Phonology of Takuña

Consonant inventory

	Labial	Coronal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stop	p	t	k	ʔː
Nasal	m	n	ŋ	
Fricative		s		h
Liquid		l		

All consonants except for /ʔː h/ have phonemic long and short variants. /h/ appears only short and /ʔː/ appears only long. It is this asymmetry (alongside evidence from phonotactics and allophony: see below) that motivates the analysis of these variants as long-short phoneme pairs rather than repeated segments.

Vowel inventory

Monophthongs

	Front	Back
Close	i	u
Open	a	

All monophthongs have long and short variants.

Diphthongs

	i	**u**
i	ii	iu
a	ai	au
u	ui	uu

Unlike the monophthongs, the diphthongs do not have long and short variants and long vowels are not found as diphthong elements. However, note that diphthong sequences of the same phoneme /ii uu/ do contrast with long forms of the same phoneme /iː uː/.

Vowel registers

Two vowel registers are distinguished. They have been described as tones (REF) and as types of phonation (REF) but this document will use the neutral term "register" as able to cover both meanings. Thus the registers are named the *unmarked register* and the *marked register*. The unmarked register has been described as high tone or as simple phonation; the marked register has been described as low tone or as glottalised or creaky phonation. In phonemic notation in this document, the marked register will be denoted with a macron below.

The distribution of the marked register is partially predictable and the register distinction carries a comparatively low functional load. In some closely related language varieties, changes in the system of accent and/or neutralisation of the consonant length distinction has left register entirely unpredictable and greatly increased its functional load.

Phonotactics

Syllable structure

Syllable structure is (C)V(V) where C represents any consonant, V represents any monophthong and VV represents any diphthong. It has been argued that the long consonants are in fact not single segments but either repeated segments or a neutralised consonant C followed by another consonant, and in either case that they partially occupy the coda of the preceding syllable: /paC.ˈmu/ or /pam.ˈmːu/ rather than /pa̱.ˈmːu/. However, speaker intuitions reliably identify the long consonants as occupying only one syllable. Nonetheless, long consonants do not occur in initial position (and nor does /n/).

Distribution of vowel register
As mentioned above, the marked register of vowels is partially predictably distributed. Vowels occurring:

>   (1) in the syllable directly following the stressed syllable;
>   (2) and in a syllable preceding a long-consonant

always take the marked register. All other occurrences of the marked register are unpredictable; it is thus considered phonemic and minimal pairs can be identified.

Relative frequencies of syllable types and phonemes
The four possible syllable types (CVV, CV, VV and V) are not equally frequent. CV is considered the basic type of syllable: an analysis of 206 lexical items taken in isolation showed that slightly over 75% of syllables were of the CV type. Of the other types, CVV is the second most common (12.26%) and V the third most common (9.03%). VV syllables are very infrequent: only 2.74% of the syllables surveyed were of this type.

   Similarly, the different phonemes are not all equally frequent. The long consonants are of dramatically lower frequency than the short consonants. Interestingly, the long glottal stop, although it has no short counterpart, has a very low frequency comparable with other long consonants while the glottal fricative (which has no long counterpart) has the highest frequency of any consonant phoneme: some writers have used this to argue that the glottal consonants pattern as a long-short pair.

   Of the stops, the labial stop is least frequent; it is followed by the coronal stop (with more than twice its frequency); the velar stop is the most frequent. The pattern for nasal consonants is reversed: the labial nasal is most common, followed by the coronal and velar nasals. As mentioned, /h/ is the most frequent phoneme by a large margin; the other fricative, /s/, is reasonably infrequent. /l/ is of very similar frequency to /m/, second only to /h/.

   The two high monophthongs are roughly as frequent as each other; the short low vowel /a/ is the most frequent vowel. The long variants of these are considerably less frequent. The diphthongs are of similar frequency to the long vowels. In survey of syllables mentioned above, the 32.90% of vowels carried the marked register and the rest carried the unmarked register.

Phonetic detail and allophony
Vowels
The monophthongs vary significantly within the vowel space. In the syllable directly following the stressed syllable, the high vowels /i u iː uː/ become mid [e o eː oː]. The low vowel is most commonly realised as a low front vowel [a]; however, adjacent to back segments it is realised as back [ɑ]. Adjacent to coronal consonants, this vowel may be tensed and is realised as further front: [æ] or even [ɛ].

   The realisations of the diphthongs are more stable. The diphthongs are all falling diphthongs with the except of /ui iu/. In /ii uu/ the first elements are audibly laxed compared with their realisations as monophthongs: [ɪj ʊw] or even [ej ow]. In /au/, the first element is always backed and sometimes also rounded: [ɑw] or [ɒw]; evidence from the phonological history of Takuña suggests that this diphthong was previously more strongly and reliably rounded and was perhaps even a monophthong [ɔː].

   The two registers have quite variable realisations also. The unmarked register has plain phonation and has sometimes been described as having high tone. However, closer examination of speaker data suggests that this is inaccurate. Unmarked register vowels show a large range of actual tones both taken independently and in relation to

the preceding syllables (although it is uncommon for an unmarked register vowel to fall in to compared with the preceding syllable). Marked register vowels show a downstep in tone a large majority of the time. Their phonation also differs from unmarked register vowels: in isolation and in careful or slow speech they are typically accompanied by creaky voice. In faster speech and especially with long vowels, glottal constriction may be greater so that the vowel ends with a glottal stop. When the following syllable begins with a long consonant, this glottalisation may extend to affect this consonant. When the syllable containing the marked register vowel has a (phonetically) voiced consonant in the onset, the creaky voice typically spreads to this also.

Consonants

The lateral /l/ may be flapped [ɺ] in word initial position; similarly the coronal nasal /n/ is often tapped [ɾ̃], although this varies between speakers. The fricative /h/ is often accompanied by palatal friction preceding a high front vowel and rounding and velar friction preceding a high back vowel.

Nasalisation

A phonetic process operates in Takuña that has been labelled *nasalisation*: syllables may either be nasalised or plain. It is named this because it is characterised by nasalised vowels. In the variety here described this is a predictably distributed phenomenon, but this is untrue in other, similar varieties in which accent has been regularised or older patterns of nasalisation are preserved.

Any vowel preceding one of the consonants /m n ŋ l/ (but *not* the long variants of these consonants: this is further evidence that the long variants are separate phonemes) within the same word is nasalised. Additionally, if the stressed syllable begins with one of /m mː n ŋ ŋː l lː/ then stops (other than the glottal stop) in all syllables *preceding* the stressed syllable are voiced: from /p pː t tː k kː/ to [b bː d dː g gː]. A vowel that precedes such a phonetically voiced stop is nasalised as if it preceded one of /m n ŋ l/.

Phonological history of Takuña

The following are a list of the regular sound changes occurring between Takuña and its reconstructed ancestor, Proto-Núalís-Takuña.

1. The phonetically prenasalised stops became voiced stops: *[mp nt ŋk] → *[mb nd ŋg] → [b d g].
2. The coronal stop */n/ acquired a lateral element and then shifted completely to [l]; the phonetically prenasalised tap *[nɾ] became a nasalised tap *[ɾ̃] and then a nasal stop [n]. It is clear that the lateral element of */n/ must have been acquired before the change from *[nɾ] → [n] was complete as no merger occurred. In addition, where the onsets of two adjacent syllables both contained either *[nɾ] or *[n], one of the two was dissimilated. This is a typical change applying to liquids and so probably occurred whilst the shifts described above were ongoing. At some point after this change, word initial /ɾ/ and /ɾ/ which followed a glottal stop (both of which had not been affected by the above changes) merged with the new /l/.
3. When in coda word-internally, the glottal stop was deleted with compensatory lengthening on the following consonant (this is the source of the long consonants).
4. The diphthongs */iu ui/ which were falling in PNT became rising [ju wi].
5. The diphthongs */ia ua ai au/ were probably monophthongised (although they were later diphthongised again); following a coronal consonant, */ia/ then merged with */ii/ and */ai/ moved up to become */ia/. */ii uu/ were reanalysed as Takuña /iː uː/; */ia ua/ (probably at this point long monophthongs) tensed to Takuña /ii uu/.
6. */p/ lenited to [h] in all positions.
7. The glottal stop, which was presumably labialised preceding rounded vowels, fortified to [p] in these positions. Remaining glottal stops lenited to zero; this change was blocked when it would create a hiatus of two identical vowels.

