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PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOSYNTAX OF MACUXI (CARIB)

University of Kansas

PH.D. 1982

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PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOSYNTAX OF MACUXI (CARIB)

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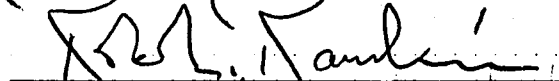
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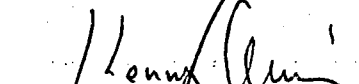
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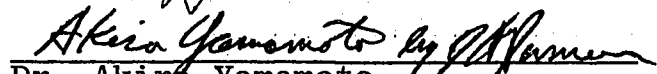
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of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dissertation Committee:


Chairman: Dr. Robert Rankin


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Dr. Akira Yamamoto

Dissertation Defended:

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The National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) of the Ministry of Interior of Brazil. FUNAI was responsible for granting permission to collect data in situ on the Macuxi language.

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The Italian Catholic priests of the Consolata Mission were also helpful in lending Macuxi literature from their

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Lawrence, Kansas

November, 1981

ABSTRACT

PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOSYNTAX OF MACUXI (CARIB)

Neusa M. Carson, Ph.D.
University of Kansas, 1982

This dissertation is a preliminary, descriptive phonological and morphosyntactical analysis of Macuxi.

Macuxi is a Carib language in use by some four thousand speakers in Northern Brazil.

The purpose of the analysis is to uncover systematic regularities in the language, and to organize the data collected in situ in the light of current linguistic knowledge.

The introductory chapter presents the classification of Macuxi with other Carib languages into the Northern Carib, East-West division group of languages. A review of related literature, current population, field procedures, location of the villages in Brazil, consultants and equipment used in the field are also included.

The second chapter describes the consonants (eleven single consonants and four consonant clusters), their allophones and rules applying to them. Vowels (six short and six long) and their allophones, the syllable pattern, vowel reduction and diphthongs complete the description of segmental phonemes. The suprasegmental elements include a pitch accent (a high and a low pitch) dealt with in terms of word and phrasal accent. Also in this chapter are the

phonological processes of assimilation, dissimilation, deletion, compensatory lengthening, metathesis, vowel harmony and borrowing.

The third chapter contains a descriptive analysis of morphology and syntax. Issues dealt with under morphology include noun derivation and composition, and noun modifiers (number, gender, case and postpositions). The numerals are also studied. The pronominal system is analyzed into personal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronouns. Verb morphology includes the description of verb derivation and composition, auxiliaries, directionals and verb inflection (person, number, aspect and mode). A brief analysis of compound and complex sentences follows. Then adverbs and quantifiers close Chapter 3.

In the last chapter a summary, followed by suggestions for further research and conclusions, is presented.

In the conclusion, the author draws attention to the few descriptions of Brazilian aboriginal languages and states her hope to continue the work. The treatment accorded Macuxi is a first attempt at filling the gap in the description of Brazilian Indian languages.

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

adv	adverb	neg	negative
ag	agentive	nom	nominalizer
aux	auxiliary	n	noun
ben	benefactive	perf	perfective
comit	comitative	pl	plural
compl	completive	pot	potential
conn	connective	pos	positional
cont	continuative	poss	possessive
dat	dative	pre	predicative
dem	demonstrative	pro.	pronoun
des	desiderative	pur	purposive
det	determiner	Q	interrogative
dir	directional	quant	quantifier
excl	exclusive	refl	reflexive
gen	genitive	s	singular
hort	hortatory	sp	specific
imp	imperative	sub	subordinator
inch	inchoative	temp	temporal adverb
incl	inclusive	vb	verbalizer
instr	instrumental	.	syllable boundary
iter	iterative	-	morpheme boundary
loc	locative	~	alternates with
nec	necessity		

