



ASYMMETRIES BETWEEN FINITENESS CATEGORIES IN THE TUPARÍ LANGUAGE (TUPÍ FAMILY): CLAUSE TYPE, TENSE, EVIDENTIALITY

ASIMETRÍAS ENTRE CATEGORÍAS DE FINITUD EN LA LENGUA TUPARÍ (FAMILIA TUPÍ): TIPO DE CLÁUSULA, TIEMPO, EVIDENCIALIDAD

Adam Roth Singerman¹

Abstract: This paper examines the three grammatical categories which jointly mark finite clauses in Tuparí: *clause type*, *tense*, and *evidentiality*. I discuss the asymmetries which obtain between these three categories, focusing especially on the ways that evidentiality interacts with the other two. I show that the selection of clause type (syntactically, the highest of the three categories within the Tuparí clause) asymmetrically impacts the specification of the evidential contrast as [+WITNESSED] or [–WITNESSED]. I further show that tense and evidentiality impact one another: only past tense clauses can mark the witnessed/non-witnessed evidential contrast, and [–WITNESSED] clauses cannot use the full range of past tense morphology that is available in [+WITNESSED] ones. The paper concludes with a pair of figures which visualize these complex dependencies.

Keywords: Tupián languages; evidentiality; clause type; tense.

Resumo: Este artigo examina as três categorias gramaticais que marcam conjuntamente orações finitas em Tupari: tipo de cláusula, tempo e evidencialidade. Discuto as assimetrias que ocorrem entre essas três categorias, concentrando-me especialmente nas maneiras pelas quais a evidencialidade interage com as outras duas. Mostro que a seleção do tipo de cláusula (sintaticamente, a mais alta das três categorias dentro da cláusula do Tupari) impacta assimetricamente a especificação do contraste probatório como [+TESTEMUNHADO] ou [–TESTEMUNHADO]. Mostro ainda que o tempo e a evidencialidade afetam um ao outro: apenas as orações do pretérito podem marcar o contraste probatório testemunhado/não testemunhado, e as cláusulas [–TESTEMUNHADO] não podem usar toda a gama de morfologia do pretérito que está disponível nas cláusulas [+TESTEMUNHADAS]. O artigo conclui com um par de figuras que visualizam essas dependências complexas.

Palavras-chave: tupi; evidência; tipo de cláusula; tenso.

1. INTRODUCTION

As has been emphasized by Nikolaeva (2007, 2012), among others, arriving at a crosslinguistically robust definition for *finiteness* is a very difficult task. Typological tendencies can be established, but absolute universals are lacking. What is more, different descriptive traditions may use incommensurable properties to determine what qualifies as (non-)finite in a given language or family. This raises major concerns as to whether different linguists are actually talking about the same phenomenon using the term ‘finite’

¹ Assistant Professor of Native American Linguistics at Syracuse University, New York, United States.
asingerm@syr.edu
Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9425-5095>

or whether — as Haspelmath (2010) has warned us in his work on *comparative concepts* — our discipline has confused crosslinguistic categories with language-specific ones.

Indigenous languages of the Americas offer multiple analytic challenges to linguists whose conception of finiteness has been affected by well-studied Indo-European languages (or, more accurately, by the descriptive traditions that linguists use to make sense of those languages). If one equates tense marking with finiteness — in keeping with the Generative conceptualization of the importance of TP/InflP — then there are Indigenous American languages without any overt finiteness morphology at all. Matthewson (2006) has argued this to be the case for St'át'imcets (Lillooet Salish, Salishan family), proposing that St'át'imcets does possess tense morphology — but that morphology, the realization of the T head, is phonologically empty. There are also languages of the Americas in which overt tense morphology does appear, but in an unexpected place in the structure. In Mbyá (of the Tupí-Guaraní branch of the Tupí family), tense morphology — and therefore the syntactic category T — is best analyzed as a property of the nominal rather than verbal domain (Thomas 2014).

This paper attempts to make sense of finiteness categories in Tuparí, which belongs to the Tupí family's Tuparían branch and which is therefore a very distant relative of Mbyá (Galucio and Nogueira 2011, Galucio and Singerman in preparation). In this paper I discuss the language's *finiteness categories* using both formal-syntactic and semantic-pragmatic criteria. The formal-syntactic criteria concern the structural position of the morphology that expresses these categories. These structural positions and their associated syntactic properties were explored in prior work of ours (Singerman 2018b, 2019, 2020), where it was proposed that the clause type morphology (=the Tuparí CP) sits just above the tense morphology (=TP), and the tense morphology in turns sits just above the evidential morphology (=EvidP). These three categories — clause type, tense, evidentiality — must be treated together since they jointly distinguish full clauses from clearly subclausal phrases (such as Aspectual Phrases, agentive nominalizations, and so on). For instance, all of the tense and evidential morphology known from matrix clauses is available inside of internally headed relative clauses, and at least two of the clause type particles may be used in internally headed relatives as well (Singerman 2021). I know of no syntactic context in the language where only a subset of the three finiteness categories may be marked. That is, no construction allows for tense and clause type to be marked without also allowing for the marking of evidentiality. Rather, all three categories come as a triple.

The ways that these categories impact one another in in Tuparí grammar is the focus of the present paper. I argue that tense and clause type are orthogonal to one another in that the full range of tense contrasts is compatible with the full range of clause types, while evidentiality exhibits interesting asymmetrical dependencies with both tense and clause type. My consideration of these asymmetric dependencies is inspired by typological work such as Aikhenvald and Dixon (1998) and Miestamo (2005), which put forward crosslinguistic implications concerning the asymmetries themselves. However, the dependencies discussed here are language-specific; expanding them into crosslinguistic categories must await future work.

2. BACKGROUND ON THE TUPARÍ LANGUAGE

Tuparí belongs to the Tuparían branch of the Tupí or Tupían family (sometimes referred to as a *stock* because of its great time depth and deep diversification; Rodrigues and Cabral 2012). According to survey data gathered by researchers at the Museu Paraense

Emílio Goeldi (see Drude et al 2023 on this survey) the language has between 350 and 400 fluent speakers, all of whom reside in the Brazilian state of Rondônia. The vast majority of these speakers resides on the Terra Indígena Rio Branco (TIRB), which is where I have carried out my own fieldwork; a smaller number of speakers, said to all be middle-aged or elderly, resides on the Terra Indígena Rio Guaporé. Based on what I observed during my my most recent visits to the TIRB, in 2022 and 2024, I believe that the Tuparí speaker base is now contracting: many children and teenagers are shifting to Portuguese even in those villages where until recently there was robust intergenerational transmission. See Singerman (2025) for more information on the linguistic ecology of the TIRB and van der Voort (2023) for detailed discussion of the multilingual history of the Rio Branco region.

The other members of the Tuparían branch of the Tupí family — Sakurabiát (Galucio 2001), Makurap (Braga 2005), Akuntsú (Aragón 2014) and Wayoró (Nogueira 2019) — are all extremely endangered. No children have natively acquired any of these languages in at least a generation. For reasons of space, I do not discuss comparative Tuparían data in this paper; expanding the findings presented here from Tuparí proper to the sister languages must await future work.