8. */s/ lenited to [h] in all positions.
9. *[tj] and */t/ preceding high vowels palatalised to *[ts] and then lenited to [s]. */k/ preceding high front vowels palatalised to *[c] and then fronted to [t], partially filling this gap.

Orthography

Throughout the description of the morphology of Takuña, all words and affixes will be given in phonemic notation. However, an orthography is also available for writing Takuña and this will be used in describing syntax, in discussing Takuña cultural issues, in discussing the lexicon and in the lexicon itself. This orthography is detailed below.

Consonants

	Labial	Coronal	Dorsal	Glottal
Stop	p	t	k	7
Nasal	m	n	ŋ *or* ñ	
Fricative		s		h
Liquid		l		

Length is indicated on consonants other than /ʔ:/ by the doubling of the letter.

Vowels

The short monophthongs are written as the IPA. Vowel length is indicating by a following colon: <i: a: u:>. The diphthongs are written as follows:

	ii	uu
i	ij	ju
a	aj	aw
u	wi	uw

Vowels are shown to be marked register with a grave: <ì à ù>; stress is shown with an acute: <í á ú>; stress co-inciding with marked register is shown with a circumflex: <î â û>. The grave is omitted preceding a long consonant and in the syllable following the stressed syllable. The acute is omitted in initial position.

Morphology
Morphophonological processes
Nasalisation block pairs

Certain sound changes in the history of Takuña were blocked by the phonetic effects of nasalisation: palatalisation of */t/, */tj/ and */ki/ and lenition of /p/ to /h/ did not occur when the stops were voiced. This creates a set of regular alternations in various prefixes: between /s/ and /t/ (the first being the basic form, the second the form occurring when the stressed syllable begins with /m n ŋ l/), between /t/ and /k/ (with the same pattern) and between /h/ and /p/. These are written /S T H/.

Phonological adaptation of borrowings

/i/ is a neutral vowel, inserted to break up consonant clusters (/u/ is occasionally found instead, especially following /p/). Phonemes found in the neighbouring Mûtsipsa' language and not in Takuña are replaced with phonemes more familiar to Takuña speakers. These are found in the table below.

Mûtsipsa' phoneme	Takuña nativisation
/d/	/t/
/e/	/i/
/f/	/p/
/g/	/k/
/j/	/i/, Ø
/o/	/u/
/ts/	/s/
/ɯ/	/u/
/ɯː/	/uː/
/w/	/u/, Ø
/x/	/h/
/y/	/u/, /i/
/yː/	/iː/, /uː/
/ʔ/	/ʔː/, /h/, Ø

Derivational morphology

The following productive derivational morphemes are found.

Root class	Derived class	Affix	Meaning
Verb	Verb	hu̱-[1]	passive
		ku.ta-	causative
		si-	be (noun), be like (noun), act as (noun)
	Noun	ma.la-[2]	patient (of verb), effect (of verb)
		lu̱ː-[2]	agent (of verb), experiencer (of verb)
		law-	location where event takes place
Noun	Verb	lu-[2]	verb with agent (noun), verb using (noun) as instrument
	Noun	ŋi.ŋi-	young (of noun), offspring (of noun), patronymic
		ma.la-[2]	patient (of action typically performed by noun), effect (of presence or activities of noun)
		-na.ha	item made of (noun)
		-mi.hi	diminutive (compare noun *mipimi*, "baby")
		a-	Pertaining to, related to, connected with, owned by

[1] Causes lengthening of the initial consonant of the stem where present.

[2] Causes nasalisation of the initial consonant of the stem where present.

Nominal morphology

Number

Number is marked on nouns through a combination of initial consonant mutations and prefixes. This system is comparable with the inverse number found in the Kiowa-Tanoan language family (Mithun 1999: 81). Three classes of noun are distinguished for the purposes of number: count nouns, collective count nouns and mass nouns. For count nouns, the unmarked form is considered singular (although this is debated; see the syntax section); the marked form is the collective form. For collective count nouns, the unmarked form is the collective and the marked form is the singulative. However, morphological marking is the same for the unmarked and marked forms regardless of the type of noun: the unmarked for has no marking; the marked form is distinguished by initial consonant mutation. Other numbers are also found. These are expressed through prefixes to the noun, however, the initial consonant also undergoes a different form of mutation after such a prefix.

There are thirteen different consonant-mutation series. Some of these have the same consonant in the unmarked and marked forms: these take a prefix of /i-/ or /a-/ in the marked form. The mutation series are shown below:

Series	Unmarked	Marked	Prefixed	Etymology
1	h-	m-	-h-	*p
2	S-	i-S-	-h-	*t _i, u
3	t-	i-t-	-h-	*t _a
4	k-	ŋ-	-Ø-	*k _a, u
5	t-	ŋ-	-h-	*k _i
6	Ø-	h-	-Ø-	*ʔ _a, i
7	p-	i-p-	-Ø-	*ʔ _u
8	m-	a-m-	-m-	*m
9	l-	a-l-	-l-	*n
10	ŋ-	a-ŋ-	-Ø-	*ŋ
11	h-	l-	-h-	*s
12	l-	n-	-n-	*ɾ
13	Ø-	l-	-s-	*Ø

Various different prefixes can be added to the prefixed form of the noun. These prefixes include less highly grammaticalised numbers and lexical quantifier-like and determiner-like prefixes. All of them can appear on count nouns and collective counts nouns but not mass nouns; although certain prefix-noun combinations do not occur, this is a semantic limitation and not a grammatical one. Some of the more common prefixes are found in the table below.

Prefix	Name/gloss	Example
aː.ka-	Augmentative: emphasises large size of object or objects.	/ˈha̱.ha̱.suː/ "squids", /aː.ka.ˈha̱.ha̱.suː/ "large squids"
ha̱.i-	"all, every": indicates multiple entities seen as the whole of an identified group.	/ɲi̱.ˈŋːi/, "your child", /ha̱.i.ɲi̱.ˈŋːi/ "all of your children".

i.kai-	"lots of, many": indicates large size of a particular collective noun group.	/paː.ˈli/, "freshwater fish", /i.kai.paː.ˈli/ "many freshwater fish, a large shoal of freshwater fish"
iː.ŋi-	"a few, a small number of": indicates small size of a particular collective noun group.	/ma.na.la.ˈka/ "men, boys", /iː.ŋi.ha.na.la.ˈka/ "a few men, a few boys, a small number of men, a small number of boys"
ka.Hi.ŋa-	Diminutive: emphasises small size of object or objects.	/ha.nu.ha.ˈnu/ "his knife", /ka.pi.ŋa.ha.nu.ha.ˈnu/ "his little knife"
kai.kaː-	"a container full of, a handful of": indicates a collection of objects bounded by a container; etymologically "a handful" and sometimes still retains this more specific meaning.	/ta̱.ha.suː/ "octopi", /kai.kaː.ha̱.ha.suː/ "a container full of octopi (such as a fisherman's basket)"
Sii-/tai-[1]	Distributive: indicates multiple entities seen as distributed over several types, several locations or times, or having several different properties; extremely common with human referents.	/ˈla.ha̱.ha/, "streams", /tii.ˈla.ha̱.ha / "various streams here and there".

[1] variant occurring preceding a vowel

Possession

Two different classes of nouns are distinguished for possession: alienably possessable nouns and inalienably possessed nouns. Possessed nouns distinguish four different possessors: 1st person, 2nd person, 3rd person obviate and 3rd person proximate.

