English I teach myself).

8) Passive, impersonal, facilitative middles

(181)
IV-***ni***-*xut* ‘to give (goal = recipient)’ vs. V-*xut*
IV-***na***-*kfaʃ* ‘to be crushed’ (< V-*kfåʃ* ‘to grind; to crush’)
IV-***n***-*ʧen* ‘to send (goal = recipient)’ vs. V-*ʧen*
xa-***n***-*ʧen*-*ʔa*-*i* (S-*n*-send-2-R) ‘I send it to you’
IV-***n***-*ovał* ‘to see (goal = object)’ vs. V-*ovał*
IV-***vat***-*xan* ‘to grill; to roast’ (< V-*xan* ‘to grill; to roast’)
IV-***van***-*apˀał* ‘to be hobbled’
IV-***van***-*tapxał* ‘to be hobbled’ (< V-t*apxał* ‘to hobble [a horse]’)

(181a)
Ø-***ni***-*xut*-*eł*-*ʔa*-*m*
S-*n*-give-SAP.PL-2-BEN
‘S/he gives/gave it to you-pl’

(181b)
Ø-***ni***-*xut*-*eł*-*ʔa*-*i*
3A[3P]-*n*-give-SAP.PL-2-DIST
‘S/he gives/gave it to you-pl’

(181c)
Ø-***n***-*ovał*-*ji*
3S-n-see-1
‘S/he sees me’

(181d)
ts-*ovał*
(3A)1P-see
‘S/he sees me’

9) Anticausatives. Note that all make use of the *n*- marker.

(182a) Anticausative-1 (about 20 verbs)
II-***n***-*eklets*-*xai* ‘to be assaulted’ (< II-*eklets* ‘to jump’)
II-***n***-*ei*-*xai* ‘to be famous’ (< N -*ei* ‘name’)
II-***n***-*ʧˀan*-*xai* ‘to be listened to; to be a boss’ (< V-*ʧˀan* ‘to hear’)
II-***n***-*klɒvał*-*ʧai* ‘to be watched’ (< V-klɒvał ‘to watch’)

(182b) Anticausatives-2 (only 6)
II-***n***-*kɒfa*-*i* ‘to be feared; to have enemies’
II-***n***-*kɒnta*-*i* ‘to be hated’
II-***n***-*e̊*-*i* ‘to be informed’ (< N -*ei* ‘name’)

(10) Translational motion (except cisclocative)

(183a)
IV-***tat***-*xutsaʔ* ‘to arrive first’ (< V-*xutsa* ‘to take the initiative; to be the first to do something’)
IV-***tat***-*vo-kʔe* ’to come behind’ (< IV-*vo-kʔe* ’to follow’)
IV-***tan***-*tʔij* ‘to changle place’
IV-***van***-*kʔumax-ʃiɬam* ‘to fall headlong’ (< V-*kʔumax* ‘to knock down; to tip over’)
IV-***vat***-*kɒ̊x* ‘to nosedive; to drop rapidly; to plummet’

Most of translational motion verbs have no middle marker

(183b)
III-*at* ‘to fall’
III-*afaɬ* ‘to fall; to collapse’
III-*kɒ̊t-ʃaʔne* ‘to fall’
III-*tʔɒ̊i* ‘to tumble (with noise)’
III-*afkos* ‘to crawl’
II-*eklet-ʃaʔne* ‘to come down; to dismount’
-ɒxɒjin ‘to line up’

(11) Actions performed by and naturally directed towards the subject. These can be conceived as an extension of the cislocative since they all make use of the prefix *n-*.

(184)
V-***n***-*tɒsx-eła* ‘to shell’ (< N *-tɒsex* ‘seed’ + *-(i)ła* ~ *-(e)ła* ‘EXTRACT’)
V-***n***-*tsʔots-iła* ‘to milk’ (< N *-tsʔɒ̊s* ‘milk’ + *-iła*)
*-**n**-i-ła* ‘to squeeze the juice out’ (< N *-i̊* ‘juice’ + *-ła*)
*-**n**-fa-ła* ‘to pluck’ (< N *-af* ‘feather’)
V-***n***-*vokʔa-klax* ‘to break the neck’ (< N *-voʔ* ‘neck’, V IV-*voʔ-kʔɒ* ‘to have short hair’, *-voʔ-kʔɒ-xat* ‘to cut hair; to shear; to clip’)
V-***n***-*tsɒ̊x* ‘to snatch’ (< V-*sɒ̊x* ‘to pull somebody’s hair’)
*-**n**-faikɒkxet* ‘to stir the coal out a burning piece of wood’ (cf. IV-*tat-n-faikɒkxet* ‘to smoulder’)
*-**n**-aʃklaf* ‘to fence’ (< N *-aʃklaf-eɬ* ‘fence’)
*-**n**-kafɒ̊m* ‘to disembowel’
*-**n**-kɒ̊ts-xam* ‘to squeeze’
*-**n**-kʔat-ʔe* ‘to open’
*-**n**-kʔɒx-ła* ‘to snatch away’ (-ła ‘EXTRACT’)
*-**n**-klan* ‘to extract’ (< *-klan*)

Illustration of reflexive/reciprocal prefixes

(185)

me-e-i	*ca*	*a-**vat**-van-eɬ*	*xa*	*Pedro*
2S.IRR.go-3-DIST	SUB_2	2S-REC-see-SAP.PL	D.M	Pedro

‘Go there and meet Pedro! (see each other with P.)’

(186)

*Ø-**vat**-van-e-ʃ*	*ti*	*ni-n-aitʃaval-tax-e-i*	*ka*	*ni-tuma*
3S-REF-see-3-INST	SUB_1	NEG-3A(3P)-think-CON-3-DIST	SUB_2	3S-be.pregnant

'She found herself pregnant' (lit. saw-herself-with that she-did-not-think-about getting pregnant)

(187)

*Ø-**vat**-van-xijin-e-ʃ*	*ɬɒn*
3S-REF-see-CAUS-3-INST	REPORT

'It is said that they made themselves visible'

(188)

apis	*ti*	*tsi-**vat**-van-xajin-ʃ-eɬ*
already	SUB_1	(3A)1R-REC-see-CAUS-INST-SAPL.PL

'They have/had already come to see us' (lit. we-made-ourselves see to each other)

(189a)

ɬa	*Graciela*	*Ø-**vat**-ʔvan*	*ɬ-avåtʃa*	*ti*	*j-i-ʃiʔ*
F.D	Graciela	3S-REF-see	3POS-PRON	SUB_1	3S-be.located-INH

ɬa	*n-ovaɬ-xat-ʃij*
F.D	REF-look.at-NMLZ-NMLZ

'Graciela is looking at herself in a/the mirror'

Table 15 shows the overall distribution of middle markers per type. As can be seen, no prefix except *ta-* has an unequivocal function outside its particular use in a construction. This is why I prefer to refer to them as a whole as middle prefixes.

	REF	**REC**	**MID**	**IMPERS**	**ANTICAUS**	**CISL**
n-	+	+	+	+	+	+
vat-	+	+	+	+	-	-
van-	+	+	+	+	-	-
tan-	+	+	+	?	-	-
tat-	+	(+)	+	-	-	-
ta-	+	-	-	-	-	(+)

Table 15. Distribution of middle prefixes according to subtype

The other Mataguayo languages also display a formal identity between reflexive and reciprocal markers. In Maká, the reflexive has two markers, and consists of a prefix *wVn-* (~ *n-*) or *wVt-* (~ *t-*)[99] and a suffix *-ɬe* (~ *-ɬi* before the plural suffix *-iɬ*) (Gerzenstein 1995: 113-114). Gerzenstein does not discuss the reciprocal in the grammar, but examples can be found in her dictionary (Gerzenstein 1999). Note that unlike Nivacle, Maká adds a reflexive suffix *-ɬe* (189b), which may be cognate to the Wichí reflexive/reciprocal *ɬi- ~ ɬa-*.

[99] Although not listed by Gerzenstein, the prefix *tet-* is also attested in Maká.

(189b)
*he-**wet**-wen-**ɬe***
1A-REF$_1$-see-REF$_2$
'We (excl) see ourselves' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1999: 366)

(189c)
*he-**wet**-wen-iɬ*
1A-REC-see-SAP.PL
'We (excl) see each other' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1999: 366)

(189d)
*ɬe-**wet**-suʔun-**ɬi**-iɬ*
2A-REF$_1$-love-REF$_2$-SAP.PL
'You (pl) love yourselves/ You are narcissistic' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1995: 114)

In Wichí, the prefix *ɬi- ~ ɬa-* is used for both, but in reciprocal constructions they combine with plural or distributive suffixes (Nercesian 2014: 244).[100] This is also the case in Chorote with the reflexive/reciprocal *ni(n)-* prefix (~ *wet-* in another variety), but the case of the possible suffix(es) is less clear /Carol 2014: 192, 198).

Unlike Mataguayo, the neighbouring Guaykurú languages clearly distinguish between reflexive and reciprocal markers.[101] The Enlhet-Enenlhet languages have no special reflexive/reciprocal markers at all. Instead, they use in both case the passive form of the verb combined with a particle 'real; for own sake' (indexed for person), corresponding to a reflexive, or a plural marker, corresponding to a reciprocal.

5.1.2.3.2. Addenda on the cislocative. The reference point can be shifted by using the cislocative/middle *ni-*, with verbs that allow it. This can be seen in the near minimal pairs (190a) and (190b). In both cases the sender is far away, which is marked as distal. Being a curse (190b) puts much more emphasis on the affected recipient, which becomes the focus of attention. This is precisely the function of cislocative prefix. From the point of view of grammaticality *ji-ʧenʔa-i* would be a possible choice in (190b) too, were it not for the fact that *receiving angels* and *receiving diseases* are on the opposite side of the scale of positive experiences and the author wished to put emphasis on this. Salience is also at stake with the choice of Ø vs *-ni-* in verbs where this marker can be used. In the examples (190c-e) the highlighted markers are coreferential.

(190a)

pa	*dios*	*ji-ʧen-ʔa-i*	*xaju*	*pa-pi*	*ángel-es*
D.M	God	3A(3P)-send-2-DIST	PROSP	D-PL	angel-PL

'God will send you angels' (Luke 4:10)

[100] The 'Weenhayek variant has *ɬaa-* only in the first and third persons, but *aa-* in the second and *ɬani-* in the first inclusive (Alvarsson & Claesson 2014: 452).
[101] For Toba, Carpio (2012: 148) gives the suffixes *-laʔat* 'reflexive' vs. *-aʔt* 'reciprocal'.

(190b)
pa *ɬ-kånvakle* *Ø-**ni**-ʧen-**ʔa**-i* *xaju*
D.M 3POS-Lord 3A(3P)-CISL-send-2-DIST PROSP
pa *Ø-ux* *vat-famåt*
D.M 3S-be.big IND.POS disease
'The Lord will plague you with (send you) diseases' (Deuteronomy 28: 21)

(190c)
*xa-**n**-ʧen-**ʔa**-i* *xaju*
1A(3P)-CISL-send-2-DIST PROSP
'I will send it to you'

(190d)
*a-**n**-ʧen-**ji**-(i)* *pa* *a-kʔis-xajanaʧ*
2A(3P).IRR-send-1-DIST D.M 2POS-letter
'Send me a letter!'

(190e)
*Ø-**ni**-ʧen-**e**-i*
3A(3P)-CISL-send-3-DIST
'S/he / They send it to him/her'

5.1.2.3.3. **Reflexive prefixes with causative suffixes**. Combinations of reflexive prefixes *vat-van- / -n* and causative suffixes *-(i)jan, -(i)nat, -xat, -nit* and *-jit* are well attested. Such combinations are also quite common in Romance languages although the latter usually retain the causative meanings, which is not always the case in Nivacle.

(191)
-vat-fetats-ijan 'to heal oneself' [102]
-vat-k'us-inat 'to get happy'
-vat-manɬa-nit 'to maintain oneself alive'
-vat-kʔim-xat 'to get surprised'
-n-ei-jan 'to call oneself (by a name)'[103]
-n-ixɒt-xat 'to make efforts'
-n-u-nat 'to get big; to be conceited' (lit. to enlarge oneself)
-vån-tsɒt-xat 'to stretch oneself'
-vat-tɒi-jit 'to learn; to study' (lit. to make oneself know)

However, where a causative suffix appears before *-vat* the latter is not reflexive but plural (in the combination *-vat-ʃam* and *-vat-iʧʔe*) (192a, 192c) or reciprocal (193a-b).

[102] Semantically, this corresponds to Spanish *curar+se* [heal+REF] rather than *hacer+se curar* [CAUS+REF heal], which is curative or permissive.

[103] Note that in Spanish ***hace*** *llamar a Juan* (causative) means 's/he asks [somebody] to call Juan' (reflexive+causative) ***se hace*** *llamar Juan* means 'He wants to be called Juan (lit. 'He$_i$ asks people to him$_i$ Juan'). The simple reflexive *se llama Juan* corresponds to 'His name is Juan'. In French the reflexive-causative construction is mainly used with unexpected (and negative) situations like *se faire écraser* 'to be run over' but it can also be used in volitional contexts like *se faire photographier* 'to have one's photo taken (either by asking somebody **or** accidentally)'. In either case the potential agent will appear in the same form as the passive agent, i.e. using the preposition *par*: *se faire écraser par une voiture* (by a car) or *se faire photographier par un ami* (by a friend) **or** *par un paparazzi* (but the paparazzi may be a friend one asks to take a photo!).

(192a)
*ji-kum-**xat-vatʃam**-ʔin*
3A(3P)-work-CAUS-PL.O-INT
'S/he makes/made them work'

(192b)
ji-kum-xat
3A(3P)-work-CAUS
'S/he makes /made him/her work'

(192c)
*xa-k^{ʔ}ui-**xat-vatɬʲe***
1A(3P)-change.place-CAUS-PL.O
'I move(d) them'

(192d)
xa-k^{ʔ}ui-xat
1A(3P)-change.place-CAUS
'I move(d) it'

(193a)
pa-va *vata-jaʃa-k* *ʧi-Ø-t^{ʔ}ij-**xat-vat**-am*
D-PL IND. POS-disease-PL IND.A-3A(3P)-move-CAUS-REC-BEN
'(The) contagious diseases'

(193b)
*ji-kɒnta-**jan-vat**-xuł*
3A(3P)-hate (intr.)-CAUS-REC-REACT
'They hate(d) each other'

5.1.2.3.4. Reflexive-reciprocal suffixes

There are four series of reflexive-reciprocal suffixes (also probably *-vat-ʃam* but it may also be considered as a collective plural)

	BASIC	**INST**	**DIST**	**BEN**
	*-vaʔne **	*-vat-ʃ*	*-vat-ai*	*-vat-am*
PERSON				
1	*-ji-vʔne*	*-ji-vat-ʃ*	*-ji-t-ai*	*-ji-t-am*
1INC	*-katsi-vʔne*	*-katsi-vat-ʃ*	*-katsi-t-ai*	*-katsi-t-am*
2	*-ʔa-vʔne*	*-ʔa-vat-ʃ*	*-ʔa-t-ai*	*-ʔa-t-am*
3	*-ła-vʔne*	*ła-vat-ʃ*	*-ła-t-ai*	*-ł(a)-t-am*

Table 16. * The longer form *-vaʔne* is used 1) directly after the verb root (+/- causative suffix), 2) immediately after or before an applicative suffix and 3) after the SAP plural/ coordinated plural *-eł* suffix.

1) Basic series *-vaʔne ~ -vʔne*

(194a)
*xa-n-vai-xat-**ji-vʔne*** *na* *fetaya-nił*
1A(3P)-MID-to.be.on.this.side-CAUS-1-REF D.M cotton-MADE.OF
'I put on a blanket'

(194b)
*j-aʔja-e-ʃ-**łavʔne***
3S-to.be.aware-3-INST-3-REF
‘S/he was informed about it’

(194c)
*Ø-pi̯-eł-**vaʔne**-ʔin*
3S-be.calm-COORD.PL-REC-INT
‘They live/lived in peace with each other’

(194d)
*tʔ-eklet-**vaʔne*** *xa-va* *Ø-napuʔ* *fatʃʔatʃʔat-is*
3S-jump-REC D-PL 3S-be.two lorry-PL
‘(The) two lorries collided’

(194e)
pa-n *j-i-ʔe* *pa* *Ø-vaf* *pa-łeʃ*
D.M-DEM 3S-be.located-PROX D.M 3S-be.dead D.M-ANAPH
*t-ai-e-ʃ-ʔe-**vaʔne*** *pa-va* *kʔafok-is*
3S-meet-3-INST-PROX-REC D-PL
‘The crows gather wherever there is a corpse’

(194f)
*t-ai-**vaʔne**-xop* *ti* *Ø-naʧ-ʔa-i* *a-vå̀ʧa*
3S-meet-REC-PURP SUB_1 3S-come-2-DIST 2POS-PRON
‘They have come to meet you all’

(194g)
*t-ka-ʃa-i-eł-**vaʔne**-ʔen*
3S-MED-price-HAVE-COORD.PL-REC-INT
‘They (are/were partners in) barter’

2) Instrumental series *-vat-ʃ*

(195a)
*ni-Ø-pi̯-jeł-**vat-ʃ***
NEG-be.calm-COORD.PL-REC-INST
‘There is/was no peace between them’

(196b)
jåx *ka* *ʃtan-ʃam-e-eł-**katsi-vat-ʃ**-kʔoja*
PROH SUB_2 1INCL.IRR-be.happy-IRR-SAP.PL-1INCL-REC-INST-ANT.VENT
‘Let’s not look forward to be happy (among each other)!’

(197c)
*xai-men-e-ʃ-**ji-vat-ʃ***
1S-be.wrong-3-INST-1-REF-INST
’It’s my own fault/ I take full responsibility’

3) Distal series *-vat-ai*

(198a)
*t-ɒn-**vat-ai***
3S-call-REC-DIST
'The call at each other (for example in the forest, where they can be scattered)'

(198b)
*tsi-ʧaʔvai-e-ʃ-**ji-t-am***
1S-feel-3-INST-1-REF-BEN
'I feel sick' (the reflexive suffix indicates indefinite sickness or discomfort)

(198c)
*ła-sklan-ʃaʔne-**ʔa-t-am***
2A(3P)-keep-INT-2-REF-BEN
'You (sg) keep it for yourself'

(198d)
xa-sklan-ʃaʔne-ʔa-m
1A(3P)-keep-INT-2-BEN
'I keep it for you'

In the third person *-ła-t-am* may be used for disambiguation (199a) vs (199b)

(199a)
ni-xovaj-e-ʃ *ka* *ji-klɒn*
3A-fear-3-INST SUB$_2$ 3A(3P)-kill
(a) 'S/he is afraid that s/he kills him/her/it' (two or three referents)
(b) 'S/he is afraid of being killed' (S and P are coreferential)[104]

(199b)
*ni-xovaj-e-ʃ-**ła-t-am*** *ka* *ji-klɒn*
3A-fear-3-INST-3-REF-BEN SUB$_2$ 3A(3P)-kill
'S/he is afraid of being killed by X'

4) Benefactive series *-vat-am*

(200a)
*va-tʔij-xat-**vat-am***
3S-be.moving-CAUS-REC-BEN
'They have infected each other'

(200b)
*xa-nklan-ʔe-**ji-t-am*** *xaju* *pa-va* *ɬ-a-i*
1A(3P)-pick.up-PROX-1-REF-BEN PROSP D-PL 3POS-fruit-PL
'I will pick up fruit for myself (from this tree)'

(200c)
*ʃta-snat-e-ʃ-**katsi-t-am*** *pa* *katsi-xpɒjiʧ*
1INCL(3P)-build-3-INST-1INCL-REC-BEN D.M 1INCL.POS-house
'We (incl.) are building/shall build our own house'

Other reciprocal / plural forms can be made with *-vat* and *-t*.

[104] The instrumental on the first verb licenses the subordinate clause.

(201a)
*ji-sklan-e-ʃ-eɬ-**vat-xuɬ*** *xa ɬ-ʧekla?*
3A-respect-3-INST-COORD.PL-REC-REACT D.M 3POS-elder.brother
'S/he and his/her elder brother respect each other/ are reconciliated with each other'

(201b)
ɬ-*ni-jɒxi-**eɬ-ji-t-ʃam***
2S-CIS-order-SAP.PL-1-REC-PL
'You (sg) order us' (giving an order can be seen as a kind of mutual/ plural transaction: you with us.The cislocative marks the direction of the order towards the first plural exlusive participants)

Maká has a similar construction, which combines the reflexive *-t-* with the applicative suffixes *-ets*, *-em* 'benefactive', and *-ix* 'instrumental'. Although Gerzenstein (1995: 177) analyses the combinations as reflexive pronouns, it is clear that they are used like in Nivacle (albeit *-ets* has no cognate in Nivacle) as emphatic reflexives.