3. CONCERNING THE DATA IN THIS ARTICLE

The data analyzed in this article come from the author's fieldwork on the TIRB and in the nearby town of Alta Floresta D'Oeste. Some of the data come from WhatsApp conversations but were later checked with speaker-consultants in person. (My speaker-consultants have explicitly consented to my use of examples from our WhatsApp conversations in my research.) I prioritize non-elicited examples throughout the article, using elicited ones only to illustrate acceptability contrasts.

Additional information on Tuparí morphosyntax can be found in Isidoro (2020), whose grammatical description and analysis differs significantly from my own. For reasons of space it is not possible for me to engage in detail in this paper with Isidoro's (2020) interpretation of the categories of clause type, tense, and evidentiality in Tuparí grammar. I will, however, note that Isidoro (2020) — like Caspar and Rodrigues (1957, 2017) and Alves (2004) — does not address the *paradigmatic* contrasts that underlie these grammatical categories. For instance, while the above works all give examples of various morphemes marking clause type, tense, and evidentiality, they do not explore the ways that those morphemes can and cannot cooccur. As a result, they do not elucidate which of these morphemes form closed grammatical classes with one another. This paper aims to show that we must tackle these paradigmatic relationships head-on if we want to make sense of finiteness in Tuparí.

4. THE SECOND POSITION CLAUSE TYPE PARTICLES

A salient feature of Tuparí syntax is the set of second position (2P) particles referred to here as *clause type particles* (CTPs). These particles immediately follow the clause-initial syntactic constituent (CIXP). The following table lists the most common CTPs.²

² My corpus contains tokens of four additional CTPs, of which three are multimorphemic. The CTPs =tebanãpe and =tebaet seem to consist of the base *teba* (meaning unknown) plus the independently attested CTPs =nãpe and =?aet, respectively. The CTP =omaet, meanwhile, appears to combine the language's two

Citation form	Gloss	Is the CIXP [+WH]?
<i>nẽ</i>	Y/N	never
<i>mākẽrõ</i>	BIASED.Y/N	never
<i>nãkop</i>	MAYBE	never
<i>paʔa/taʔa</i>	ASSERTIVE	never
<i>ʔaet</i>	EMPHATIC.NEG	never
<i>nãpe</i>	EMPHATIC.QUESTION	optionally
<i>mākẽrõ</i>	DUNNO	obligatorily

Table 1: Most common clause type particles (CTPs)

The CTP glossed as ASSERTIVE has two allomorphs. The /p/-initial allomorph is used only by men; the /t/-initial one, only by women. This distinction is very strict. While speakers allow me to get away with certain errors when I speak Tuparí, they invariably correct me (and frequently laugh) if I use =*taʔa* rather than =*paʔa*.

A regular process of glottal stop elision between identical vowels means that the assertive CTP is frequently realized as just [pa] or [ta]. The same process of phonological reduction also reduces =*ʔaet* ‘EMPHATIC.NEG’ to just [etʔ] after words that end in /a/.

A. Shared linear position and mutual exclusivity of the 2P CTPs. Two pieces of evidence show that the morphemes given in the above table are members of the same closed grammatical class: (1) their identical position in the 2P particle cluster and (2) their mutual incompatibility.

All of the CTPs occur in the first slot within the 2P enclitic string. This means that a CTP will immediately precede a 2P tense particle if one is present. The following pair of examples illustrates the strict order and rigid adjacency of the CTPs and tense particles:

- (1) CONTEXT: An elderly speaker confirms that she met the anthropologist Franz Caspar.

Itoa ta õpot ʔon otetʔe okurere.

i-top-a =**taʔa** =**õpot** =ʔon o-tetʔe o-kut-ere
 3-see-TV =**ASSERTIVE** =**DST.PST** =1SG 1SG-AUX.SG 1SG-youth-OBL
 ‘I did indeed see him in my childhood.’ (village of Bom Jesus: 2022-09-25)

- (2) CONTEXT: A devout Evangelical expresses admiration for Jesus’s non-violent message.

Jesus ʔaet kut tenõ taramkap maʔemnã.

negators: the nominal suffix -*ʔom* plus the CTP =*ʔaet* ‘EMPHATIC.NEG.’ But =*omaet* is never translated by speakers into Portuguese with negation, and according to speakers’ acceptability judgments, it is always optional. In this sense it does not function as a negator, at least not synchronically. My corpus contains one more CTP of uncertain meaning, this one apparently monomorphemic: =*herikʔa~erikʔa*. This particle has an unstable initial /h/. It is almost certainly cognate with the particle *djerega*, identified by Nogueira and Ferreira Pinheiro (2025) for the closely related language Wayoró.

My suspicion, based on the Portuguese translations that speakers have offered, is that at least some of these previously undescribed CTPs serve to express surprise. They may thus qualify as miratives in the sense of Delancey (1997).

Although more research is needed into the meaning of these particles, all the data I have gathered indicate that they exhibit the same syntactic behavior as the rest of the CTPs: they are enclitic onto the CIXP and will immediately precede a 2P tense particle, if one is present.

Jesus =**?**aet =**kut** te-nõ tãramka-ap maʔẽ-mnẽ-a
 Jesus =**EMPH.NEG** =**ANC.PST** 3c-man kill-NMZ order-EV.SG-TV
 ‘Jesus surely did not order his fellow man to be killed (NOT-WITNESSED).’
 (village of Serrinha: 2022-10-02)

The linear order and adjacency of the CTP and the tense particle are absolutely fixed. I have never collected an utterance featuring the inverted order.

Only one CTP may occur per clause. The paradigm in 3 to 5 demonstrates this generalization with the yes/no marker =*nẽ* and the emphatic negator =*?*aet. These two CTPs cannot combine to form a negative question.³

- (3) *Pokʔat ʔaet õyẽhapiro.*
 pokʔa-t =**?**aet õyẽ-hap-siro
 turtle-NUC =**EMPH.NEG** mouth-hair-HAVE
 ‘Turtles do not have beards.’ (WhatsApp: 2019-09-13)

- (4) *Pokʔat nẽ õyẽhapiro?*
 Pokʔa-t =**nẽ** õyẽ-hap-siro
 turtle-NUC =**Y/N** mouth-hair-HAVE
 ‘Do turtles have beards?’ (Elicitation: 2022-09-03)

- (5)
 a. * *Pokʔat nẽ ʔaet õyẽhapiro*
 b. * *Pokʔat ʔaet nẽ õyẽhapiro* (Elicitation: 2022-09-03)

Observe that there is no incompatibility between =*nẽ* ‘Y/N’ and negative morphology in general, as shown by utterances where this CTP combines with the negative suffix -*ʔom*. 6 illustrates:⁴

- (6) *Pokʔat nẽ õyẽhapʔom?*
 pokʔa-t =**nẽ** õyẽ-hap-**ʔom**
 turtle-NUC =**Y/N** mouth-hair-**NEG**
 ‘Do turtles not have beards?’ / ‘Do turtles lack beards?’ (Elicitation: 2022-09-03)

In fact, all of the CTPs (with the possible exception of =*?*aet ‘EMPH.NEG’) are capable of combining with -*ʔom* ‘NEG.’ Examples 7 and 8 illustrate with =*nãkop* ‘MAYBE’ and =*taʔa* ‘ASSERTIVE.’

