

## The contribution of Amazonian languages to the typology of purpose clauses

**Jesús Olguín Martínez**

University of California, Santa Barbara, USA/Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4555-4213>

**Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar**

University of California, Santa Barbara, USA  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5856-9863>

**ABSTRACT:** This investigation offers an analysis of the variation in the expression of purpose relations in a sample of 49 Amazonian languages. The most common strategies are conjunctions and converbs. Interestingly, in a number of Amazonian languages, positive purpose meanings are expressed with a conjunction or a converb in combination with other morphosyntactic properties. We briefly examine the areality of positive purpose clause-linkage patterns in four contact zones in the Amazonia: the Vaupés region, the Caquetá-Putumayo region, the Southern Guiana region, and the Marañón-Huallaga region. Besides analyzing the range of ways by which positive purpose clauses are realized in the sample, we also investigate avertive clauses in a number of languages of the database. Amazonian languages show an interesting typological picture in that they tend to have avertive markers which may be intraclausal or relational.

**KEYWORDS:** Amazonian languages; Purpose clauses; Adverbial clauses; Subordination

**RESUMEN:** La presente investigación ofrece un análisis de la variación formal en la expresión de relaciones adverbiales de propósito en una muestra compuesta de 49 lenguas amazónicas. Las estrategias más comunes son las conjunciones y los converbos. Curiosamente, en varias lenguas amazónicas, las construcciones de propósito positivo se codifican a través de una conjunción o un converbo que debe de aparecer en combinación con otras propiedades morfosintácticas. Examinamos brevemente la arealidad de estas estrategias de combinación de cláusula en cuatro zonas de contacto: la región del Vaupés, la región Caquetá-Putumayo, la región del sur de Guyana, y la región Marañón-Huallaga. Además de analizar los mecanismos de combinación de cláusulas de propósito positivo, se investiga la marcación de cláusulas avertivas en un número de lenguas de la muestra. Las lenguas amazónicas muestran un panorama tipológico interesante ya que tienden a tener marcadores avertivos que se pueden considerar intraclausales o relacionales.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Lenguas amazónicas; Cláusulas de propósito; Cláusulas adverbiales; Subordinación

### 1. Introduction

The study of positive purpose clauses (e.g., ‘I am learning to drive in order to be more independent’) is by no means new territory in linguistic typology. In fact, positive purpose clauses are probably one of the best-studied types of adverbial clauses (see Schmidtke-Bode 2009). However, areal studies of positive purpose clauses are still in their infancy (but see Treis 2017).

The present research aims at contributing to the study of the areality of positive purpose clauses by exploring this construction in a sample of Amazonian languages. Richer documentation of Amazonian languages is making it possible to refine our theoretical understanding of clause combining constructions (e.g., van Gijn; Haude; Muysken 2011; Aikhenvald 2019; *inter alia*). These contributions have taken us towards a better understanding of clause combining constructions. Furthermore, they have demonstrated that Amazonian languages show a number of exceptions to wider typological and theoretical generalizations

with respect to clause combining (see Guillaume 2011). Still missing, however, from the body of work produced in recent years, is an attempt at exploring positive purpose clauses in Amazonian languages. Two exceptions are Vallejos (2014) and O'Hagan (2019). Apart from these works, reference deserves to be made to Schmidtke-Bode (2009), who includes nine Amazonian languages in his large-scale typological work on purpose clauses.

This paper seeks to expand our understanding of positive purpose clauses in a convenience sample of 49 Amazonian languages. The aims of this investigation are two-fold. First, we address the range of positive purpose clause-linking strategies in the sample. While some of these strategies are common cross-linguistically (e.g., conjunctions, converbs; Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 73), other strategies have not been addressed in-depth (e.g., reportative constructions). We briefly examine the areality of positive purpose clause-linkage patterns in four contact zones in the Amazonia: the Vaupés region, the Caquetá-Putumayo region, the Southern Guiana region, and the Marañon-Huallaga region.

Second, besides analyzing the range of positive purpose clause-linkage patterns in the sample, we also investigate how the languages of the database express negative purpose meanings. In this type of construction, the main clause typically has directive illocutionary force, with the aim of preventing the probable and undesirable situation from happening (e.g., 'Take your umbrella so that you won't get wet'). While in many languages, negative purpose is signaled with a purpose clause in combination with a negative marker (e.g., 'Put the food there so that the ants do not eat it'), there are languages that may display a special morphology for expressing negative purpose, as is the case of avertive markers (e.g., 'Don't climb that tree lest you fall and break your arm'). To keep the scope of the discussion manageable, the present investigation only takes into account languages with avertive markers. These specialized markers may be relational or intraclausal. Relational markers refer to items that only appear in complex sentence constructions, while intraclausal markers refer to those items which occur in monoclausal and in biclausal constructions (Verstraete 2014: 195).

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 provides some brief remarks on positive purpose clauses and introduces the sample used in the present study. Section 3 explores the range of ways by which positive purpose clause meanings are indicated in the sample. It is shown that in a number of languages positive purpose meanings are expressed with a conjunction or a converb in combination with other morphosyntactic properties. Section 4 investigates the areality of positive purpose clause-linkage patterns in four contact zones in the Amazonia: the Vaupés region, the Caquetá-Putumayo region, the Southern Guiana region, and the Marañon-Huallaga region. Section 5 analyzes avertive 'lest' markers in a number of Amazonian languages. Section 6 reviews the conclusions and implications of this paper.