(201c)
*he-wet-xeɬ-ɬe-**ji-t-ets***
1S-REF_1-take.care-REF_2-1-REF_3-APL
'I take care of myself' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1995: 178)

Note the unexpected reciprocal marker *-t-* in (202 = 67), where the participants do not share the same semantic roles. However *-t-* is justified if we think of a group of participants who cannot participate in an event separately. If A wants to jump over B (or over B and C), all must agree with each other. This particular constellation is not frequent but it occasionally occurs with nouns too (203a-b). The choice of the applicative *-apẻ* 'on; over' is just as metaphorical as 'over' in *left over* or *sur+vive* (Spanish *sobre+vivir*).

(202 = 67)
*xaj-eklet-eɬ-ʔa-**t**-apẻ* *xaju*
1S-jump-SAP.PL-2-REC-ON PROSP
'I will jump over you (pl.)'

(203a)
*ɬ-xa ɬ-ʧ^{ʔ}akfa-ɬ-**t**-apẻ*
F-D 3POS-spouse.with.children-3-REC-ON
'His widow' (being spouses implies reciprocity)

(203b)
*ɬ-xa ɬ-xaja-ɬ-**t**-apẻ* *ka* *ɬ-ʧekla?*
F-D 3POS-spouse-3-REC-ON D.M.DEAD 3POS-elder.brother
'Her elder brother's widow'

5.1.3. Indefinite Subject/Agent (S/A). The indefinite (third person) Agent/Subject (S/A) marker *ʧi-* demotes rather than erases the subject. This is reflected iconically in the prefix slot, whose content remains unchanged (S/A for basic intransitives, A for basic transitives). The indefinite subject construction can be used in two cases: (a) *bona fide* indefinite (unknown/irrelevant) subject and (b)

focalisation[105] on the patient (205) or - much less frequently - on the agent (185). In the latter case, an instrumental suffix must be added. Unlike passive constructions, both semantic and syntactic roles are preserved in both cases. Note that the presence of an indefinite subject pronoun does not always entail the prefix ***ʧi***- on the verb. This kind of doubling is not frequent and probably serves to further background the agent as in (204). See also the subsection on impersonal passives under § 5.1.2.1.

(204)

tan	*ka*	***ʧi****-na-sklan-ʃaʔne*	*pa-pu*
NEG	SUB_2	IND.A-(3P)2P-take.care-PL.O	D-PL.HUM (= IND.HUM)

'Nobody is going to take care of you (pl.)' (Who could possibly do you any harm?)

Example (205) is taken from a story about a brutal man called *Chinita*. After being tape-recorded, the text was transcribed under the supervision of Seelwische (1995). The storyteller states at the very beginning that the main protagonist will be *Chinita*. After this introduction, *Chinit*a, still in focus, catches children in the act of picking up *algarroba* pods, an activity which he had prohibited, and as a result kills one of them. At this point, the victim's name is not mentioned. The other children then run away to the village to inform the men that *Chinujam* (first mention of the name of the victim) was shot dead. Although the agent is formally marked as indefinite and the killer's name is omitted, the men have no doubt about who is the culprit and go straight to his house in order to take revenge. This rhetorical strategy is very powerful as it at the same time highlights the victim while the agent, despite its formal marking, is in no way indefinite or unknown.

[105] The terms 'focus' and 'focalisation' are being used here for convenience. No special construction or morpheme is dedicated exclusively to mark focus. The focus reading in Nivacle (and probably most languages) is due to a constellation of various (both discourse and linguistic) factors. Among other scholars, Landragin (2012) and Matić & Wedgwood (2013) have shown that focus can hardly ever be considered a prime category in natural languages.

(205)

ji-ʃijan-tax	*łɒn*	*pa-va*	*fåi*	*pa-łeʧ*	***ʧinita;***
3A(3P)-forbid-CON	REPORT	D-PL	pods	D-ANAPH	Chinita (man's name)

ji-ʔvan-e-ʃ	*łɒn*	*tiʔma*	*pa*	*Ø-tijɒ̊x*	*pa*	*Ø-veʔła*	*nekxɒ̊k;*
3A(3P)-see-3-INSTR	REPORT	then	and	3A(3P)-shoot	D.M	3S-be.one	child

łanʔe	*pa-p-eł*	*kɒkełai*	*va-kumax-vatiʧ^{ʔ}e*	*łɒn;*
but	D-PL-PL	children	3S-run-COL	REPORT

va-kumåx-e-i	*pa*	*jitsåt*	*pa*	*ni-fakl-e-m*	*łɒn*	*pa-pi*	*nivakle;*
3S-run-3-DIST	D.M	village	and	3S-tell-3-BEN	REPORT	D-PL	man/men

ta-ʧ^{ʔ}an-xuł	*łɒn*	*ti*	*j-ip-vaʧam-ʔin*	*pa*	*va-kumax-xuł*	*łɒn*
3S-hear-VENT	REPORT	SUB_1	3S-cry-COL-INT	and	3S-run-VENT	REPORT

ti	*ji-t^{ʔ}eʃ:*	*ta*	*łaijåʃ;*	*ji-t^{ʔ}eʃ*	*łɒn:*
SUB_1	3S-say	What	because	3S-say	REPORT

ʧi*-Ø-tijɒ̊x*	*ka*	*ʧinuxam.*
IND.A-3A(3P)-shoot	D.M.DEAD	Chinujam (boy's name)

nɒkɐ̊ʃ	*j-iʧ-e-i-vatiʧ^{ʔ}e*	*pa-pi*	*nivakle*	*pa*	*ła-xpɒjiʧ*	*pa*	***ʧinita…***
then	3S-go-3-DIST-COL	D-PL	man/men	D.M	3POS-house	D.M.	Chinita

'This man *Chinita* had forbidden to pick up (*algarrobo*) pods; once he caught them in the act (saw them (children) with pods) and shot one of them; the other children ran away; they ran to the village in order to tell the men; they (the men) heard them coming crying as they were approaching (running); the men asked them: what? (why?); (the children) said: *Chunujam…Chinujam* was shot dead!; then the men went together to the house of *Chinita*…' (Seelwische 1995: 94-96)

Indeed, the agent may even be explicit as in (206a). Note that although the verb *-klɒn* 'to kill' is a basic transitive, i.e. the verbal prefix hosts A and P. However, the third person instrumental suffix (*-e* + *-ʃ*) is coindexed with the agent NP *pa ʧinax* 'a/the thunderbolt'. As (206b) shows, the indefinite subject marker and the third person instrumental can easily be omitted. The difference between (206a) and (206b) is that in the first, the Cufalh is the topic and the thunderbolt the focus (many of its foes tried to get rid of Cufalh, but at least, it was a thunderbolt which killed him), whereas (206b) is more neutral. It simply states that 'A/The thunderbolt (theme) killed the Cufalh'. In both cases, the verbal prefix is coindexed with A and P.

(206a)

ʧi*-ji-klɒn-e-ʃ*	*pa*	*kufał*	*pa*	*ʧinax*
IND.A-3A(3P)-kill-3-INST	D.M	$Cufałlh_{TOPIC\&PATIENT}$	D.M.	$thunderbolt_{FOCUS\&AGENT}$

'It was a thunderbolt which killed the Cufalh (a mythological being)'

(206b)

ji-klɒn	*pa*	*kufaɬ*	*pa*	*ʧʃinax*
3A(3P)-kill	D.M.	Cufaɬlh$_{\text{PATIENT}}$	D.M.	thunderbolt$_{\text{THEME\&AGENT}}$

'A/The thunderbolt killed the Cufalh'

5.2. Valency increasing strategies. Causatives as well as often applicatives and associated motion suffixes are typical valency increasing suffixes.

5.2.1.1. Causatives. Nivacle has both periphrastic (multiverbal) and morphological causatives.[106] I will focus here on the last type. Although canonically causatives increase valency, they occasionally fail to do so. All Nivacle causative markers are suffixed to the root verb. As can be seen in Table 17, all of them derive from one of the two simple, basic forms *-(V)n* and *-(V)t*. The simple marker *-(V)n* is ambiguous since it can also be used in non-causative verb derivation (207a). The marker *-(V)t* is mostly used as a causative, although it too may occasionally be used in what would seem to be non-causative derivation (207b) although this may be questioned since it is quite plausible for two reasons. First, the verb belongs to the third conjugation, i.e. it has active alignment, i.e. the subject is patientive (3rd conjugation S is treated like 5th conjugation P).[107] Second, it is logical to derive the origin of a smell in some external causation event.

The distribution of these two simple non-causative markers across conjugation types is not random. None of these have been found in verbs of the first conjugation, only two belong to the second (both basic *n*-forms), and less than ten to the third (all basic *n*-forms). Most of *-n* and *-t* (basic or complex) forms appear with verbs belonging to the fourth and fifth conjugations.

(207a)

-ʧexe 'hunter-gatherer's catch'	=>	II-*ʧexe-**n*** 'to reap pumpkins or the like'
kˀutsɑ̊x 'old man', *kˀutsxaʔ* 'old woman'	=>	III-*kˀutsxa-**n*** 'to get old'
I-*pɒtsex* 'to be fast'	=>	IV-*pɒtsi-**n*** 'to run fast'
-takʃi 'sadness'	=>	IV-*takʃi-**n*** 'to be/get sad'
taɒklax 'child'	=>	IV-*taɒkla-**n*** 'to behave like a child'
-ʧekla 'younger brother'	=>	IV-*ʧekla-**n*** 'to be slow or do something slowly'
I-*ʧama* 'to be round'	=>	IV-*ʧama-**n*** 'to coil; to twist' (intrans.) (cf. causative: *-ʧama-**n-xat*** 'to make round')
fusuk ~ fusi-nax 'billy goat'	=>	III-*fusu-**n*** 'to stink (of goats or hot chili peppers)'[108]
naɬu 'day'	=>	IV-*naɬu-**n*** 'to leave in the morning'
-vkɑ̊x 'sweat'	=>	III-*vkux-**un*** 'to sweat'
-jipku 'hunger'	=>	III-*jipku-**n*** 'to starve'
-ʧifa '(male) companion'[109]	=>	IV-*ʧifa-**n*** 'to be friends or neighbours'
(-)*faʧˀɛ̊* 'outside (noun or applicative)'	=>	IV-*faʧˀ**-an*** 'to stretch; to spread'

[106] Lexical (suppletive) causative will not be treated here. They behave like any other transitive verbs.

[107] Rather than ergative-absolutive alignment since neither ergative nor absolutive can be recognised in Nivacle, where all arguments are indexed in the verb.

[108] The derivation may be the other way round. Goats are not native to Chaco and the derivation of the second variant of the noun (*fusi-nax*) is transparently "the stinky one". However, the verb is also used for the pungent hot chili pepper and indeed for any person stinking like a goat (it can be used in all persons). Note that the verb belongs to the third conjugation, with active/inactive alignment.

[109] From the coordinative particle *ʧi* 'and' and the derivation suffix *-fa* 'male companion'.

(207b)

-axut ‘smoke’ + *-niʃ* ‘smell’ => III-*axt-inʃi-**t*** ‘to smell of smoke’

-kxɒʃi ‘armpit’ + *-niʃ* ‘smell’ => III-*kxɒʃi-nʃi-**t*** ‘to have bad armpit smells’

In the following table (Table 17) the allomorphs of the central column combine *-t* and *-n*. Note that the segments /i/ and /xa/ ~ /ʧi/ are epenthetic and that the allomorph *-xan* is homophonous with one of the two antipassive suffixes (see § 5.1.1). The starred forms have a very low frequency. Although *-xatsxan ~ -itsxan* and *-xatsxat* are morphologically double causatives, they are semantically like simple causatives.

NIVACLE CAUSATIVE MARKERS		
-(V)n (7.4%)		**-(V)t** (10.6%)
-(i)jan -xan ~ -xajan ~ -xajin ~ -ʧijin (34.6%)	***-(i)nat ~ -(i)nit*** (9.5%) *-nit-xat** *-xats-xan ~ -its-xan** *-n-xajan**	***-xat ~ -(i)ʧat ~ -ʧit*** (37.8%) *-xats*, -xats-xat**

Table 17. Causative suffixes and their frequency out of a total of 283 verbs (stars indicate very low frequency).

Causative, assistive, permissive and curative are not distinguished, although if needed, each can be expressed unambiguously by employing multiverbal constructions (210a vs. 210b) and (210c-e).

(208)

*xa-naʃ-**xat***

1A(3P)-go-CAUS

‘I let/make him/her/it go’

(209a)

*xa-kun-**xan***

1A(3P)-eat-CAUS

‘I make/let him/her/it eat’

(209b)

*xa-kun-**xan**-e-ʃ*

1A(3P)-eat-CAUS-3-INST

‘I make/let him/her/it eat it’

(210a)

*kˀ-asinɒ-**jan***

1A(2P)-speak-CAUS

‘I make/let you-sg speak’

(210b)

a-vaʃan-ja-m *ka* *x-asinɒ-ki-e-m*

2A-allow-1-BEN SUB_2 1S-speak-PLC-3-BEN

‘Let me speak to them’ (permissive)

(210c)
tˀ-åɬ-xop *ka* *n-klɒn-ʃaʔne*
3S-ask-PURP SUB_2 3A(3P).IRR-kill-PL.O
'S/he asked them$_1$ to kill them$_2$' (curative)

(210d)
ʃiʔn-efen-e-ʃ *ti* *ʃta-vklan-xat* *na* *iglesia*
(3A)1INC.P-help-3-INST SUB_1 1INC.A(3P)-appear-CAUS D.M church
'They helped us to build a/the/this church' (assistive)

(210e)
ta-jɒxi-xan-e-ʃ *pa* *consejo* *ka* *nt-ai-vaʔne*
3A-order-ANTIPAS-3-INST D.M council SUB_2 3S.IRR-meet-REC
'S/He / They convened a council' (lit. convened a council to meet each other)

There is no clear-cut difference between direct and indirect causatives. As a consequence, it cannot be said that *n-* and *t-*allomorphs mark such a distinction. Direct causation is understood as implying less agency/volition on the part of the causee than indirect causation. Givón (2001: 76) also distinguishes between direct/coercive and indirect/persuasive manipulees. Nivacle does not appear to make a clear difference between these kinds of causation, although non-human causees appear to show a slight tendency to favour *n*-derived causatives.

(211)
*kˀ-ui-**xat***
1A(3P)-vomit-CAUS
'I make him/her vomit'

(212)
*xa-kum-**ʧat***
1A(3P)-run/gallop-CAUS
'I make/let him/her/it run/gallop'

(213)
*tsi-kun-**xan***
(3A)1R-eat-CAUS
'S/he makes/let me eat'

(214)
*j-ap-**xajan***
3A(3P)-cry-CAUS
'S/he made/let me cry'

Since the prefix slot of all basic transitive verbs hosts two arguments, causative verbs follow this scheme too (fifth conjugation). However, the antipassive prefix *vank(a)- ~ vankʔ(a)-* can freely combine with a causative suffix, in which case the prefix erases the causee participant. As a result the prefix slot host one argument instead of two and the derived verb belongs to the fourth conjugation.

(215a)
*ji-na-**xajan***
3A(3P)-be.wet-CAUS
'S/he washes/baptises him/her'

(215b)
Ø-vanka**-na-**xajan
3S-ANTIPAS-be.wet-CAUS
'S/he washes/baptises (people)'

Some verbs can take alternative causative markers, without noticeable change of meaning. This also happens with synonyms or quasi-synonyms.[110]

[110] Seelwische's dictionaries (1990 and 2016) sometimes give different translations for two or more causative variants. Since native speakers of Nivacle do not readily distinguish between the different meanings of these variants, I assume that it was Seelwische himself who introduced those distinctions in order to shape a more or less unified standard language.

(216a)	(216b)		
ji-tˀovos	*ji-tˀovos-**it***	~	*ji-tˀovos-**ijan***
3A(3P)-cut	3A(3P)-cut-CAUS		3A(3P)-cut-CAUS
'S/he cuts it'	'S/he makes someone cut it'		

(217)

*ji-kano-**nat***	~	*ji-kano-**jan***
3A(3P)-be.quiet-CAUS		3A(3P)-be.quiet-CAUS

'S/he makes him/her keep quiet/ tranquillises him/her'

(218)

*ji-jaʃa-**nit-xat***	~	*ji-jaʃa-**jan***
3A(3P)-be.sick-CAUS-CAUS		3A(3P)-be.sick-CAUS

'S/he makes him/her sick'

(219)	(220)
*ji-kum-**ʧat***	*ji-faktse-**n***
3A(3P)-run/gallop-CAUS	3A(3P)-run.fast/flow.fast-CAUS
'S/he makes him/her/it run/gallop'	'S/he makes him/her/it run fast/flow fast'

(221a)	(221b)		
Ø-navai-ʃi	*ji-navai-**jan**-ʃi*	~	*ji-navai-**jit**-ʃi*
3S-boil-IN	3A(3P)-boil-CAUS-IN		3A(3P)-boil-CAUS-IN
'It boils (in pot/water)'	'S/he boils it (in pot/water)		

The Nivacle causative markers can combine with concrete nouns and verbs, mostly intransitives. However, the resulting event is not necessarily one of canonical causation involving a causer and a causee. The target words to which the causative marker is added are arranged from the least agentive (concrete nouns being naturally devoid of agentivity).

1) Noun + causative: the Agent is a causer but there is no causee, the most frequent meaning being 'to bring about the existence of the denoted entity'. This does not appear to be a productive process in Nivacle. Indeed it seems to be strongly restricted. The causative marker functions as a verbalizer suffix. As such, it introduces a human agent (222; see also 207a-b).

(222)

jukuve 'bread'	=>	*-jukuve-jan* 'to make bread'
fiesta 'feast; party' (Spanish loan)	=>	*-fiesta-jan* 'to organise a feast'
-mp̊k 'flour'	=>	*-amkɒ-jan* 'to grind; to make flour'
-aʃinuk 'bridle'	=>	*-aʃinku-jan* 'to bridle'
-ʃaʔ 'price'	=>	*-ʃa-jan* 'to pay'
klavo 'nail' (Spanish loan)	=>	*-klavo-jan* 'to nail'
-jipku 'hunger'	=>	*-jipku-n* 'to be hungry'. There is also a canonical causative with causer+causee arguments: *-jipku-jan* 'to make someone starve'

2) Property or quantifier verb. The resulting verbs are mostly canonical causatives with a causer and a causee, although the cause is not necessarily human.

(223)
I-*pi̊* ‘to be quiet’ => V-*pi̊-jan* ‘to reassure’ (to make someone be quiet)
I-*akɒx* ‘to be tasty’ => V-*akɒ-n* ‘to like the taste of something (A+R)’
I-*fkˀatsax* ‘to be wide’ => V-*fkˀatsa-n* ‘to widen’
I-*ux* ‘to be big’ => V-*u-nat* ‘to make bigger; to add’
I-*kåt* ‘to exist’ => V-*kåt-xat-e-m* ‘to provide it to him/her’ (with 3rd p. benefactive)
I-*kano* ‘to be calm’ => V-*kano-nat* ‘to reassure; to have somebody rest’
I-*napu’* ‘to be two’ => V-*npu-nat* ‘to do twice; to double’

(224a)
xa-npu-nat *xa-va* *xa-klɒn*
1A(3P)-be.two-CAUS D-PL 1A(13P)-kill
‘I killed two of them’

(224b)
ji-npu-nat-eɬ-vaʔne
3(3P)-be.two-CAUS-COORD.PL
‘S/he takes two of them together’

(224c)
ɬa *sanijɒ-juk* *Ø-puʔxaʔna-e* *na-va* *ɬ-a-i*
D.F watermelon-CL.PLANT 3S-be.three-PROX D-PL 3POS-fruit-PL
‘The/This watermelon has three fruit’

(224d)
jaʔ-puʔxaʔna-eɬ
1S-be.three-SAP.PL
‘We are three/ There are three of us’

(224e)
nɒ-ke *xpɒjit͡ʃ* *kas-pu-ʔakfi*
D.M-DEM house 1INCL.S-be.two-UNDER
‘We are two/There are two of us in this house’

(224f)
Ø-napu-ʔapɛ̊ *xa* *vat-mɒ-xɒʔvat*
3S-be.two-OVER D.M IND.POS-sleep-PLACE
‘They were two (people) in the bed’

(224g)
Ø-napu-ja-m *na-va* *ji-ka-tɒsxe-i*
3S-be.two/be few-1-BEN D-PL 1POS-MED-seed-PL
‘I have two/a few seeds’[111]

[111] The mediative marker between possessor and possessee indicates indirect possession. A plant’s seeds are in the possession of the speaker.

3) Activities, accomplishments and achievements.