- (7) CONTEXT: A speaker wonders why his pet parakeet hasn’t eaten any of the beans that he gave it.
Tobeko hiʔaʔom nãkop.
 tobeko hiʔa-**ʔom** =**nãkop** =**∅**

³ One of the other ethnic groups of the Rio Branco region are the Djeoromitxí, speakers of a Macro-Jê language that is now being documented by Ivan Rocha of the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi (<https://www.elararchive.org/dk0669/>). The Djeoromitxí are commonly referred to by the exonym Jaboti or Jabuti, homophonous with the Brazilian Portuguese word for ‘tortoise.’ The speaker of example 3 was punning that since I have a beard, I cannot be mistaken for an ethnic Djeoromitxí — nor for an actual *pokʔa* ‘turtle, tortoise.’

⁴ Examples 4 and 6 form a minimal pair for the paradigmatic contrast between the nominal suffixes -*psiro*/*msiro*/*siro* ‘HAVE’ and negative -*ʔom*, the latter used here in a privative sense (‘without, lacking’). See Singerman (2018a: appendix) for more on privative usages of -*ʔom*.

beans like-NEG =MAYBE =3
 ‘Maybe it does not like beans.’ (village of Bom Jesus: 2016-02-10)

- (8) CONTEXT: I incorrectly refer to my friend's older sister using the word for a woman's younger sister.⁵ She corrects my error.

Okupsi?i?om ta?ae!

O-kupsi?i-?om =ta?a =e
 1SG-younger.sister.of.woman-NEG =ASSERTIVE =3

‘She really isn't my younger sister!’ (WhatsApp: 2020-11-30)

Examples 7 and 8 show that the CTPs are compatible with the negative suffix -*?om* ‘NEG.’ As a result, the unacceptability of examples 5a and 5b cannot be because CTPs are somehow averse to combining with negative morphology. Rather, speakers reject examples like 5a and 5b because =*nê* ‘Y/N’ and =*?aet* ‘EMPH.NEG’ belong to the same closed grammatical class; they realize one and the same syntactic head. Our formal analyses of Tuparí clause structure (Singerman 2020) identify that head as the C projection of generative theorizing.

B. Sensitivity of the 2P CTPs to the syntactic features of the CIXP. The various CTPs are sensitive to whether the CIXP is [+WH] or [–WH], a fact which lends further support to analyzing them as instantiations of the C head. In particular, the particle =*mākêrô* ‘DUNNO’ requires the CIXP to be [+WH]; =*nâpe* ‘EMPH.Q’ is indifferent to the [±WH] status of the CIXP; and the rest of the CTPs require the CIXP to be [–WH].

The data in 9 and 10 illustrate. The baseline utterance, example 9, is a run-of-the-mill WH-question and as such lacks an overt CTP. (I include a null CTP in the gloss for clarity.) Two overt CTPs can combine licitly with the [+WH] *kanã* ‘why’ (examples 10a and 10b); all of the other CTPs are judged as unacceptable (10c through 10f).

- (9) CONTEXT: A friend is confused by the fact that I don't like to eat meat.

Kanã hè ?en?

kanã =Ø hè =?en
 why =NEUT.WH that.thing =2SG

‘Why are you that thing [=an infrequent eater of meat]?’

(Alta Floresta: 2022-09-09)

- (10)

a. *Kanã nâpe hè ?en?*

‘Just why are you that thing?!’ / ‘Why on earth are you that thing?!’

b. *Kanã mākêrô hè ?en.*

‘I do not know why / cannot say why you are that thing.’

c. * *Kanã nâkop hè ?en*

d. * *Kanã pa?a hè ?en*

e. * *Kanã nê hè ?en*

f. * *Kanã ?aet hè ?en*

(Elicitation: 2022-09-17)

The only CTP which is indifferent to the [±WH] status of the CIXP is =*nâpe* ‘EMPH.Q’, which may occur in WH-questions and polar questions alike. This flexibility

⁵ The Tuparí languages have specific kinship terminology to distinguish the relative age of siblings of the same sex, i.e. the terms for ‘man's older brother’ and ‘man's younger brother’ are distinct, as are the terms for ‘woman's older sister’ and ‘woman's younger sister’. See Nogueira et al (2019).

of *=nāpe* is neatly illustrated by the pair of questions in 11a and 11b, which a speaker produced back-to-back. The 2P polite future particle *=ke* immediately follows the CTP in both questions.

(11) CONTEXT: A speaker does not know when, or even whether, his friend will return.

a. *Katkaere nāpe ke ìap?*

katkaere **=nāpe** =ke =Ø i-ip-ap
when **=EMPH.Q** =POL.FUT =3 3-come.SG-ADV.FOC
‘When in the world is he going to come back here?’

b. *Pare tètareman?ipto?omka nāpe ke?*

Pare te-etareman-ip-to-?om-ka-a **=nāpe** =ke =Ø
or 3c-not.again-come.SG-NMZ-NEG-VBZ-TV **=EMPH.Q** =POL.FUT =3
‘Or is he really never going to come back here again?’

(WhatsApp: 2019-10-22)

The first question has a [+WH] CIXP, the adverbial *katkaere* ‘when,’ while the second one has a [–WH] CIXP, the morphologically complex verb *tètareman?ipto?omka* ‘never come back again.’

No other CTPs enjoy the flexibility of *=nāpe*; they are all strict in their sensitivity to the [±WH] status of the CIXP. This sensitivity is especially clear in the case of the CTPs *=nākop* ‘MAYBE’ and *=mākêrô* ‘DUNNO’, which speakers will translate into Portuguese as ‘*eu não sei*.’ Despite the translation, the two particles could not be more different when it comes to the kind of CIXP they will combine with. *=nākop* transforms propositions into statements of doubt or ignorance, akin to English ‘I can’t say for sure if *p*’ or ‘I am uncertain about *p*.’⁶ Consultants invariably reject combining *=nākop* with a [+WH] CIXP, as in 10c, above. The explicitly [+WH] *=mākêrô*, on the other hand, expresses an inability to confidently answer a content question: ‘I don’t know who/what/when/etc.’ The near-minimal pair in 12 and 13 illustrates. In 12 the CIXP is [+WH] *apo* ‘who’, in 16 the CIXP is [–WH] *pāpa* ‘grandmother.’ (These utterances are both subject focus constructions, which are described and analyzed in in-progress work on the language’s information structure.)

(12) CONTEXT: A speaker doesn’t know (or claims not to know) who clogged the toilet.