Inalienably possessed nouns are always possessed: the morphologically unmarked form is the third person obviate possessor form. They are typically things which never appear separated from their possessor or cannot logically lack a possessor: body parts, family members, and various others. Possession is marked on inalienably possessed nouns through ablaut of the initial syllable. The number of the possessor is not distinguished. The forms are shown below:

	Initial syllable vowel		
	i	a	u
1st person	-a-	-u-	-a-
2nd person	-i̱.Cː-/-i̱.a-	-a̱.Cː-/-a̱.ha-	-u̱.Cː-/-u̱.a-
3rd person obviate	-i-	-a-	-u-
3rd person proximate	-i.ka-	-a.la-	-u.la-

In the above table, Cː indicates that the following consonant is lengthened. The alternative forms of the second person possessor are found where the following consonant is already long or in word final position where there is no following consonant. /h/ when lengthened in this position becomes /ʔː/ where /ʔ/ is the etymological consonant, /sː/ where /s/ is the etymological consonant and /pː/ where /p/ is the etymological consonant. /ʔː/ is the regular form here and newly coined or borrowed lexical items with /h/ in this position take /ʔː/.

Possession marked on alienably possessable nouns is optional, unlike that on inalienably possessed nouns. It is marked with a particle which is enclitic to the noun phrase. The forms of this clitic are shown below:

	Clitic
1st person	-l<u>a</u>.sː<u>a</u>
2nd person	-l<u>u</u>.<u>a</u>.sː<u>a</u>
3rd person obviate	-l<u>u</u>.sː<u>a</u>
3rd person proximate	-lu.l<u>a</u>.sːa

Obviation

Although the traditional term *obviation* has been chosen, this category might be more accurately termed "proximation" as it is the proximate and not the obviate which is marked. A single entity within a discourse is marked as proximate with the noun enclitic /-ŋa.m<u>a</u>/. This clitic cannot co-occur with possession clitic found on alienably possessable nouns: where an alienably possessable noun is marked for possession, it does not distinguish obviation.

Morphological history of Takuňa nouns

Number marking on Takuňa nouns is little changed from its ancestral form. The minor morphological differences between count nouns and collective count nouns have been levelled: the Takuňa paradigm takes elements of both of the older classes.

The close-distant distinction made in possession in PNT has disappeared in Takuňa: only the third person close possessed form survives as the Takuňa proximate third person possessed form (the same has happened to subject agreement morphology applied to verbs). Takuňa has innovated the form of possession expressed on alienably possessable nouns; this is derived from the PNT noun/determiner *ru'sa* which also survives as the Takuňa noun/determiner *lûssa*.

Verbal morphology

Verb classes

Five verb classes are preserved of the ten of the ancestral language. Stems are distributed to these classes on an entirely semantic basis. While verb class membership is lexical, it is common for speakers to change the verb class of a particular instance of a verb to give certain semantic or pragmatic effects. For example, in a particular instance a class 3 verb might be moved to class 5 to imply lack of control on the part of the subject, the accidental nature of the event or the undesirable nature of the event. The verb classes and the types of action or event encoded by typical examples from them are given below.

Verb class	Transitivity	Semantic basis
1	transitives and agentive intransitives	- physical, active, controlled actions, especially movement - travel and extended movement - possession, carrying, causing movement - conscious, voluntary mental states - violent, physical and damaging acts
2	intransitives	- involuntary, long-term states and activities involving development of subject - possession of properties or class membership - movement of mass-nouns
3	mixed: ranging from agentive	- events of cause and beginning - decision-making, requesting, ordering and ruling - inhabitation

	transitives to experiencive intransitives	● conception and birth ● caring ● sprouting and growing ● actions with an experiencer subject being viewed as positive or desirable ● non-visual senses
4	transitives	● speech, drawing, writing and communication ● trade and exchange ● other types of human interactions ● creation and design ● actions related to skilled professions
5	intransitives, lexical passives	● weather verbs ● lexical passives ● typically non-agentive events viewed as negative, undesirable, accidental and unfortunate ● non-communicative sounds

Number

Verbal number marking is morphologically identical to the basic number marking on nouns. Unlike in the case of nouns, verbal number marking is not an inverse system: the unmarked number is singular (see the syntax section for more details on the meanings of verbal number). This is not agreement with the number of a nominal argument but true verbal number, a category similar to aspect. However, it may in some cases imply the number of a nominal participant; this is discussed in the syntax section. However, verbs may not take the quantifier/determiner prefixes that further specify nominal number.

Subject agreement

Subject agreement on verbs is morphologically identical to possession marking on inalienably possessable nouns: it distinguishes three persons and a proximate variant of the third person.

Synthetic evidentiality-positionality-tense-mood marking

A series of suffixes to verbs synthetically mark four evidentials (visual, non-visual sensory, inferred and reported), five positionalities (sitting, standing, andative, venitive and turning), two tenses (past and non-past), two moods (realis and irrealis) and negation. The negated forms of these suffixes make no tense or mood distinctions, however they do preserve the full range of evidentialities and positionalities.

The five verb classes have different forms of these sets of suffixes: indeed, this is the main morphological distinction between the verb classes. Below are found the forms of the class one suffixes followed by those suffixes of the other classes which differ to their class one equivalents. As can be seen from these tables, all of the classes share share a large proportion of their suffixes with the other classes: no class has an entirely different set.

Class 1

		Non-past Realis	Non-past Irrealis	Past Realis	Past Irrealis	Negated
Sitting	**Visual sensory**	-ku̱.ka	-hu̱ː.kːa̱	-hiː.ka̱	-nːu.ka̱	-miu̱.kːa̱
	Nonvisual sensory	-ku̱	-hu̱ː.a̱	-hiː.a̱	-nːu.a̱	-miu̱
	Inferred	-ku̱.ma	-hu̱ː.mːa̱	-hiː.ma̱	-nːu.ma̱	-miu̱.mːa̱

	Reported	-ku̠.ha	-hu̠ː.sːa̠	-hiː.ha̠	-nːu.ha̠	-miu̠.sːa̠
Standing	Visual sensory	-ti.ma̠.kːu	-kːu	-ku	-mi.ku	-ŋːu
	Nonvisual sensory	-ti.mu	-hu	-hu	-mi.hu	-mu
	Inferred	-ki.ma̠.mːu	-mːu	-mːu	-mi.hu	-mːu
	Reported	-ti.ma̠.sːuː	-sːuː	-huː	-mi̠.sːuː	-nːuː
Andative	Visual sensory	-ku̠.ŋa	-hu̠ː.ŋːa̠	-hiː.ŋa̠	-nːu.ŋa̠	-miu̠.ŋːa̠
	Nonvisual sensory	-ku̠.la	-hu̠ː.lːa̠	-hiː.lːa̠	-nːu.la̠	-miu̠.lːa̠
	Inferred	-ku̠.miː	-hu̠ː.mːi̠i	-hiː.mːi̠i	-nːu.mːi̠i	-miu̠.mːi̠i
	Reported	-ku̠.luː	-hu̠ː.lːu̠u	-hiː.lu̠u	-nːu.lu̠u	-miu̠.lːu̠u
Venitive	Visual sensory	-ki.ma̠.ŋːu	-ŋːu	-mːu	-mi.ku	-ŋːu
	Nonvisual sensory	-ki.ma̠.lːu	-lːu	-lːu	-mi̠.tːu	-nːu
	Inferred	-ki.ma̠.mːiː	-mːiː	-mːiː	-mi.hiː	-mːiː
	Reported	-ki.ma̠.lːuː	-lːuː	-lːuː	-mi̠.tːuː	-nːuː
Turning	Visual sensory	-ku̠.ŋu	-hu̠ː.ŋu	-hiː.ŋu	-nːu.ŋu	-miu̠.ŋu
	Nonvisual sensory	-ku̠.nuː	-hu̠ː.nuː	-hiː.nuː	-nːu.nuː	-miu̠.nuː
	Inferred	-ku̠.muː	-hu̠ː.muː	-hiː.muː	-nːu.muː	-miu̠.muː
	Reported	-ku̠.nuː	-hu̠ː.nuː	-hiː.nuː	-nːu.nuː	-miu̠.nuː

Class 2 (otherwise as class 1)