## 2. Theoretical remarks and sample

Positive purpose clause constructions are biclausal constructions in which the dependent clause encodes the situation that refers to an intention for which situation described in the main clause is realized (although it is not necessary for the desired situation to actually happen; Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 29). Accordingly, positive purpose clauses are intrinsically future-oriented. Based on this definition, constructions such as "infinitival relative clauses" with a purpose function are not included in the present study (see Shagal 2019: 84), as they relate to a nominal element rather than to a verbal element of another clause (e.g., *El tenedor para comer* 'the fork to eat'). Another type of construction not included in the present study are serial verb constructions with a purpose interpretation given that they have a monoclausal status (Aikhenvald 2006: 1).

Typologically, adverbial clauses can be marked with different clause-linking devices, such as conjunctions or converbs, etc. (Thompson; Longacre; Hwang 2007: 238). In the

languages of the sample, positive purpose clauses also tend to be encoded with conjunctions or converbs. However, there may be more to the story in that in a number of Amazonian languages, positive purpose meanings are expressed with a conjunction or a converb in combination with other morphosyntactic properties. From a Construction-Grammar perspective (Croft 2001), this indicates that various Gestalt Features (e.g., conjunctions, irrealis markers, iconicity of sequencing) work in concert in the expression of positive purpose meanings. This echoes other typological studies of adverbial clauses that demonstrate that various Gestalt Features combine to dictate a particular adverbial reading (Hetterle 2015: 106). These cues (e.g., prosody, tense-aspect-mood values, order of clauses) jointly determine a semantic relation (see Olguín Martínez and Lester 2021).

Positive purpose clause-linking devices may be semantic monofunctional or polyfunctional. By semantic mono/polyfunctionality is meant the range of meanings within the domain of adverbial clauses that a particular clause-linking device can have (Kortmann 1997: 89; Hetterle 2015: 202). Most authors of the sources taken into account in the present study explicitly mention information related to the semantic mono/polyfunctionality of positive purpose clause-linking devices. Accordingly, this study heavily relies on their explanations. The analysis of the 49 languages in the database yielded a subcorpus of 58 constructions. Of these constructions, the analysis shows that most languages have monofunctional clause-linkage patterns (42/58=72.41%). Only 16 constructions (16/58=27.59%) are characterized as polyfunctional in the languages in the sample. The polyfunctionality patterns attested in the present study are between purpose and reason, between purpose and result, between purpose and condition, and between purpose and time. With respect to the polyfunctionality pattern between purpose and reason and result, Schmidtke-Bode (2009: 152) mentions that this connection is not surprising because purpose could be understood as “a reason formulated in terms of an intended result.”

Since this is an explorative study that seeks to characterize a construction that has not been subject to areal scrutiny in Amazonian languages, we draw on all of the data for which we found detailed information related to the encoding of positive purpose clauses. We collected data from descriptive materials (mostly reference grammars) of 49 different languages, belonging to 26 different language families, listed in Table 1. Note that some language families are better represented in the sample (e.g., Arawakan) given that language sources of these families usually provide detailed descriptions of positive purpose clauses. This sample is therefore one of convenience (Cysouw 2005: 555), based primarily on availability of data, and it cannot be assumed to make the kinds of predictions that a balanced variety sample would (Mauri 2008: 12).

Languages from almost all Amazonian language families and isolates are represented (Table 1). One exception to this is Macro-Ge languages for which we do not have access to language sources providing a detailed description of positive purpose constructions. Accordingly, this is a geographical gap that the sample of the present study shows. Nonetheless, this does not detract from the validity of our overall conclusions.

**Table 1.** Languages of the sample

Language family	Language(s)	Sum
Arawakan	Asheninka Perené (Mihás 2015), Baure (Danielsen 2007), Piapoco (Klumpp 2019), Resígaro (Allin 1976), Tariana (Aikhenvald 2003), Warekena (Aikhenvald 1998), Yine-Piro (Hanson 2010)	7
Arauan	Kulina (Dienst 2014), Jarawara (Dixon 2004), Paumarí (Chapman and Derbyshire 1991)	3
Boran	Bora (Thiesen and Weber 2012)	1
Bororoan	Bororo (Crowell 1979)	1
Cariban	Akawaio (Gildea and Desrey Fox 2018), Macushi (Abbott 1991), Panare (Payne and Payne 2013), Tiriyo (Meira 1999), Waiwai (Hawkins 1998)	5
Chapacuran-Wanham	Wari (Everett and Kern 1997)	1
Chicham	Aguaruna (Overall 2017), Shuar (Saad 2014), Wampis (Peña 2015)	3
Huitotoan	Murui (Wojtylak 2020)	1
Isolates	Kwaza (van der Voort 2004), Movima (Haude 2006), Puinave (Higuita 2008), Trumai (Guirardello 1999), Urarina (Olawsky 2006), Yurakaré (van Gijn 2006)	6
Jordi-Sáliban	Mako (Rosés Labrada 2015)	1
Kakua-Nukak	Kakua (Bolaños 2016)	1
Kawapanan	Shawi (Barraza de García 2005)	1
Mura	Pirahã (Everett 1986)	1
Naduhup	Hup (Epps 2008)	1
Nambikuaran	Mamaindé (Eberhard 2009)	1
Panoan	Amahuaca (Sparing-Chávez 2012), Kakataibo (Zariquiey 2018), Matses (Fleck 2003), Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2003)	4
Peba-Yaguan	Yagua (Payne 1985)	1
Takanan	Cavineña (Guillaume 2008), Ese Ejja (Vuillermet 2012)	2
Tucanoan	Barasano (Jones and Jones 1991), Carapana (Metzger 1998), Cubeo (Morse and Maxwell 1999), Kotiria (Wanano) (Stenzel 2013), Secoya (Johnson and Levinson 1990)	5
Tupi-Guarani	Kokama-kokamilla (Vallejos 2016)	1
Yanomam	Sanuma (Borgman 1990)	1
Zaparoan	Iquito (Michael 2009)	1
Total		49

Map 1 illustrates the geographical distribution of the languages of the present study. All languages are located within the Amazonia geographical limits. The Amazonia is the lowland region drained by the Amazon and Orinoco Rivers and extending to the northern and eastern littorals of the continent (Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999: 4). It is bordered by the Andes mountains to the west, the Caribbean and Atlantic oceans in the north and east, and the drier

regions of the Gran Chaco to the south (Epps and Michael 2017: 935). Note that defining the area where Amazonian languages are spoken is not an easy task. This stems from the fact that some families have members inside and outside the Amazonia.