Apo mākêrô nerô ?at.

apo **=mākêrô** =Ø nerô ?e-a-t
Who **=DUNNO** =3 do.so AUX.SG-TV-NUC

‘I don’t know who did it [=clogged the toilet].’ (Alta Floresta: 2017-08-04)

⁶ The CTP *=nākop* involves no commitment to *p* on the speaker’s part, as shown by disjunctive utterances like the following. Note the presence of *=nākop* in both clauses:

1. *Itoa nākop ko ?on, pare topto?omka nākop ko ?on.*

i-top-a **=nākop** =ko =?on pare Ø-top-to-?om-ka-a
 =nākop =ko =?on
3-see-TV **=MAYBE** =POL.FUT =1SG or 3-see-NMZ-NEG-VBZ-TV
 =MAYBE=POL.FUT=1SG

‘Perhaps I am going to see her, or perhaps I am not going to see her.’ (WhatsApp: 2022-12-10)

Utterances like this one would be incoherent if *=nākop* committed the speaker to the likelihood of *p* being true. That is, this example could not logically mean ‘#I am probably going to see her or I am probably not going to see her’ — a contradiction.

- (13) CONTEXT: A speaker isn't sure who brewed the coffee that she is drinking.
Pàpa nãkop nerõ ʔat.
 pàpa =**nãkop** =∅ nerõ ʔe-a-t
 grandmother =**MAYBE** =3 do.so AUX.SG-TV-NUC
 'It may have been grandmother who did it [=brewed the coffee].'
(village of Trindade: 2015-12-21)

This tidy empirical picture is complicated by the homophony between [+WH] =*mãkêrõ*, illustrated in 12, and [–WH] =*mãkêrõ* 'BIASED.Y/N,' which will be discussed in section VI.C. Questions built with the latter particle have a salient rising intonation at the end; they are frequently translated by speakers using the Portuguese tag particle *né* 'isn't it so?' As was emphasized in Singerman (2019), the two *mãkêrõ*s have very different effects on the evidential contrast. The =*mãkêrõ* which builds biased polar questions keeps the witnessed/non-witnessed contrast anchored to the speaker's perspective while the =*mãkêrõ* which transforms WH-questions into statements of doubt neutralizes that contrast altogether (see Section VI for more on this neutralization). Given that each =*mãkêrõ* has distinct effects on the evidential contrast — and given that those effects correlate with the [±WH] feature of the CIXP — I see no way to avoid positing two different CTPs that have identical segmental phonology, inelegant as this analysis may seem.

5. THE TENSE SYSTEM AND ITS (NON-)INTERACTION WITH CLAUSE TYPE

Tuparí possesses a rich system of tense gradations, a large (but still incomplete) part of which was described and analyzed in Singerman (2018:chapters four and five) The challenge in making sense of this system is that different tense morphemes are realized in disparate places in the clause and in morphophonologically different ways, to boot: as 2P particles or enclitics; as predicate-final suffixes; or as post-VP auxiliaries. These morphemes are in paradigmatic contrast with one another and thus form a single grammatical category. There is no clear correlation between the semantic value of a given tense morpheme (i.e., as past, present or future) and the morphological and syntactic properties of the morpheme — i.e., whether it is a suffix on the predicate, a 2P particle, and so on.

For reasons of space I cannot provide detailed discussion of each piece of the tense paradigm in this paper. I focus instead on the ways that tense in Tuparí does — or, more precisely, does *not* — interact with the system of clause type. To the absolute best of my knowledge, the categories of tense and clause type are *wholly independent of one another*: any and all combinations of tense morpheme and 2P CTP are allowed.

A paradigm featuring the [+WH] CTP =*mãkêrõ* 'DUNNO' illustrates this independence. Examples 14 through 16 show this CTP cooccurring with different past tense morphemes: the predicate-final suffix *-t/n*, which is used for events that took place two days to several months before **Utterance Time** (UT); the 2P particle =*õpot*, which is used for events that took place at least a year before UT; and the 2P particle =*kut*, which marks events that took place before (or at the very beginning of) the speaker's own lifetime. Each of these questions in 14 through 16 has the same CIXP: the [+WH] adverbial *pare* 'where.'

- (14) CONTEXT: A speaker cannot find a knife that her niece has asked for.
Pare mākêrô yôrôkare omêren.
 pare =**mākêrô** y-ôrôk-a-t=e o-men-en
 where =**DUNNO** 3-place-TV-**NR.PST**=3 1SG-husband-NUC
 'I don't know where my husband put it.' (village of Bom Jesus: 2017-08-14)
- (15) CONTEXT: A speaker doesn't recall where I hung my hammock the last time I stayed in his home.
Pare mākêrô ôpot ?en ewaet âpeap.
 pare =**mākêrô** =**ôpot** =?en e-wap-et âpea-ap
 where =**DUNNO** =**DST.PST** =2SG 2SG-hammock-NUC hang-ADV.FOC
 'I don't know where you hung up your hammock.'
 (village of Bom Jesus: 2017-08-09)
- (16) CONTEXT: An elderly speaker cannot answer my question about her birthplace.⁷
Pare mākêrô kut yan osinã tet?e.
 pare =**mākêrô** =**kut** yã-n o-sinẽ-a tet?e
 where =**DUNNO** =**ANC.PST** mother-NUC 1SG-bear-TV AUX.SG
 'I don't know where my mother gave birth to me.'
 (village of Serrinha: 2017-08-30)

We see, then, that the [+WH] CTP =*mākêrô* 'DUNNO' can be used with various past tense morphemes. In similar fashion, this CTP can occur with the full range of future tenses: the polite future particle =*ke/ko/kit/kitwat*, which — just like distant past =*ôpot* and ancient past =*kut* — sits in 2P⁸; the generic future, which consists of an auxiliary plus the suffix -*p'a/m'a* on the lexical VP; and the distant future, which consists of an auxiliary of the shape *pe...ap* and a lexical VP nominalized with the suffix -*ro/to*. The generic future can be used for future events that will take place at any distance from UT, including on the same day as UT, while the distant future is post-hodiernal: it is reserved for events that will take place no earlier than tomorrow.⁹ Examples 17 through 19 illustrate. In each of these the CIXP is [+WH] *katkaere* 'when,' the lexical verb is *tet* 'go.SG,' and the subject is first person singular.

⁷ The ancient past =*kut* is only rarely used by younger speakers; it is archaic or obsolete for most of them, having been supplanted by distant past =*ôpot*. Additionally, this particle exhibits interesting differences between the speech of very elderly speakers and the speech of middle-aged ones. In narratives told by elderly speakers, =*kut* alternates between 2P (as in example 16) and clause-final position; there are even clauses in which =*kut* is doubled, appearing in both of those positions. Investigating the intergenerational variation regarding =*kut* is an undertaking beyond the scope of the present article.

⁸ The polite future particle may be best analyzed as a modal; for example, it can function like a jussive, optative or hortative. Formally, however, it is part of the tense system, and for this reason I gloss it in this article as POL.FUT. In other work now under peer review, I have chosen to gloss it as OPT (for optative) and as HORT (for hortative).