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

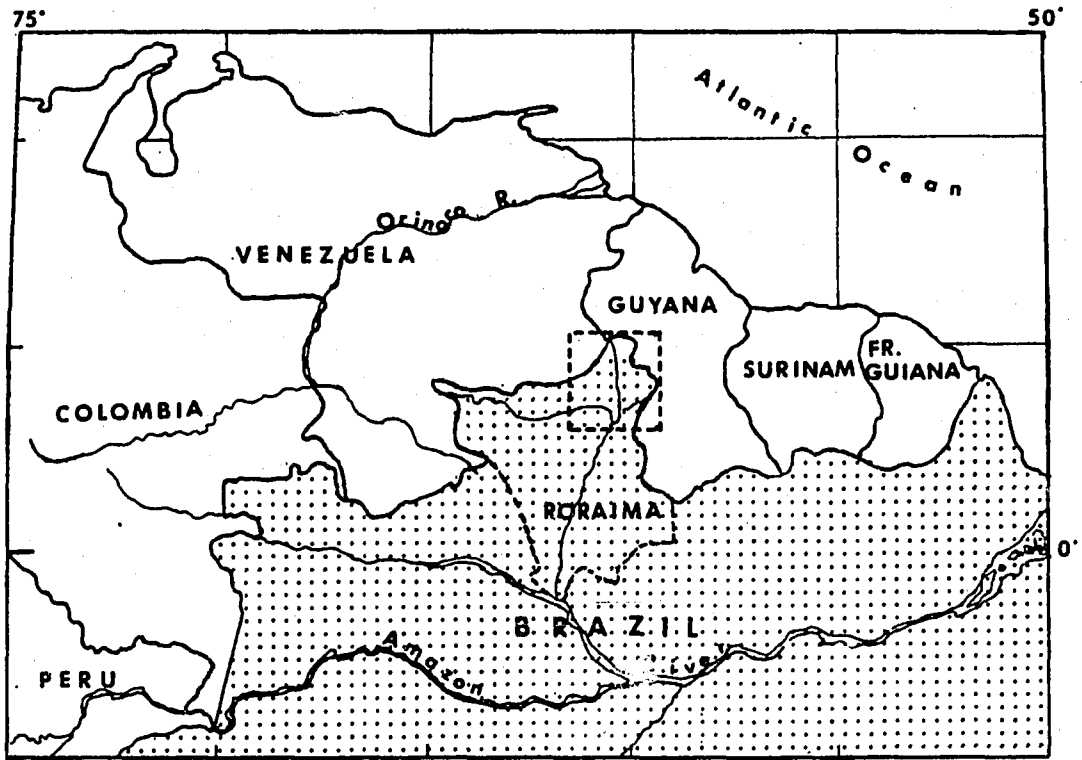
1.1. Classification of the Carib Languages

The Carib family of languages is one of the largest groups in South America both in number of speakers and in number of related languages. Macuxi, the language which is the subject of the present study, belongs to the Carib group.

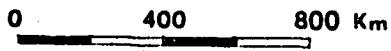
The most common criterion for grouping in the Carib languages is geographic (Voegelin and Voegelin 1973: 278). A northern, a northwestern, and a southern group may be so identified. Macuxi falls into the northern group of languages.

Geographic-linguistic criteria have been proposed by Durbin and Seijas (Durbin 1977: 34) for the subgrouping of the majority of the Carib languages (see Map 1, p. 2). Even though their work is not yet complete, their proposed major subgroupings are as follows:

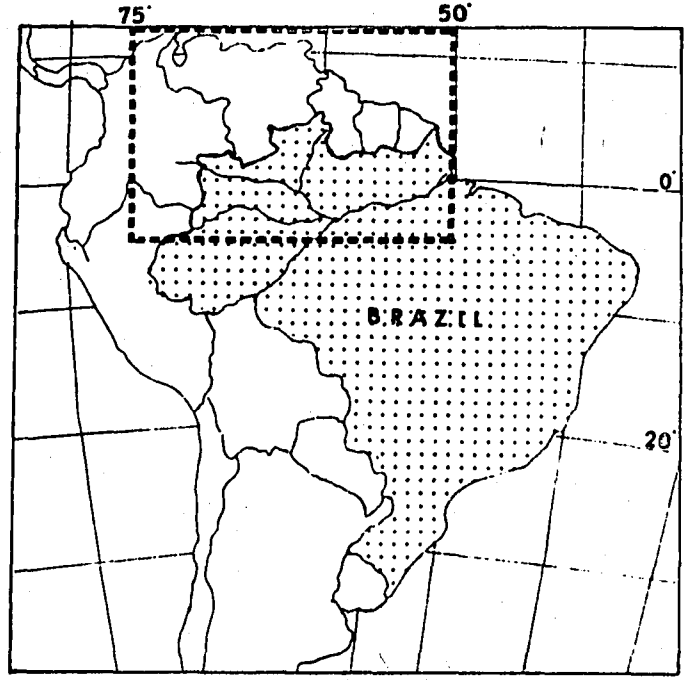
- 1) The Northern Group
 - A. Coastal Carib (located mostly outside the Guiana land mass)
 - B. Western Guiana Carib (mostly in western Venezuela)
 - C. Galibi (along the Atlantic Coast from the Amazon delta to the Orinoco River)



MAP 2



MAP 1



- D. East-West Guiana Carib (located for the most part in the Brazilian Guiana land mass, with outlying groups in Surinam, French Guiana, Guyana and Venezuela)
 - E. Northern (Brazilian outlying groups north of the Amazon)
- 2) The Southern Group
- A. Southeastern Colombian Carib (in Colombia)
 - B. Xingu Basin Carib (in Brazil)
 - C. Southern Guiana Carib (mostly in the south of the Guianas)

Macuxi, according to this division, falls into the East-West Guiana group of languages (1 D as outlined above).

An attempt to classify the Carib languages into larger groupings or phyla emerges from Joseph Greenberg's (1960: 791-794) typological studies--initially he proposed to include the Carib group of languages in the Macro-Carib sub-family, and into the Gê-Pano-Carib family of languages. In a more recent paper,¹ however, Greenberg sets Macro-Carib and the Gê-Pano groups apart, but places them both into a vast pool of languages which he calls the "Amerind" stock.

Even though a definitive linguistic classification of the Carib languages is lacking, we can, according to Durbin (1977) assume close similarities among the following languages, all from the East-West linguistic group: Macuxi,

Arekuna, Pemong (Taulipang), Ingariko, Akawaio, Arinagoto and Patamona. Edwards (1978: 223), working on Arekuna, mentions Taurepan, Krichana, Seregong, Patamona, Purukoto, Macuxi and Sapara as closely related languages. However, the inclusion of Krichana in this list is evidently a mistake, since, according to Migliazza (1977: 10-11), this is a Yanomama language.

1.2 A Review of the Literature on the Macuxi Language

Macuxi is mentioned in the writings of very early scholars who crossed the Guiana land mass. Of these studies, the first is a vocabulary by the Austrian scholar Johann Natterer.² This list was transcribed by Martius (1867: 225-227) over 30 years later. In the twentieth century, more than 40 years after Martius' list was published, Koch-Grünberg, a well-known German scholar with sound phonetic training, stated:

Die ersten sicheren Nachrichten über diese Gegenden und ihre Bewohner verdanken wir Johann Natterer. Dieser verdienstvolle Naturforscher hielt sich im Jahre 1832 am Rio Branco wo er unter anderen stämmen auch die Makuschi und Wapischana näher kenne lernte. (1908: 1)

For the first certain information on these regions and their inhabitants we thank Johann Natterer. In the year 1832 this worthy naturalist spent time at the Branco River where, among other tribes, he came to know and study about the Makuschi and Wapischana.