**Map 1.** Geographical distribution of the languages of the sample



### 3. Purpose clauses in Amazonian languages

As was briefly discussed in Section 1, the present research analyzes the range of positive purpose clause-linking strategies in Amazonian languages and their areality.

#### 3.1 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are those elements that link two clauses whose internal structure shows no evidence of subordinative status, that is, both clauses have fully inflected verbs identical to verbs of ordinary main clauses. An example illustrating this pattern comes from Asheninka Perené. In (1), the conjunction *okanta* links the purpose clause with the main clause. Note that both clauses occur with the same properties as main clauses.

Asheninka Perené (Mihás 2015: 271)

- (1)  $y=apoto-he-t-ak-i=ri$  *maaroni*  
 3SG=gather-PL-EP-PFV-REAL=3PL all  
 ‘He gathered them all  
*okanta*  $y=antavai-t-ak-ant-ia=ri=ri.$   
 in.order.to 3SG=work-EP-CAUS-APPL-IRR=3SG=REL  
 so that he could make them work for him.’

Although conjunctions tend to link clauses whose internal structure shows no evidence of subordinative status, there are cases in which the purpose clause may show reduced clausal properties, such as tense-aspect-mood marking and/or argument indexation and, often times, have nominal characteristics (Cristofaro 2003: 55). A construction showing this pattern is attested in Shipibo. In (2), the purpose clause appears with the conjunction *kopí*. The verb of the purpose clause occurs with the infinitive marker *-ti*, which cannot occur in main clauses.

Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2003: 494)

- (2) *nokon*    *yosi-n-ra*    *e-a*    *moa-tian*    *joi-bo*    *yoi-ke*,  
 1SG.POSS    elder-ERG-EV    1-ABS    already-TEMP    word-PL.ABS    tell-COMPL  
 ‘My grandfather told me old stories,  
*nokon*    *bake*    *e-n*    *ja-ribi*    *yoi-ti*    *kopí*.  
 1SG.POSS    child.ABS    1-ERG    3.ABS-also    tell-INF    in.order.to  
 so that I tell them to my children afterwards.’

Conjunctions are one of the most common types of linking devices attested in the languages of the sample. As is shown in Table 2, 15 languages of the database (15/58=25.86%) use this type of device for expressing purpose.

**Table 2.** Languages with conjunctions in the sample

Family	Language(s)
Arawakan	Asheninka Perene, Baure, Garifuna, Piapoco
Arauan	Culina, Paumarí
Cariban	Hixkariana
Chapacura-Wanham	Wari
Isolates	Movima, Trumai, Urarina, Yuracaré
Panoan	Shipibo Konibo
Saliban	Mako
Yanomam	Sanuma

### 3.2 Converbs

Converbs refer to special verb forms that do not appear in independent declarative clauses and mark the adverbial clause for its semantic relationship to the main clause (Haspelmath 1995: 23). Other terms that have been used to refer to converbs are adverbial participles in European languages, conjunctive participles in South Asian languages, and medial verbs in Papuan languages (Haspelmath 1995: 23). Note that we consider any verb with a case-marker and used adverbially to be a converb (cf. Hetterle 2015: 91). Case-markers as clause-linking devices are common in Australian languages (Blake 1999: 307), Tibeto-Burman languages (Aikhenvald 2008: 573), South American languages (van Gijn 2019: 293), and in several African languages, particularly in subgroups of the Nilo-Saharan and Afro-Asiatic phyla (Jakobi and El-Guzuuli 2016: 162).

Converbs are another common way encoding purpose clauses in the languages of the sample (39/58=67.24). This is illustrated in the Murui example in (3) that occurs with *-na*. Another example comes from Yine-Piro. In this language, purpose clauses are marked with the relative case marker *-na* (4). Table 3 shows the languages that employ converbs for signaling purpose in the database.

Murui (Wojtylak 2020: 506)

- (3) *bi-e*    *yiki-ai*    *kaima-re*    *zoriye-na*    *kue*    *ruui-ka*.  
 this.CTS-CLF.G    fish-PL    tasty-ATT    smell-CVB    1SG    roast-PASS  
 ‘I roasted the fish (for it) to smell nice.’

Yine (Hanson 2010: 348)

- (4) *n-hiynimsata*    *n-kafriçeta-inri-pa-na-wa*  
 1SG-study    1SG-change-ACT.NMLZ-ELAT-REFL-REFL  
 ‘I study in order to change (myself).’