⁹ The generic future and the distant future do not always semantically contrast. I have collected many textual and conversational examples of speakers going back and forth between the generic future and the distant future to describe far-off events, thereby demonstrating that both tenses can be used to talk about events that are to take place no earlier than the day after UT. The two tenses contrast only when it comes to actions that will take place on the same day as UT: in this circumstance the distant future is completely unacceptable. Whenever I incorrectly use the distant future to describe a same-day-as-UT event, speakers correct me.

- (17) *Katkaere mākẽrõ ko ʔon aodeiam oterap.*
katkaere =mākẽrõ =ko =ʔon aodeia-m o-tet-ap
when =DUNNO =POL.FUT =1SG village-to 1SG-go.SG-ADV.FOC
'I don't know when I may go to the village.' (WhatsApp: 2023-08-23)
- (18) *Katkaere mākẽrõ oterapʔa oʔe.*
Katkaere =mākẽrõ o-tet-a-pʔa o-ʔe
when =DUNNO 1SG-go.SG-TV-GEN.FUT 1SG-AUX.SG
'I don't know when I am going to go.' (WhatsApp: 2021-12-11)
- (19) *Katkaere mākẽrõ otero peoʔap.*
Katkaere =mākẽrõ o-tet-ro peoʔap
when =DUNNO 1SG-go.SG-NMZ DIST.FUT
'I don't know when I will go.' (WhatsApp: 2016-12-19)

Examples 14 through 19 demonstrate that the categories of tense and clause type do not exhibit any asymmetric dependencies. All possible combinations of the two categories are permissible, and the combinations are semantically compositional.¹⁰ This generalization holds despite the fact that tense morphology is superficially much less uniform than clause type is: whereas clause type is always marked via particles that sit in 2P, tense may be realized as a predicate-final suffix, as a 2P particle, or as a post-VP auxiliary. The heterogenous surface realization of tense, however, does not impact its compatibility with the full range of 2P CTPs.

6. THE EVIDENTIAL CONTRAST AND ITS ASYMMETRIC INTERACTION WITH THE CATEGORIES OF CLAUSE TYPE AND TENSE

A. The basic properties of the language's evidential contrast. All past tense declarative clauses — and a subset of non-declarative clauses, as well — must be specified as either [+WITNESSED] or [−WITNESSED] (Singerman 2019). A clause relating a [−WIT] past tense event must bear the suffix *-pnẽ/psira*, which attaches to the highest verb/auxiliary in the clause and agrees with the subject in number. A clause relating a [+WIT] past tense event, on the other hand, does not receive any additional morphological marking, with the result that it is the *absence* of any overt evidential morphology that ensures a [+WIT] interpretation in past tense declaratives.

As will be emphasized in what follows, the choice of clause type can impact the deictic orientation of the witnessed/non-witnessed contrast, and certain CTPs make it impossible to mark that contrast at all. That is, they are evidentiality-neutralizing.

B. Evidentiality and tense: neutralization of certain past tenses in [−WIT] contexts. Whereas tense and clause type are logically independent categories in Tuparí grammar (in that any and all combinations of the two categories are permissible), the same is not true for tense and evidentiality. First, the evidential contrast is restricted to past tense clauses only. What is more, two past tenses are incapable of ever combining with non-

¹⁰ In only one case is the combination of tense morphology and CTP not semantically compositional: *apprehensive* or *avertive* clauses, formally characterized by the cooccurrence of the polite future tense particle and the CTP =nẽ 'Y/N'. Unlike in true polar questions, apprehensive clauses have declarative prosody, and they are often translated into Portuguese either as warnings (*Cuidado, que o jacaré vai te comer!*) or polite commands.

witnessed evidential morphology and which therefore must be interpreted as [+WIT] in declarative clauses: the hodiernal tense built with the auxiliaries *?e* (singular) and *a* (plural), and the durative suffix *-pbi?a/mbi?a*.

Consider the following paradigm, featuring the lexical verb *ot* 'go.PAUC':

(20)

- | | | |
|----|---|-------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>Teorae.</i>
te-ot-a =e
3c-go.PAUC-TV =3
'They.PAUC went.' (<u>just now</u>) | <u>[+WIT] by the speaker</u> |
| b. | <i>Teora sa.</i>
te-ot-a s-a
3c-go.PAUC-TV 3-AUX.PL
'They.PAUC went.' (<u>earlier today</u>) | <u>[+WIT] by the speaker</u> |
| c. | <i>Teotsirae.</i>
te-ot- sira -a =e
3c-go.PAUC- EV.PL -TV =3
'They.PAUC went.' (<u>just now</u> OR <u>earlier today</u>) | <u>[-WIT] by the speaker</u> |

The temporal interpretation of 20a is that of an immediate past: the going event related here took place just before, or at most a few minutes before, UT. Formally, the immediate past is marked by the absence of overt tense morphology, though the presence of a weak nominative enclitic — in the case of 20a, the third person =*e* — indicates the presence of a phonologically null tense morpheme.¹¹ The temporal interpretation of 20b is that of an event that took place some time before, *but still on the same day as*, the Utterance Time (UT). Formally, this interpretation is marked by the auxiliaries *?e* (singular) and *a* (plural) and by the lack of a weak nominative enclitic. The temporal contrast between 20a and 20b is strictly maintained by speakers.

Now consider 20c. In terms of its morphosyntax, this example resembles 20a more than 20b: there is no auxiliary, and the weak nominative enclitic =*e* is present. So other than the plural evidential suffix itself, 20c looks just like 20a. However, the temporal interpretation of 20c covers the ground of both 20a and 20b: it can be used for a going event that took place right before UT or one that took place earlier on the same day as UT. In either case, the going event was not witnessed by the speaker. We see, then, that when evidential morphology is present, the temporal contrast expressed by 20a versus 20b is neutralized.

Another past tense morpheme that cannot co-occur with evidential *-pnẽ/psira* is the durative suffix *-pbi?a/mbi?a*. This suffix sits in the exact same morphosyntactic slot in the predicate complex as near past *-t/n*, and it shares with the near past the property of linearly attracting the weak nominative enclitic. Semantically, however, the durative suffix *-pbi?a/mbi?a* does not participate in the past tense gradation system: while it is used to refer to past habitual events and, more rarely, to present habitual ones, it does not specify an exact temporal distance between the event being related and UT.

Speakers do not allow the durative suffix to co-occur with evidential *-pnẽ/psira*.¹² To achieve the desired interpretation of past tense and habitual aspect together with [–

¹¹ Singerman (2020) argues that the weak nominative enclitics can be used to diagnose the existence of phonologically null but semantically meaningful tense morphology.

¹² A reviewer observes that the incompatibility between evidential morphology and the durative suffix in Tuparí could be related to the broader association between evidentiality and perfect aspect, as discussed for instance by Koss et al (2022). This association may hold significant explanatory potential for Tuparí since

WIT] evidentiality, speakers must employ periphrastic combinations featuring the habitual auxiliaries *ʔeka* (singular) and *aka* (plural). Example 21 combines the plural habitual auxiliary *aka* with the plural evidential suffix *-psira* and the 2P ancient past particle *=kut*.