		Non-past realis	Past irrealis
Sitting	Visual sensory	-li.nu̠.ma.ka	-pau.ku̠u.ka
	Nonvisual sensory	-li.nu̠.maː	-pau.ku̠u.a
	Inferred	-li.nu̠.ma.ma	-pau.ku̠u.ma
	Reported	-li.nu.ma	-pau.a
Standing	Visual sensory	-li.nu.ŋu	-pau.ku
	Nonvisual sensory	-li.nːau	-pau.ku
	Inferred	-li.nu.mu	-pau.ŋːu
	Reported	-li.nu.mu	-pau.pu
Andative	Visual sensory	-ki̠.ŋːa̠	-pau.ku̠u.ŋa
	Nonvisual sensory	-ki̠.lːa̠	-pau.ku̠u.laː
	Inferred	-ki̠.mːi̠i	-pau.ku̠u.miː
	Reported	-su̠ː.ʔːaː	-pau.aː
Venitive	Visual sensory	-tuː.ŋːu	-pau.ŋːu
	Nonvisual sensory	-tu̠ː.nːu	-pau.lːu
	Inferred	-tuː.mːiː	-pau.ŋːiː

	Reported	-su̱:.ʔ:u:	-pau.pu:
Turning	Visual sensory	-ki̱.ŋu	-pau.ku̱u.ŋu
	Nonvisual sensory	-ki̱.nu:	-pau.ku̱u.nu:
	Inferred	-ki̱.mu:	-pau.ku̱u.mu:
	Reported	-su̱:.n:a̱.pu̱u	-pau.kuu.nu:

Class 3

		Non-past realis	Non-past irrealis
Sitting	Visual sensory	-li.nu̱.ma.ka	
	Nonvisual sensory	-li.nu̱.ma:	
	Inferred	-li.nu̱.ma.ma	
	Reported	-li.nu.ma	
Standing	Visual sensory	-li.nu.ŋu	
	Nonvisual sensory	-li.n:au	
	Inferred	-li.nu.mu	
	Reported	-li.nu.mu	
Andative	Visual sensory	-ki̱.ŋ:a̱	-li.nu̱.ma.ŋa
	Nonvisual sensory	-ki̱.l:a̱:	-li.nu̱.ma.la:
	Inferred	-ki̱.m:i̱i	-li.nu̱.ma.mi:
	Reported	-su̱:.ʔ:a:	-li.nu.ma:
Venitive	Visual sensory	-tu:.ŋ:u	-li.nu.ŋ:u
	Nonvisual sensory	-tu̱:.n:u	-li.nu.l:u
	Inferred	-tu:.m:i:	-li.nu.mi:
	Reported	-su̱:.ʔ:u:	-li.nu.mu:
Turning	Visual sensory	-ki̱.ŋu	-li.nu̱.ma.ŋu
	Nonvisual sensory	-ki̱.nu:	-li.nu̱.ma:.nu:
	Inferred	-ki̱.mu:	-li.nu̱.ma.mu:
	Reported	-su̱:.n:a̱.pu̱u	-li.nu.ma.nu:

All other class 2 and class 3 forms are identical to those of class 1 with the exception of the reported evidential forms. These are shown in the table below.

Class 2 and 3 reported forms

	Non-past irrealis	Past realis	Negated
Sitting	-ti.ma̱.ʔ:a	-ha	-ʔ:a
Standing	-ti.ma̱.ʔ:u	-hu	-ʔ:u

Andative	-ti.ma̠.ʔːaː	-haː	-ʔːaː
Venitive	-ti.ma̠.ʔːu:	-huː	-ʔːuː
Turning	-ti.ma̠.i.nuː	-hiː.nuː	-nːa̠.pu̠u

Class 4 (otherwise as class 1)

		Non-past realis	Non-past irrealis	Past realis
Sitting	Visual sensory	-a.na̠.ka	-ki̠.kːa̠	-ŋa̠.kːa̠
	Nonvisual sensory	-a.na̠ː	-ki̠	-ŋa̠
	Inferred	-a.na̠.ma	-ki̠.mːa̠	-ŋa̠.mːa̠
	Reported	-a.na̠.ha	-ki̠.sːa̠	-ŋa̠.sːa̠
Standing	Visual sensory	-a̠.ŋːu	-suː.kːu	-kːu
	Nonvisual sensory	-nːau	-suː.ŋu	-ŋu
	Inferred	-a.nːu	-tuː.mːu	-mːu
	Reported	-a̠.nːuː	-su̠ː.nːuː	-nːuː
Andative	Visual sensory	-a.na̠.ŋa	-ki̠.ŋːa̠	-ŋa̠.ŋːa̠
	Nonvisual sensory	-a.na̠.laː	-ki̠.lːa̠ː	-ŋa̠.lːa̠ː
	Inferred	-a.na̠.miː	-ki̠.mːi̠i	-ŋa̠.mːi̠i
	Reported	-a.na̠.luː	-ki̠.lːu̠u	-ŋa̠.lːu̠u
Venitive	Visual sensory	-a̠.nːu	-tuː.ŋːu	-ŋːu
	Nonvisual sensory	-a.lːu	-tu̠ː.nːu	-nːu
	Inferred	-a.nːi:	-tuː.mːiː	-mːiː
	Reported	-a.lːuː	-tu̠ː.nːuː	-nːuː
Turning	Visual sensory	-a.na̠.ŋu	-ki̠.ŋu	-ŋa̠.ŋu
	Nonvisual sensory	-a.na̠ː.lu	-ki̠.nuː	-ŋa̠.nuː
	Inferred	-a.na̠.mu:	-ki̠.mu:	-ŋa̠.mu:.
	Reported	-a.na̠.nu:	-ki̠.nu:	-ŋa̠.nu:

Class 5

		Non-past realis	Non-past irrealis	Negated
Sitting	Visual sensory	-ŋa.mi̠i.ka	-li.nu̠.ma.ka	-pau.ku̠u.ka
	Nonvisual sensory	-ŋa.mi̠.i	-li.nu̠.maː	-pau.ku̠u.a
	Inferred	-ŋa.mi̠i.ma	-li.nu̠.ma.ma	-pau.ku̠u.ma
	Reported	-ŋa.ma	-li.nu.ma	-pau.a
Standing	Visual sensory	-ŋa.ŋu	-li.nu.ŋu	-pau.ku
	Nonvisual sensory	-mːi̠ː.u̠	-li.nːau	-pau.ku

	Inferred	-ŋa.mu	-li.nu.mu	-pau.ŋːu
	Reported	-ŋa.mu	-li.nu.mu	-pau.pu
Andative	Visual sensory	-ŋa.m̠i̠i.ŋa	-li.nu̠.ma.ŋa	-pau.ku̠u.ŋa
	Nonvisual sensory	-ŋa.m̠i̠i.laː	-li.nu̠.ma.laː	-pau.ku̠u.laː
	Inferred	-ŋa.m̠i̠i.miː	-li.nu̠.ma.miː	-pau.ku̠u.miː
	Reported	-ŋa.maː	-li.nu.maː	-pau.aː
Venitive	Visual sensory	-ŋa.ŋːu	-li.nu.ŋːu	-pau.ŋːu
	Nonvisual sensory	-ŋa.lːu	-li.nu.lːu	-pau.lːu
	Inferred	-ŋa.miː	-li.nu.miː	-pau.ŋːi
	Reported	-ŋa.muː	-li.nu.muː	-pau.puː
Turning	Visual sensory	-ŋa.m̠i̠i.ŋu	-li.nu̠.ma.ŋu	-pau.ku̠u.ŋu
	Nonvisual sensory	-ŋa.m̠i̠.i.nuː	-li.nu̠.maː.nuː	-pau.ku̠u.nuː
	Inferred	-ŋa.m̠i̠i.muː	-li.nu̠.ma.muː	-pau.ku̠u.muː
	Reported	-ŋa.mi.nuː	-li.nu.ma.nuː	-pau.kuu.nuː

All other class 5 forms are identical to those of class 1 with the exception of the reported evidential forms. These are shown in the table below.

Class 5 reported forms

	Past realis	Past irrealis
Sitting	-ha	-mi.ha
Standing	-hu	-mi.hu
Andative	-haː	-mi.haː
Venitive	-huː	-mi.huː
Turning	-hiː.nuː	-mi.hu.nuː

As can be seen from these tables, many cases of syncretism are found. This syncretism leads to various ambiguities which put significant pressure on the verbal system: as a result, in many related varieties it has been regularised by internal analogy, a process which also occurs in all of the descendents of Takuña. This regularisation typically involves the reanalysis of these synthetic suffixes into tense-mood suffixes and separate positionality-evidentiality suffixes.