**Table 3.** Languages with converbs in the sample

Family	Language
Arawakan	Asheninka Perené, Macushi, Piapoco, Tariana, Yine-Piro
Arauan	Jarawara
Boran	Bora
Bororoan	Bororo
Cariban	Akawaio, Hixkaryana, Panare, Tiriyo, Waiwai
Chicham	Aguaruna, Shuar, Wampis
Huitotoan	Murui
Isolate	Kwaza, Puinave
Kakua-Nukak	Kakua
Kawapanan	Shawi
Mura	Pirahã
Naduhup	Hup
Nambiquaran	Mamainde
Panoan	Amahuaca, Kakataibo, Matses, Shipibo-Konibo
Peba-Yaguan	Yagua
Saliban	Mako
Takanan	Esse Ejja
Tucanoan	Barasano, Cubeo, Karapana, Kotiria, Secoya
Tupian	Kokama-Kokamilla
Yanomam	Sanuma

### 3.3 Clitics used as clause-linking devices

Clitics attach to the (phonological word of the) bare stem, but they do not form a single grammatical word. Accordingly, clitics are analyzed in this paper as predicate-bound devices that are semantically specific (Hetterle 2015: 91). An example that illustrates this pattern is shown in (5). In Cavineña, a purpose adverbial relation is expressed with the clitic =*ishu*. As is shown in Table 4, only four languages contain purpose clauses marked with clitics (4/58=6.89%).

Cavineña (Guillaume 2017: 707)

- (5) *camions nubi=ishu=tuna-ja=tuo e-dijio*  
 trucks enter=PURP=3PL-DAT=3SG NPF-path  
*bajeje-ti-chine.*  
 prepare-TEMP-REC.PST  
 ‘They went there to arrange the path so that the trucks can enter.’

**Table 4.** Languages with clitic used as clause-linking devices in the sample

Family	Language(s)
Kawapanan	Shawi
Peba-Yaguan	Yagua
Takanan	Cavineña
Zaparoan	Iquito

### 3.4 Morphosyntactic complex clause-linkage patterns

In many languages of the sample, various Gestalt Features (e.g., conjunctions, irrealis markers, infinitives, iconicity of sequencing) work in concert in the expression of positive purpose meanings. These Gestalt Features should be considered cues that are relevant to the long-term organization of knowledge about grammatical constructions (Croft 2001: 52). In this section, we explore how various cues jointly determine a positive purpose semantic relation. The following examples do not exhaust the whole range of morphosyntactic complex clause-linkage patterns attested in the sample since the range is too large, but should serve for discussion purposes only. With that proviso, let us briefly discuss some of these examples.

Languages may have positive purpose clauses in which the main clause predicate is a motion verb. Aissen (1984: 559) calls this construction ‘motion-*cum*-purpose’. In the sample, a number of Amazonian languages have motion-*cum*-purpose constructions. In this construction, the main clause occurs with a motion verb and the purpose clause is marked with a tense-aspect-mood value (e.g., irrealis marking) and/or a clause-linking device (e.g., conjunction or converb), as is shown in the following examples:

Cavineña (Guillaume 2017: 717)

- (6) *tudya*                      *i-kes*                      *kwinana-wa*                      *wira=ra*.  
 then                              1SG                              emerge-PERF                      urinate= PURP.MOT  
 ‘I went outside (of the house) to urinate.’

- (7) *tudya*                      *diru-kware*                      *e-tare=ju*                      *ara-ara=ra*.  
 then                              go-REM.PST                      NPF-house=LOC                      eat-RDP=PURP.MOT  
 ‘Then I went back home to eat.’

Iquito (Michael 2009: 159)

- (8) *nus=ani-∅-cura*  
 3SG=come-PERF-REC.PAST  
 ‘She came  
*nuo=ináani=ánuura*                      *nu-íyiqui=ñiira*.  
 3SG=put.NMLZ=PURP                      3SG-place=ALL  
 in order to put it in her house.’

Other verbs that are attested in the sample are verbs meaning ‘to carry’, ‘to sit’, and ‘to enter’, among others. Recall that in the present study, we disregard motion serial verb constructions given that these constructions are monoclausal, such as the Cubeo example (9), in which the purpose meaning is conveyed by a serial verb construction.

Cubeo (Morse and Maxwell 1999: 67)

- (9) *oko-kobe-i*                      *ĩ-ko-rĩ-biko*                      *oko-re*.  
 water-CLF.hole-LOC                      get-NMLZ.NON.FUT-go-3SG                      water-OBJ  
 ‘She went to the well recently to get water.’

There are Amazonian languages in which positive purpose clauses marked with a conjunction or converb also occur with quotative verbs. The clause-linking device in combination with the quotative verb yield the positive purpose meaning. This is in line with Aikhenvald (2009: 389), who mentions that speech reports used for expressing purpose relations are attested in various Amazonian languages. For instance, Aguaruna (Chicham), Tucano (East Tucanoan), and its neighbor Tariana (Arawakan) employ speech reports for



expressing purpose (Aikhenvald 2002: 145). Schmidtke-Bode (2009: 192) indicates that, in a sentence like *He left, saying ‘Let’s get something to eat’*, “the verb of speech can be interpreted as a verbal link between an action and an intended subsequent action”. The development of verbs (especially of the verb ‘say’) into purpose clause-linking devices has often been emphasized in the literature on grammaticalization (Martowicz 2011: 163). In a similar fashion, Heine and Kuteva (2002: 39) mention that purpose markers are usually derived from verbs (e.g., verbs meaning ‘to say’, ‘to give’, ‘to come’, ‘to go’).

In Aguaruna, positive purpose relations are indicated with a construction marked with the converb *-sa* and the verb *tu-* ‘to say’ (10).

Aguaruna (Overall 2017: 505)

- (10) *iwi-ya-hi-i*  
 raise.hand-REM.PST-1PL-DECL  
 ‘We raised our hands  
*tipi-sa-ti* *tu-sa.*  
 lie.down-ATTE-JUSS say-CVB.1PL  
 so that it (the truck) would stop (lit. saying let it lie down).’

In a similar fashion, in Kakataibo, purpose clauses are marked with a verb meaning ‘to say’. Note that the purpose clause must also occur with the converb *-i* (11).