(225)

II-*ɒs* ‘to walk’	=>	V-*ɒs-xajan* ~ V-*ɒs-xat* ‘to make walk’
IV-*mɒʔ* ‘to sleep’	=>	V-mɒʔ-*xajan* ‘to make sleep’
II-*klɒ̊i* ‘to dance’	=>	V-*klɒi-(j)an* ~ V-*klɒi-xajan* ‘to make dance’
V-i̊s ‘to mark’	=>	V-*is-xajan* ‘to dictate; to have someone write (A+CAUSEE)’

Since events such as making, writing, painting or tattooing always involve an instrument and a medium, these are obligatorily indexed as verbal applicatives even when no mention of pen (3rd person instrumental) or paper (proximate) is made in the text. In non-causative example (226a) the subject prefix is coindexed with two participants, the writer and the text. In the causative (226b), A refers to the causer and the object to the cause

(226a)
kʔ-i̊s-e-ʃ-ʔe-ʔa-m
3A(3P)-mark-3-INST-PROX-2-BEN
‘I write/wrote it to you’

(226b)
*kʔ-is-**xajan**-e-ʃ-ʔe*
1A(3P)-mark-3-INST-PROX
‘I make/made him/her/them write’

(227)

IV-*am* ‘to arrive’	=>	V-*am-**xat*** ‘to take to; to send’
III-*afał* ‘to fall’	=>	V-*afɬ-**it*** ‘to fell’
IV-*aʔja* ‘to know’	=>	V-*ai-**xat*** ‘to inform’

A few verbs and many nouns can be used with the prefix *k(a)-* ~ *kʔ(a)-* ~ *kʔi-* which I call ‘mediative’.[112] It is more frequent with nouns. This marker roughly indicates that the link between the entity or subject/agent and the event denoted by the verb is indirect. In the following examples (228a) represents the basic causative derivation. (228b) would seem to function much like a causative were it not for the fact that it displays active alignment. The affected subject denotes the man, not his wife. There are two differences between (229b) and (229c): the first is a basic intransitive while the second is a transitive. With the non-causative form, any mention of the child born will trigger the instrumental together with the corresponding person suffix as can be seen in (229d), (229e) and (229f). The object of the causative variant is the mother giving birth.

[112] Note that *k(a)-* ~ *kʔ(a)-* is also used (with nouns) as a generic possessive classifier (§ 1.2).

(228a)
III-*tuma* ‘to be pregnant’ (state) => V-*tum-xat* ‘to make pregnant’ (achievement)

(228b)
III-*kʔi-tuma* ‘to have his wife pregnant’ (state)

(229a) (229b)
III-*vatʔax* ‘to be born’ => III-*ka-vatʔax* ‘to give birth’ (subject’s role = woman in labour)
(229c)
=> causative: V-*n-ka-vått-xat* ‘to give birth to’ (subject’s role = midwife)

(229d)

ni-ka-vatʔax-e-ʃ	*xa*	*Ø-veʔɬa*	*ɬ-aɒs*
3Sp-MED-be.born-3-INST	D.M	3S-be.one	3POS-son

‘She (the mother) gave birth to a son’

(229e)
tsi-ka-vatʔax-ʔa-ʃ
3Sp-MED-be.born-2-INST
’I have given birth to you’

(229f)

ɬ-xa	*a-mimi*	*ni-ka-vatʔax-ʔa-ʃ*
F-D	2POS-mother	3Sp-MED-be.born-2-INST

‘Your mother gave you birth’

(229g)
xa-n-ka-vått-xat
1A(3P)-CISL-MED-be.born-CAUS
‘I help(ed) her to give birth (I am a midwife)’

As mentioned above, causative derivation from basic transitive verbs is not very frequent. Whenever a verb has an intransitive variant, this is the form from which causatives are derived. Some examples are given in table 18. Note that Spanish transitive loans are treated the same way. The derived causative adds a canonical causee

Basic transitive (5th conj.)	Basic intransitive	Derived causative (5th conj.)
-tux ‘to eat’	II-*tsaxkun* ‘to eat’	*-tsaxkun-xajan* ‘to make somebody eat’
	III-*xova-i* ‘to have fear’	*-xovai-ʧat ~ -xova-tsxajan* ‘to frighten somebody’
	IV-*jɒ-xi* ‘to drink’[113]	*-jɒ-xajan-ʃi* ‘to make somebody drink (it)’
-pinta ‘to paint’ < Spanish	*-pinta* ‘to (be) paint(ed)’	*-pinta-jan* ‘to paint something’ (*to have somebody do it)
-presta ‘to lend’ < Spanish	*-presta* ‘to (be) lend(ed)’	*-presta-jan* ‘to lend something’ (*to have somebody do it)

Table 18. Causative derivation: transitive ➔ intransitive ➔ causative

If a causative suffix can be added to a transitive verb, the former object is replaced by the causee (Table 19). The former object can be replaced by an applicative (usually instrumental). Some examples have been added after the table.

Basic transitive (5th conjugation)	Derived causative (5th conjugation)
-fɒ̆ʃ ‘to hew’	*-faʃ-ʧijin* ‘to make somebody hew’
-in ‘to paint’	*-in-xajan* ‘to make somebody paint’
-aiʧavał ‘to think about’	*-aiʧavał-xat* ‘to remind; to makes someone think’
-faxuł ‘to master; to dominate’	*-faxuł-xat* ‘to empower’
-ovał ‘to look at’	*-ovał-xajan ~ -ovał-xat* ‘to show
-nkɒjɒx ‘to inherit’	*-nkɒjɒx-xat* ‘to bequeath’
-ʔvan ‘to see’	*-ʔvan-ʧijin* ‘to show’

Table 19. Causative derivation: transitive ➔ causative

(230)
*ji-faʃ-**ʧijin**-e-ʃ*
3A(3R)-hew-CAUS-3-INST
‘S/he made him/her hew it’

(231)
*ji-ʔvan-**ʧijin**-e-ʃ*
3A(3R)-see-CAUS-3-INST
‘S/he shows it to him/her’

[113] The obligatory applicative suffix *-xi ~ -ʃi* is coindexed with a liquid or container which may freely be omitted. Although a basic intransitive, the applicative automatically licenses an object. It is remarkable that this verb has no antipassive form which might be used when no object is mentioned.

(232)
*xa-peʔ-**xajin**-e-ʃ* *xa* *ji-kt^{ʔ}etʃ*
1A(3R)-listen-CAUS-3-INST D.M 1POS-grandfather
'I made informed my grandfather about it' (lit. made him listen to it)

(233)
*ji-t^{ʔ}ovos-**it**-e-ʃ*
3A(3R)-cut-CAUS-3-INST
'S/he makes him/her cut it'

Double causatives have a low frequency and are mostly lexicalised:

(234)
*j-ei-**jan***
3A(3P)-name-CAUS
'S/he gives him/her/it a name'

(235)
*j-ei-**xats-xan***
3A(3R)-name-CAUS$_1$-CAUS$_2$
'S/he teaches (to) him/her'
(lit. makes him/her give a name)

(236)
*j-ei-xats-xan-**e-ʃ***
3A(3R)-name-CAUS$_1$-CAUS$_2$-3-INST
'S/he teaches it to me'

5.2.1.2. Notes on causatives in the other Mataguayo languages.

NIVACLE	**MAKÁ**	**CHOROTE** (Carol 2014)	**WICHÍ**
-hat, -ʧat, (*-ʧit, -ʧet*) *-itʃat* (*-its-hat*)	*-hit, -het* *-ket, -kit*	*-hat* *-kit*	*-hat* *-kat*
-han, -hajan ~ -hajin *-ʧijin, -jan, -jin, -ijan* (*-hats-han, -its-han, -ts-han*)	*-henin, -hinen, -inen* *-nen, -nin, -hin, -n-henin* *-n-hen, -kenin* (*-ts-hen, -ts-hen-hen-in*)	*-jan* *-jin* *-hajin*	*-jen* *-hajen*
-(V)t	*-t*	*-t, -it, -ot*	*-t, -it, -et*
-nat, -inat, -nit	*n-het, -in-het, -en-het*	*-nit, -hanit* *-(h)Vnit*	---
-(V)n	*-n, -in, -en*	---	*-en, -on*

Table 20. Causative markers in the Mataguayo languages.[114]

[114] To make comparison easier in this comparative table, the velar and glottal /h, x/ have been uniformly transcribed as /h/ and /j/ corresponds to the palatal approximant elsewhere noted /y/.

	NIVACLE	MAKÁ	CHOROTE	WICHÍ
‘to work’	*-kʊ̊m* => CAUS *-kum-**xat***	*-ekum* (touch; take) => CAUS *-ekum-**hin***	? => CAUS *-kim-**yen*** ‘to work’	*-kʲem* (~ *-ʧum*) => CAUS *-kʲem-**yen***
‘to doubt’	*-kaku* => CAUS *-kaku-**han***	*-eqeku* => CAUS *-eqeku-**nen***		
‘to fry’	*-kaklɒɬ* => CAUS *-kaklɒɬ-**han***	*-kaɬin* => CAUS *-kaɬin-**en***		
‘to answer’	*-kʊ̊ɬ* => CAUS *-kuɬ-**han***	*-ekuɬ* => CAUS *-ekuɬ-**inen***		
‘to wash’	*-vå̊mkå* => CAUS *-vå̊mkå-**hat***	*-wamqa* ‘l. las manos’ => CAUS *-wanqa-**nin***		
‘to escape’	*-klɒt* => CAUS *klɒts-**hat***	*-ilat* ~ *-ilit* => CAUS *-ilit-**hinen***		
‘to blow’	*-fuju* => CAUS *-fuju-**han***	*-fuyu* => CAUS *-fuyu-**n-henin***		
‘to drink’	*-jɒʔ* => CAUS *-jɒ-**hajan***	*-iyaʔ* => CAUS *-iya-**han***		*-yo* => CAUS *-jo-**yen***
‘to eat’	*-tsaxkun* => CAUS *-kun-**han*** ~ *-tsaxkun-**hajan***	*-ek* => CAUS *-ekun-**hen***		*-ek* => CAUS *-kʲen-**han***
‘to get up’	*-nɛ̊-ʧ(iʃ)am* => CAUS *-ne-**n-hat-**ʧiʃam*	*-n-* (estar vertical) => CAUS *-n-**hin-***	*-ni-pihiaʔm* => CAUS *-ni-**jien**-pihiaʔm*	*-nek, -ne-po* => CAUS *-nek-**hat**, -ne-**hat**-po*
‘to spin’	*-ɒftiɬ* => CAUS *-ɒftiɬ-**han***	*-aftiɬ* => CAUS *-aftiɬ-**inen***		
‘to vomit’	*-kʔʊ̊i* => CAUS *-kʔui-**hat***	*-ekui* => CAUS *-ekui-**hit***	*-ako-ʔni* => *-ko-**hyen**-ʔni* *-ko-**hyet**-ʔni*	
‘to be good’	*-is* => CAUS *-is-inat* ~ *-is-hajan*			‘W: *-is* => CAUS *-‘is-yenh*
‘to be white’	*-klim* => CAUS *-klim-**ijan***		*-limi* => CAUS *-limi-**hyet***	
‘to go’	*-am* => CAUS *-am-**hat***	*-am* => CAUS *-am-**it***	*-a’am* (arrive) => CAUS *-am-**it***	
‘to see’	*-ʔvan* => CAUS *-ʔvan-**ʧijin*** ***~ -ʔvan-hajin***	*-ʔwen* => CAUS *-ʔwen-**kit***	*-ʔwin* => CAUS *-ʔwen-**kin***	
‘to sleep’	*-mɒʔ* => CAUS *-mɒʔ-**hajan***			*-maʔ* => CAUS *-ma-**jen***
‘to go away’	*-ton* => CAUS *-ton-at*		*-tọn* (to take to) => CAUS *-tyun-**kin***	‘W: *-to(o)n* (to take to) => CAUS *-to(o)n-**it***
‘to be ready; to be ripe’	*-vakaɬ* => CAUS *-vakɬ-**it***			*-wakaɬ* => CAUS *-wakɬ-**at***
‘to appear’	*-nʊ̊k(l-)* => CAUS *nʊkl-**it,** -nʊ̊kl-**anit***			*-nʔɒl* => CAUS *-nʔɒl-**it***

Table 21. Causative derivation in some Mataguayo cognates.

(237a)
qakya *tà* *'i-maa-yen* *o'-eelh*
medicine SUB 3A-sleep-CAUS 1POS-neighbour
'The medicine makes my friend/spouse/neighbour sleep' (Wichí [Weenhayek variety], Claesson 2008: 247)

(237b)
'a-màà-yen-lhih *ha-ky'iinhà'*
2A.IMPER-sleep-CAUS-DUR 2POS-younger.sister
'Make your little sister sleep!' (Wichí [Weenhayek variety, Claesson 2008: 247)

5.2.2. Applicatives: introduction and list. Because Nivacle lacks nominal cases and adpositions, all locative and instrumental relations between VPs and NPs are indexed as verbal applicative suffixes. In other words, Nivacle applicatives are not alternative constructions serving to promote an oblique participant, as is assumed in most of the literature on this subject (Peterson 2007). Mithun (2002, 2006) has drawn much deserved attention to this aspect and it is worth quoting her directly.

"In many languages, applicative constructions offer speakers syntactic alternatives for the expression of semantic recipients, instruments, associates, directions, and/or locations. such participants would typically be identified as oblique nominals, but in applicative constructions, they are core arguments […] A number of languages contain robust applicative constructions but no evidence or prepositions or postpositions. In fact they contain no oblique beneficiaries, instruments, or directions at all […]. Examples of this situation are provided by languages of the Iroquoian family among others. The languages contain robust dative/benefactive, instrumental, and directional applicative constructions, but no prepositions, postpositions or other case markers. There are no oblique dative, benefactive, instrumental, or directional nominals at all, so no constructions for which applicatives might provide syntactic alternatives" (Mithun 2002: 76)

For a better understanding, I will first give a list of the main characteristic properties of Nivacle applicatives, then the list of all twenty-two applicatives[115] and finally illustrative examples.

(A) If an applicative is attached to a *bona fide* verb, i.e. a content word not preceded by a deictic particle, even when the word would otherwise be a noun (see under B), it often corresponds to what many other languages mark with a nominal case, an adposition, or a preverb.

(238)
ta *ɬ-ei* *pa* *yi-tsåt* *ɬ-tʊ̊l-**ʔe***
WHAT 3POS-name D.M IND.POS-village 3POS-come-PROX
'What is the name of the village you come from (you were born there)?'

(239)
*tsi-vatʔax-**ʔe*** *xa* *Mariscal*
1S-be.born-PROX D.M Mariscal
'I was born **i**n Mariscal'

[115] Three of these applicatives *-ɬʔe ~ -kʔe, -xuɬ* and *-kʔoja*, are also employed as associated motion suffixes (see under 5.2.4 for a discussion and examples).

(240)
ta *ɬ-tʊ̉ɬ-**ʃiʔ***
what 2S-come-IND
'Where do you come from?'

(241)
*ɬ-tʊ̉ɬ-**e-i-patʃam***
2S-come-3-DIST-ACROSS
'You come from the other side (of the river)'

(242)
*tʔ-eklet-**ʔapɛ́***
3S-jump-ON
'S/he jumps/jumped on it'

Note that there are many cases where an applicative (especially locative) would not correspond to anything in many other languages although it is obligatory in Nivacle.

(243)
ɬ-xa *sanijɒ-juk* *Ø-puʔxaʔna-**ʔe*** *xa-va* *ɬ-a-i*
F-D watermelon-PLANT 3S-be.three-PROX D-PL 3POS-fruit-PL
'The watermelon plant had had three fruits (on it)'

(244)
*Ø-koxijax-**ʃi*** *xa* *ɬ-xiveklavai* *pa-va* *ɬ-ʃaikʔu-k* *pa* *jiklatax*
3S-be.yellow-INH D.M 3POS-yolk D-PL 3POS-egg-PL D.M Eunectes notaeus
'The yolk of the eggs of the *kuriyu* is yellow'[116]

(245)
*Ø-pite-s-**tʃʔe*** *na-va* *a-jees*
3S-be.long-LONG D-PL 2POS-hair.PL
'Your hair is long'

(246)
*Ø-jakut-**ʃam*** *xa* *ɬ-ʃateʧ*
3S-be.black-THROUGH D.M 3POS-head
'S/he has (lush and) black hair' ("the blackness of her/his hair runs through her/his head")

An applicative can be used as

- a valency increasing device (may also add locatives, instruments or further non-obligatory participants
- a derivation device
- a verbal classifier (rare)

[116] A type of boa (kuriyu in Guaraní – Eunectes notaeus)

The use of an applicative as a verbal classifier corresponds to Aikhenvald's verbal classifiers affixed to the verb. According to her (Aikhenvald 2000: 149) "Verbal classifiers always refer to a predicate argument (usually, S in an intransitive or O in a transitive clause) and can cooccur with it". Nivacle locative applicatives are often used as classifiers. By 'locative' I exclude here strictly locative of the applicatives (such as *They work in/outside the house* or *The cat is under the table*). What I have in mind is a particular use of Nivacle applicatives whereby the suffix refers to a particular segment of the Ground which is somewhat affected by the activity described by the speaker (247a, 250c, 251a, 254b) or to the shape of an entity included in the process (251b, 251c).

Nivacle verbal classifiers are far from constituting a fully fledged classifier system. In fact they only seem to be a by-product (extension) of more prototypical functions of some applicatives. The small number of applicatives which can also be used as verbal classifiers as well as the fact that they have not generated any systematic opposition system such as the deictic and possessive classifiers suggest that it is very improbable that we are witnessing the formation of an incipient verbal classifier category.[117]

Rather than clear-cut categories, the prototypical and classifier use of applicatives must be seen as a continuum.

(B) If an applicative is attached to a *bona fide* noun, i.e. a content word whose NP is preceded by a deictic particle, even when the word would appear to be verb

- it is used as a link and valency increasing device between two nouns within an NP (e)
- if the noun is being used predicatively, i.e. if the preceding deictic particle is omitted, it displays the same features as mentioned under (A) above.

[117] A third small but consistent class of classifiers can also be seen in the derivation of plant names and their parts, whereby there are different suffixes indicating fruit, plant, similarity, extracted drink (if any) and collective: *asakts-**ej*** 'fruit of Capparis salicifolia' vs. *asakts-**uk*** 'plant of Capparis salicifolia' vs. *asakts-**etʃat*** 'grove of Capparis salicifolia' vs. *asakts-**et**ax* '(fruit of any) citrus' vs. *asakts-**eta-juk*** 'citrus tree' vs. *asakts-**eta-ʧat*** 'citrus grove'; *ftsu̍k* 'fruit of Copernicia australis' vs. *ftsuk-i**nɒk*** 'palm-drink' etc.

PERSON MARKER (Table 12)	SUFFIX	GLOSS	
-	*-ʔe(ʔ)*	PROX	Proximal
-	*-a*	PUNCT	Punctual
+	*-i*	DIST	Distal
-	*-ʃi(ʔ) ~ -xi(ʔ)*	IN; INH, IND	Inside; inherent; indefinite
+/-	*-ʧʲe(ʔ) ~ -kʲe(ʔ)*	OPEN; OBLONG	Open place; oblong
		ANLP	Analeptic
+/-	*-xuɬ*	REACT	Front-reactive[118]
+/-	*-kʲoja*	AWAY	Away; separative
		PROLP	Proleptic[119]
-	*-ʔapė*	ON	On a surface; intensive
-	*-ʔakfi*	UNDER	Under (roof or roof-like)
-	*-faʧʲė*	OUTSIDE	Outside
-	*-ʃam ~ -xam*	THROUGH	Through; median path
-	*-ʧi̯ʃam ~ -kiʃam*	UP	Up
-	*-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne*	$DOWN_1$, INT	Down; intensive
-	*-ʃiʧam ~ -kʲeʧam*	$DOWN_2$	Under
+/-	*-xop*	$SIDE_1$, PURP	Beside; around; purpose
+/-	*-kop*	$SIDE_2$	Beside (long-lasting)
-	*-nė*	$HERE_1$	Here
-	*-ʃiʔna ~ -xiʔna*	$HERE_2$	Around here
-	*-paʧam*	ACROSS	In front of; across
-	*-taʃam*	IN&UNDER	Inside and under
+	*-m*	BEN	+ Benefactive/malefactive; indirect object
+/-	*-ʃ ~ -x*	INST	Instrumental[120]

Table 22. List of Nivacle applicative suffixes (In first column: - = cannot be immediately preceded by a person suffix; + = must be immediately preceded by a person suffix; +/- both possibilities)[121]

5.2.2.1. *-ʔe(ʔ)* 'Proximal'. Proximity is to be understood here as relative to some focus of attention. Although it is not easy to distinguish between the proximal and punctual (§ 5.2.2.2) applicatives, it seems that a) the proximate always indicates a ground against which a figure performs an activity or

[118] Also associated motion suffix '(simultaneous) ventive' (VENT).
[119] Also associated motion 'anticipated ventive' (ANT.VENT).
[120] Also often used to introduce a NP or a phrasal object. Added to a noun, it makes it predicative. In the third person, where the subject prefix is Ø-, it is quite frequent, though only optional.
[121] The condition 'immediately preceded' is important because two applicatives may follow each other, each one with its own conditions (247, 255e). This is equally the case when a reflexive/reciprocal marker appears between a person marker and an applicative (254d).

state, whereas the punctual can also directly refer to an animated figure. Neither proximal nor punctual can be preceded by a person marker (Table 12) and b) the activity or state of affairs involved with the proximal takes place within a relatively small radius whereas the punctual involves a specific point. A spatiotemporal unique activity such as 'to be born' or 'to die' will require the proximal, even where the location is far away (to be born/die in Asunción), unless one wishes to be more specific (to be born/to die in a particular house, outside the house, etc.). It is obvious that in (247d) the person who is asking the question does not know whether his/her interlocutor was born nearby or far away. In any case, the proximate applicative is expected because one must be born at a unique place.