Rodrigues (1885: 146-147, 247-260) was the first Brazilian to publish ethnographical notes and a word list of Macuxi. His word list was made up of 784 alphabetically ordered Portuguese words and the intended gloss in the Crichaná (Yanomama), Ipurucotó and Macuxi (Carib) languages. It is not explicitly mentioned in the text whether or not these languages were assumed to be related, but this can be inferred from his ethnographic notes:

Descendentes dos Crichanás, do Arutany, dos quais se separaram por emigração... distanciados do centro ipurucotó, seus costumes tem sofrido modificações... (148)

(These indians) descended from the Crichanás of the Arutany (River), from whom they have separated by migration... far away from the Ipurucoto, their habits have undergone changes...

In fact, his vocabulary suggests that either he had an unreliable interpreter or there was heavy borrowing among the three languages involved. A random examination of this list shows up to five words in a row which are practically identical in all three languages.³ There are also inaccuracies in the translation due to the differences between Portuguese and Macuxi cultures, or simply due to misinterpretation of the clue given by the interviewer. Examples of such problems are soul interpreted by the informant as state of death, and body glossed as I, me.

However, in the nineteenth century, the most ambitious work done on Caribbean languages is credited to Lucien Adam, whose goal was to compile enough data such that "les matériaux [pourraient] servir à l'établissement d'une grammaire comparée" (Adam 1893: 1). This study is presented in rigorous scholarly terms and can be used in comparative studies. In his time, the goal Adam had in mind was hardly feasible, considering the material then available on the Carib languages, which consisted mainly of vocabulary lists and of partially analyzed grammatical data. Adam himself was left with the task of analyzing a vast amount of sometimes unreliable information, but he did a reasonably good job. Macuxi material presented in his work came from Natterer, Coudreau and Rodrigues (Adam 1893: 4).

By far the best of the early works on the Macuxi language is that of the German ethnographer and linguist, Theodor Koch-Grünberg (1908). It consists of a vocabulary and some grammatical items. Even though the list is not extensive, its value lies in the use of phonetic symbols for the transcription, and in its comparison with two other vocabularies of Macuxi compiled by other writers.⁴

Curt Nimuendajú (Curt Unkel), of German origin, was renamed nimuendajú 'the one who came to live among us' by a Guarani tribe of Brazil (Câmara 1965: 123). He also collected a list of words and expressions in the Macuxi

language (Nimuendajú 1955). Nimuendajú did linguistic work on several other Brazilian Indian languages, and used his own set of phonetic symbols without specifying their value. There are certain inaccuracies in the rendered translation of the Portuguese, again either due to the different world views held by the westerners and pre-Columbian people, or because of miscues to the informant. Some such words include brain for carcass, soul for corpse, throat for neck and neck for nape. It is immediately apparent that Nimuendajú had done some analysis of the language before filing the word list at the Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, because of consistent indication of certain morpheme boundaries and consistent transcription of recurrent phonological facts.

In more recent years, missionaries of various denominations have been working on Macuxi, both in the Guianas and in Brazil. Notable are Father Keary's (1944) and Williams' (1932) grammars. The former was a little known Presbyterian priest who left an 81 page grammar of considerable value, especially with regard to the verb. The latter, also a religious man, lived for several years among the Macuxi of Guyana, then British Guiana, and wrote an extensive grammar using reliable phonetic transcription and incorporating an excellent review of the literature. In spite of some inconsistencies, and the use of Latin grammar as a theoretical basis for his description, Williams' grammar remains one of the most thorough treatments of the

Macuxi language to date. It is also of great value to the scholar interested in doing comparative studies on Carib languages, as it contains numerous vocabularies, including many of those compiled by earlier scholars. There is also an annotated bibliography.