Further positionality
A series of optional positionality suffixes exists. They follow the evidentiality-positionality-tense-mood suffix and are limited by them: some of them can only appear with certain main positionalities. They can, however, co-occur with one another. These suffixes are shown below.

Suffix	Occurs with	Meaning
-ha.ŋːi	turning	in a circle, turning around, turning back,

-ha.t̪i.si	(any)	inside a container, into a container, out of a container
-hau	andative	towards the sea
-hau	sitting, standing, turning	in the sea, on the sea
-hau	venitive	away from the sea
-ha̱u	andative	towards the speaker
-ha̱u	venitive	away from the speaker
-h̪i.pu̱	andative	towards the addressee
-h̪i.pu̱	venitive	away from the addressee
-ka:	(any)	carried in the hand(s)
-ku̱.k:a.n̪ii.li:	andative	upward, up the hill
-ku̱.k:a.n̪ii.li:	sitting, standing	up high, on the hill
-la.ma̱.pu	(any)	on a beach, along a beach
-ŋ:i	(any)	submerged in liquid, swimming
-ŋa.m̪ii	andative, venitive	falling, moving downards
-p̪i.k:ai	sitting	lying down
-ta̱.la	(any)	indoors, under shelter

Morphological history of Takuňa verbs

The closed verb word class of PNT survived only as a series of auxiliaries; after a change of word-order to verb-final, these auxiliaries were then encliticised and eventually became the evidentiality-positionality-tense-mood suffixes of Takuňa. The participle verb word class of PNT became the verb word class of Takuňa. However, the ten classes of PNT participle verbs underwent various shifts and mergers, resulting in the five classes of Takuňa verbs. These shifts are described below.

The smallest class of PNT participle verbs, class 3, merged to class 1, resulting in the loss of the auxiliary *miw'* as a marker of the indicative. PNT class 5, by analogy with class 6, gained the mixed auxiliary *niruma~tuwñí'* to mark the indicative. PNT class 8 merged to class 6, and classes 4 and 2 merged to classes 9 and 1 respectively. This resulted in the loss of the auxiliaries *kisuma*, *rapa* and *mitú* as markers of the indicative. PNT class 10 split on a semantic basis and merged to three other classes: transitive, agentive class 10 verbs merged to class 1; transitive, experiencive class 10 verbs merged to class 6; and intransitive class 10 verbs merged to class 7. This resulted in the loss of the indicative auxiliary *tuwníw*, but caused the expanding classes 6 and 7 to gain the past and future auxiliaries *pij* and *niruma*. With the increasing universality of the indicative/irrealis/past/future distinction, the irrealis was in the process of shifting to a past-irrealis and the future was gaining conditional/potential overtones. This would eventually result in the Takuňa system of past/non-past and realis/irrealis. These shifts and mergers resulted in the five classes of Takuňa and are summarised along with the etymology of the various class suffixes in the table below.

		Non-past realis	**Past irrealis**	**Past realis**	**Non-past irrealis**	**Negative**
	Etymology	*indicative*	*irrealis*	*past*	*future*	*negative*
1	1, 2, 10	*kipá'	*mitú	*pij	*suw'	*miw'
2	5	*niruma ~	*'awkua	* + pij	* + suw'	

3	6, 8, 10	*tuwñí'	*mitú	*pij	*niruma	
4	9, 4	*'ara		*ñuj'á'	*tuwñí'	
5	7, 3, 10	*ñamij	*＋mitú	*pij	*niruma	*'awkua

At some point during the evolution of these suffixes, the distinction was lost between reported and assumed evidentials: in classes one and four, the reported evidential forms were dropped in favour of the assumed; in classes two, three and five, the assumed evidential forms were dropped in favour of the reported.

Syntax

Morphosyntactic word classes

Noun

The noun is made up of an inflectable stem with morphological marking for number and possession. Nouns are divided into count nouns, collective count nouns and mass nouns; they are also divided into alienably possessable nouns and inalienably possessed nouns. These distinctions are lexical and largely distributed on semantic bases; they determine the form and meaning of nominal morphology.

Verb

The verb is made up of an inflectable stem with morphological marking for tense, mood, postionality, evidentiality, number and subject agreement. Verbs are divided into five classes. These distinctions are lexical and largely distributed on semantic bases; they determine the form of tense-mood-positionality-evidentiality marking.

Particle

Several different types of particles are distinguished. They are grouped as a single morphosyntactic word class on the basis that they take no morphology and although the behaviour of every type of particle is not identical, to distinguish them would involve the identification of single-member word classes.

Meanings of verbal categories

Number

Like aspect, verbal number expresses the time-structure of a verbal event. Unlike aspect, verbal number does not express internal time structure but only external time structure. The unmarked verbal number is the singular. The singulative may be used for an ongoing event with no time structure, for a single time-delimited event or for a single instantaneous event. The marked verbal number is the plural which is used for several separate events, either viewed as group or a disparate series (this is unlike the ancestral language in which a three way distinction of singulative-collective-distributive was expressed on verbs).

Verbal number may have the effect of implying number for one of the participants in the event, although it is *not* actually number agreement with an argument. Typically plural number may imply a plurality of objects of a transitive verb or subjects of an intransitive verb. This is, however, entirely dependent on the meaning of the verb and the context, and is never the main interpretation.

Subject agreement

Verbs agree with their subject for person and, in the case of a third person subject, obviation; this marking is mandatory. They do not agree for number. This is the primary mechanism for expressing first and second person participants in Takuña.

Evidentiality

Evidentiality is the grammatical expression of information source. It is not mirativity (expression of surprise or doubt

at a statement) nor is it mood, although it may sometimes carry mirative undertones or be correlated with expressions of mood. Evidentiality marking is mandatory and fully grammaticalised: it is not merely semantic overtone and misusing evidentials is considered lying by speakers just as misusing any other grammatical category would. Takuña distinguishes four evidentials: the visual sensory, the non-visual sensory, the inferred and the reported. These are explained below.

The visual sensory denotes that the speaker has had direct visual experience of the statement that they are making. This is not used for indirect visual evidence, nor for second-hand visual experience. Unlike the visual sensory of some related varieties, it may be used for visual experiences had in dreams and hallucinations, although this usage does imply clarity of memory. The visual sensory evidential carries strong overtones of surety: it is sometimes used in traditional narratives to lend an air of immediacy to the events described and an air of knowledge and reliability to the teller. This might be compared with the use of the present in past narratives for similar purpose in many languages.

The non-visual sensory is used when the speaker has had direct non-visual experience of the statement that they are making. This includes touch, taste and smell evidence as well as non-linguistic aural evidence. It is also used for internal experiences: emotions, thoughts, and the reporting but typically not description of memories. The non-visual sensory may sometimes be used for visual experiences in dreams and hallucinations where the speaker does not remember them clearly. Occasionally it may be used for past visual experiences in the material world only faintly or indistinctly remembered.

The inferred evidential is used when the speaker has evidence for but no direct experience of the statement that they are making. This does not include expectations from habit or general knowledge, which are covered by the reported evidential; however, this is undergoing shift and in later varieties of Takuña both of these information sources are included in the inferred evidential.

The reported evidential is used when the evidence for the statement that the speaker is making is hearsay, general knowledge or expectation from habit. As mentioned above, the last two of these are not covered by the reported evidential in later varieties of Takuña. The reported is also a quotative: in quoted speech, Takuña speakers use the reported evidential despite the fact that the original quote may have used another evidential. It may be argued that in fact this shows that evidentiality distinctions are completely neutralised in reported speech, an argument which is evidenced by the fact that speakers do often add paraphrased information sources to quotes.

Positionality

Like evidentiality, positionality is a fully grammaticalised, if rare, verbal category. Its marking is mandatory on verbs. Positionality expresses position, location and movement of an argument of the verb. Unlike subject agreement, it works on an absolutive basis: on intransitive verbs, positionality expresses position, location and movement of the subject; on transitive verbs, positionality expresses position, location and movement of the object. However, especially in the case of location, this distinction is often not meaningful: the subject and object necessarily share a location which is the location of the event.