Note that in the exceptional (247c), it is not the proximal that induces the nearby location of the birthplace but the demonstrative locative *nɒke*. The first verb has a pluractional suffix *-s*, which is coindexed with a plural NP and – somewhat unexpectedly – with a first-person subject and without the expected SAP or coordinative plural marker *-eɬ*, which would allow the subject to be translated as 'we'. Here, the apparent agreement clash must be understood against its cultural background. However, there may be a deeper grammatical explanation. Notice, on the one hand, that this verb belongs to the third conjugation, where the subject prefix is homophonous with the object prefix of the fifth conjugation. Remember that whereas the prefix of conjugation five opens a slot for two participants, a subject (in Agent role) and an object (in Patient or Recipient role), the prefix of the third conjugations allows a single (subject) participant. On the other hand, since the NP in (247c) is not coindexed anywhere in the verb (as it should in Nivacle), the utterance ought to be ungrammatical. However, it is not. The only way to get around this is to allow this particular verb to behave in this (unique) context as if belonged to the fifth conjugation, in which case the NP would be coindexed with the prefixed A of the verb. This analysis requires a change in the semantics of *-vatˀax* (be born => beget). The second token of the verb is used in its usual way.

The proximal *-ʔe(ʔ)* has Mataguayo cognates: Maká *-i*, Wichí *-ʔe* (maybe also 'Weenhayek *-eh*).

(247a)
*j-iˀs-e-ʃ-**ʔe***
3A(3P)-mark-3-INST-PROX
'S/he writes/wrote it down (i.e. *with* a pen *in* his notebook)'

(247b)
*j-i-**eʔ**-kʔoja* *xa* *tɒvɒk*
3S-be.located-PROX-ANT.VENT D.M river
'S/he / They were waiting for him/her/them (exactly) by/at the river'

(247c)
nɒ-ke *tsi-vatˀa-s-**ʔe*** *na-pi* *ji-novot*
D.M-DEM 1. 1S-be.born-PLC-PROX D-PL 1POS-parents
2. (3A)1P-beget-PLC-PROX
nɒ-ke *tsi-vatˀax-**ʔe*** *ʃta*
D.M-DEM 1S-be.born-PROX also
1. 'My parents were born here, I was born here too'
2. 'My parents begot me here, I was born here also'

(247d)
ta *łan-vat^{ʔ}ax-**ʔe***
What 2D-be.born-PROX
'Where were you born?'

(247e) shows that the proximate can be replaced by another applicative – here *-ʃi* – whenever the speaker wishes to give more precise information (on the road/ under the roof/ up on a hill etc.).[122]

(247e)
ni-vatʔa-s-ʃi *pa* *nɒjiʃ*
3S-beborn-PLC-IND D.M path/road
''S/he was born on the path'

5.2.2.2. *-a* 'Punctual'. This suffix marks a specific target of action, which may be also be human. There are possible cognates in Chorote *-ax* and Wichí *-a*.

(248a)
na *kotsxȧt* *Ø-tɒ̌ɬ-**a*** *ʧ-va* *ɬ-a-i*
D.M earth 3S-come-PUNCT D-PL 3POS-fruit-PL
'The earth produces fruit' (lit. from/at the earth)

(248b)
*j-am-x-**a*** *ti* *ɬa-vɒ̌x-xuɬ* *naɬu*
3S-go-INST-PUNCT SUB_1 3POS-side-VENT day
'Until the sun rises'

(248c)
pa-va *ɬa-voj-ei* *Ø-ni-ton-**a*** *pa* *xpɒjiʧ* *ʃiʔ* *pa-va* *kuvɒju* ;
d-PL 3POS-blood-PL 3S-throw-PUNT D.M house and D-PL horse(s)
pa-va-ɬeʧ *pa* *tʔ-ɒs-ʃam-ʔin*
'Her blood spattered against the wall and on the horses; and they (Jehu's horses) trampled her body' (2 Kings 9: 33)

5.2.2.3. *-i* 'Distal'. The distal is always preceded by a personal marker or the reflexive-reciprocal, in which case the distal allomorph is *-ai*. Mataguayo cognates: Maká *-iiy ~ -uy ~ -ay, ~ -oy*; Chorote *-ey*, Wichí *-ey*. Chorote and Wichí differ from Nivacle and Chorote in that the former this suffix cannot be preceded by a personal marker. It has only one, unsegmentable form.

(249a)
xa-xut
1A(3P)-give
'I give/gave it'

(249b)
*xa-xut-**ʔa-i***
1A(3P)-give-2-DIST
'I give/gave it to you (sg.)' (2-DIST = 2nd person recipient)

[122] The applicative *-ʧ^{ʔ}e ~ -k^{ʔ}e* 'LONG', which very often appears with verbs indicating an activity performed along a path, would sound peculiar in this context (giving birth is done on a certain spot rather than moving along a path).

(249c)
ji-ʔvan
1A(3P)-ver-3-DIST
'S/he sees/saw it/him/her/them'

(249d)
*ji-ʔvan-**e-i***
1A(3P)-ver-3-DIST
'S/he sees/saw it/him/her/them (over there)'

(249e)
*Ø-ʊ̌t-xat-ka-**e-i*** *axʊ̌l* *pʊ-ke*
2A(3P).IRR-fall-CAUS-POLITE-3-DIST POLITE D.M-DEM
'Please, throw it over there!'

5.2.2.4. *-ʃi(ʔ) ~ -xi(ʔ)* 'Inherent', 'Inside', 'Indefinite'. The second allomorph is used after the back vowels /ɒ, o, u/). This suffix is glossed 'inherent' (INH) when it denotes that a certain attribute affects the totality of either a participant or a part of it (for example 'the bird is yellow' or 'its beak is yellow) (250a-c).[123] *-ʃi*(*ʔ*) ~ *-xi*(*ʔ*) is glossed 'inside' (IN) if it refers to a substance contained in a container with tight opening (including human body) or to water in general[124] (250d-e). It is glossed 'indefinite' (IND) if it refers to an unknown or indefinite place. For example, it is always used in questions such as 'Where is s/he/ it?'(250f-g).

This suffix is frequent in all Mataguayo languages: Maká *-xiʔ*, Chorote *-xi*, Wichí *-hi*. A plausible origin would be the verb 'to be located' (Nivacle *-iʔ*, Wichí -[*h*]*i*).[125]

(250a)
*Ø-klim-**ʃiʔ***
3S-be.white-INH
'It is white (all over)'
'It is flour'

(250b)
*pa Ø-klim-**ʃiʔ***
3S-be.white-INH
'Flour' (nominalisation)

(250c)
*j-ɨ̌s-**ʃiʔ*** *na* *ji-tako*
3A(3P)-mark-INH D.M 1POS-face
'S/he tattoos/tattooed my face'

(250d)
ʃe *jaʔ-klɨ̌ʃ* *pa* *j-iʔ-**ʃi**-ʔa-xop*
WHAT IND.POS-language and 3S-be.located-IN-2-PURP
'What language does s/he speaks with you?' (lit. what language is inside him for you)

(250e)
j-*iʔ-**ʃiʔ*** *pa* *jinʊ̌t* *pa-va* *saxeʧ*
3S-be.located-IN D.M water D-PL fish
'Fish live in water'

[123] In practice the suffix is used to indicate the most salient attribute of the participant or its part.
[124] Depending on what is done in/with water, other applicatives may be used. For example 'swim' would require *-ʔapɐ̀* 'on (surface)', ''dive' *-ʃam* ~*-xam* 'through', etc.
[125] This root has no cognate in Maká.

(250f)
am-pa-pu *łavåm* *ka* *n-tvʔj-a*
3S.be.inexistant-D-PL unfortunately SUB_2 3S-know-PUNCT
pa *ła-xpɒjiʧ* *pa-n* *j-iʔ-**ʃiʔ***
D.M 3POS-house D.M-DEM 3S-be-IND
'Nobody knows where his/her house is' or 'Nobody knows in which house s/he lives'

(250g)
Tata *tsi-tsɒtˀax-eł-ʔa-ʃ* *ti* *ł-ɒ-**xiʔ*** *na* *vv̊s*
father 1S-belong-SAP.PL-2-INST SUB_1 2S-be.located-IND D.M sky
'Father our who art in heaven' (lit. father [that] we-belong-to-you)

5.2.2.5. *-ʧˀe(ʔ) ~ -kˀe(ʔ)* 'Open', Oblong', 'Analeptic'. The second allomorph of each pair appears after the back vowels /o, ɒ, u/, the nasals /n, m/ (with some exeptions), and the fricatives /x, f/. Mataguayo cognates: Maká *-kˀi*, Chorote *-kˀi*, Wichí *-ʧe*, 'Weenhayek *-kyeʔ*. It is possible that two different suffixes are involved here, but this is apparent only in Maká, which distinguishes between a glottalised *-kˀi* and a plain *-kii*. This old merger may explain the different functions of Nivacle *-ʧˀe(ʔ) ~ -kˀe(ʔ)*. As can be seen in (251a) the transition between 'enclosed place (the field)', 'distributive/plural' (here and there/ everywhere, 'completeness/perfective', and 'analeptic' (the maize that had been planted) is often blurred. See § 5.2.5.1. for polysemy of *-ʧˀe(ʔ) ~ -kˀe(ʔ)*.

(251a)
xa-va *ofo-s* *Ø-tux-**kˀe*** *ka-va* *niklv̊tsiʧ*
D-PL dove-PL 3A(3P)-eat-LONG D-PL maize
'The doves ate up the maize (all around the field)'

(251b)
*Ø-ʧim-**ʧˀe*** *na* *nɒjiʃ*
3S-be.concave-LONG D.M ʃh
'The path/road is full of potholes (all along)'

(251c)
*Ø-vv̊ł-**ʧˀe*** *ł-pa* *åkxi-juk*
3S-climb-LONG F-D ?-PLANT (= tree [generic])
'S/he climbed on a tree'

(251d)
*Ø-tatamxał-tax-**ʧˀe*** *łɒn* *pa* *ł-nɒjiʃ* *ti* *j-iʧ-tax-**ʧˀe***
3S-prepare-CON-LONG REPORT D.M 3POS-path SUB_1 3S-go-CON-LONG
'(They say) s/he was preparing himself/herself for his/her trip'

5.2.2.6. *-xuł* 'Front-reactive'. This suffix is probably related to the verb $_{II}$*-(a)xuł* 'to be sufficient; to be OK; to be near'. Reaction to a stimulus coming towards the subject as in answering a question or the like. Mataguayo cognates: Maká *-xuł,* 'Weenhayek *-hilɒ ~ -hlɒ ~ -lɒ*. See § 5.2.5.1. for polysemy of *-xuł*.

(252a)
ni-apis-a *ti* *ji-xui-ʔa-**xuɬ***
NEG-already-IRR SUB_1 3S-opose-2-REAC
'S/he is no longer against you (sg)'

(252b)
t^{ʔ}-ɑ̊ɬ-ʃ-a *ka* *n-kɯ̊ɬ-**xuɬ***
3S-ask-INST-PUNCT SUB_2 3A(3R).IRR-answer-REAC
'S/he asks/asked for an answer'

(252c)
*k^{ʔ}a-kɯ̊ɬ-**xuɬ*** *xaju*
1A(2R)-answer-REACT PROSP
'I will answer you'

(252d)
t^{ʔ}*a-kɯ̊m-**xuɬ***
3S-take-REACT
'S/he greets/greeted you'

(252e)
*ji-nɒx-**xuɬ*** *ka* *n-ʧɑ̊x-ʃaʔne*
3S-sing.a.shamanic.song-REACT SUB_2 3A(3P)-catch-PL.O
'He is chanting/ chanted to catch them (the spirits of the rain)'

5.2.2.7. *-k^{ʔ}oja* : 'Away' (intended: out of sight), 'Proleptic'. Nivacle also uses *k^{ʔ}oja* + *ti* as a subordinator 'when (after) …' The cognates in the other languages of the Mataguayo family are Maká *-k^{ʔ}wi*, Wichí *-ʧ^{ʔ}uja* (Nercesian 2014: 314), 'Weenhayek *-k^{jʔ}oje(ʔ)*. The situation in Chorote is more difficult to assess but the corresponding form appears to be *kisyéʔe ~ k^{ʔ}iyé* '(from) outside' (an independent particle) (Carol 2014: 283). See § 5.2.5.1. for polysemy of *-k^{ʔ}oja*.

(253a)
Ø-vena *Ø-nɑ̊ʃ-ʃi-**kʔoja***
3S-be.different 3S-pass-IND-AWAY
'S/he overtook him/her/them by another path'

(253b)
jɑ̊x *ka* *Ø-vena* *Ø-uj-ʔe-**kʔoja*** *pa* *a-nɒjiʃ*
PROH SUB_2 3S-be.different 3S-enter-PROX-AWAY D.M 2POS-path
'Don't stray away from your path!'

(253c)
*j-ovaɬ-ʔe-**k^{ʔ}oja*** *na* *vat-ovaɬ-xaʔvat*
3A(3P)-look-PROX-AWAY D.M IND.POS-look-PLACE
'S/he is looking at it from his/his window'

(253d)
*xa-xut-eɬ-ʔa-**kˀoja***
1A(3P)-give-SAP.PL-2-AWAY
‘I confiscated it from you-pl’

5.2.2.8. -(*ʔ*)*apeʔ* ‘On’. Activity or state taking place on a more or less flat surface (swimming, riding, laying in bed, sitting on a log or being on the roof). Nivacle also has a cognate (?) verb III-*apeʔ* ‘to be filled’ as well as an intensity adverb *apeʔ* ‘very; too much’. Mataguayo cognates: Maká *-pxi,* Chorote *-apéʔe,* Wichí *-pe,* ‘Weenhayek *-tapeʔ ~ -tpeʔ ~ -ʔpeʔ.*

(254a)
*j-i-**ʔapɛ́***
3S-be.located-ON/OVER (surface)
‘S/he is/was on the surface (riding a horse, swimming, sitting on a fallen trunk)’

(254b)
xa-vʊ̌ɬ-ʔe *x-ovaɬ-**ʔapɛ́*** *xa* *ŋjak*
1S-climb-PROX 1A(3P)-look-ON D.M slightly.concave.terrain
‘I climbed it (a tree), I looked (sitting on a branch) at a portion of terrain’

(254c)
jåx *ka* *ni-vʊ̌ɬ-**ʔapɛ́*** *ɬa* *uti-juk*
PROH SUB_2 2S.IRR-climb-ON F.D stine-PLANT (= hill)
‘Don’t climb on that hill!’

(254d)
*Ø-nåʃ-xo-t-**apɛ́*** *na* *pʊtsex*
3S-pass-1INCL-REC-ON
‘The/A *javiru*-bird (Jabirú mycteria) flew over us’

Example (254e) shows how the nominalisation of the verb does not affect the original applicative: the meaning remains ‘ (the war) over/on/about the Chaco’, not *’about/on/over the war’ or * ‘on/about the Chaco war’ i.e. ‘war’ is the head and ‘Chaco’ the dependant.

(254e)
pa *vat-vat-klʊn-xajaʃ-**ʔapɛ́*** *na* *ʧako*
D.M IND.POS-REC-kill-NMLZ-OVER D.M Chaco
’The Chaco war’ (lit. each other’s-killing-over [the territory of] + the Chaco)

5.2.2.9. -*ʔakfi ~ -ʔʊkxi* ‘Under$_1$’. The allomorphs have a dialectal and/or idiolectal distribution. Activity of state taking place under a roof-like structure (within a house, under a tree). Mataguayo cognates: Maká *-fi,* Wichí *-fwi.*

(255a)
*j-ui-**ʔakfi*** *xa* *fetas*
3S-enter-UNDER D.M root
‘It hided under a root’ (with NP omitted: ‘S/he/ It hided under it/him/her’)

(255b)
j-ui-xat
3A(3P)-enter-CAUS
'S/he stuffs it in'

(255c)
*j-ui-xat-**ʔakfi***
3A(3P)-enter-CAUS-UNDER
'S/he swaps it'

(255d)
Ø-ta-kumax-fatʃ^{ʔ}ẻ *Ø-tʊɬ-**ɒkxi*** *xa* *ła-xpɒjitʃ*
3S-CISL-run-OUT 3S-come-UNDER D.M 3POS-house
'S/he came away running from his/her house' (verb serialization)

5.2.2.10. *-fatʃ^{ʔ}ẻ* 'Outside'. This suffix can also be used independently as a locative adverb 'outside'. The verb $_{IV}$-*fatʃ^{ʔ}a-n* 'to spread out, stretch out' has obviously the same origin. The suffix *-fatʃ^{ʔ}ẻ* differs from *-k^{ʔ}oja* 'away' insofar as the latter implies movement out of sight and not necessarily from within a place whereas *-fatʃ^{ʔ}ẻ* indicates that a figure has moved from inside and is or is coming out of it while remaining nearby. The only Mataguayo cognate is Maká *-fik^{ʔ}i.*

(255e)
*ji-peʔje-e-i-**fatʃ^{ʔ}ẻ*** *pa-pi* *Ø-naʃ-xop* *k^{ʔ}afɒkełai*
3A(3P)-hear-3-DIST-OUT D-PL 3S-pass-SIDE$_1$ soldiers/police
'S/he heard (from inside) the soldiers passing by'

(256a)
*a-natʃ-**fatʃ^{ʔ}ẻ*** *na* *a-xpɒjitʃ*
2S.IRR-come-OUT D.M 2POS-house
'Come out of your house!'(with NP omitted: Come out of there!)

(256b)
*ʃta-toxon-**fatʃ^{ʔ}ẻ*** *pa* *ału*
1INCL(3P)-pull-OUT D.M iguana
'We will get the iguana out (of its burrow)'

(256c)
*ji-ʧen-**fatʃ^{ʔ}ẻ*** *j-i-e-i* *pa* *ji-tsảt*
3A(3P)-send-OUT 3S-be.located-3-DIST d.M IND.POS-village
'S/he sent him/her out of the village' (two applicatives distributed between to verbs)[126]

5.2.2.11. *-ʃam ~ -ʃảm ~ -xam ~ -xảm* 'Through'. The allomorps beginning with a fricative are used after the back vowels /ɒ, o, u/, the nasals /n, m/, and the fricatives /x, f/). Note that this suffix can also a collective plural (see § 4.3.7).

[126] This is a common strategy, whose function is sometimes to avoid the presence of two or more incompatible applicatives. This is achieved by verb serialisation. The second part may be any other verb but 'to be located', used as a light verb, is particularly frequent. This dedicated use of 'to be located' may easily be mistaken for a possessive type of adposition.

(257a)
*pa nů ji-xů̊x-**xam** pa-va ɬ-kaklɒ-s*
D.M dog 3A(3P)-bit-THROUGH D-PL 3POS-leg-PL
'A/The dog bit him/her in the legs'

(257b)
*am-pa ka nɒjiʃ-a-**ʃam** xa-va jita-k*
3S.be.inexistant-D.M SUB_2 (be.)path-IRR-THROUGH D-PL wilderness-PL
'There is no (such thing that is a) path through this desert' ('path' is construed as a predicate)

(257c)
*Ø-naʧ-faʧ^{ʔ}ɛ̊ pa-va jinɒt-is ti Ø-tiʃ-**ʃɒ̊m***
3S-pass-OUT D-PL water-PL SUB_1 3A(3P)-fill.up-THROUGH
xa-va Ø-ʧim-ʧ^{ʔ}e-ʃaʔne
D-PL 3S-be.low.terrain-LONG
'The water raises (out from the river) and spills over (through) the low terrain'

5.2.2.12. *-ʧiʃam* 'Up'. The allomorphs *-k^{ʔ}eʧam* and *-kiʃam* [rare] appear after the back vowels /ɒ, o, u/, the nasals /n, m/, and the fricatives /f, x/). Combined with the applicative *-nɛ̊* 'here', which follows it (*-ʧiʃam-nɛ̊*), it is also used as a noun meaning 'upriver people', 'floor, storey' or an adverb 'above', 'upriver'. Other Mataguayo languages show a different form with /ph/: Maká *-pham*, Wichí *-pho*. Neighbouring Guaykurú languages have a similar applicative, all with the meaning 'upward': Toba (Chaco province, Argentina) *-ʃegem*, Toba (Western Formosa province, Argentina) *-hegem*, Pilagá *-segem* 'upward'.