- (21) CONTEXT: A speaker explains that the Tuparí are generally peaceful and easygoing. He says that in the old days the Tuparí only got aggressive when others fought with them.

Teʔərarerẽ kut Tuparit teasikatkara teʔanã sakapsira.

te-ʔəran-erẽ =kut Tupari-t te-asikatkara-a te-ʔanã-a s-aka-psira
3c-fighter-OBL =ANC.PST Tuparí-NUC 3c-get.mad-TV 3c-AUX.PL-TV 3-AUX.PL-EV.PL

‘The Tuparí got mad only when people fought them.’

[–WIT] by the speaker

(WhatsApp: 2023-08-23)

Some other restrictions regarding the interaction of tense and evidentiality derive from the meaning contributed by the individual morphemes. The ancient past particle *=kut* (see footnote 6) is used in more traditional or conservative speech for any event that preceded the speaker's own lifetime. Since such an event by definition could not have been witnessed by the speaker, *=kut* 'ANCIENT PAST' is always accompanied by the evidential suffix *-pnẽ/psira* in declarative clauses. In narratives relating ancient or mythological occurrences, *=kut* will cooccur with evidential *-pnẽ/psira* in every single finite declarative clause. Together these morphemes form a structural backbone for the narrative.

C. Evidentiality and clause type: neutralization of witnessed/non-witnessed contrast in certain non-declarative clause types. The relationship between the categories of clause type and evidentiality is starkly asymmetric: the choice of CTP impacts the deictic interpretation of the evidential suffix *-pnẽ/psira*, with some CTPs wholly neutralizing the witnessed/non-witnessed contrast. The rest of this section discusses the complex effects that clause type has on evidentiality, correcting one empirical error put forward in Singerman (2019).

In run-of-the-mill declarative clauses — which have a [–WH] CIXP and no overt CTP — the evidential contrast remains anchored to the speaker. Take another look at 20a. Because there is no evidential suffix in this utterance, we know that the going event was witnessed by the speaker. The presence of the plural evidential suffix in 20c, in contrast, means that the event-of-going was not witnessed by the speaker. The three examples in 20 provide information only about whether the speaker witnessed the going event. They say nothing about who else may or may not have done so.

Let us turn now to non-declarative clause types, in particular questions. The CTPs used in questions affect the deictic interpretation of the evidential contrast — that is, who did or did not witness the event being related.

Every polar question in Tuparí contains one of the following three CTPs: *=nẽ* 'Y/N,' *=mãkêrõ* 'BIASED Y/N,' or *=nãpe* 'EMPHATIC.Q.' If the question-asker is strongly inclined towards expecting one answer over the another, he or she will use *=mãkêrõ* 'BIASED Y/N.' In these questions, the deictic orientation of the evidential contrast remains anchored to the speaker. Whether anyone else may have witnessed the event is irrelevant. 22 illustrates:

this language's evidential suffix in fact developed diachronically from a resultative suffix which encodes perfect aspect as well as postural information (Singerman 2019). I thank the reviewer for bringing Koss et al (2022) to my attention.

- (22) CONTEXT: A speaker from the village of Nazaré has heard that I visited her relatives in the village of Arikapu. She believes this to be true, but nonetheless asks me to confirm.

Arikapum mākērō etera etet?epnan ?en?

Arikapu-m	= mākērō	e-tet-a	e-tet?e- pnē -a-n =?en
Arikapu-to	= BIASED.Y/N	2SG-go.SG-TV	2SG-AUX.SG-EV.SG-TV-NR.PST =2SG

‘You went to the Arikapu village, right?’ **[-WIT] by speaker/questioner**
(village of Nazaré: 2022-10-11)

Observe that this utterance contains overt morphology marking all three finiteness categories: the CTP =*mākērō*, the singular evidential suffix *-pnē*, and the near past suffix *-n*.

Non-biased polar questions feature the CTP =*nē* ‘Y/N’, which causes the deictic orientation of the evidentiality contrast to switch from speaker to addressee. That is, the question-asker will use the evidential suffix *-pnē/psira* in a polar question featuring =*nē* if and only if he or she believes that the addressee will need to mark their own response as non-witnessed. (This phenomenon, known in the literature as ***Interrogative Flip***, is typologized and formalized in Bhadra 2020.) 23 provides the non-biased counterpart to 22.¹³

- (23) *Arikapum nē etera etero?at ?en?*

Arikapu-m	= ne	e-tet-a	e-tero?e-a-t	=?en
Arikapu-to	= Y/N	2SG-go.SG-TV	2SG-AUX.SG-TV-NR.PST	=2SG

‘Did you go to the Arikapu village?’ **[+WIT] by the addressee**
(Elicitation: 2022-10-14)

The evidential suffix *-pnē* is absent from example 23: the speaker reasons that if the addressee went to the Arikapu village, he would have witnessed his own going. (In other words, he was awake when he went to this village, he did not go there by accident, and so on.) In 22, on the other hand, the CTP is biased =*mākērō*, and so the evidential contrast remains anchored to the speaker. While the speaker of 22 considers it very likely that her addressee did in fact go to the Arikapu village, she did not see him do so; and for this reason she must use the evidential suffix together with the CTP =*mākērō* ‘BIASED Y/N.’

While =*nē* ‘Y/N’ causes the deictic orientation of the evidential suffix *-pnē/psira* to flip from speaker to addressee, other CTPs neutralize the witnessed/non-witnessed contrast altogether. One such particle is the [-WH] =*nākop* ‘MAYBE.’ A past tense declarative clause without an overt CTP and without an evidential suffix is always interpreted as [+WIT], as in 24. One can add the CTP =*nākop* or the evidential suffix to this utterance, but not both at the same time. So while 25a and 25b are both well-formed, 25c is invariably judged as unacceptable.

¹³ The auxiliary *tet?e* in 22 and the auxiliary *tero?e* in 23 are allomorphs of the one and the same root. Their distribution is morphologically conditioned: the allomorph *tet?e* occurs immediately prior to the evidential suffix (example 22) but *tero?e* occurs immediately prior to the theme vowel *-a* (example 23). The same two allomorphs are visible in 26, as well. Isidoro (2020:97-100) attributes different semantic content to *tet?e* and *tero?e*: she analyzes the former as an auxiliary, the latter as an existential verb. As argued in Singerman (2018:chapter four), these are actually two allomorphs of the same root (which may be used as an existential lexical verb as well as an auxiliary). The two allomorphs’ distribution is conditioned morphologically, without semantic difference.

(24) *Mōket ōpore ip.*

Mōket =ōpot =e ip
Long.ago =DST.PST =3 come.SG
'He came here long ago.'

[+WIT] by the speaker
(Elicitation: 2022-09-27)

(25)

a. *Mōket ōpore ipnē.*

'He came here long ago.'