Kakataibo (Zariquiey 2018: 450)

- (11) *mi=bētan* *is-i* *kwan-kats-i* *ki-xun* *‘ē*  
 you-COM see-S.CVB go-DES-S.CVB say-INTR.A 1SG  
*ka-a-x-a.*  
 say-PFV-3-PROX  
 ‘(He) talked to me, willing to go to see (the armadillos) with you (if you agree, if you would like to come).’

The third example comes from Carapana. In this language, purpose clauses are encoded with a quotative verb meaning ‘to say’ and the converb *-ro* (12).

Carapana (Metzger 1998: 18)

- (12) *dã* *caballo-a-re* *dã* *ëyōta-boha-bāsī-yūpã-rã,* *dã*  
 3PL horse-AN-CMP 3PL block.off-BEN-be.able-PST.HSY-3PL 3PL  
*karuti-eti-pa-ro-re* *bairo* *ĩ-rã.*  
 flee-NEG-FUT-CVB-CMP like say-3PL  
 ‘They helped by blocking off (the escape routes) of their (companion’s) horses, in order that they might not flee/escape’.

This clause-linkage pattern is attested in languages spoken in three different families in the sample (i.e. Chicham, Panoan, Tucanoan). A closer analysis reveals that these constructions are common in Chicham and Tucanoan, while only one Panoan language of the sample has this clause-linkage pattern.

Tense-aspect-mood values and iconicity of sequencing may work in concert in the expression of positive purpose meanings. Regarding tense-aspect-mood values, Schmidtke-Bode (2009: 44) indicates that overt “mood marking in purpose clause does certainly not come as a great surprise” because purpose clauses are inherently modal in two ways. First, they are hypothetical in that the outcome of a purpose clause situation is yet to be achieved. Second, purpose clauses are, by nature, desiderative elements, “since they refer to someone’s intention

to realize a certain goal or to make a certain situation obtain in the future” (Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 44).<sup>1</sup> With respect to iconicity of sequencing, purpose clauses tend to appear postposed to the main clause because they denote the intended endpoint or result of the situation expressed in the associated clause (Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 110).

There are two languages in the database in which a specialized mood marker and iconicity play a role in the expression of positive purpose. In these cases, mood markers seem to serve as pragmatic triggers. The idea that mood markers serve as pragmatic triggers has also been shown for other types of adverbial relations. For instance, irrealis markers<sup>2</sup> tend to occur in paratactic constructions to denote counterfactual conditional meanings (Mauri and van der Auwera 2012: 394; Olguin Martinez and Lester 2022). In a similar fashion, it has been noted that a tense-aspect marker, such as a continuative, durative, or imperfective aspect marker can be used to cue a *while*-relation (Thompson et al. 2007: 254; Olguin Martinez 2022a: ch 4). With respect to positive purpose clauses, Hetterle (2015: 80) indicates that the most frequent mood marker appearing in purpose clauses is that of subjunctive.

In Kakua, positive purpose clauses appear with the potential morpheme *pîna*, as can be seen in (13). Similarly, in Shawi, the use of the potential mood marker *-puna*’ serves as a pragmatic trigger of the purpose relation holding between clauses, as in (14). In both cases, iconicity of sequencing also aids in the positive purpose interpretation of the constructions.

Kakua (Bolaños 2016: 366)

- (13) *ma=têw-buʔé=na*      *ʔĩ=t-nihi=wit=hĩ*  
 2SG=work-learn=DECL    3PL=EV-say=REP.EV=REM.PST  
 ‘Learn how to work, they said  
*mĩʔ=wěp-at*                      *pînaʔ*.  
 2SG.POSS=be.strong-NMLZ    POT  
 so that you are strong.’

Shawi (Pilar Valenzuela, personal communication)

- (14) *chimi-pi*                      *pa’pita-puna’*                      *keh-sa-pi*.  
 die-CLF.body                  bury-POT.3PL>3SG                  move-PROG-IND.3PL>3SG  
 ‘They are bringing a deceased in order to bury him/her.’

#### 4. Areality of positive purpose clause-linkage patterns

In this section, we briefly examine the areality of positive purpose clause-linkage patterns in four contact zones in the Amazonia: the Vaupés region, the Caquetá-Putumayo region, the Southern Guiana region, and the Marañon-Huallaga region. Epps and Michael (2017: 936) note that the first three zones are characterized “by multiple groups speaking different languages, who maintain a relatively egalitarian relationship with respect to one another, and whose interaction is frequent, conventionalized and profound.” This context clearly favors areal diffusion. The later zone (i.e., Marañon-Huallaga region), was recently proposed by Valenzuela (2019), and corresponds to an area where Andean and Amazonian languages converge. In the following subsections, we briefly discuss the characteristics of these

<sup>1</sup> Cristofaro (2003: 172) and Schmidtke-Bode (2009: 49) propose that positive purpose clauses have predetermined time reference and an intrinsic mood value. Given that positive purpose clauses have predetermined time reference (future oriented), “the respective grammatical information does not have to be spelled out”. In other words, there is no strict requirement to overtly specify the temporal location of the purpose situation, because speakers can afford to omit that information (Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 43).

<sup>2</sup> In this paper, we consider ‘irrealis’ as specific markers (rather than notional descriptions of non-encoded meanings of constructions) in the forms of verbal affixes and clausal enclitics.

proposed linguistic areas, and the positive purpose clause-linkage patterns that languages of these contact zones tend to use.