In more recent times, missionaries of the Catholic Church have been working among the Macuxi in Brazil. Of these, D. Alcuin Mayer, after living among the Macuxi for several years, has published Macuxi tales (Mayer 1951). In his work, Mayer is careful to indicate the value of the sounds and the purpose of the diacritics used. He renders glosses that are as close to one-to-one as possible, and then presents a summary of the story at the end of each text, in the Portuguese language.

The Unevangelized Field Missions group of missionaries, who are aided in their linguistic work by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) because of their interest in translating the Bible and evangelizing the Indians, have been active in doing linguistic work on Macuxi. Their work is extremely important for scholars, as they receive linguistic training before going to the field, and during their field work they consult with experienced linguists. From 1950 on, we find the following: Hawkins (1950), Foster (1959), Burns (1963), Hodsdon and Lowe (1974), Hodsdon (1976) and Abbott (1976).⁵ Some of these works have been published. All of the non-published material can be found in the files

of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Unevangelized Field Missions.

In Brazil, the institution that in this century has produced the most research and publications on Carib languages spoken in the northernmost region of the country has been the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi.⁶ Even though the attention of the museum researchers is more directly focused on anthropology, some linguistic work has also been produced. Also in Brazil, the Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro has been sponsoring work on the Carib languages and ethnography of the Upper Xingu basin.

1.3 Population and Current Status of the Macuxi in Brazil

The Macuxi population in Brazil has been estimated in what Migliazza (1977: 72) terms the "most conservative and accurate estimation so far," as being 3,800 in the early 1970's. His view seems justified because of the number of Macuxis who are now "integrated"; that is, who have left their villages permanently to work as wage-laborers in towns or on cattle ranches. Migliazza points out that there are few monolingual speakers of Macuxi in the villages. About 85 percent of the total population of Macuxis still live in Macuxi villages; about 70 percent of this group are bilingual in Macuxi and Portuguese, or in Macuxi and English. The latter situation is a result of the presence of Macuxis who fled from Guyana into Brazil at the time of the 1968 Guyana revolution.

Comparison of my own field notes with past literature on the Macuxi language shows that ancient customs, including the language, are tending towards rapid extinction. Many factors have contributed to the acceleration of change in customs and language. The proximity of the villages to cities is the most immediate factor; such closeness causes young people to leave their village to seek jobs. Further, the lack of transportation and long working hours make it hard for the laborers to return regularly to their villages. Another factor of cultural desintegration is the spread of Christianity in the area. This factor introduces changes in the native's view of the universe. In turn, the European world view introduced by the Christian faith accelerates the native's integration into white society. A third factor of disintegration is government policy in the region. This mainly affects two areas: education and economy. Formal education is provided free of charge from the first to fourth grades, in most instances by monolingual Portuguese-speaking teachers. The certified teachers, with few exceptions, are originally from the city and have no training in bilingual instruction. Government economic policy has facilitated quick changes, because white settlers have been arriving in the area in growing numbers and establishing cattle ranches in traditionally Indian territory. Unclear judicial processes result in favorable treatment of the newcomers in land disputes. In addition, new development plans for the

area include major peripheral roads that cut through, or very close to, Indian settlements. Along with the roads, new farms and businesses will soon move into the entire area. Therefore, the majority of the indigenous population tends to be acculturated into the dominant society, with the concomitant loss of native customs and language. The scientific documentation of the Macuxi language, considering the threat of its ultimate extinction, is thus an urgent task.

The goal of the present work is to describe the phonology and morphosyntax of Macuxi, following notes collected in situ.

1.4 Field Procedures

The author spent a total of five months collecting data in the field, including the months of January-March and June-July, 1977. Further data were elicited from João Waraata Maikan, a Macuxi speaker currently studying in the author's home town, Santa Maria, Rio Grande do Sul.

1.4.1 Location of the Macuxi Villages. There are several Macuxi villages along the Tacutu, Cotingo, Urari-coera and Surumu Rivers, all of which are part of the Branco River system in northern Brazil. The tribe occupies the savannah area of the Amazon region and the mountainous areas of the northernmost territory of Brazil, Roraima.