Five positionalities are grammaticalised; two of these are static, denoting lack of movement, and the other three are active, denoting movement of some kind. In addition to these there exist an open class of lexical positionality suffixes. These co-occur and interact with the grammaticalised positionalities. Unlike the grammaticalised positionalities, they are never mandatory: for example, omitting the suffix -hatìsi, which denotes location within a container, does not imply that the event does not take place within a container – it merely doesn't state that it does.

The two static positionalities are the sitting and standing positionalities. Used of human referents, the sitting positionality literally denotes a sitting or prone person and the standing a standing person. This is also applied to non-human animates as far as is semantically feasible. In addition, the sitting positionality may imply extended lack of movement, being at rest or immovable, whilst the standing positionality may be used to indicate recent movement or readiness to move.

The three active positionalities are the andative, venitive and turning positionalities. Literally, as when used

of verbs of movement and travel, the andative denotes movement forwards or towards a goal whilst the venitive denotes movement backwards, away from a goal or back towards a starting point. The turning positionality denotes change in direction, circular, or repetitious movement. When used with non-movement verbs, the active positionalities may have the same meanings as with movement verbs, and denote movement simultaneous with the action of the verb. They may also, however, be used to imply less literal movement: the andative has associations of advancement and improvement whilst the venitive has associations of retreat or degradation. The turning positionality may be used to indicate many different properties of an event undergoing change: not only direction of movement but also speed of movement, movement itself, intensity, shape, size or extent, success or quality and many others. It may also be used for change of state or a change in the underlying nature of the event.

Tense

Two tenses are distinguished in Takuña: past and non-past. Their marking is grammatically mandatory and the non-past is the unmarked form. The past tense is used solely for past events. The non-past is used for present events and future events.

Mood

Two moods are distinguished in Takuña: the realis and the irrealis. Their marking is grammatically mandatory. The realis mood is used for real events that actually have happened or are happening, or that the speaker asserts definitely will happen. The irrealis is used for unreal events: unfulfilled conditions, hypotheticals, the majority of statements about the future, statements of possibility and ability, requests, orders and recommendations, and statements about likelihood or chance. The realis is almost only used to denote future events when the agent in those future events is the speaker.

Meanings of the nominal categories

Number

Number marking is an optional category marked on nouns. Nominal number is marked with an inverse system: morphologically, there is an unmarked form and a marked form, but the meanings of these forms depends upon the noun. Count nouns have a singular unmarked form and a collective marked form; collective count nouns have a collective unmarked form and a singulative marked form. Mass nouns take no number marking. In addition, there are a set of prefixes with determiner- and quantifier-like meanings which are added to a number-neutral "prefixed" form of the noun. These, similarly, cannot be added to mass nouns; this changes in later varieties of Takuña, where mass-noun specific quantifier-prefixes are innovated and some of the general purpose determiner and quantifier prefixes may be added to mass nouns.

The singular form of count nouns is a straightforward singular. However, because number marking is optional and the singular form is unmarked, it is morphologically identical to the form neutral for number. The collective form is in the process of developing into a simple plural. Nonetheless, at this point in Takuña it still carries the implication of an identifiable group – disparate or differentiated entities would be more likely to appear with the distributive prefix.

The collective form of collective count nouns is more strongly collective than that of count nouns: it denotes an identifiable group of entities. The singulative form most typically denotes a singular entity, but may sometimes be used to emphasise the disparate nature of a plural entities (in this case it may be translated with "each of"); this contrasts subtly with the distributive prefixed form which indicates plural entities differentiated by a specific property such as location, appearance, size, or others.

Examples of number marking on count nouns are found below:

hanaha "snake": UNMARKED
lanaha "a group of snakes": MARKED

ña:mumi "hill": UNMARKED

añá:mumi "a range of hills": MARKED

a:kaá:mumi "a large hill": PREFIXED (AUGMENTATIVE)

Examples of number marking on collective count nouns are found below:

kjusuhu "saltwater flatfish, a shoal of saltwater flatfish": UNMARKED

ñjusuhu "one saltwater flatfish": MARKED

amanâ: "a forest": UNMARKED

lamanâ: "a tree": MARKED

kapiñasamanâ: "little trees": PREFIXED (DIMINUTIVE)

Possession

Possession is a mandatory category marked on inalienably possessed nouns and optionally marked on alienably possessable nouns. Only the person of the possessor and, in the case of a third person possessor, the obviation of the possessor is distinguished. Examples of possession on inalienably possessable nouns are found below:

amúhunussu "his beard": 3RD PERSON OBVIATE POSSESSOR

alamúhunussu "his beard": 3RD PERSON PROXIMATE POSSESSOR

ammúhunussu "your beard": 2ND PERSON POSSESSOR

umúhunussu "my beard": 1ST PERSON POSSESSOR

tuní: "his/her/their luck": 3RD PERSON OBVIATE POSSESSOR

tulaní "his/her/their luck": 3RD PERSON PROXIMATE POSSESSOR

tunní "your luck": 2ND PERSON POSSESSOR

taní "my/our luck": 1ST PERSON POSSESSOR

Examples of possession on alienably possessable nouns are found below:

lululij "song": non-possessed

lululij-lussà "his/her/their song": 3rd person obviate possessed

lululij-lulassà "his/her/their song": 3rd person proximate possessed

lululij-lùassà "your song": 2nd person possessed

lululij-lassà "my song": 1st person possessed

Obviation

Obviation marking is mandatory on Takuña nouns. Takuña obviation is a discourse-level phenomenon: a single entity within a *discourse* is the proximate entity and all nouns referring to it are marked as proximate. The proximate referent is the subject of the discourse. In third person narratives, the protagonist is typically proximate; in first person narratives, an antagonist is more typically the proximate (although some analysts claim to identify first person proximate referents, although these typically surface only as a lack of proximate marking on any other entity). In non-narrative discourses, various other entities may be proximate; for example: the objects of requests and imperatives; the subjects of inquiries; the subject in statements of judgement. In extended discourse, an especially important factor in choosing the proximate referent appears to be its recurrence: only a referent that recurs often throughout a discourse will typically be marked proximate.

Speakers tend to accommodate to one another by using the same proximate referent in a discourse. Divergence may sometimes be observed where a speaker will choose a different proximate referent to that chosen by

an addressee or even change the shared proximate referent mid-discourse; this may give an impression of distance, aggression, or be a way of making a claim of superior status. Where the proximate referent is shared by both participants within a discourse, control over it is highly symbolic of speaker status.

Pronouns

Takuña has no lexical or morphosyntactic class of pronouns distinct from nouns. However, various nouns can be identified that are pronoun-like: they are high frequency in discourse and semantically bleached. However, unlike true pronouns, they do not agree in possession or number with an antecedent (although they do in obviation). A list of some of these is found below. Note also that there are no distinct first and second person pronouns: the inalienably possessable noun *lûssa*, when marked as first or second person possessed, may be translated as "self, person" (or similar) and functions in a manner similar to an emphatic non-third person pronoun.

Word	Class	Gloss
lûssa	i.c.n.	he, she, person, man, woman, celestial object, boat, animal
hanalaká	a.c.n.	man, boy, he
imwíla	a.c.n.	woman, girl, she
kuhâ	a.c.n.	it, inanimate object, thing

Prepositions

Adpositions in Takuña are prepositions. The class of prepositions is small – it has, however, significantly expanded it from the single preposition of its ancestor. The majority of the prepositions are quite self-explanatory and can be found in the lexicon. The use of one preposition, however, needs further explanation. The preposition *a* is highly semantically bleached, and inherits its meaning from the positionality of the main verb in its clause. With standing and sitting positionalities, it indicates location: "in", "at", "near" or "on". With the andative positionality it indicates goal, target or direction. With the venitive positionality it indicates source or starting place of movement. With the turning positionality it usually indicates area through which or around which movement takes place. Additionally, this preposition may indicate the listener or target with verbs of communication in any positionality.