#### 4.1 Vaupés

Languages from four different families (Tucanoan, Arawakan, Naduhup and Kakua-Nukak) belong to the Vaupés linguistic area (Epps and Michael 2017: 938). The area of the Vaupés River basin is an intensive contact zone within the Upper Rio Negro basin, and it has received the most in-depth attention of any South-American contact zone (Epps and Michael 2017: 938). Some of the linguistic characteristics that the languages of this region share are the following: a remarkably low number of lexical borrowings in basic vocabulary, a pervasive calquing of local lexicon (such as names and ethnonyms, flora and fauna, and items of material and ritual culture), a significant degree of morpheme-to-morpheme and word-to-word intertranslatability caused by areal diffusion, many similarities in serial verb constructions, and similarities on the expression of spatial relations, among others.

The languages of our sample that belong to this area are Barasano (Tucanoan), Kotiria (Tucanoan), Tariana (Arawakan), Hup (Naduhup), Kakua (Kakua-Nukak). In these languages, positive purpose constructions are encoded with converbs. An example is attested in Barasano. In this language, positive purpose constructions are encoded with the converb *-rã* (15).

Barasano (Jones & Jones 1991: 155)

- (15) *ĩa-rã eha-bu yua.*  
 see-CVB arrive-PAST.3 1EXCL.PL  
 ‘We arrived in order to visit (you).’

#### 4.2 Caquetá-Putumayo

The Caquetá-Putumayo region is located in southern Colombia and Northern Peru, and it is one of the other areas discussed in Epps and Michael (2017). The languages that belong to this family are those of the Bora and Huitotoan families, Resígaro (Arawakan), and Andoke (isolate). Resígaro has copied many bound morphological forms from the other languages of the region. In addition, due to language contact, it has developed an inclusive/exclusive distinction and second-position tense-aspect-mood clitics, among others. According to Epps and Michael (2017), the languages of this group also share many similarities with those of the Vaupés region.

The languages of the sample that belong to this area are Bora (Boran) and Murui (Huitotoan). In these languages, converbs are used for expressing positive purpose. In Bora, the converb *-khi* is used for indicating purpose (16). At the current stage of our work, it is not clear how Resígaro and Andoke encode positive purpose clauses.

Bora (Thiesen and Weber 2012: 370)

- (16) *má:ʔó-βù ò-kʰɛ t-à:kʰù ò-má<sup>x</sup>tʃʰò-kʰì.*  
 cassava-GOAL 1SG-OBJ.AN 2SG.IMP-give 1SG-eat-CVB  
 ‘Give me some cassava so I can eat it.’

#### 4.3 Southern Guiana

Carib, Arawak, and Salivan groups share cultural and linguistic resemblance due to their constant interaction (Epps and Michael 2017). The languages of the sample that belong to this area are Akawaio, Macushi, Waiwai (Cariban), and Mako (Salivan). These languages

indicate positive purpose with a converb. An example is attested in Mako (17), in which positive purpose constructions are formed with the converb *-obi*.

Mako (Labrada 2015: 405)

- (17) *dʒ-ena*      *foto*      *Piari-ni*      *∅-em-obi*  
 DIST-ADV      picture      Piari-NON.SBJ      3SG.M-take-CVB  
*tʃũ-hũn-otʃu-a*.  
 1SG-put-VOL-TAM  
 ‘I am going to put him(it?) over there so he takes a picture of Piari.’

#### 4.4 Marañón-Huallaga

The Marañón-Huallaga linguistic area, proposed by Valenzuela (2019), corresponds to a territory where Andean and Amazonian languages converge. There are a number of linguistic characteristics shared by many languages of this area, such as a symbolic use of palatalization, the absence of prefixes or presence of only one prefix, the absence of gender distinction in pronouns, double negative marking, and no core case-markers, among others. In addition, many lexical items are shared by the languages of this area (Valenzuela 2019). The languages of our sample that belong to the Marañón-Huallaga area are Aguaruna, Shuar, Wampis (Chicham), Shawi (Kawapanan), Iquito (Zaparoan), Yagua (Peba-Yaguan), Urarina (Isolate), and Kokama-kokamilla (Tupian). These languages tend to encode positive purpose constructions with a converb. An example illustrating this pattern is found in Wampis. In this language, *-tasa* conveys positive purpose, as in (18). In this construction, the clause-linking device in combination with the quotative verb *ta-* yield the positive purpose meaning (see Section 3.4 for a more detail discussion of this clause-linkage pattern).

Wampis (Peña 2015: 832)

- (18) *hu*      *tʃitʃama=na*      *uha-ka-tasa-un*      *ta-hami*.  
 PROX      problem=ACC      inform-INTENS-CVB-1SG.SS      say.IPFV-1SG>2SG.DECL  
 ‘I tell you to inform you of that problem.’

#### 5. Avertive markers

As was shown in Section 3, the Amazonian languages of the sample tend to encode positive purpose clause meanings with conjunctions and converbs. In a number of Amazonian languages, negative purpose is signaled with a conjunction or a converb plus a negative marker. Interestingly, there are other Amazonian languages which employ a specialized marker, as in (19). This clause-linking device is known as avertive.

Urarina (Olawsky 2011: 253)

- (19) *itea-#*      *eno-a*      *aka#=ne*      *kwataa*.  
 do-IMP      enter-3      water=#SBJ      lest  
 ‘Do it so that the water (would) not enter!’

Avertive clauses are situated within the apprehensional domain. Lichtenberk (1995: 297) shows that the apprehensional domain, should be understood as emotions triggered by an undesirable, (highly) possible situation (Vuillermet 2018: 258). The apprehensional domain may display three different functions. The first function is that of apprehensional epistemics. This is a main clause marker that involves the speaker’s “degree of certainty about the factual

status of a proposition and his or her attitude concerning the desirability of the situation encoded in the clause” (Lichtenberk 1995: 293), as in (20).