[−WIT] by the speaker

b. *Mōket nākop ōpore ip.*

'Perhaps he came here long ago.'

neither [+WIT] nor [−WIT]

c. * *Mōket nākop ōpore ipnē*

(Elicitation: 2022-09-27)

Example 25c attempts, unsuccessfully, to combine the evidential suffix with the CTP =*nākop*. Speakers consistently reject examples such as this one, and no clauses containing both =*nākop* and *-pnē/psira* occur anywhere in my corpus of conversational and textual data. The mutual incompatibility of this CTP and the evidential suffix means that a Tuparí speaker cannot employ these morphemes to simultaneously assert that he or she did not see an event take place while also expressing uncertainty as to whether that event took place at all.

D. Less categorical evidence: [+WH] =*mākērō* with evidential morphology.

Singerman (2019) reported that the [+WH] CTP =*mākērō* 'DUNNO' is like the [−WH] CTP =*nākop* 'MAYBE' in that both particles are incapable of cooccurring with the evidential suffix *-pnē/psira*. Subsequent data collection has shown that that generalization does not hold true of all speakers, and so I take the opportunity here to correct the descriptive and documentary record.

Consider the two-lined utterance in 26. (I have simplified 26a for expository purposes.)

(26) CONTEXT: A speaker laments that a gift she received years ago has gone missing.

a. *Hèt tewara tet?epnan.*

hèt =Ø te-wat-a tet?e-pn-a-n

that.one-NUC =DECL 3c-go.away-TV AUX.SG-EV.SG-TV-NR.PST

'That thing [=the gift] went away.'

[−WIT] by the speaker

b. *Pam mākērō tewara tero?are.*

pam =mākēro te-wat-a tero?e-a-t =e

where.to =DUNNO 3c-go.away-TV AUX.SG-TV-NR.PST =3

'I don't know where it went.'

neither [+WIT] nor [−WIT]

(WhatsApp: 2020-02-17)

26a is a declarative utterance; the subject is the nuclear-marked demonstrative *hèt* 'that thing, that one', and the predicate bears the evidential suffix. The evidential suffix must be used in 26a, which is a declarative, because the speaker did not witness her gift go missing. In 26b the speaker refers a second time to the event of the gift going missing, even using the same lexical verb (*wat* 'go away, disappear'). However, there is no evidential suffix in 26b. This is because this clause contains the CTP =*mākērō* 'DUNNO', which cannot cooccur with evidential *-pnē/psira*.

To my surprise, whereas it is never acceptable to combine the CTP *=nãkop* 'MAYBE' and evidential morphology, (some) speakers give less categorical judgments regarding the combination of *=mãkêrô* 'DUNNO' with evidential morphology. In elicitation some speakers do accept *=mãkêrô* 'DUNNO' in the same clause as evidential *-pnê/psira*, and my corpus of non-elicited discourse includes a handful of examples of this cooccurrence. Example 27 reproduces one of those examples, which comes from a narrative. The CTP *=mãkêrô* and the evidential suffix *-nê* are bolded:

(27) CONTEXT: My friend tells me how a fire destroyed her childhood home.

Apo mãkêrô ôpore na ekget epa?atnan.

apo	=mãkêrô	=ôpot =e =nã	ek-et	epa?at- nê -a-n
who	=DUNNO	=DST.PST =3 =FOC	house-NUC	set.fire- EV.SG -TV-NUC

‘I don't know who it was that set fire to the house.’ **[–WIT] by the speaker**
(Interview: 2022-10-01)

This sentence was spoken by a top-notch speaker (Rita Sisi Tupari) who has outstanding metalinguistic judgments about her native language. However, other (also excellent) speakers of the same generation judged example 27 to be less-than-perfect. So there appears to be interspeaker variation as to the tolerability of the combination of *=mãkêrô* and evidential *-pnê/psira*. I must emphasize, however, that there is no such variation when it comes to *-pnê/psira* and *=nãkop* 'MAYBE': combining these two morphemes in a single clause is never acceptable.

That speakers prefer not to combine *=mãkêrô* with evidential morphology can help us to explain examples like 28, repeated from 16, above.

(28) *Pare mãkêrô kut yan osinã tet?e.*

pare	=mãkêrô	=kut	yã-n	o-sinê-a	tet?e
where	=DUNNO	=ANC.PST	mother-NUC	1SG-bear-TV	AUX.SG

‘I don't know where my mother gave birth to me.’

This utterance features the 2P tense particle *=kut* 'ANCIENT PAST' but no evidential suffix. The absence of that suffix would appear to contradict the basic meaning of *=kut*, which temporally anchors events that took place no later than the speaker's birth — and which, therefore, the speaker could not have possibly witnessed. The catch is that 28 also features the [+WH] CTP *=mãkêrô* 'DUNNO', which (for most speakers) neutralizes the witnessed/non-witnessed contrast. It is for this reason that in 28 ancient past *=kut* occurs without accompanying evidential morphology.

It is worth adding that *=kut* and *-pnê/psira* are available in WH-questions; that is, the fact that the CIXP in 28 [+WH] cannot be what is responsible for the absence of evidential marking. 29 is how you ask a Tuparí person where he or she was born. Since one never witnesses one's own birth, anyone answering this question must use non-witnessed morphology. In anticipation of this fact, the question must include the evidential suffix. I include a null [WH] CTP in the gloss.

(29) *Pare ôpot esit esinemnam?*

Pare	= ø =ôpot	e-si-t	e-sinê- mnê -am
where	=NEUT.WH=DST.PST	2SG-mother-NUC	2SG-bear- EV.SG -ADV.FOC

‘Where did your mother give birth to you?’ **[–WIT] by addressee**

We see, then, that it is the CTP which determines the deictic interpretation and even basic availability of evidential *-pnẽ/psira*. In the case of example 28, the [+WH] CTP *=mãkẽrõ* makes it impossible to use the evidential suffix, even though tense is marked with the particle *=kut* 'ANCIENT PAST' — a particle which must cooccur with evidential morphology in declaratives. Example 28 thus demonstrates that the category of clause type overrules the category of tense when it comes to the presence/absence of evidential morphology. This overruling is visualized in the following section (the Conclusion) using flowcharts.

7. CONCLUSION: VISUALIZING THE ASYMMETRIES.

In this paper I have sought to describe the complex asymmetries that obtain between the three categories that define the highest structural layer in the Tuparí clause: clause type, tense, and evidentiality, respectively equivalent to the syntactic projections CP, TP, and EvidP. While clause type and tense exhibit no asymmetries (i.e., any CTP can combine with any piece of tense morphology), certain clause types affect the deictic orientation and even the availability of the witnessed/non-witnessed evidential contrast. What is more, evidentiality is restricted to past tense clauses only, and (for reasons that are not well understood at present) past tense clauses that contain the durative suffix *-pbi?a/mbi?a* or the hodiernal auxiliaries *?e/a* are necessarily interpreted as [+WITNESSED] in declarative contexts. Put slightly differently, these tense morphemes may not combine with the evidential suffix.