Word order

The noun phrase

The noun phrase is most typically a single noun, inflected for obviation, number and possession. This noun may be followed by one or more adjuncts; it may also be preceded by a single determiner. Possible noun adjuncts are relative clauses and possessive nouns. Nouns are not overtly marked as possessive, but a noun following a possessed noun with no intervening conjunction is considered possessive. Examples are found below.

> *lusumu*
> the_moon

> *lawtunjú*
> index_finger + 1
> "my index finger"

> *lûssa hi:nusumu*
> DET   philosopher
> "this/that philosopher"

tî:ñña:lli: lu:ssâjññami
big_toe + 3 lover + 2
"your lover's big toe"

milusi pumú ñami
woman REL   sleep
"the sleeping woman"

Multiple noun phrases all filling the same syntactic role may be coordinated with the conjunction *u*; this conjunction precedes every item in the list (including the first item). A negated form of this conjunction, *umju*, also occurs. The negated conjunction is also used to negate a noun phrase that isn't part of a list: it precedes the noun phrase (and may co-occur with a determiner). Examples are found below:

u   pamúw u   umiù
and cloud   and the_sun
"the clouds and the sun"

u   mammâ: u   simuw
and king   and 3-family_members
"the king and his family"

umju   tâhasu: u   hâhasu:
not_and octopi   and squid
"squid but no octopi"

umju   hanalaká
not   he
"not him/he didn't..."

The verb phrase

The verb phrase is headed by a verb inflected for tense, mood, subject person, verbal number, positionality and evidentiality. This verb may also take an object noun phrase: in highly formalised texts (such as oral histories and mythological stories) the object tends to precede the verb and the VP is head-final; however in casual speech and increasingly in all speech registers, the object must follow the verb and the VP is head-initial. Examples are found below:

tawkawha
tawkaw   -ha
die + SN + 3 -SIT_REP_PST_RLS
"they say that he/she died"

imwíla ñutàíjnalinumu
imwíla ñutàíjna   -linumu
she   nourish + PL + 3 -STA_INF_NPST
"he/she must be looking after her"

pâhawkuw7a:haw a:háw

pâhawkuw   -7a: -haw   a:háw

hear＋sn＋2   -AND_REP_NEG   -sea   sea

"you say that you can't hear the sea as you walk towards it"

The verbal object may also be a complementiser phrase. This is usually moved to clause-final position (except where a heavier phrase exists: see section on heavy groups, below); where it is not then it occupies the same position as a noun phrase object. For the syntax of the complementiser phrase, see subordinate clause section below. Examples of verb phrases with complementiser phrase objects are found below.

hukutakku tumú alai tumú lu:hihuní:malauwtana

hukuta -kku   tumú   alai   tumú   lu:hihuní:malauwtana

say   -STA_VIS_PAS_RLS   COMP   know＋sn＋1   COMP   be_the_winner＋sn＋3

"I said that I know that he/she won/is winning"

ŋûwmmijhi:lùw tammú tihâ a lwiŋa

ŋûwmmij   -hi:lùw   tammú   tihâ   a   lwiŋa

succeed＋sn＋2   -AND_REP_PAS_RLS   COMP   go   PREP   place

"I hear that you managed to get there!"

The main clause

A main clause is made up of a verb phrase with an optional subject. Examples are found below.

nu:lunúlulij huwnammu hanuhanú

nu:lunúlulij   huwna   -mmu   hanuhanú

poet   carry_in_a_bag＋sn＋3   -VEN_VIS_PST_RLS   knife＋3

"I saw that the poet carried his knife in a bag as he returned"

lu:hihuní: hijhî:hu:ññà hanuhanú puwtanámju

lu:hihuní: hijhî: -hu:ññà   hanuhanú   puwtanámju

victor   take   -AND_VIS_NPST_IRR   knife＋3   loser

"the victor will take the loser's knife"

The subordinate clause

Subordinate clauses are headed by a subordinator. There are two types of subordinator: complementisers and relativisors. There are two of each of these: simple and dubitative. Complementisers introduce complement clauses (complementiser phrases). These may be taken as the complements to certain verbs or may stand as independent clauses. Relativisers introduce relative clauses (relativiser phrases). These are taken as adjuncts by nouns. In relative clauses the simple form of the subordinator is repeated in the expected position of the noun it replaces, if it agrees with a precedent noun; where this would result in a repeated sequence, one is deleted. The subordinators are shown in the table below.

	Relativiser	Complementiser
Simple	pumú	tumú
Dubitative	pammú	tammú

The dubitative subordinators are to indicate surprise or doubt about the subordinate clause, or to indicate disjunctive meanings or meanings at odds with the surrounding discourse. They can often be translated with "but", "despite", or other conjunctions.

Verbs in subordinate clauses are neutralised for evidentiality, tense, mood, and the main positionalities; they can take further positionality suffixes and are marked for number and subject agreement, but do not take an evidentiality-positionality-tense-mood suffix.

> *lûssa lu:maníta **pammú mi:mawhalahaw***
>
> lûssa   lu:maníta   pumú mi:mawhala   -haw
>
> DET   fisherman   REL   explore＋PL＝3 -sea
>
> "that fisherman who explored/explores at sea"

> *hanalaká **pumú kassâkka pumú***
>
> hanalaká pumú kassâkka   pumú
>
> man   REL   kill＋2   REL
>
> "the man whom you killed"

> *tammú alu:uwtaná-lùssà li:ùpú: nâssa*
>
> tammú a-   lu:uwtaná ＝lùssà li:ùpú: nâssa
>
> COMP   COL- soldier   ＝3   attack＋3 DET＋COL＋1
>
> "but/that their soldiers attacked/are attacking us"

Non-declarative clauses

Questions

All interrogative clauses end in an interrogative particle *lij* (this precedes phrases moved to final position such as embedded complementiser phrases and heavy groups). Where an individual constituent is questioned, an in-situ wh-word is found in its place. This wh-word is *sij* for animate referents and *lij* for inanimates; where a sequence of *lij lij would occur, one is deleted.

> *hû:ha: kuhâ lij*
>
> hû: -ha: kuhâ lij
>
> decide -AND_REP_PST_RLS   it   INT
>
> "has he/she decided?"

> *hittiti lij*
>
> hittiti   lij
>
> want＋2 INT
>
> "what do you want?"/"do you want (it)?"

Orders

Orders and imperatives are placed in the irrealis mood; the subject must be explicit, so the second person pronoun-like noun *lûassà* is common here. There is no negative-irrealis form of the verb, so negative imperative is typically formed by negating one or more of the nominal constituents. Note that in these cases it is quite usual for all of the nominal constituents to be negated, but that this results in only a single logical negation.

> *lûassà tippâññuhàu*
>
> lûassà tippâ -ŋŋu   -hàu

DET＋2 go   -VEN_VIS_NPST_IRR -speaker

"go away from me!"

umju lûassà ŋâ:ssannulùw umju la:níhiijluhisuhi

umju lûassà ŋâ:ssa   -nnulùw   umju la:níhiijluhisuhi

NEG   DET＋2 touch＋2 -AND_REP_PST_IRR   NEG   cooked_food＋1

"don't let me hear that you've gone and touched my food!"

Lexicon

Lexical classes

Nouns and verbs?

Although Takuña nouns and verbs are fully distinct as morphosyntactic classes, they are no longer distinct as lexical classes. Any inflectable stem can act as a noun, taking nominal morphology and functioning as a verbal or adpostional adjunct or complement, or a subject; equally, any inflectable stem can act as a verb, taking verb morphology and functioning as a predicate. This does not imply that all stems are equally likely to appear as nouns or verbs in discourse: some stems with concrete and particularly wide meanings only rarely appear as verbs and some stems referring to events with no identifiable participants (such as weather verbs) only rarely appear as nouns. In the lexicon, those stems which most often occur in discourse as nouns are given glosses in terms of English nouns and those which most often occur as verbs are given glosses in terms of English verbs.

The semantic relationship between a stem appearing as a morphosyntactic noun and the same stem appearing as a morphosyntactic verb is highly predictable. In a handful of cases semantic drift has occurred so that the relationship is not fully regular, but these cases are synchronically rare and diachronically short-lived. The semantic relationship works on an absolutive basis. A stem which is intransitive appearing as a verb denotes the single actor (the subject) when appearing as a noun; a stem which is transitive appearing as a verb denotes its object when appearing as a noun. Those stems which were historically noun stems become stative verbs meaning "to be X" when appearing as verbs (thus fitting the above pattern).