(258a)
*Ø-u-s-**ʧiʃam**-klɛ̊ xa-va apʔetse-s*
3S-be.big-UP-DIM D-PL cactus.fruit
'The fruit of the cactus begin to sprout a little'

(258b)
*xa ɒxɒklɒ Ø-vɒ̊ɬ-e-i-**ʧiʃam***
D.M bird 3S-fly-3-DIST-UP
'A/The bird flew away (upwards)'

5.2.2.13. *-ʃitʃam ~ -k^{ʔ}eʧam ~ -xitʃam* 'Down$_2$'. The last two allomorphs sometimes appear after the back vowels /ɒ, o, u/, the nasals /n, m/. This suffix may also be used as a verb 'to be less', 'to be under the power of', as a noun 'lower part' and adverb. Maybe cognate with Wichí *-ʧoʔ* (but 'Weenhayek has *-kyɒxwih*, with the regular correspondence /ʧ/ - /k^{j}/ but different second syllable).

(259a)
j-aʧax
1A(3P)-take/give.back
'S/he takes or gives it back'

(259b)
*j-atʃax-**ʃitʃam***
1A(3P)-take/give.back-DOWN$_2$
‘S/he oppresses him/her’ (cf. German *unter*+drücken, Ukrainian *pry*+hnichaty, Latin *ob*+primere > opprimere etc.)

(259c)
*Ø-nåʃ-**ʃitʃam*** *na-va* *vɒs-ei*
3S-pass-DOWN$_2$ D-PL sky-PL (= cloud)
‘Low clouds are passing’

(259d)
*a-n-uʔ-eɬ-**ʃitʃam*** *ɬa-ɬetʃ*;
2A(3P)-CISL-throw-SAP.PL-DOWN$_2$ F.D-ANAPH
pa-pi-ɬetʃ *pa* *Ø-n-uʔ-**xitʃam***
D-PL-ANAPH and 3A(3P)-CISL-throw-DOWN$_2$
‘Throw her down! And they threw her down’

5.2.2.14. *-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne* ‘Down$_1$’, ‘Intensive’. The second allomorph appears after the back vowels /o, ɒ, u/, the nasals /n, m/ (with some exeptions), and the fricatives /x, f/). Mataguayo cognates: Maká *-xuʔ,* Wichí *-xen*.

(260a)
*j-i-**ʃaʔne***
3S-be.located-DOWN
‘S/he is/was sitting/sits/sat (on the ground)’

(260b)
*n-oi-**ʃaʔne***
3S-escape-DOWN
‘She is pregnant’ (not giving birth!)

(260c)
*xai-kůi-**ʃaʔne***
1S-vomit-DOWN
‘I vomit(ed)’

(260d)
*xai-kůi-e-ʃ-**ʃaʔne*** *ka-va* *ji-fetats-ij*
1S-vomit-3-INST-DOWN D-PL 1POS-medicine-PL
‘I vomited my medicine’

(260e)
*tsi-kɒ̊t-**ʃaʔne**-xop* *xa-va* *ɬa-fo-k*
1S-fall-DOWN-SIDE$_1$ D-PL 3POS-foot-PL
‘I fell at his/her feet’

Note that in (260f) *-ʃaʔne* is not an exponent of the applicative.

(260f)
j-ɨ̊s-ʃaʔne *xa-va* *ɬ-lkɒ-i*
3A(3P)-mark-PL.O D-PL 3PL-domestic.animal-PL
'He branded his cattle'

5.2.2.15. -*xop* (~ [-*xup*]) 'Side$_1$'. Activity or state implying circular movement or any point around a circle. Metaphorical extension: purpose (cf. English beat *around* the bush). Mataguayo cognates: Maká *-xup*, Chorote *-xap,* and possibly also (albeit the second syllable may invalidate the correspondence) 'Weenhayek *-whɒyeʔ.* This applicative has cognates in neighbouring Guaykurú languages: Pilagá *-sop* 'in circles', Toba (Chaco province, Argentina) *-sop* 'around', and especially Toba (Western Formosa province, Argentina) *-hop.*

Since *-xop* as well as its cognates in other Chaco languages is overwelmingly used in locative function, it is fair to assume that the notion of purpose is an extension of the locative. As Heine & Kuteva (2002: 39-40) and Rice & Kabata (2007: 490), 'allatives' (such as benefactives and datives) are prone to develop into expressions of purpose. Note however that the movement element implied in the term 'allative' is not a necessary component of *-xop* as can be seen in (261b) and (261g-h).

(261a)
*ni-n-vɒ̊m-**xop*** *ti* *(t-)tsaxkun*
NEG-3S.IRR-wash-PURP SUB$_1$ 3S-eat
'S/he does not/ did not wash (his/her hands) (be)fore eating'

(261b)
ɬa *fanxa* *tˀ-ɒs-ʃitʃam-**xop***
F.D grasshopper 3S-step-DOWN$_2$-SIDE$_1$
'(A/The) grasshopper is hopping all around the place'

(261c)
*x-an-ʃi-**xo**p* *na-va* *ji-tɒsxe-ʃi-jis* *ti* *j-etɒn-ʧˀe*
1A(3P)-put-INH-PURP D-PL 3POS-eye-NMLZ-PL SUB$_1$ 1A(3P)-read-LONG
'I put on my glasses in order to read'

(261d)
*tˀ-eklet-e-ʃaʔne-**xop*** *xa* *kuvɒju* *pa* *tˀa-kɨ̊m-xuɬ*
3S-jump-PROX-DOWN$_1$-PURP D.M horse and 3S-grasp-REACT
'He dismounted in order to greet him/her'

(261e)
*j-i-eɬ-ʔa-**xop***
3S-be.located-SAP.PL-2-SIDE$_1$
'S/he is/was with you (pl)'

(261f)
am-pa *ka* *ni-tɒɬ-ʔe-**xop***
3S.be.inexistant-D.M SUB$_2$ 3S.IRR-come-PROX-PURP
'There is no reason for it'

(261g)
*a-manɬe-eɬ-**xop*** *na-va* *klutsʃe-s*
2S-stay-SAP.PL-SIDE$_1$ D-PL gun-PL
‘(You-pl) Stay with the guns (watch the guns)!’

(261h) illustrates the presence of two applicatives *-ʃ* and *-xop* on a (head) noun.

(261h)
xa *ɬ-aʃi-e-ʃ-**xop*** *ɬ-xa* *vat-ɒo-xat-ʃi*
D.M 3POS-opening-3-INST-SIDE F-D POS.IND-be.located-NMLZ-NMLZ.CONTAINER
‘The vehicle’s door’ (lit. the opening-it-with-beside)

5.2.2.16. *-kop*: Side$_2$. Probably indicates a more stable relation than *-xop*, e.g. staying by somebody’s side or living with someone. Moreover the use of *-kop* seems to require the presence of the reflexive-reciprocal *-vat* ~ *-t* before it.

(262a)
*t-ai-vat-**kop***
3S-separate-REC-SIDE$_2$
’They split up’

(262b)
ni-t^{ʔ}-ɒjiʃe-e-i *ka* *n-ai-xat-ɬa-v-**kop***
NEG-3POS-behind-IRR-3-DIST SUB$_2$ 3A(3P)-disappear-CAUS-3-REC-SIDE$_2$
ɬa-vɑ̊ʧa *pa* *t^{ʔ}-axɒ̊x-xam* *pa* *Judá*
3POS-PRON D.M 3POS-people-COL.PL D.M Judas
’The tribe of Judas was the only one he did not dismiss’ (lit. not behind [him] he made disappear the tribe of Judas)

(262c)
ʃtan-ʃam-ʔin *ti* *ʃn-ɒ̊(v)-vat-**kop***
1INCL-be.happy-INT SUB$_1$ 1INCL-be.located-REC-SIDE$_2$
‘We (incl.) have fun together’

5.2.2.17. *-nɛ̊:* ‘Here$_1$’. This applicative is not particularly frequent. It can also be used as an autonomous verb (263c) ‘linger on/waste time in getting here’.

(263a)
ʧin-tax-a *ɬa* *ɬutsxa* *ti* *Ø-naʃ-**ne**-en*
3S.short.while-CON-PUNCT F.D teenage.girl SUB$_1$ 3S-pass-HERE$_1$-INT
‘For a while the/a girl walked by again’

(263b)
*a-manɬe-eɬ-**nɛ̊***
2S-stay-SAP.PL-HERE$_1$
‘(You-pl) Stay here!’

(263c)
*a-**nɐ̌**-a-ʧ^{ɒ}e*
2S.IRR-be.here-IRR-ANLP (?)
‘Don’t be late (in arriving here)!’

5.2.2.18. *-ʃiʔna ~ -xiʔna* ‘Here$_2$’, ‘Around here’. The second allomorph appears after the back vowels /o, ɒ, u/, the nasals /n, m/ (with some exeptions), the fricatives /x, f/, and the glottal /ʔ/. Also used as an independent adverb.

(264a)
*a-n-uʔ-**xiʔna***
2A(3P).IRR-CISL-throw-HERE$_2$
‘Throw it to me here!’

(264b)
*xa-naʧ-**ʃiʔna*** *pa* *xa-vanka-xaj-an-e-ʃ* *pa* *jinɒ̌t*
1S-pass-HERE$_2$ D.M 1S-ANTIPAS-wet-CAUS-3-INST D.M water
‘I am here to baptise with water’ (John 1:31)

(264c)
*a-n-k^{ʔ}ui-**ʃiʔna***
2S.IRR-CISL-move-HERE$_2$
‘Come here (nearer)!’

(264d)
nɒ-ke *Ø-tɒ̌ɬ-ʔe-**ʃiʔna***
D.M-DEM 3S-come-PROX-HERE$_2$
‘They came here from that direction’

5.2.2.19. *-paʧam* ‘Across’. Can also be used as a noun ‘part’ and ‘other side’ or adverb ‘across’, from either of which this applicative may have grammaticalized.

(265a)
*ɬ-tɒ̌ɬ-e-i-**paʧam***
2S-come-3-DIST-ACROSS
‘You come from the other side (of the river)’

(265b)
*x-ɒk-e-i-**paʧam*** *xa* *nɒjiʃ*
1S-go-3-DIST-ACROSS D.M path/road/street
‘I crossed the/a street’

(265c)
ka *x-ekxet-tax-eɬ-e-i-**paʧam*** *na* *a-kotxåt-eɬ*
SUB$_2$ 1A(3P)-cross-CON-SAP.PL-3-DIST-ACROSS D.M 2POS-land-PL
xa *nɒjiʃ* *ka* *xa-tsavaɬ-eɬ-ʧ^{ɒ}e*
D.M path SUB$_2$ 1S-go.straight-SAP.PL-LONG
‘We follow a straight path until we cross your land’ (Numbers 32: 17)

5.2.2.20. *-taʃam* 'In & under'. This applicative has probably grammaticalized from a noun which means 'bottom' and 'inside part'. This suffix often combines with preceding *-ɟʔe(ʔ) ~ -kʔe(ʔ).* As a suffix, it refers to a state of affairs which involves a narrow opening and/or tubular space (e.g. den, burrow. Mataguayo cognate: Maká *-texem*. The Maká dictionary (Gerzenstein 1999: 336) registers an independent use as an interjection '(come) in!'.

(266a)
*j-aɟax-**taʃam*** *xa* *tʔi-tů́k*
3A(3P)-takeoff-IN&UNDER D.M 3POS-arm
'S/he withdrew his/her arm (from a bag or a hole)'

(266b)
pa-va *ɬ-kaklɒ-i* *ni-xǒiɬa* *pa* *tʔ-ɒs-e-ʃ-**taʃam***
D-PL 3POS-leg-PL 3S-be.behind and 3S-walk-3-INST-IN&UNDER
'Their hindquarters were inward' (lit. walked-with-inward) (2 Chronicles 4:4)

(266c)
*ji-jit-e-i-**taʃam**-xum* *pa* *jeklɒʔ* *tax* *ti*
3A(3P)-force-3-DIST-IN&UNDER-INT D.M stick but SUB_1
ni-n-am-e-i *pa-n* *j-ɒx-ʔe* *pa* *ɬ-tɒvaʃ*
NEG-3S.IRR-go-3_DIST D.M-REL 3S-end-PROX D.M 3POS-cavity
'S/he forced a stick inside (the burrow) but could not reach the bottom'

5.2.2.21. *-m* 'Benefactive/Malefactive'. After a reflexive-reciprocal suffix the allomorph of the benefactive/malefactive is *-am*. It is often impossible to determine whether the combination-*vat-am* has reciprocal or plural function. Note also that Nivacle has no verb corresponding to 'to have'. There are different constructions dedicated to this function and the benefactive is one of them (267d-f).[127] The benefactive can also be used to code experiencers (267b-c). Among the Mataguayo languages, only Maká uses *-m* as a benefactive.

(267a)
Ø-am-pa-pu *ka* *ni-tʔovɒs-ɟʔe-**ja-m*** *na-va* *ji-jə́s*
3S-be.inexistent-D-PL.IND SUB_2 3A(3P).IRR-cut-LONG-1-BEN D-PL 1POS-hair.PL
'Nobody has ever cut my hair'

(267b)
*va-nut-**e-m*** ***ɬ**-xa* *ɬ-ɟʔakfa*
3S-be.angry-3-BEN F-D 3POS-spouse
'He was angry with his wife' (with NP omitted: 'S/he was angry with him/her')

(267c)
*ni-Ø-kʔů́s-tax-e-eɬ-**ja-m**-ʔin*
NEG-3S.IRR-be.happy-CON-IRR-SAP.PL-1-BEN-INT
'We (excl) were not happy/ It was not happy for us'

[127] More on predicative constructions in Nivacle can be found in Fabre (2015).

(267d)
Ø-kåx *xa* *Ø-veła* *xpɒjitʃ*
3S-exist D.M 3S-be.one house
'There was one house'

(267e)
*Ø-kåx-**ja-m*** *xa* *ji-xpɒjitʃ*
3S-exist-1-BEN D.M 1POS-house
'I have/had a house'

(267f)
*Ø-am-**ja-m*** *ɬ-pa* *ka* *ji-tinshanxa-a*
3S-be.inexistent-1-BEN F-D SUB_2 1POS-money-IRR
'I don't have a single coin' ("what would be a coin")

(267g)
*ji-xɒ-ʔakfi-vat-**am*** *na* *xpɒjitʃ*
3S-sleep-UNDER-REC-BEN (~ COL.PL) D.M house
'They sleep in the house'

(267h)
Ø-sui-je-ʃ-ʃi-ʔa-m *ka* *Ø-aitʃavaɬ-e-i-ʔa-t-am*
3S-be.bad-3-INST-INH-2-BEN SUB_2 2A(3P).IRR-think-3-INST-2-REF-BEN
'It is necessary that you think about it' (*-sui-je-ʃ-ʃi* 'to be necessary')

(267i)
*ji-kum-xan-ła-t-**am***
3A(3P)-work-CAUS-3-REF-BEN
'S/he makes him/her work/ S/he is his/her employer'

(267j)
*ʃta-ʧax-e-ʃ-katsi-t-**am*** *pa* *jinɒ̊t*
1INCL(3P)-fetch-3-INST-1INCL-REF-BEN D.M water
'We fetch our own water'[128]

5.2.2.22. *-ʃ ~ -x* 'Instrumental'. Thee second allomorph appears after the back vowels /o, ɒ, u/. Apart from denoting an instrument (note that it is not used as a comitative), this suffix introduces a new participant, often a Patient. It is also widely used to introduce subordinate clauses. Mataguayo cognates: Maká /*-x*/, Chorote /*-ex*/, Wichí /*-ex*/. Like with the distal applicative, only Nivacle and Maká allow the presence of a personal marker before the instrumental.

(268a)
kʔa-tis
1A(2R)-give
'I give/gave (to) you (sg.)'

(268b)
*kʔa-tis-**e-ʃ***
1A(2R)-give-3-INST
'I give/gave it/them to you (sg.)' (3-INST = 3rd person object)

(268c)
*ji-klɒn-e-**ʃ*** *pa* *ɬ-tavxɒvʃeʧ*
3A(3P)-kill-3-INST D.M 3POS-club
'S/he killed it/him/her with his/her club'

[128] Although the instrumental has no overt referent, it is obligatory since one always needs something to carry water. If necessary one can add a noun like canister, pot or bottle, in which case no further applicative will be needed.

(268d)
Ø-vȧt-faxuɬ-e-ʃ
3S-REFL-bear-3-INST
'S/he puts up with him/her' (cf. German durch+stehen) (< *-faixuɬ* 'to [be able to] resist someone/something')

(268e)
na-an-tɒfak-ji-ʃ - *ama, ni-nas-tɒfak-ʔa-ʃ*
NEG-2S.IRR-know-1-INST no, NEG-1S.IRR-know-2-INST
'Don't you know/recognise me? – No, I don't recognise you'

(268f)
xa-ɬeklɒx-ʔa-ʃ *ka* *aʔ-ɬeʧ-a*
1A(3P)-suspect-2-INST SUB_2 2S-ANAPH-IRR
'I suspect you (were the one responsible)'

(269g)
*ni-n-etɒn-xoo-**x***
NEG-3S.IRR-call-1INCL-INST
'S/he did not call us'

(269h-i) illustrate combinations of different applicatives.

(269h)
*ji-ʔvan-**ʃ**-e-i*
1A(3P)-ver-INST-3-DIST
'S/he sees/saw it/him/her/them over there with it'[129]

(269i)
*ji-ʔvan-**ʃ**-e-i-ʧiʃam*
1A(3P)-ver-INST-3-DIST-UP
'S/he sees/saw it/him/her/them up there with it'

5.2.3. Further notes on the applicatives. Although locative and instrumental applicatives frequently correspond to nominal cases and/or adpositions, their use extends much farther than would be expected.

1) Since it often happens that applicatives are coindexed with object arguments, their overall distribution shows that they cannot be analysed as differential objects. The prefix slot of the verb in (270a) displays two core arguments, Agent and Patient (coindexed with the jugs). A further participant has been added to the basic transitive verb v-*po-nt* 'to fill'[130] as a suffix (third person instrumental). The instrumental participant is obligatory with this verb although the corresponding NP is usually omitted. The NP 'water' is overt in (270a) and (270d) but no filling substance is stated in (270b), (270c) and (270e). Of course, it would still be possible to claim that the *filling* is pragmatically recoverable in the last three examples. In (270b), the second verb is unambiguous as to the substance involved in the process denoted by the third person instrumental of the first verb. However, the two verbs are coordinated and independent (a literal translation would be 'S/he filled-it-with and s/he pissed-there-on-it'). The same is true with (270e), where the NP 'glass' suggests a

[129] The instrumental may refer to the subject (e.g. the onlooker uses binoculars) or the object. In the latter case the instrumental can refer to any feature of the participant (make-up, behaviour, etc.) - not necessarily an instrument – as well as a subordinate clause.

[130] The transitive *-po-nt* (< *-po-nat*) is the causativisation of *-pɔ̊* 'to be full' (only in third person), which is usually employed with an applicative: *ta-pɔ̊-x* (3S-be.full-INST) 'It is full of…', *ta-pɔ̊-kʔe* 'LONG/OBLONG-X is full of…' (e.g. water on the road or in a jug with open neck; eyes being closed, etc.).

metonymic relationship container-content'. In (270c) the interpretation depends on cultural factors. In the Chaco, fishing expeditions required the use of ropes to transport the fish so the mere mention of filling a rope evokes fish being strung one after another along a rope.

(270a)

a-po-nt-e-ʃ-eɬ-ʧ^{ʔ}e-ʃaʔne	*pa*	*jinåt*	*na-vɒ-ke*	*tɒʔɬɒs-ij*
2A(3P).IRR-fill-CAUS-3-INST-LONG-3PL.O	D.M	water	D-PL-DEM	jug-PL

'(You-pl) Fill those jugs with water!'