Ese Ejja (Vuillermet 2018: 258)

- (20) *b'iya b'iya b'iya b'iya kekwa-ka-chana miya.*  
 bee bee bee bee pierce-3A-APPR 2SG.ABS  
 ‘Bee, bee, bee, bee! Watch out it might sting you.’

The second function is that of fear complementation, as is illustrated in the Mangap-Mbula (Austronesian/Oceanic) example in (21). These are clauses embedded under predicates of fearing (Lichtenberk 1995: 297).

Mangap-Mbula (Bugenhagen 1995: 329)

- (21) *n-io aŋ-moto pa mbeŋ kokena ti-pa-saana yo.*  
 GIV-1SG.SBJ 1SG.SBJ-fear REF night lest 3PL.SBJ-CAUS- 1SG.OBJ  
 deteriorate  
 ‘I was afraid at night that they would harm me.’

The third function is that of precautioning, which is further divided into the *in-case* function, as in the Paiwan (Austronesian/Paiwan) example in (22) and the avertive function, as in the Gaagudju (Isolate) example in (23). The main difference between these two functions lies in the control of the subject, that is, while the avertive function depends on the control of the subject over the situation that is to be avoided, the *in-case* function does not (Angelo and Schultze-Berndt 2016: 257).

Paiwan (Chang 2006: 318)

- (22) *mananganu macay=aken, ku-ʔaivu=wa=anan=sun.*  
 in.case.that die.AV=1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN=say=SBJ=CONT=2SG.NOM  
 ‘In case I die, I tell you first.’

Gaagudju (Harvey 2002: 98)

- (23) *gooyida nj-dja-barna-badjii-ngi, baleer ng-gardawidji-gee-ya=nja*  
 NEG.IMP 2SG.SBJ-PRS-climb-AUX-PST.IPFV lest IV-break-AUX-EVIT=2IND.OBJ  
*nja=goordo.*  
 2IND.OBJ=arm  
 ‘Don’t climb (that tree), lest you (fall and) break your arm.’

The present study only concentrates on examples, as in (23), where the construction is encoded by an avertive marker. Previous studies on avertive clauses have addressed this type of construction in individual languages (e.g., Lichtenberk 1995 on Toqabaqita; Evans 1995: 264 on Kayardild; Vuillermet 2018 on Ese Ejja), and in cross-linguistic perspective (e.g., Schmidtke-Bode 2009 identifies 19 languages with avertive clauses based on a sample of 80 languages). These markers seem to be common in Australian languages, Oceanic languages, Amazonian languages, and languages from New Guinea (Lichtenberk 1995: 297; Vuillermet 2018: 258).

The contributions mentioned above have advanced our understanding on avertive clauses. In particular, they have provided important insights regarding the syntactic category of the avertive marker, the balancing and deranking status of the avertive clause, the argument-structural configurations of the avertive construction (Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 131), and the key semantic components of avertive constructions (Lichtenberk 1995). One of the reasons why

this construction has not been addressed in detail in the typological literature has to do with the fact that sources do not tend to contain enough information on this type of adverbial clause. For instance, Cristofaro (2003: 158) explicitly mentions that the data on avertive clauses are too scarce to allow for any generalizations. In a similar fashion, Hetterle (2015: 52) points out that avertive clauses do not play a role in her study due to the scarcity of data in her sample.

Avertive markers may be ‘relational’ or ‘intraclausal’ (Verstraete 2014). By ‘relational’ is meant conjunctions that only appear in biclausal constructions, and by ‘intraclausal’ is meant markers which occur in monoclausal constructions and have also the potential to contribute to the semantics of complex sentence relations (Verstraete 2014: 195). The former type of avertive marker is shown in the West Coast Bajau (Austronesian / Sama-Bajaw) example in (24). In (24), the avertive construction is encoded with the marker *kang* ‘lest’, which is relational in that it can only appear in complex sentence constructions signaling avertive relations.

West Coast Bajau (Miller 2007: 421)

- (24) *dong*                      *aku*     $\text{☉-kasaw=nu}$                       ***kang***                      *mule'*                      *aku*.  
 NEG.IMP                      1SG    UV-harass=2SG                      lest                      go.home                      1SG  
 ‘Don’t harass me lest I go home.’

An intraclausal avertive marker is illustrated in Ngalakan (Gunwinyguan/Ngalakan). In this language, the marker *mele-* can occur not only in monoclausal constructions, as in (25), but also in biclausal constructions, as in (26).

Ngalakan (Merlan 1983: 102)

- (25) *gu-wol-nowi*    ***mele-bolk.***  
 ?-smoke-its    lest-get.out  
 ‘The smoke might come out.’

- (26) *garku*    *buru-ye*                      ***mele-ŋun***                      *wariŋwari-ŋi*.  
 high                      3NON.SG-put                      lest-eat.PRS                      crow-ERG  
 ‘They put it high up lest the crows eat it.’

From a cross-linguistic perspective, it has been shown that Mesoamerican languages tend to have avertive markers which are relational (Olguín Martínez 2022b). On the other hand, languages spoken in Australia and Papunesia tend to have avertive markers which are intraclausal (Verstraete 2014; Angelo and Schultze-Berndt 2016; Lichtenberk 1995). Amazonian languages show an interesting typological picture in that they tend to have avertive markers which may be intraclausal or relational.

The Ashéninka Perené examples illustrate the avertive marker =*kari* that appears not only in monoclausal constructions (27), but also in complex sentence constructions expressing a precautionary situation (28).

Ashéninka Perené (Mihas 2015: 279)

- (27) *pi=pari-i=kari*  
 2SG.SBJ=fall-REAL=lest  
 ‘(Watch out) You’ll fall!’