The villages visited are located approximately 60 degrees west longitude and 4 degrees north latitude (see Map 2, p. 13).

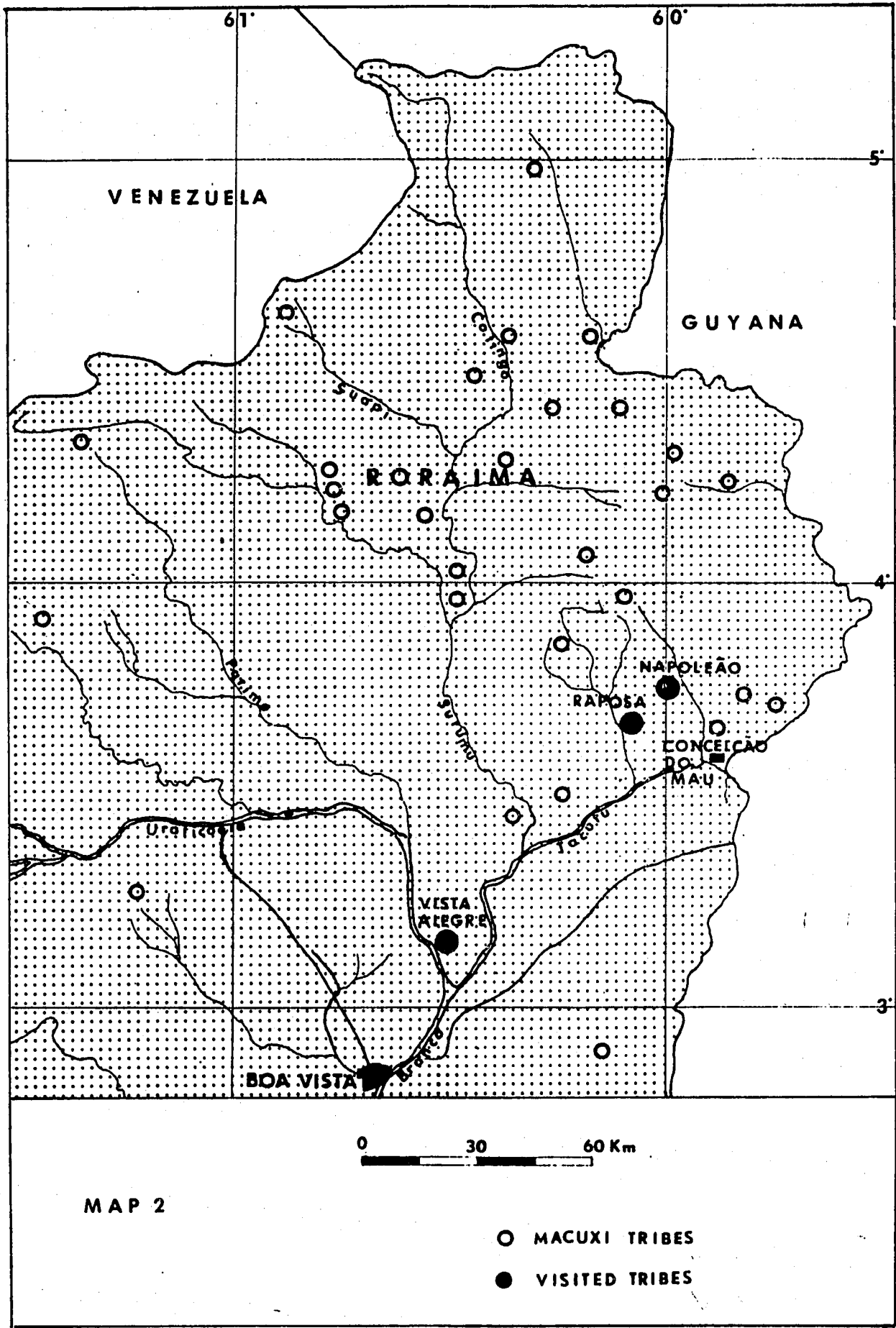
The first village visited, Vista Alegre, is located on the right bank of the Uraricoera River, only 22 km. northwest of Boa Vista, capital of the Federal Territory of Roraima. The other two villages which were visited are Raposa and Napoleão, both located on tributaries of the Tacutu River, between 185 and 200 km. north of Boa Vista. The three villages together comprise some 837 inhabitants.