It is not obvious how to capture these asymmetries using syntactic trees of the sort put forward in prior research into Tuparí clause structure (Singerman 2019, 2020). We know that overt clause type morphology, overt tense morphology, and overt evidential morphology can all cooccur in a single clause; see for instance example 22, which features the CTP *=mãkẽrõ* 'DUNNO,' the singular evidential suffix, and the near past tense suffix *-n*. Yet not all combinations of clause type, tense, and evidential morphology are licit. The reason why certain combinations of clause type and evidentiality or of tense and evidentiality are unacceptable cannot be derived from the *syntactic* nature of the categories C, T, and Evid. It must instead be due to the *meaning* of the morphemes in question.

Since the asymmetric dependencies explored in this paper result from the meaning contributed by the individual morphemes, I have chosen to conclude with two non-syntactic trees (Figures 1 and 2). These figures represent Tuparí finiteness categories as a series of choices: one's selection of clause type impacts the deictic orientation and availability of the witnessed/non-witnessed evidential contrast; one's selection of the evidential contrast determines whether all past tense morphemes are available or only a specific subset.¹⁴ The series of choices shown in these two figures capture, to the very best of my knowledge, which combinations of finiteness morphemes are possible in Tuparí grammar. If our object of study is what Tuparí speakers know — rather than, say, a description of the contents of a given corpus — then these figures can be taken to represent how speakers' mental grammars do and do not allow the categories of clause type, tense, and evidentiality to interact.

¹⁴ A reviewer observes that these flowcharts are similar to the binary choices given by Stirling (1993:chapter three) to analyze different languages' switch reference systems. I thank the reviewer for drawing my attention to Stirling's scholarship.

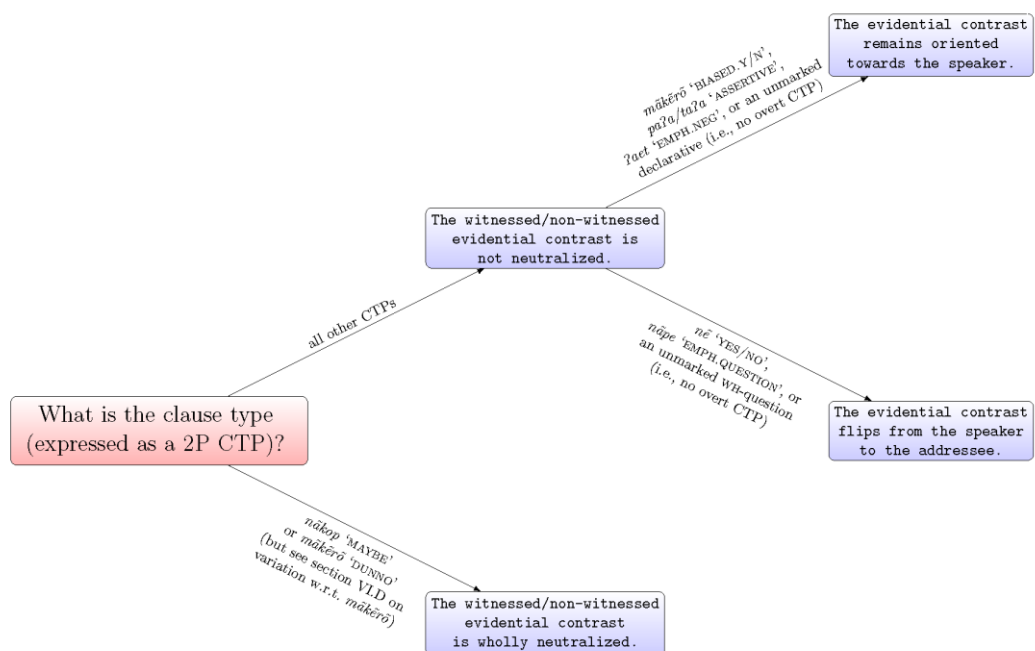


FIGURE 1: The interpretation and availability of evidential morphology is impacted asymmetrically by clause type.

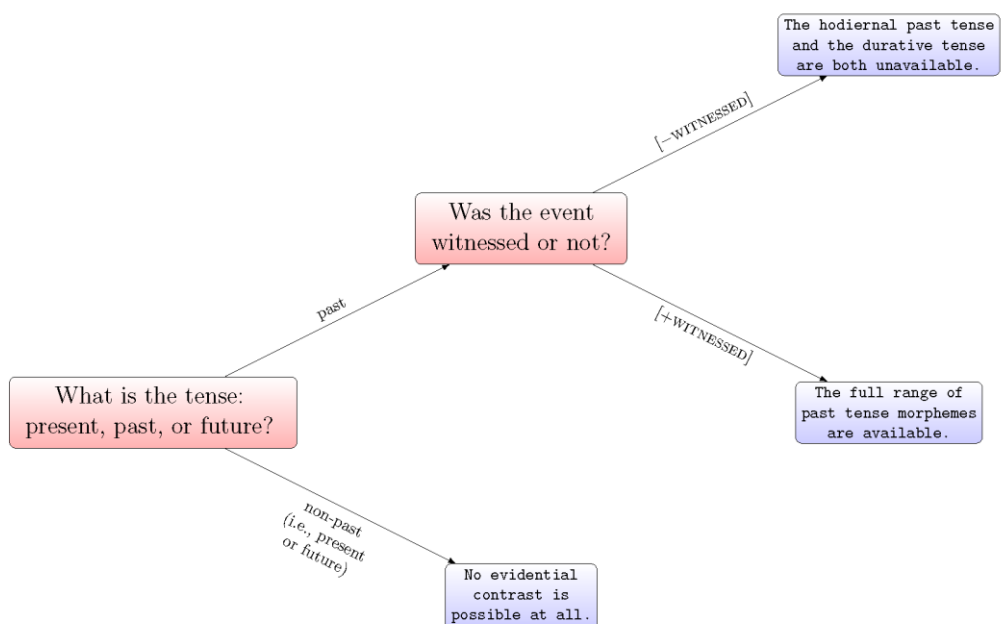


FIGURE 2: The selection of tense determines the ability to mark the evidential contrast, and the availability of the hodiernal past tense and of the durative past tense is impacted by the choice of [−WIT] or [+WIT].

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN GLOSSES

ADV.FOC	adverb focus (called the Indicative II by Alves 2004 and Isidoro 2020)
ANC.PST	ancient past
AUX	auxiliary
DIST.FUT	distant future
DST.PST	distant past
EMPH	emphatic
EV	evidential
FOC	focus
GEN.FUT	generic future
NEG	negation
NEUT	neutral
NMZ	nominalizer
NR.PST	near past
NUC	nuclear case (called the determiner case by other authors)
OBL	oblique case
PAUC	paucal
PL	plural
POL.FUT	polite future
PST	past
SG	singular
TV	theme vowel
VBZ	verbalizer

ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS

2P	second position
CIXP	clause-initial XP
CTP	clause type particles
TIRB	Terra Indígena Rio Branco
UT	Utterance Time
WIT	witnessed

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