All of those stems which were historically noun stems are inflected as class 2 when appearing as verbs. Of those stems which were historically verbs stems, some are inflected as count, some as collective count and some as mass when appearing as nouns; similarly, some are treated as inalienably possessed and some as alienably possessable, however there is a strong trend for stems which are intransitive as verbs to be alienably possessable as nouns and stems which are transitive as verbs to be inalienably possessed as nouns.

Inflectable stems

The main lexical word class in Takuña is the inflectable stem. This word class is the descendent of both the verb and noun word classes of the ancestoral language. In discourse they may appear as morphosyntactic verbs or nouns and take inflections as appropriate.

Determiners

A verb minor determiner word class exists in Takuña. Determiners are morphologically identical to inflectable stems declined as nominals, but cannot appear as verbs. They are distributed somewhat differently, however: they may precede and determine nouns or appear independently. This is a very small class and (unusually cross-linguistically for a determiner class) reasonably infrequent in discourse.

Indeclinable stems

There are various indeclinable word classes in Takuña: the most significant being prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions.

Lexical history of Takuña

The vast majority of Takuña vocabulary descends directly from Proto-Núalís-Takuña. Some borrowings are found from other, related varieties; a few borrowings are found from the Isles languages, specifically from Mûtsipsa'. A wealth of semantic shifts have also occurred in the lexicon. A few examples of these are given below.

Importantly, Núalís-Takuña society is characterised by systematic sets of taboo words and avoidance speech. This has, unsurprisingly, has had a large effect on the lexicon which is also discussed below.

Semantic shifts

The following are a few examples of semantic shifts which have occurred for lexical items directly descended from PNT. Note however that as PNT itself is not attested, reconstructions of the meanings of its lexical items can, at best, only be tentative.

Takuña word	Etymology	Type of shift
hanú, "skill, ability, talent"	*sarú*, "tool"	amelioration
ŋwìâ, "succeed, succeed at"	*ñuj'á', "fall, end, finish, stop, etc."	amelioration
tihuma, "enjoy, like, prefer"	*kisuma*, "drink, eat, consume, be entered by, contain, taste"	amelioration
hisuhí, "danger"	*situsí*, "flames, fire"	generalisation
hisuhihisuhí, "flames, fire"	*situsisitusí*, "wildfire, forest fire"	generalisation
imwíla, "she"	*imújna*, "woman, girl, she"	generalisation
milusi, "woman, girl"	*minuti*, "wife"	generalisation
ka, "subjects, followers; scouts, observers"	*ka*, "eyes"	metonymy
mimi, "labourer, worker"	*mimi*, "arms"	metonymy
tijsu, "the sky"	*kiatiu*, "stars"	metonymy
uhikaj, "the sea"	*upikaj*, "salt"	metonymy
hani, "impediment, obstruction"	*pari*, "boulder, rock"	pejoration
lu:híkki, "lazy person, greedy person, drunkard"	*nuwsí'ki', "happy person"	pejoration
lu:mána, "madman, fool, idiot"	*nuwmára', "angry person"	pejoration
hajua, "school, shoal, flock"	*paju'a*, "dolphins"	specialisation
iŋu:íŋwì, "sail on a river"	*iñuwíñuj*, "float, be carried by water"	specialisation
lu:ŋúmu, "king, ruler"	*nuwñúmu', "strong person, powerful person, good person, great person, successful person"	specialisation
ŋa:maw, "wife, female partner"	*ñaamaw*, "spouse, lover"	specialisation
lu:akajú, "ears"	*nuwakaíw*, "listener, pupil"	synecdoche
mammâ:, "kingdom, people, tribe"	*ma'máa', "king, leader"	synecdoche
ûŋŋuw, "chest, torso"	*u'ñua*, "man, woman, person, adult, human"	synecdoche

Taboo words and avoidance speech

Three different environments are found which condition different sets of taboo words and different types of avoidance speech. The avoided lexical sets do, however, overlap to a large extent.

The first environment in at sea. When at sea, whether swimming or sailing, certain lexical items must be avoided. These lexical items are explained as items which offend *Malaŋúnu* (a sea deity) and items which are likely to attract malevolent sea-dwelling spirits. They include various terms relating to food (other than fish and seafood) and comforts associated with land: terms relating to warmth, housing and sex. Also, in this avoidance register, the static positionalities are taboo. The avoidance register used is named *mala:kaíuwmaw*.

The second environment is where the addressee is a *nu:lunúlulij* (a bard or poet). In this context, many of the names of gods and spirits are taboo. These taboo words are named *hatahamùpu:simi*, but the avoidance register used has no name. It is, however, different to the other two avoidance registers in that it is considerably less systematised. Where the taboo words of the other two avoidance registers are regularly replaced with specific neologisms, synonyms and stock phrases, *hatahamùou:simi* do not have standardised alternatives. It has been suggested that this is because the majority of gods, spirits and mythological figures have mutliple epithets which are subject to such situational taboos; as a result, no pressure to coin new synonyms or paraphrased alternatives has existed.

The third environment is used when the addressee is of a younger generation than and is unrelated to the speaker. In this register, various terms relating to death, spirits and gods, and trade and monetary interactions are taboo. This register is named *mala:kajùajtà*. As this register originated as a register for talking to young children, the alternative forms tend to be euphemisms rather than paraphrased expressions.

Mala:kaíuwmaw taboo words and alternatives

Taboo word	Alternative
hawmiti, "hearth, fireplace, fire pit"	*lwiŋalùiŋajŋaj*, "location of a fire, fireplace"
hihijmwila, "female genitalia"	*hùátisimilusi*, "female genitalia (polite)"
hisuhihisuhí, "flames, fire"	*lùiŋájŋai*, "burn, be hot"
hjuŋami, "houses, village, settlement"	*aŋúmappasikkiŋŋà talasi*, "we go to live there"
hullâmmu, "be warm, be hot, be heated"	*luhisuhí*, "be warmed, be heated, be burned"
isihi, "dry object, dry place"	*kuwmíkamiumjù*, "dry object"
kuwmílanaŋi, "stew"	*lu:níhiijkahiikaj*, "stew, food made up of many small pieces"
lawŋámi, "bed"	*ŋumikkiŋŋà talasi*, "we go to sleep there"
lawtihâŋŋa, "doorway, entrance"	*lawŋaha*, "gap, hole that reaches from one side of an object to another"
liúkuwhussammù, "warm air, dry air"	*liúkuwumìù*, "warm air, warmth"
lùisuhí, "bake, prepare food"	*lu:níhiijluhisuhi*, "hot food, prepared food, cooked food"
malamúlu, "prepared food, flavouring, flavour"	*lu:níhiijluhisuhi*, "hot food, prepared food, cooked food"
ŋa:maw, "wife, female partner"	*lu:hâjŋŋami*, "partner, lover"
ŋahahi, "alcove, space"	*lwiŋakami*, "small space, alcove"

ŋahájtihuhiij, "vegetables (as food)"   *lu:níhiijŋahitiŋahajti*, "edible plants, vegetables"

ŋawhihi:, "male genitalia"   *amímihuŋitihanalaka*, "male genitalia (polite)"

ŋuhihá, "copulate"   *ŋahaŋá:ha*, "copulate, engage in sexual activities"

talá, "house, building, home"   *aŋúmappasilinùmaka talasi*, "we live there"

tanaŋi, "pieces of meat (as food)"   *ŋuŋumáwmju*, "meat, food other than seafood and fish"

Hatahamùpu:simi and alternatives

Taboo word

Malaŋúnu (a sea deity)

(a wind spirit)

(a god of roots and trees)

(a sun god)

(a god of the stars)

(a moon god)

(a mythical figure)

Mala:kajûajtà taboo words and alternatives

Taboo word	Alternative
"die"	"travelled to another island"
"corpse"	"deep sleeper", "one who has travelled to another island"
"grave"	"sleeping place"
"trade"	"talk"
"god"	"travelling one"