(270b)

ji-po-nt-e-ʃ	*pa*	*j-uɬ-e-i-ʃi*
3A(3P).IRR-fill-CAUS-3-INST	and	3S-piss-3-DIST-INH

'S/he pissed on it (a plant, completely covering it)'

(270c)

ji-po-nt-e-ʃ	*xa*	*Ø-veʔɬa*	*nijɒk*
3A(3P).IRR-fill-CAUS-3-INST	D.M	3S-be.one	rope

'(The fisherman) filled one rope (with fish)'

(270d)

ji-po-nt-e-ʃ-ʔakfi	*xa*	*ɬa-xpɒjiʧ*	*pa-va*	*ɬ-kuts-xat-es*
3A(3P).IRR-fill-CAUS-3-INST-UNDER	D.M	3POS-house	D-PL	3POS-steal-NMLZ-PL

'He filled his house with stolen things'

(270e)

ji-po-nt-e-ʃ-ja-m	*na*	*ji-jɒ-xat-ʃij*
3A(3P).IRR-fill-CAUS-3-INST-1-BEN	D.M	1POS-drink-NMLZ-NMLZ.F

'S/he is filling my glass' (litt. fill-it-with-for-me)

Examples (271b-j) contain the verb IV-*i(ʔ)-ʃiʔ* 'to speak', where the (locative) inherent applicative is added to the root *-i(ʔ)-* 'to be located' (271a). This root must always be followed by an applicative. With the applicative *-ʃiʔ* it most frequently means 'to speak' but in questions, it may also be used in sense of 'to be in an unknown place' (271a). There is no obligation of specifying any particular language (in fact it is rarely mentioned at all) but the applicative cannot be omitted. Examples (271f-j) make no mention of language. In (271f) the punctual applicative *-a* adds an addressee whose location or movement is not specified. (271g) and (271h) show that the location of the addressee may be specified. In (271i) and (271j), associated motion suffixes have been recruited in order to specify the movement of the addressee towards (ventive, 271j) or away (itive, 271i) from the latter. As can be seen, in order to be able to use the verb 'to be located' in Nivacle, one needs increase its valency. The applicative *-ʃiʔ ~ -xiʔ* alone allows one to specify an unknown place (271a) or a language, each with its own sense 'to be (located)' vs. 'to speak (*in* a language). This basic (minimum) valency can optionally be increased with further applicatives or associated motion suffixes.

(271a)

ta	*j-iʔ-**ʃiʔ***	*axaɬ*
what	3S-be.located-INH	POLITE

'Where is he/she/it?'

(271b)

*j-iʔ-**ʃiʔ***	*ka*	*nivakle*	*ɬ-kliʃ*
3S-be.located-INH	D.M	Nivacle	3POS-language

‘S/he speaks/spoke the Nivacle language’

(271c)

ʃe	*jaʔ-kliʃ*	*pa*	*j-iʔ-**ʃi**-ʔa-xop*
what	IND.POS-language	COORD	3S-be.located-INH-2-SIDE

‘What language does s/he speaks with you’

(271d)

ʃe	*jaʔ-kliʃ*	*pa*	*ɬ-ɒv-eɬ-**ʃiʔ**-va-kop*
what	IND.POS-language	COORD	2S-be.located-PL.SAP-INH-REC-SIDE$_2$
ti	*j-iʔ-e-i*	*xa*	*a-xpɒjitʃ*
SUB$_1$	3S-be.located-3-DIST	D.M	2POS-house

‘What language do you speak to each other at home?

(271e)

*j-iʔ-**ʃiʔ**-xop*	*ka*	*nivakle*	*ɬ-kliʃ*
3S-be.located-INH-SIDE	D.M	Nivacle	3POS-language

‘S/he speaks/spoke to him/her/them in the Nivacle language’

(271f)

*x-ɒv-**xi**-a*	*xa*	*nivakle*
1S-be.located-INH-PUNCT	D.M	Nivacle

‘I spoke to a Nivacle’

(271g)

*x-ɒv-**xi-ʃitʃam***	*xa*	*nivakle*
1S-be.located-INH-UNDER	D.M	Nivacle

‘I spoke to a Nivacle (He was under me, for example I was on the roof – the second, non-obligatory, applicative specifies the position of the addressee).’

(271h)

*x-ɒv-**xi-ʧiʃam***	*xa*	*nivakle*
1S-be.located-INH-ABOVE	D.M	Nivacle

‘I spoke to a Nivacle (He was above me).’

(271i)

*x-ɒv-**xi-ʧ^{ə}e***	*xa*	*nivakle*
1S-be.located-INH-IT	D.M	Nivacle

‘I spoke to a Nivacle who was walking away’

(271j)

*x-ɒv-**xi-xuɬ***	*xa*	*nivakle*
1S-be.located-INH-VENT	D.M	Nivacle

‘I spoke to a Nivacle who was coming towards me’

2) Most locative applicatives are inherently neutral with regard to stative location or directionality. The combination of both root and locative applicative yields the correct reading. Some locative applicatives goes in pairs, for example *-ʔakfi* 'under (roof/tree)' vs. *-faʧˀɛ̰* 'out'. In such cases, stative location and directionality still depend on the semantics of the verb, but directionality acquires a particular orientation (towards or away from). However, complications often arise, usually from the combination of two of more applicatives, idiosyncratic factors or viewpoint (reference point) strategies (c).

(a) distal: PERS + *-i*. Note than in all three examples (272a-c), Asunción is marked twice for distance. First as a distal applicative on the verb and then on the deictic classifier preceding the noun, which indicates that the capital is known by sight by the speaker but not in sight at the moment - suggesting distance.

(272a)
xa-tʊɬ-e-i *xa* *Asunción*
1S-come-3-DIST D.M Asunción
'I come/came from Asunción'

(272b)
x-am-e-i *xa* *Asunción*
1S-go-3-DIST D.M Asunción
'I go/went to Asunción'

(273c)
xa-manɬe-e-i *xa* *Asunción*
1S-live-3-DIST D.M Asunción
'I live(d) in Asunción'

(b) *-ʔakfi* 'under (roof/tree)' vs. *-faʧˀɛ̰* 'out'

(274a)
j-i-ʔakfi *na* *ji-xpʊjiʧ*
3S-be.located-UNDER D.M 1POS-house
'S/he is in my house'

(274b)
j-ui-ʔakfi *na* *ji-xpʊjiʧ*
3S-enter-UNDER D.M 1POS-house
'S/he comes in my house'

(274c)
j-iʧ-faʧɛ̰ *na* *ji-xpʊjiʧ*
3S-go-OUT D.M 1POS-house
'S/he is going out of my house'

(c) *-ʧiʃam* 'UP' vs. *-ʃiʧam* 'DOWN'

(275a)
j-iʧ-e-i-ʃiʧam *na* *vʊ̰s*
3S-go-3-DIST-DOWN D.M sky
'S/he/They went to the sky' (reference point: [away] from the earth)

(275b)
j-ovaɬ-e-i-ʧiʃam *na* *vʊ̰s*
3A(3P)-see-3-DIST-UP D.M sky
'He looked toward the sky' (John 17:1)

(275c)
x-ʊk-ʔa-i-ʧiʃam
1S-go-2-DIST-UP
'I am coming to you' (John 17: 13)

(275d)
ɬa-s-ʧen-ʃiʧam
2A-1P-send-DOWN
'You sent me' (John 17: 21)

3) As a rule, applicatives have one or two central, canonical uses as well some additional functions. These cannot always be easily explained on the base of the prototypical meaning of the particular applicative. Applicatives may or may not increase valency, especially where they refer to a (sub)part of an entity. Moreover, they can also be employed as derivation devices. Many verbs require one or more particular applicative(s) as well as associated motion suffixes. Different options may be available. The verb *-aiʧavaɬ* 'to think (only in the sense 'to give thought to; to ponder') is given here as an illustration.

(276a)
x-aiʧavaɬ-ʔa
1S-think-2
'I think about you'

(276b)
j-aiʧavaɬ-a-an *xa* *ɬ-aɒs*
3S-think-3-INT D.M 3POS-son
'S/he thinks about his/her son (not present)'

(276c)
x-aiʧavaɬ-tax-e-ʃ-ʔa *ka* *a-mɒnɬa-a*
1S-think-CON-3-INST-2 SUB_2 2S.IRR-live-IRR
'I think/thought that you will/would live/survive'

(276d)
x-aiʧavaɬ-kˀoja *ka* *n-kåx* *xaju* *ɬ-pa* *ji-peso*
1S-think-ANT.VENT SUB_2 3S.IRR-exist PROSP F-D 1POS-money
'I think I will receive some money'

(276e)
jåx *ka* ***Ø-aiʧavaɬ-eɬ-a-kˀoja***
PROH SUB_2 2S.IRR-think-NMLZ-PL.SAP-IRR-ANT.VENT
pa *a-mɒnɬa-xajaʃ-ɛɬ*
D.M 2POS-live-NMLZ-PL
'Don't worry about your lives!'

(276f)
ʃt-aiʧavaɬ-a-xop *pa-vɒ-ke* *naɬu-s* *xaju*
1INCL.S-think-3-PURP D-PL-DEM day-PL PROSP
'We (incl.) think about the future'

(276g)
jinxɒt *ti* *ji-faxɒi* *ɬaiʔjåʃ* *ti* ***j-aiʧavaɬ-e-m-e-i***
always SUB_1 3A(3P)-scarify because SUB_1 3S-think-3-BEN-3-DIST
ɬɒn *ka* *Ø-pɒtsex-a-xum* *pa* *ɬa-ntɒkʃiʧˀa*
REPORT SUB_2 3S-run.fast-IRR-INT D.M 3POS-grandson
'He always scarified him because he thought his grandson would be a better runner'

(276h) [nominalisation by prefixing a deictic particle]
na-va ***x-aitʃavaɬ-e-i-ja-m***
D-PL 3S-think-3-DIST-1-BEN
'My intentions' (lit. "the I-think-about.them-for-me")

5.2.4. Applicatives and the lack of adpositional phrases from a broader typological point of view. The lack of adpositional phrases is typologically infrequent, but similar systems have been attested in other parts of the world, most conspicuously in a few North American languages (Mithun 2005, 2006)[131] and in Northwest Caucasian (Arkadiev & Letuchiy 2012, Arkhangelskiy & Lander 2015, Dumézil 1932, Hewitt 2005, Lander 2017, O'Herin 2001 and 2002), although the latter languages also employ possessive nouns in the function of adpositions as well as a very restricted number of nominal cases like the instrumental.

In her groundbreaking article on head-marking typology, Mithun (1986: 66, 69) briefly brought to attention that out of her core sample of sixty languages, two, namely Cree and Wichita, lacked adpositional phrases. In those cases, the head-marked patterns adpositional phrase + pronoun object and adpositional phrase + noun object are not attested because they are incorporated into the verb. Note that two Northwest Caucasian languages, Abkhaz and Adyghe, appear on top of Mithun's table (Mithun 1986: 68). Although her Adyghe data was not quite conclusive, she had access to enough data on Abkhaz, where both adpositional phrase + pronoun and adpositional phrase + noun are head marking. As noted above, Northwest Caucasian languages applicatives and adpositional phrases may still coexist just as they can, albeit under strongish restrictions, in the Mataguayo languages Wichí/'Weenhayek and Chorote. In cases where (at least some) adpositions (or nominal cases) can be replaced by an applicative one may speak about adposition incorporation (Baker 1988) but this is not the case in Nivacle.

5.2.5. Associated motion suffixes. In their prototypical use, Nivacle associated motion suffixes add a non-subject participant (a) moving away from the subject (*-ʧ^{ʔ}e ~ -k^{ʔ}e* 'itive'), (b) moving towards and simultaneously seen by the subject (*-xuɬ* 'ventive'), or (c) expected to be moving toward the subject, but not actually seen (*-k^{ʔ}oja* 'anticipated ventive'). Apart from the above mentioned three possibilities, associated motion suffixes have additional functions.

The typologically most unusual is the use of the anticipated ventive and the ventive in comparative constructions (Fabre 2016b). Just like the applicatives, the associated motion suffixes may or may not increase the valency of the verb and may be used in derivation processes. Associated motion suffixes are also employed as applicatives, in constructions that can be conceived as arising from metaphorical extensions and indicating abstract/fictive motion (see above in § 5.2.2.5, 5.2.2.6., and 5.2.2.7). In border cases, it may be difficult to tell out whether these three suffixes are being used as associated motion or applicative suffixes.

Examples (277a-b) and (277c) *-k^{ʔ}oja* and *-k^{ʔ}e* are canonical associated motion suffixes. In (277a-b) the expected entity moving towards the subject is the object. The anticipated ventive does not add a further participant, although it may do so with other verbs. In (277c), the itive in the first verb is set from the point of view of the addressee, as is the anticipated ventive in the second verb. The addressee is asked to expect someone to come into his visual field. Although it is possible that the expected

[131] As Mithun (2006) states, "An interesting feature of Mohawk clause structure is the lack not only of subjects and direct objects, but also obliques. As seen earlier, core arguments are specified by obligatory pronominal prefixes on every verb. Clauses may contain, in addition, independent nominals further identifying the core arguments, and adjuncts indicating time or location. But there are no oblique arguments or adjuncts identifying semantic companions, instruments, beneficiaries, or recipients."

participant is not actually moving, he is at least supposed to enter the visual field of the addressee, which may be seen as a metaphorical sense of movement. In (277d) the itive is coindexed with the second person suffixed object *-ʔa*. In the third person, the associated motion suffixes can increase valency. This is clearly shown in (277e), where the verb *-voʔ-kˀe ~ -vo-…-ʧˀe* is a basic intransitive verb pertaining to the fourth conjugation (the prefix slot can only host the subject). With a transitive verb like (277a-b) the associated motion marker is coindexed with the third person patient of the prefix of the transitive verb.

This is not so with (277h), where an analysis of *-kˀoja* as associated motion rather than applicative would appear less natural, although it certainly deviates from both canonical associated motion and applicative functions. Since we saw above that the applicative *-kˀoja* has locative (away) and temporal (anticipating) functions, it is better analysed in (277h) as such. It is also true that as an associated motion suffix *-kˀoja* has spatiotemporal relevance. It is after all an expected distance (outside visual field => inside visual field) but in this case a very reduced one.[132]

(277a)
*j-ovaɬ-**kˀoja*** *xa* *kolektivo*
3A(3P)-look-ANT.VEN D.M bus
‘S/he is/was looking for the bus to come’ (watching the horizon)

(277b)
*ta-**ʧˀ**an-**kˀoja*** *pa* *j-i-e’* *ɬa-vɒ̌x* *xa* *nɒjiʃ*
3S-listen/wait-ANT.VENT and 3S-be.located-PROX 3POS-side D.M path
‘S/he was/They were waiting for him/her/it) at the side of the path’

(277c)
j-iʔeʃ *łɒn* *Ø-mɒ-**kˀe*** *axaɬ* *tˀa-paj-e-i-**kˀoja*** *na* *ʧenax*
3S-say REPORT 2S.IRR-go-IT POLITE 3S-point-3-DIST-ANT.VENT D.M South
’She said [to him], please go, pointing towards the South…’ [Context: The man had asked her about the whereabouts of a certain person and, as she knew where that person was, she directed him in the right direction]

(277d)
na *j-ɒs* *tan* *ka* *ni-voʔ-eɬ-ʔa$_j$-**ʧˀe$_j$*** *xaju*
D.M 1POS-son NEG SUB$_2$ 3S-follow-SAP.PL-2-IT PROSP
‘My son will not follow you-pl’

(277e)
jåx *ka* *a-voʔ-eɬ-**ʧˀe***
PROH SUB$_2$ 2S-follow-SAP.PL-IT
‘Don’t (you-pl) follow him/her/them!’

[132] The following remarks of Talmy about the conceptual structuring of language are certainly worthy of attention: “[…] while there are grammatical specifications for *relative* magnitude, there are possibly never any for absolute or quantified magnitude, whether of size, distance, interval, or other parameters” (Talmy 2000: 26). If we consider distance as irrelevant in associated motion suffixes like *-kˀoja and -ʧˀe ~ -kˀe*, then (277h) may well be analysed as such. However, this would not explain why Nivacle overwhelmingly prefers to use the distal applicative also in cases where the distance is very short indeed between the out of sight entity and the experiencer (for example searching for something in one’s bag). This is the reason why I prefer to classify (277h) as an applicative.

In (277f), two brothers (A, the older, and B, the younger) intend to climb. Since A is not yet moving when B initiates the activity, the suffix *-kˀoja* is proleptic (A is looking forward to climbing) rather than in its canonical function of associated motion. From A's viewpoint, the expected associated motion would be *-ʧˀe ~ -kˀe* because A would see B moving away. However, the itive on the second verb is motivated: when A begins moving, he is following B (moving away). Cases like (277f) also help understanding the close relationship between proleptic and separative.

(277f)

pa	*Ø-vʊ̌ɬ-e-i-ʧiʃam*		*tiʔma,*	*ji-xoʔ-kˀoja*	*pa-n*
and	3S-climb-3-DIST-UP		then	3S-go-PROLP	D.M-DEM
kˀutsax-e-ʃ		*vʊ̌i*	*pa*	*ɬ-ʧˀiniʃ*	*Ø-voʔ-**kˀe***
old.person-3-INST		and.then	D.M	3POS-young.brother	3S-follow-IT

'Then they climbed, the older (brother) went ahead and his little brother followed him'

There is an interesting interplay between the two associated motion suffixes in (277g). Since the first verb is transitive, the ventive does not increase its valency. It only adds one piece of information about the Patient, i.e. that they are seen moving towards the Agent. The second verb, however, is intransitive so that the itive introduces a new participant, which is walking ahead of the Subject participants.

(277g)

*ji-ʔvan-**xuɬ***	*xa-pu-ke*	*ji-xoʔ-**kˀe**-ʃaʔne*
$3A_k(3P_j)$-see-$VENT_j$	D-PL.HUM-DEM	3S-go-IT_k-3.PL

'He saw them coming, those who followed him'

(277h)

*ji-tˀovos-ʧˀe-**kˀoja***		*pa-va*	*Ø-u-s-ʧˀe*	*pa-va*	*ɬ-pasʧe-i*
1A(3P)-cut-LONG-PROLP		D-PL	3S-be.big-PL-LONG	D-PL	3POS-finger-PL

'S/he intended to cut away his/her thumbs'

The anticipated ventives behave differently in (277i) and (277j). In the first example the second person represents added participant (the verb *-sʧi* is a basic intransitive) and *-kˀoja* is coindexed with it. However, in (277j) *-kˀoja* itself introduces the added participant NP (third person object).[133]

(277i)

*xa-sʧi-ʔa-**kˀoja***
1A-wait-2-ANT.VENT
'I wait(ed) for you (to come)'

(277j)

*ji-sʧi-**kˀoja***	*ɬ-xa*	*ɬa-mimi*
3A-wait-ANT.VENT	F-D	3POS-mother

'S/he was waiting for her/his mother'

As can be seen in [following] (278a-b) the associated motion suffixes *-ʧʔe* 'itive' and *-xuɬ* 'ventive' are coindexed with their respective objects. The verb *-ʔvan* 'to see'' is a basic transitive, which means that the prefix slot hosts both arguments. Although the hierarchical alignment rule stipulates that only

[133] If the NP is omitted, the verb alone is grammatical: 'S/he was waiting for her/him'. In both examples, however, omitting *-kˀoja* would yield an ungrammatical utterance.

one argument, the highest in the hierarchy, actually surfaces, we see that in (278a) the itive is coindexed with the surfacing (higher) argument, and in (278b) the ventive is coindexed with the omitted (lower) argument.

(278a)
tsi-ʔvan-ʧʔe
(3A)1P$_j$-see-IT$_j$
'S/he saw me leaving (going away)'

(278b)
ni-kʔa-ʔvan-xuɬ
NEG-1A(2P$_j$)-see-VENT$_j$
'I didn't see you coming'

In (278c), there is one index per argument in the verb: the Agent$_k$ does not see 'for himself$_k$' the Patient$_j$, i.e. 'the X coming from a distance'$_j$.[134] The risks are also mentioned separately in an NP. Note that without the NP, the verb alone is a well-formed grammatical utterance, meaning 'S/he doesn't see it/him/her/them coming'. The NP consists of a deictic particle, which placed before a verb transforms it in a noun, the verb alone meaning 'It is dangerous', literally 'it-is-bad-coming'. Interestingly, the two different associated motion suffixes reflect two different perceptions, that of the protagonist (something is coming towards him but s/he does not see it yet) and that of the narrator, who knows (metaphorically sees) a danger is coming.