- (28) *pi=ha-t-e*                      *intyatzini,*                      *pi=tsint-ako-t-e=ri=kari.*  
 2SG.SBJ=go-EP-IRR    other.side                      2SG.SBJ=urinate-APPL-EP-IRR=3SG.OBJ.M=lest  
 ‘You should go far, lest you urinate where the owner of the house does.’

Second, the Movima example in (29) appears with *ka:*. This is an avertive marker that is relational in that it only appears in biclausal constructions.

Movima (Haude 2006: 547)

- (29) *jayna us-chel po:ra bo ka: n-as man-wa.*  
 DSC move.away-REFL briefly REAS lest OBL-ART INV.bite-NMLZ  
 ‘Then [I] withdraw quickly so that I don’t get bitten.’

Table 5 shows the languages off the sample that use avertive markers. Two observations can be gleaned from Table 5. First, Cariban languages tend to have avertive markers which are relational. Second, Arawakan languages have avertive markers which are intraclausal.

**Table 5.** Avertive markers in the Amazonian languages of the sample

Language	Family	Type of avertive marker
Tariana	Arawakan	Intraclausal
Piapoco	Arawakan	Intraclausal
Asheninka Perené	Arawakan	Intraclausal
Hup	Naduhup	Intraclausal
Yagua	Peba-Yaguan	Relational
Macushi	Cariban	Relational
Wai Wai	Cariban	Relational
Akawaio	Cariban	Relational
Hixkaryana	Cariban	Relational
Mamainde	Nambiquaran	Relational
Esse Eja	Takanan	Intraclausal
Kulina	Arauan	Intraclausal
Aguaruna	Chicham	Intraclausal
Wampis	Chicham	Intraclausal
Barasano	Tucanoan	Intraclausal
Kwaza	Isolate	Intraclausal
Movima	Isolate	Relational
Urarina	Isolate	Relational

Avertive clauses are non-actualized and therefore they are expected to favor mood marking (Verstraete 2014: 204-205). Relational markers tend to be accompanied by categories from the modal domain that are appropriate to the avertive context (e.g., irrealis marking, future marking, potential marking, and subjunctive marking). However, it has been noted that in many languages around the world, avertive clauses may appear with past tense markers. This is an aspect of avertive constructions for which the sources of the sample do not contain detailed information. This deserves to be analyzed by future studies.

## 6. Final remarks

This paper has set out to describe purpose clauses in a sample of Amazonian languages. It was shown that positive purpose clauses tend to be encoded by conjunctions or converbs. However, in a number of Amazonian languages, positive purpose meanings are expressed with a conjunction or a converb in combination with other morphosyntactic properties. It was also

shown that converbs tend to be common in four contact zones in the Amazonia: the Vaupés region, the Caquetá-Putumayo region, the Southern Guiana region, and the Marañon-Huallaga region.

In exploring positive purpose clauses in Amazonian languages, we have also analyzed avertive constructions in a number of languages of the sample. Cross-linguistically, there are areas in the world where avertive clauses are encoded by relational markers or intra-clausal markers. Amazonian languages show an interesting typological picture in that they have languages showing both types. While Cariban languages tend to have avertive markers which are relational, Arawakan languages have avertive markers which are intraclausal.

## Abbreviations

IV=class four, 1=first person, 2=second person, 3=third person, A=agent, ABS=absolutive, ACC=accusative, ACT=action, ADV=adverbial, ALL=allative, AN=animate, APPL=applicative, APPR=apprehensive, ART=article, ATT=attributive, ATTE=attenuative, AUX=auxiliar, AV=actor voice, BEN=benefactive, CAUS=causative, CLF=classifier, CMP=complement, COM=comitative, COMPL=completive, CONT=continuous, CTS=close to speaker, CVB=converb, DAT=dative, DECL=declarative, DES=desiderative, DIST=distal, DSC=discontinuative, ELAT=elative, EP=epenthesis, ERG=ergative, EV=evidential, EVIT=evitative, EXCL=exclusive, FUT=future, G=generic, GIV=given, HSY=hearsay, IMP=imperative, IND=indirect, INF=infinitive, INTENS=intensifier, INTR=intransitive, INV=inverse, IPFV=imperfective, IRR=irrealis, JUSS=jussive, LOC=locative, M=masculine, MOT=motion, NEG=negative, NMLZ=nominalizer, NPF=noun prefix, OBJ=object, OBL=oblique, PASS=passive, PERF=perfect, PFV=perfective, PL=plural, POSS=possessive, POT=potential, PROG=progressive, PROX=proximative, PRS=present, PST=past, PURP=purpose, RDP=reduplication, REAL=realis, REAS=reason, REC=recent, REF=referential, REFL=reflexive, REL=relativizer, REM=remote, REP=reportative, SBJ=subject, SG=singular, SIM=simultaneous, S=single argument, SS=same subject, SUB=subordinator, TAM=tense/aspect/mood, TEMP=temporal, UNCERT=uncertain, UV=undergoer voice, VOL=volitional.

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Conceptualization: Jesús Olguín Martínez & Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar  
 Data curation: Jesús Olguín Martínez & Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar  
 Formal Analysis: Jesús Olguín Martínez & Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar  
 Funding acquisition: NA  
 Investigation: Jesús Olguín Martínez & Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar  
 Methodology: Jesús Olguín Martínez & Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar  
 Project administration: Jesús Olguín Martínez & Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar  
 Resources: Jesús Olguín Martínez & Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar  
 Software: NA  
 Supervision: NA  
 Validation: NA  
 Visualization: Jesús Olguín Martínez & Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar  
 Writing – original draft: Jesús Olguín Martínez & Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar  
 Writing – review & editing: Jesús Olguín Martínez & Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar

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### AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTION

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 Article writing: Jesús Olguín Martínez & Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar

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