1.4.2 The Consultants. An attempt was made to select consultants of different age groups, genders, and religious backgrounds, as well as to focus on Macuxi speakers whose knowledge of Portuguese has not yet interfered with their knowledge of Macuxi. The following Macuxi Indians were contacted and agreed to provide linguistic data:

Abel Raposo, a male school teacher in his forties, from the village of Raposa. A Catholic, he is highly acculturated into western civilization (he has traveled to Europe).

Luiza Raposo, a female school teacher in her twenties, from the village of Napoleão, recently married to a young man from Raposa. Although she is a Protestant, she is still quite faithful to the cultural values of her people.

Adriano Raposo, the husband of Luiza, a bright and alert man who often noticed the differences between his own



dialect of Raposa and that of his newly adopted village, Napoleão. Like his wife, he is currently a Protestant.

Damiana Raposo, an old but energetic woman from Raposa, who has an excellent memory, likes to sing while at work, and enjoys talking and telling stories. She is Catholic, and the only monolingual Macuxi to serve as a regular consultant. She is the mother of the male teacher above, who also served as an interpreter.

João Waraata Maikan, a male student in his twenties, who was a student in Boa Vista in 1977. He comes from Napoleão, having left his village at age 14, and is currently pursuing his studies in Santa Maria, Rio Grande do Sul. He is a Protestant, but still quite faithful to the values of his people.

Lino and Ermelinda Raposo, a middle-aged couple from Vista Alegre. They moved from Chumina, a village 5 km. from Raposa, into Vista Alegre, in 1974. Lino was the alternate village chief in Chumina, and now enjoys a prestigious position in Vista Alegre. Ermelinda is a niece of Damiana Raposo and a sister of the chief of Raposa.

Close relatives of the above informants were occasionally consulted. Children were not interviewed, however, due to the boring and tiresome nature of the recording work and their lack of understanding of the purpose of the interviews.

1.4.3 Recording Equipment. For the recording in the field a Sharp portable cassette recorder was used, with Magnetic TDK D-C, 1 7/8 ips 60 minute tapes. For analysis at home, a Fischer Studio Standard tape cassette recorder, model CR 5030, with additional features such as memory, pause and automatic stop was used.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

¹At Mid-America Linguistics Conference, Norman, Oklahoma, in 1978, Greenberg presented a revision of his typological study of Indian languages.

²The list includes 125 Latin-Macuxi words, collected in Forte Rio Branco on January 26, 1832.

³See Rodrigues 1885, p. 251: Fuso, Furar, Furo, Furtar, Furto in Portuguese and their equivalent forms in Crichaná, Ipurucotó and Macuxi (Macuchy in Rodrigues' spelling). All five forms are translated in the same way. This cannot be correct.

⁴See Koch-Grünberg's chapter, "Die Makuschí und Wapischána." After ethnological, geographical and a few linguistic remarks, the Macuxi vocabulary lists and grammatical observations are presented (pp. 15-43). The lists are those of Rodrigues (1885) and an unknown traveler.

⁵These authors have dealt with parts of the phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of Macuxi, and have used the tagmemic theoretical framework. For complete references, see bibliography.

⁶This museum publishes a Journal called Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi.

CHAPTER II

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

The description of the consonants and vowels, the syllable patterns, the pitch accent and other phonological processes of the language are presented in this chapter.