(278c)
*ni-n-ʔvan-e-i-ɬa-v-**kʔoja*** *pa-va* *Ø-sui-xuɬ*
NEG-3A$_k$(3P$_j$)-see-3$_j$-DIST-3-REF$_k$-ANT.VENT$_j$ [D-PL 3S-be.dangerous-VENT]$_j$
'S/he doesn't see the risks' (lit. doesn't see it-distant/for-himself/coming-but-yet-unseen)

(278d)
*xai-ʧai-**xuɬ**-ʔa-m* *xaju* *na-va* *j-åʃ* *ma:tas*
1S-tell-VENT-2-BEN PROSP D-PL 3S-be.big thing(s)
'I will tell (predict) great things to you-sg' (i.e. I am seeing them coming)

(278e)
*t-ʧai-**xuɬ*** *ti* *Ø-ampa* *ʧanu-a*
3S-tell-VENT SUB$_1$ 3S-be.non.existant rain-IRR
'S/he predicts there will be no rain'

By contrast, the fictive motion "gone-away" in (278f) has analeptic function.

(278f)
xai-ʧai-ʧʔe *xaju …*
1S-tell-ANALP PROSP
'I will tell you about…(something past)'

[134] The distal applicative might alternatively be analysed as a locative, in which case it would introduce a new participant, the source of the danger. I prefer to keep together the danger and its location and consider them as a kind of part-whole relation, which would amount to a single participant.

(279a) is a basic intransitive verb. The only argument is prefixed. The same verb is used in (279b) with an added suffixed argument, which represents the object. As often happens, valency-increasing may result in idiosyncratic or unexpected readings, which simultaneously imply derivation.

(279a)	(279b)
tsi-tɒi-ʔin	*tsi-tɒi-a*
1Sp-be.conscious-INT	1Sp-be.conscious-PUNCT
'I am conscious'	'I know it'

As (279c) and (279d) show, the object may be represented by analeptic or proleptic suffixes / associated motion suffixes. In (279c) to be conscious/have knowledge of a past event - marked as itive/analeptic - is to remember it. Conversely, to be conscious / have knowledge of something potentially coming (279d) - marked as anticipated ventive/proleptic - is to be able to recognise/understand it'. I could say it for example of a language I know although I am not using it at the moment of speaking. Although *-ɟ̊ʔe* in (279e) can readily be analysed as an itive, *-kʔoja* seems to hover in between associated motion (anticipated ventive) and proleptic.

(279c)	(279d)
*tsi-tɒi-**ɟ̊ʔe***	*tsi-tɒi-**kʔoja***
1Sp-be.conscious-ANALP	1Sp-be.conscious-PROLP
'I remember it' (as it happened)	'I understand it' (I know it when it potentially comes)

(279e)
jåx *ka* *a-tox-a-**ɟ̊ʔe**-ji-**kʔoja***
PROH SUB_2 2S.IRR-be.far-IRR-IT-1-ANT.VENT/PROLP
'Don't leave me alone!' (lit. don't be-far-go-me-from)

In (280a) the proleptic *-kʔoja* anticipates the fall of the preys, and the prospective *xaju* a time point later than speaking time. As is often the case with verbs whose semantics require an instrument (write+with, use+device, etc.) the third person instrumental applicative *-e-ʃ* is obligatory and refers to the hands. In (280b), the instrumental applicative is followed by the applicative *-ɟ̊ʔe*, which refers to the GROUND (the road), and the anticipative ventive, as expected in this context, refers to the expected coming of the Christ, which was referred to before in the text. As to the road, there would be no point in having it event mentioned in Nivacle.[135]

(280a)
ɟ̊i-j-ɟ̊ʔan-e-ʃ-kʔoja *xaju* *ɬ-pa* *stɟ̊åt*
IND.A-3A(3P)-extend-3-INST-PROLP PROSP F-D net
j-i-e-i *pa* *tʔ-ɒs-xavåt*
3S-be.located-3-DIST D.M 3POS-walk-TRACE
'They will throw their net on (i.e. under) their footsteps (before they step on them)'

[135] At least some English and Spanish versions of the Bible I consulted make explicit mention of a road/path. In Nivacle, the mere presence of the suffix *-ɟ̊ʔe* in this context suggests the presence of a path/road.

(280b)
Ø-aklox *xa-pi* *nivakle* *ji-ʧˀan-e-ʃ-ʧˀe-kˀoja*
3S-be.many D-PL man/men 3A(3P)-extend-3-INST-LONG-ANT.VENT/PROLP
xa-va *tˀ-ui-xat-shi(j)-is*
D-PL 3S-enter-NMLZ-F-PL
'Many people spread their coats (on the road for him)' (Mark 11: 8)

When an associated motion suffix is hosted by a motion verb two participants are moving, at least when both are animate. Since the verb *-am* is unambiguously centripetal – Joseph is moving towards his father – the ventive indicates his father's movement towards him. As *-am* is a basic intransitive (the prefix marker encodes a single S participant) the ventive also introduces the new participant. The second verb is a basic transitive: 3A is coindexed with 3S and 3P with the NP as well as with the ventive.

(280c)
*j-am-**xuɬ*** *pa* *ɬ-tata* *pa* *j-eʧepxaɬ*
3S-go-VENT D.M 3POS-father and 3A(3P)-embrace
'As he (Joseph) appeared in his presence, he embraced his father' (lit. Joseph went-[father-]coming his father and he embraced him) (Genesis 46: 29)

The combination of cislocative *ta-*, first person suffix (object?) and ventive in (280d) justifies adding the verb 'to see' to make the translation understandable (you ran towards me + I saw you running).

(280d)
*ɬ-ta-kumax-ji-**xuɬ***
2S-CISL-run-1-VENT
'I saw you running towards me'

In the near minimal pair (280e) and (280f) the itive indicates the origin ('nose' resp. 'nostrils') of the steam, which is the subject of the verb. Unlike in (280c) only one participant (the smoke) is moving.

(280e)
*Ø-tɒɬ-**ʧˀe*** *ɬ-nåʃ* *xa* *ɬ-axut*
3S-come-IT 3POS-nose D.M 3POS-steam
'Steam came from its/his/her nose (I saw it)'

(280f)
pa *ɬa-nʃa-i* *Ø-tɒɬ-**ʧˀe*** *pa* *ɬ-axut*
D.M 3POS-nose-PL 3S-come-IT D.M 3POS-steam
'Steam came from its/his/her nostrils (I was told)'

(280g) should probably be analysed as an applicative rather than an associated motion suffix but it is clear that the boundary between anticipated ventive, proleptic and the applicative 'away' can often be blurred (cf. example 279e). The same can be said about (280h) and (280i). [136]

[136] The limit between anticipated ventive and applicative 'away' is practically impossible to draw in the case of translational (rather than fictitious) movement verbs where the common denominator is crossing a line (in either direction) between invisibility and visibility.

(280g)
*ji-klɒt-e-i-**k²oja*** *ka-pi* *nivakle* *ka-pi* *tukus*
3S-run.away-3-DIST-AWAY D-PL Nivacle(s) D-PL Bolivian(s)
'The Nivacle ran away from the Bolivians'

(280h)
*ji-klɒt-ʔa-**k²oja***
3S-run.away-2-AWAY
'S/he ran away from you'

As often happens with third person participants (and out of context) (280i) may have two possible readings.

(280i)
*Ø-va-kumax-**k²oja*** *pa* *matk²ijanɒ*
3S-REF-run-AWAY D.M Ayoreo
'S/he ran away from the Ayoreo'
or 'The Ayoreo ran away from him/her/it'[137]

5.2.5.1. Polyfunctionality of *-k²oja, -ʧ²e ~ -k²e,* and *-xuł*. There is ample evidence that a wide array of grammatical paths of change leading to homophony are not accidental and that metaphoric processes play a central role in language development. Homophony can thus – although of course not always – be motivated and lead to grammaticalization and/or who grammaticalization chains. To cite only three prominent studies, see Claudi & Heine (1986), Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991), and Heine & Kuteva (2002).

I will illustrate this point with three Nivacle verbal suffixes. The use of *-k²oja* and *-xuł* as comparative markers will be treated below under § 5.2.6.

MARKERS	**FUNCTIONS**			
-ʧ²e ~ -k²e	AM.IT	APPL.LONG APPL.BOUND	ANLP	DISTR 3PL
-xuł	AM.SIM.VENT	FRONT.REACT		EQ.DG (comparative)
-k²oja	AM.ANT.VENT	AWAY(from)	PROLP	COMP.DG (comparative)

Table 23. Polyfunctionalty of *-k²oja, -ʧ²e ~ -k²e,* and *-xuł*.

5.2.5.2. *-k²oja*. This suffix can be hosted by any verb and functions as an Associated motion suffix (ANT.VENT) or an Applicative (AWAY; PROLP).

1) Real or fictitious movement of a non-subject argument or participant emerging from a GROUND towards a chosen reference point. With associated motion, the participant is expected to come but is still invisible. The anticipated ventive reduces the distance between the subject (reference point) and the non-subject participant. This is not necessarily the case with the applicative as shown in (281a)

[137] The Ayoreo belong to the Zamuco linguistic family and live to the North of the Nivacle.

vs. (281b). In this respect (281b) behaves exactly like the third person distal applicative in (2811c) except that the distal is always preceded by a person marker.

Both AMS and Applicative can but need not increase valency of the verb. Since in (281a) the verb is transitive and the expected participant corresponds to the Patient, there is no increase in valency. This is not the case in (281b) and (281d) where the verb is intransitive and *-kˀoja* must refer back to some participant(s) left behind.

(281a)
j-ovaɬ-kˀoja
3A(3P)-look-ANT.VENT
'S/he is/was looking for him/her/it/them to come' (i.e. waiting and looking for)

(281b)
ji-xoʔ-kˀoja
3S-go-AWAY
'S/he goes/went first' (S/he goes/went leaving the others behind)

(281c)
ji-xoʔ-e-i
3S-go-3-DIST
'S/he goes/went there'

(281d)
*j-i-ʔe-**kˀoja*** *xa* *tɒvɒk*
3S-be.located-PROX-ANT.VENT D.M river
'S/he/He/They was/were at the river (waiting for him/her/them/it)'

2) *-kˀoja* as Applicative. When *-kˀoja* is an applicative it signals movement of a FIGURE from or out of a GROUND. However, instead of implying expected motion of the FIGURE from/out a still invisible ground towards the reference point, the applicative indicates displacement of the FIGURE from a particular location which is taken as the reference point towards the opposite direction. The distal in (282a) stresses the need of getting out of sight of the Bolivians (i.e. the Bolivian army during the Chaco War): the Bolivians are located on $GROUND_1$, the FIGURE flee to $GROUND_2$. By contrast, (282b) only implies getting rid of somebody without having to flee very far: both FIGUREs are seen as sharing the same GROUND but $FIGURE_1$ is distancing him/herself from $FIGURE_2$.[138] Examples (282c) and (282d) are similar to (282b).

(282a)
*ji-klɒt-e-i-**kˀoja*** *ka-pi* *ni-vakle* *ka-pi* *tukus*
3S-escape-3-DIST-AWAY D-PL Nivacle(s) S-PL Bolivian(s)/ ant(s)
'The Nivacle fled from the Bolivians'

(282b)
*ji-klɒt-ʔa-**kˀoja***
3S-escape-2-AWAY
'S/he got rid from you (sg)'

[138] The approximate *-ʔe* cannot combine with person markers.

(282c)
*x-ɒk-ʔa-**kʔoja***
1S-go-2-AWAY
'I left (took leave from) you'

(282d)
jåx *ka* *mɒʔ-ji-**kʔoja***
PROH SUB_2 2S.IRR-go-1-AWAY
'Don't leave me (here)!'

(282e)
ni-łeʧ-a *pa* *j-iʧ-**kʔoja***
NEG-ANAPH-IRR and 3S-go-AWAY
'It wasn't him they were searching for (lit. going away [after him])'

When the verb is transitive the moving FIGURE may be a non-subject (282f). Note that this is exactly what happens with AMs – both transitive and intransitives (282g-h).

(282f)
*ji-sas-**kʔoja*** *xa-va* *ɬ-klɒ-i*
3A(3P)-AWAY D-PL 3POS-domestic.animal-PL
'S/he chased her/his cattle'

(282g)
*xa-n-am-ʔa-**kʔoja***
1S-CISL-go-2-ANT.VENT
'I arrived (here) before you (lit. I arrived-here + you [were expected to be] coming)'

(282h)
kaxu *ti* *ɬ-n-am-**kʔoja*** *na-pi* *tavkla-s*
long.time SUB_1 2S-CISL-go-ANT.VENT D-PL child-PL
'You kept the children waiting for a long time' (you-came-here + children expecting for you)

3) Ambiguous cases. Due to the polyfunctionality of *-kʔoja* as associated motion or applicative, it is not unexpected that individual features of associated motion can appear with the applicative. By definition the anticipated ventive requires (non-fictitious) movement of a non-subject. It also indicates that the non-subject participant, although expected to come, is not yet in sight. Since (283a) requires the simultaneous attendance of the speaker and his/her audience, it would seem sensible to consider it as an applicative. Yet, in order for the speech to occur the speaker must have expected the audience to come (anticipated motion feature).

(283a)
*t-asinɒ-i-**kʔoja***
3S-talk-HAVE-APPL
'He is/was/will be delivering a speech (to an audience)'

Note that the use of *-kʔoja* in comparatives (§ 5.2.6) may better be explained as an extension of the applicative that as an extension of the use of the anticipated ventive, as I suggested in Fabre (2017).

If such is the case, the comparative *-k^{ʔ}oja* could somewhat be fitted into Stassen's separative scheme (Stassen 1985: 114-).[139]

5.2.5.3. *-xuɬ* (~ *-xu̯ɬ*). The Maká cognate is identical with the Nivacle suffix. As for the other languages, Wichí has *-loʔ* 'towards here' (Nercesian 2014: 276),'Weenhayek *-ʔiiɬà*, and Chorote *iljáʔm*, an independent particle (Carol 2014: 285).[140] When this suffix functions as AM it indicates physical movement of a non-subject towards the reference point. This is clearly seen in (280d repeated here as 284a), where the subject participant is running towards the second participant marked as a first person suffix immediately preceding *-xuɬ*.

(284a) (= 280d)
ɬ-ta-kumax-ji-xuɬ
2S-CISL-run-1-VENT
'I saw you running towards me'

However, as an applicative, the same suffix no longer entails physical movement. Rather, it represents a reaction to a stimulus, a function that is an obvious extension of the concept of movement, whereby the interaction between the participants presupposes a stimulus-reaction chain, which I have called 'reactive'. See examples above in (252a-e).

5.2.5.4. *-ʧ^{ʔ}e ~ -k^{ʔ}e* (same distribution of allomorphs as with the applicative). This suffix has three finctions: a) Associated motion IT; b) Applicative: OPEN.PLACE; OBLONG; ANALP, and c) Distributive: DISTR.

As an associated movement marker, this suffix adds a new non-subject participant which is seen coming towards the subject (or sometimes just passing by him/her/them) chosen as the reference point. Unlike the ventive and anticipated ventive, the itive indicates increasing distance between two participants.

As a locative applicative *-ʧ^{ʔ}e ~ -k^{ʔ}e* indicates an open space or oblong shaped GROUND (285a) and (251b-d) above. A cognitive link between a well-defined bound space and distributivity (251a) can be posited.

(285a)
*Ø-t^{ʔ}un-**ʧ^{ʔ}e*** *xa* *t^{ʔ}i-tu̯k*
3S-be.hard-LONG D.M 3POS-arm
'His/her arm was strong/ stiff/ crippled'

The analeptic (temporal) use of *-ʧ^{ʔ}e ~ -k^{ʔ}e* is a natural metaphorical extension of the 'growing distance' feature belonging to the associated motion suffix. The analeptic links the event denoted by the verb to which it is attached to a previous event. The locative applicative and analeptic both construct an event or entity as approaching the referent denoted by the subject. The fact that the analeptic often occurs with experience, speech or psychological verbs is understandable in similar terms. Compare the associated motion suffix in (285b) and with the analeptic in (285c). The main difference is that the analeptic use of the locative applicative implies movement back in time whereas

[139] It must be remembered, however, that Stassen subsumes under 'separative comparative' nominal cases and adpositions. No mention is made of applicatives.
[140] Note that all Mataguayo language integrate in different combinations (especially in locative applicatives) the segment /-(V)m/. Independently /-(V)m/ is mostly a benefactive, but this is not true in combinations with other locatives.

the associated motion itive projects increasing distance on the timeline oriented towards the future. This parallels the uses of *-xuł* as a reactive (applicative) to a past stimulus. In other words the use of the analeptic *-ʧ^{ʔ}e ~ -k^{ʔ}e* is a simultaneous (or almost simultaneous) reaction.

(285b)
*ji-xoʔ-**k^{ʔ}e***
3S-go-IT
'S/he follows/followed him/her/it' (S/he goes/went following X)

(285c)
*Ø-nifakl-e-m-**ʧ^{ʔ}e***
3A(3P)-tell-3-BEN-ANALP
'S/he tells/told it (i.e. what had happened) to him/her/them'

The link to the applicative uses of *-ʧ^{ʔ}e ~ -k^{ʔ}e* are more difficult to capture. A remarkably high number of examples suggest that the event or state of affairs indicated by the verb implicates a ground/trajectory or a rather longish (path, finger, leg, vertical trunk of a tree, etc.) or distinctly shaped object (bowl, plate, garden, lagoons, etc.). The oblong character of an entity may be apprehended as movement. Rather than being necessarily oriented towards the subject, the movement takes place on an axis on which the subject can be located. Distinct as they may seem at first sight, 'oblong' and 'bounded' can be reconciliated. An oblong object need not be straight. Traditional paths in the Gran Chaco were typically winding across the low xerophytic forest. The main reason for this was certainly the endemic intertribal warfare.[141] The grammaticalization path from GO is crosslinguistingly well attested (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 155).

Although the glottalisation of the consonant and the following vowel remain unexplained, it is plausible that *-ʧ^{ʔ}e ~ -k^{ʔ}e* originates in the third person of the verb 'to go' *j-iʧ*. Nivacle /ʧ/ generally corresponds to /k/ in the other languages of the family. Moreover, /ʧ/ often appear in variation with /k/. This can be seen in this particular verb: *x-ɒk* 'I go/went', *ɬ-ɒk* 'You go/went', *j-iʧ* 'S/he goes/ went', *ʃn-ɒk* 'We (incl.) go/went'. For the third person, Maká has *ik* id., Chorote *(i)n-ek*[142] id., Wichí *jik ~ jek* id. and more strikingly in the 'Weenhayek variety *jik-kjeʔ* 's/he goes with; goes after, follows'. Note that this marker is also used in other Nivacle languages: Maká *-k^{ʔ}i* 'extension in space or time'[143], Wichí *-k^{w}e* 'towards there (directional), allative' (Nercesian 2014: 276), 'Weenhayek *-kjeʔ*, and Chorote *-k^{ʔ}i* 'trajector; comitative' (Carol 2014: 279).

5.2.5.5. Comparative notes on associated motion. In a groundbreaking survey Guillaume (2016) discovered that out of a sample of 66 South American languages spoken on the western fringes of the Amazon basin, only a minority of them (33%) lacked AM markers. Guillaume posited two implicational scales: (i) motion of the subject > motion of the object and (ii) prior motion > concurrent motion > subsequent motion. He adds that motion of S/A is attested in 43 languages but motion of O in only 3 (or possibly 4), Nivacle (as well as at least Wichí/'Weenhayek and Maká) being one of them. As for the timing feature of AM markers, Guillaume distinguishes four possibilities: a) prior motion [Ese Ejja and Tacana], b) prior or concurrent motion [Nomatsiguenga, Asháninka (perhaps

[141] The most extreme exponent of this tendency has been noted in the northern part of the Chaco among Ayoreo bands, whose (to the outsider) extremely inconspicuous paths used to stop abruptly ten or twenty kilometres from their villages.
[142] The Chorote third person corresponds to the irrealis mode, contrary to the other example. This is because in this language, the third person is suppletive *j-aʔm* from another verb 'to go'.
[143] The gloss is taken from Gerzenstein (1995: 125).

also Bora) and Cavineña], c) concurrent motion [Nivacle *-ɬʔe ~ -kʔe* and *-xuɬ*], and d) subsequent motion [Tacana (perhaps also Ese Ejja) and Nivacle *-kʔoja*].

(286a)
*yi-'wen-i-**k'i*** *p-akha'* *Ø-nek-i'* *pa'aj* *h-a'* *Jesús*
3A(3P)-see-3-IT D.M-PRON 3S-come-APL long.ago D-M Jesús
'He (John) saw Jesus walking by' (Maká, John 1: 36)

(286b)
*h-a' Jesús yi-'wen-i-**ju'ɬ*** *in hats met-i-'m* *h-a' Natanael*
D-M Jesus 3A(3P)-see-3-VENT SUB already be.near-3-BEN D-M Nathaniel
'Jesus saw Nathaniel coming towards him' (Maká, John 1: 47)

(286c)
*hey-ewqel-ey-i-**k'wi*** *n-a'* *qametenaX*
1S-trap-VBLZ-3-ANT.VENT D-M jaguar
'I am setting up a trap for the jaguar' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1999: 166)

(286d)
hon-otki *n-a'* *y-aq*
1A(3P)-wait D-M 1POS-food
'I am waiting for my meal' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1999: 286)

(286e)
*hon-otki-i-**k'wi*** *h-a'* *mats*
1A(3P)-wait-3-VENT.ANT D-M my.elder.brother
'I am waiting for my brother (coming from afar)' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1999: 286)

(286f)
*łon-otki-yi-**k'wi***
2A(3P)-wait-1-VENT.ANT
'You are waiting for me' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1999: 286)[144]

Contrary to what might be expected, examples (286g) and (286h) do not display AM markers *-xuɬ* resp. *-kʔi*. The fact that both are marked with applicatives *-ets* '(general) directional' and *-xuʔ* 'down' instead of AMs shows a similar strategy, also well attested in Nivacle, which indicates the position of the second participant with locative applicatives in the same way it can with AMs (cf. 286a-b vs. 286c and e).[145]

[144] Because the verb *-otki* belongs to Gerzenstein's sixth conjugation, the expected prefix should be **ło-ts-* (2A-1P) (cf. *ło-ts-opheɬ* 'you bind me' from the same conjugation). Instead, the first person P *-ji* is in the suffix slot. Apparently, the prefix combination *ło-ts-* is blocked in the presence of a suffix like *-k'wi,* which requires an immediately preceding person marker.

[145] The combination of 'be.located' with the applicative 'inherent' in the sense of 'to speak' is idiosyncratic in Nivacle. As can be seen from the examples, the AM and applicatives both serve to introduce the same addressee, simultaneously indicating his posture or direction with respect to the subject participant.

(286g)
yi-'wen *h-a'* *Jesús* *in* *Ø-nek-ets*
3A(3P)-see D-M Jesus SUB 3S-come-DIR
'He saw Jesus coming toward him' (Maká, John 1: 29)

(286h)
qa' *ni-'wen* *ha'ne* *~~ł~~-a's* *Jukhew* *n-am-i-j-ju'*
and 3A(3P)-see D.M 3POS-son man 3S-come-3-INST-DOWN
qu' *net-nek'enhei*
SUB 3S.IRR-give.orders
'and they will see the Son of Man coming (down) with his kingdom' (Maká, Matthew 16: 28)

(287a)
*x-ap-xi-**ʧʔe*** *na* *nivakle*
1S-be.located-INH-IT D.M Nivacle.man
'I am talking to a Nivacle (moving away)

(287b)
*x-ap-xi-**xuɬ*** *na* *nivakle*
1S-be.located-INH-VENT D.M Nivacle.man
'I am talking to a Nivacle (approaching)

(287c)
*x-ap-xi-**a*** *na* *nivakle*
1S-be.located-INH-PUNCT D.M Nivacle.man
'I am talking to a Nivacle (the punctual simply marks the addressee)

(287d)
*x-ap-xi-**ʃiʧam*** *na* *nivakle*
1S-be.located-INH-DOWN D.M Nivacle.man
'I am talking to a Nivacle (e.g. I am on the roof and he is on the ground)

(287e)
*x-ap-xi-**ʧiʃam*** *na* *nivakle*
1S-be.located-INH-ABOVE D.M Nivacle.man
'I am talking to a Nivacle (e.g. He is on the roof and I am on the ground)

(288a)
*'o-'ween-'am-**kye'***
1A-see-2-IT
'I see you going away' ('Weenhayek, Alvarsson & Claesson 2014: 453)

(288b)
*'o-'ween-'a-**hilà'***
1A-see-2-VENT
'I see you coming' ('Weenhayek, Alvarsson & Claesson 2014: 453)

Note the similarity between 'Weenhayek *-hilà'~ -là'* 'ventive' and the future marker of Wichí *-hila ~ -hi…-la ~ -la* (and *-lo'* ventive'). The link with the 'Weenhayek future markers is less clear since apart from *-hi ~ -h*, there are also *-lah ~ -nah* y *-mah.*

In Wichí, Nercesian (2014: 256) writes that two directional applicatives *-ʧe* (in practical orthography *-che*) 'in extension; moving' and *-kwe* 'allative' are also used in contexts that are probably AMs. Although it is plausible that *-kwe* corresponds to Nivacle *-kʔoja* and Maká *-kʔwi*, another Wichí clitic/suffix, *-ʧʔuya* (= *ch'uya*, glossed as MAN in Nercesian 2014: 314), is obviously a more direct cognate. She defines it as a manner suffix (sensorial) used with verbs of perception and movement and notes that it indicates sight, sound or touch.[146] Nercesian gives an example (289d), which neatly corresponds to Nivacle *-kʔoja*, albeit it may indicate another sense that sight. Examples (289e) and (289j) correspond to the use of Nivacle *-kʔoja* as an applicative.

(289a)
*n'-t'on-'am-**che***
1SUBJ-shout-2-APL
'I am shouting at you (moving away)' (Wichí, Nercesian 2014: 256)

(289b)
*n'-t'on-'am-**kwe***
1SUBJ-shout-2-APL
'I am shouting at you (calling in all directions)' (Wichí, Nercesian 2014: 257)

(289c)
hin'u *hi-w'en-n'u-**kwe***
man 3S-see-1-DIR
'The man sees me (I am moving away from him) (Wichí, Nercesian 2014: 281)

(289d)
*n'-yahin-'a=**ch'uya***
1S-look-2=MAN
'I am expecting you to come (looking or hearing for the clue)' (Wichí, Nercesian 2014: 314)

(289e)
*'n-weskat-'a=**ch'uya***
1S-hide-2=AWAY
'I am hiding from you' (Wichí, Nercesian 2014: 314)

(289f)
mälhyej *i-wo-ye* *yel'a-taj* *tä* *y'-ip-lhi-**ch'oye***
so 3S-make tapir-SIM SUB 3S-sing-DUR-ANT.VENT
elh *ch'efwa*
other spouse
'They do like a horse neighing after its neighbour's wife' (Wichí, Jeremiah 5: 8)

[146] During my short field work on Wichí (Las Lomitas, Formosa, Argentina, 2004), I noticed that while discussing examples touch turned out to be a central experience. When talking about a physical object or individual, he almost never failed to mention whether his hands or fingers could feel it or not and illustrated his comment with an unmistakable gesture.

(289g)
*o-nihi-**ch'oye***
1A-wait-ANT.VENT
'I am waiting for someone/ something (who may or may not come) (Wichí, Lunt 1999: 143)

(289h)
*o-tän-la-**ch'oya***
1S-call-FUT-ANT.VENT
'I will call for him/her (to come)' (Wichí, Lunt 1999: 97)

(289i)
*i-nihi-n'o-**ch'oya***
3A-wait-1-ANT.VENT
'S/he is waiting for me' (Wichí, Lunt 1999: 74)

(289j)
Jesús *y-ik-**ch'oye*** *honhat-tso*
Jesus 3S-go-AWAY earth/region-DEM[147]
'Jesus left the region…' (Wichí, Mark 7: 3)

Nercesian (2014: 280) notes a further directional *-lo'* 'approaching', which corresponds to 'Weenhayek *-hilà' ~ -là'* as well as Nivacle and Maká *-xuł*.

(289k)
*n'-w'en-**lo'*** *atsinha-y*
1S-see-DIR woman_PL
'I see the women coming' (Wichí, Nercesian 2014: 281)

In Chorote (Carol 2014) the ventive is an independent adposition.

(290a)
a-'wen ***ilyá'm***
1A(3P)-see VENT
'I see him/her coming' (Chorote, Carol 2014: 285)

(290b)
Juan *i-'win-**k'i*** *ja* *Jesús* *ti* *t'i-skiujnin-'ni*
Juan 3A(3P)-see-IT D.M Jesús SUB 3S-walk-ITER
'John saw Jesus walking by' (Chorote, Sociedad Bíblica Argentina 1997)

Carol (2014: 279-280) provides two examples where a participant is moving along a trajectory. It appears to me that this could be the itive counterpart of the ventive particle *ilyá'm*. However, it is possible that instead of coming towards the subject the moving entity is just passing by. Since both

[147] Nercesian (2014: 180) defines the demonstrative *=tsu* as a directional 'towards speaker and outwards'. I found other instances in the Wichí Bible where the outward directionality of this demonstrative would be rendered in Nivacle by the applicative *-faɟˀẻ* on the verb. However *-faɟˀẻ* implies movement of a FIGURE from a former position inside a particular GROUND (inessive) to the outside, which does not seem to be always the case in Wichí. Rather than 'outwards' it might be more accurate to define Wichí *=tsu* as 'centrifugal movement of the (non-subject) figure towards the reference point (not necessarily the deictic centre)'.

options are after all available in Nivacle, a Chorote preference for ‘passing by’ over ‘coming towards’ should not deter us from keeping both meanings together.

(290c)
*i-tyet-ej-**k’i*** *kya* *Alberto*
3S-throw-INST-IT D.M Alberto
‘He threw it (the ball) to Alberto (who was passing)’ (Chorote, Carol 2014: 279)

(290d)
na-pọ *i-’li-jwas* *i-’yen-’ni* *i-jyi-**k’i***
D-PL 1POS-language-COMP 3S-look-ITER 1POS-N?-IT
‘My friends watched me when I was passing’ (Chorote, Carol 2014: 280)[148]

5.2.6. Comparative and equative constructions. Nivacle **c**omparative and equative constructions must be treated together with verb morphology for two reasons. Remember first that property words are treated like verbs in this language. A second possibility consists in employing a predicative noun, which will be treated like any other property verb. Second, and more important, all ingredients necessary for comparisons (markers for comparee, standard and degree markers), are integrated within the parameter of comparison (i.e. the property verb). It is thus possible (and frequent) to use one predicate word to say ‘You are taller than me’ (291a), ‘I am taller than you’ (291b) or ‘They have the same depth’ (291c).

Since I have treated such constructions elsewhere (Fabre 2016: 245-254; 428-430, and Fabre forthc.), I will not pursue the matter further here. Suffice it to say that recruiting degree markers from AM suffixes or applicatives must be considered a typological rarity.

(291a)
*aʔ-pitex-ji-**kʔoja***
2S-be.tall-1-COMP.DG
‘You are taller than me’

(291b)
*jaʔ-pitex-ʔa-**kʔoja***
1S-be.tall-2-COMP.DG
‘I am taller than you’

(291c)
*ɬ-apato-njaʃ-ʧʔe-vat-**xuɬ***
3POS-be.deep-NMLZ-LONG-REC-EQ.DG
‘They have the same depth’ (lit. their respective deep-length is equal)

(291d)
a-våʧa *Ø-napu-e-ʃ* *ti* *ɬ-xunaʃ-vat-**xuɬ*** *pa* *a-tsamåt*
2POS-PRON 3S-be.two-3-INST SUB_1 3POS-likeness-REC-EQ.DG D.M 2POS-dream
‘You (sg) saw twice the same dream’ (lit. it was twice identical your dream)

As a generic comparative one may use the verb *-åʃ* ‘to overtake’. The comparative degree marker is almost always *-kʔoja* but the applicative *-apė* is possible too (292). The latter is also attested in Maká albeit in more analytic biverbal constructions (293a-b).

[148] According to Carol, the segment that appears between the prefix and the adposition could be a fossilised body part noun, here marked as N. A literal translation could thus be something like ‘they watched my-self-passing’.

(292)
*j-åʃ-ji-t-**apɛ̊*** *ła-vå̊ʧa*
3S-overtake-1-REC-ON 3POS-PRON
'He is greater than I' (John 14:28)

(293a)
n-e' *naxkak* *les* *Ø-qi-pham* *t'-an-i-**pxi'*** *n-ekhe-p* *naxkak*
D-F tree more 3S-be.big-UP 3S-overtake-3-ON D-PRON-OTHER tree
'This tree is higher than that tree' (Maká, Gerzenstein 1999: 121)

(293b)
ła-kha' *les* *in* *Ø-qi-ji'* *t'-an-ji-**pji'***
3POS-PRON more SUB 3S-be.big-INH 3S-overtake-1-ON
'He is greater than I' (Maká, John 14: 28)

5.2.7. Applicatives and Associated motion suffixes on [N]$_{VPs}$. As noted above in section § 1.1, it is the presence of the deictic classifier which gives a noun its referential function. If this is not the case, the noun is predicative. For applicatives, this raises an important question: since they often correspond cross-linguistically to nominal cases or adpositions (294a), could the noun in (294b) be equivalent to 'by/around the fence'? Notice first that in Nivacle questions about the location of entities must be answered with verbs (294c-d) so that (294b) cannot be used in such a context. Example (294e) shows the noun 'fence' in a possessive construction. We can see that (289e) (294f) and (294g) exhibit the same applicative *-xop*. Example (294f) is a V + O construction and (7) N + relative modifier. Remember once again that Nivacle is radically head-marking. As a consequence applicatives always attach to a head regardless of the verbal (294a, 294c-d, 294f-g) or nominal (294b, 294e, 294h) status of the latter.

(294a)
y-i-xop *xa* *ł-kaʧiʔ*
3S-be.located-SIDE D.M 3POS-lagoon
'He lives/lived around a/the lagoon' (verb+APL = HEAD of clause)

(294b)
xa *vat-aʃklaf-eʧ-xop*
D.M IND.POS-encircle-NMLZ-SIDE
'The/A fence' (lit. fenced [place] around it)/ *'Around the fence'

(294c)
ta *ł-tʊ̊ł-eł-ʃi ?* *- xa-tʊ̊ł-e-i* *xa* *Argentina / * xa Argentina*
what 2S-come-SAP.PL-IND - 1S-come-3-DIST D.M Argentina
'Where do you (pl) come from? – We come from Argentina (verb+APL = HEAD of clause)

(294d)

ta	*j-i-eʔ*	*ɬ-xa*	*a-xaja?*
what	3S-be.located-PROX	F-D	2POS-spouse
- y-i-ʔakfi		*xa*	*mercado / *xa mercado*
3S-be.located-UNDER		D.M	Mercado

'Where is your wife? – She is in the market'[149] (verb+APL = head of clause)

(294e)

xa	*vat-aʃklaf-eʧ-xop*	*xa*	*tavaʃai*
D.M	IND.POS-encircle-NMLZ-SIDE HEAD	D.M	field DEPENDANT

'The fence of/around the field' (noun+APL = HEAD of phrase)

(294f)

ji-n-aʃklaf-xop	*xa*	*tavaʃai*
3A(3P)-CISL-encircle-SIDE HEAD	D.M	field

'He fenced/fences the field' (verb+APL = head of clause)

(294g)

xa	*tavaʃai*	*ʧi-(ji)-n-aʃklaf-xop*
D.M	field	IND.A-3A(3P)-CISL-encircle-SIDE
DEPENDANT		HEAD

'The/A fenced field' (lit. The/A field [which] someone-he-fenced-it)

(294h)

pa	*vat-vat-klɒn-xajaʃ-ʔapẻ*	*na*	*ʧako*
D.M	IND.POS-REC-kill-NMLZ-ON	D.M	Chaco

'The Chaco War' (The war on/over the Chaco)

Nivacle and Maká are much more radical than Wichí/'Weenhayek and Chorote, which allow nouns, under certain conditions, to host applicative/adpositions and head adpositional phrases.

At least one associated motion suffix - *-kʔoja* - can be hosted by nouns, at least in its comparative function, from which I have a single example. (295)

(295)

tax	*ti*	*nɒkẻʃ*	*ni-kåisiju-e-ʃ-ji*	*na-pi*	*nɒkteʧ-ɬai-ji-**kʔoja***
but	SUB_1	now	3S-make.fun-3-INST-1	D-PL	youth-COL.PL-1-COMP.DG

'But now those younger than I mock me' (Job 30: 1)

5.3. A preliminary template for Nivacle verbal suffixes. Finally, Table 24 below is a template for verbal suffixes in Nivacle. I have allowed up to two markers within one single cell and there can be up to three plural makers. Pluractionals and the *-ʧi/-ki* plural marker are not shown but they always

[149] I (289c) the indefinite locative on the first verb suggests the speaker has no idea about the origin of his/her interlocutors, who answer with the distal. In (289d), the speaker knows the other's wife is nearby but needs more information. The answer is quite specific, 'under (the roof of) the market'.

appear immediately after the root. Neither is the intensive *-ʔin ~ -ʔVn*, which comes after cell 13. Not all positions may be filled. The verbalizer suffixes in Cell 1 have not been detailed here (see Fabre 2016: 327-338). Cell 1 also contains three pluractionals (§ 4.3.5), which can not combine with the verbalizers of the same cell. If a root which can take one of the pluractional suffixes *-s, -k or -i* must combine with a verbalizer the pluractional suffix is blocked.[150]

Although I have not been able to determine the maximum number of possible suffixes than can be used with one verb, combinations of between five or six are not infrequent. Three (maybe four) applicatives is probably a limit. There can be two AM suffixes on a root, in which case *-kʔoja* will always come last. There are some incompatibilities too.

Due to homophony and/or different combinations the same affix may appear in more than one position. This will result in different orderings:

-ɬʔe ~ -kʔe	APL-1 (Cell 6)
	APL-3 (Cell 9)
	PL-2 (Cell 11)
	AM-1 (Cell 12)
-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne	APL-2 (Cell 7)
	PL-2 (Cell 11)
	APL-4 (Cell 13)
-ʃ ~ x	INST (Cell 4 [of which it is the only member])
	APL-1 (Cell 6)
	APL-4 (Cell 13)

When both PL-1 *-eɬ* (Cell 5) and instrumental are present, all person markers may appear in Cell 4. When *-eɬ* is absent, the position of the instrument is in Cell 6.

When the third person distal *-e-i* (Cell 9, APL-3) is combined with the third person benefactive *-e-m* the latter appears first (Cell 8). If the third person distal is combined with benefactives with SAP makers, the latter correspond to Cell 14 (APL-4).

When the applicative *-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne* combines with a plural from Cell 11 (PL-2) it never picks up the homophonous form and PL-2 will come first. In other words, the applicative will correspond to Cell 14 (APL-4).

When *-ɬʔe ~ -kʔe* is an AM marker (AM-1, Cell 12) must combine with a PL-2 marker from Cell 11 it will pick up the allomorph *-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne* in order to avoid the presence of two homophonous markers.

[150] *Ø-niɬʔa* 'X is new/young' => *Ø-niɬʔa-k(-ʃaʔne)* 'X are new/young' but *ji-niɬʔa-jan* 'X renews it/them'.

	1	2	3	4
ROOT	CAUS DESID ANTIPAS VBLZ PLC *-s, -k, -i*	CON *-tax*	IRR *-a*	(Pr-)APL-1 **-ʃ ~ -x** (INST) (immediately before *-eɬ* in 5)
5	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**
PL-1 -eɬ	(Pr-)APL-2 *-ʔe* Pr-*i* *-ʧʔe ~ -kʔe* *-a* *ʃ* ~ *-x* (INST) (except before REF/REC in 9)	(Pr-)APL-3 ***-e-m **** *(before -e-i, -xop AM, or PL-2)* *-ʃiʔ ~ -xiʔ* *-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne* *-faʧʔẹ̀* *-ʔapẹ̀* *-ʔakfi* *-ʧiʃam ~ -kiʃam* *-ʃiʧam ~ -xiʧam* *-ʃam ~ -xam* *-paʧam* *-taʃam* *-ʃiʔna ~ -xiʔna*	APL-4 ***-xop*** * ***-e-i*** *-kop* *-ʧʔe ~ -kʔe*	REF/REC *vat* *-vaʔne* **-Pr-*t*-** **-Pr-*v*-**
10		**11**	**12**	**13**
PL-2 ***-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne **** ***-ʧʔe ~ -kʔe ***** *-vatʃam* *-vatiʧʔe*		(Pr)-AM-1 *-xuɬ* *-ʧʔe ~ -kʔe*	AM-2 *-kʔoja*	APL-5 SAP-*m* (BEN) ***-xop*** (after REF/REC) ****-xop*** (after *-ʃaʔne*-PL) ** ***-ʃaʔne ~ -xaʔne*** (after *ʧʔe*-PL) ***-ʃ*** INST (after REF/REC in 9) ***-am*** (after REF/REC) ***-ai*** (after REF/REC) ***-kop*** (after REF/REC)

Table 24. Preliminary template for verbal suffixes in Nivacle. When a suffix is followed by an asterix, it must combine with a corresponding suffixed at its right on the same row, and vice versa; Pr = (Suffixed) Pronominal/ Argument index; 1/2 = first – singular or inclusive - and second person; 3 = third person. Particular dependencies are also highlighted.

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