There are eleven consonant phonemes in Macuxi, and four consonant clusters. There are six short and six long vowels. The phonetic realizations of consonants (see Chart I) and of the vowels (see Chart III) are numerous, and are all described.

The suprasegmental system consists of a high and non-high or unmarked pitch at the word level. No other suprasegmentals have been observed to be significant in the language.

2.1 Consonants

There are eleven consonantal phonemes. They are the obstruents /p t k s ?/ and the sonorants /m n ŋ r w y/.

Chart I displays all phonetic possibilities of the above phonemes.

CHART I

The Phonetic Consonants

MANNER	POINT				
	LABIAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
Stop	p b	t d		k g	ʔ
Fricative	(p) ² b ¹ (v) ¹	s z	š ž(ç) ²	g	(h) ²
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Flap		r			
Approximant	w		y		

2.1.1 Description of the Allophonic Variations of Consonants

2.1.1.1 The bilabial stop /p/ has the following allophones.

[b] voiced bilabial stop. It occurs when preceded by a long vowel or nasal consonant.

/koopí/	'salamander'	[koobí]
/kúupí/	'to make'	[kúubí]
/sumpá/	'tray, shallow basket'	[sumbá]

[b] partially voiced bilabial stop. It occurs when preceded by a glottal stop.

/yaʔpó/	'pierce'	[yaʔbó]
/káʔ-pona/ (sky-loc)	'in the sky'	[káʔbóna]

[p] elsewhere.

/pí-ríu/	'arrow'	[píríu]
(n A arrow)	(for n A see 3.1)	
/kapóí/	'moon'	[kəpóí]

See the section on "Other Phonological Processes" (2.5.2) for the reduction of /p/ to [h] under special conditions.

2.1.1.2 The alveolar stop /t/ has the following allophones.

[d] voiced alveolar stop. It occurs when preceded by a long vowel or nasal consonant.

/póotí-rí/ (chief be)	'chief'	[póodírí]
/tuwíftó/	'small bird'	[tuwífdó]
/u-ntá/ (ls mouth)	'my mouth'	[undá]
/kurúútú/	'tiger fish'	[krúúdtú]

[d̥] partially voiced alveolar stop. It occurs when preceded by a glottal stop.

/aʔtá/	'hole'	[aʔd̥á]
/wáʔteren/	'north'	[wáʔteren]

[t] elsewhere.

/potaá/	'place'	[pətaá]
/táitái/	'mythical being'	[táitái]
/ité/	'his'	[ité]

2.1.1.3 The velar stop /k/ has the following allophones.

[g] voiced velar stop. It occurs when preceded by a long vowel or a nasal consonant.

/ariiko/	'flower'	[ariigo]
/íŋkanaŋ/	'those'	[íŋganaŋ]

[g̥] partially voiced velar stop. It occurs when preceded by a glottal stop.

/aʔká/	'light'	[aʔg̥á]
/ípoʔká/	'to sharpen x'	[ípoʔg̥á]

[g] voiced velar fricative. It occurs when following a long non-low central vowel /i:/.

/pɪi-kɪ/	'bathe x!'	[pɪigɪ]
/atɪi-kɪ/ (go imp)	'go!'	[atɪigɪ]

[k] occurs elsewhere.

/kaané/	'no'	[kaané]
/iwárika/	'monkey'	[iwárika]

2.1.1.4 The alveolar fricative /s/ has the following allophones.

[š] voiceless palatal fricative. It occurs when preceding and following a high front vowel, as well as preceding a high back vowel.

/sumpá/	'basket'	[šumbá]
/súmarí/	'shredder'	[šúmarí]
/sikɪ/	'flea'	[šikɪ]
/i-saŋ/ (3s mother)	'his mother'	[išaŋ]

Compare: /u-saŋ/
(his mother)

where [s] does not palatalize following the high back u.

[z] voiced alveolar fricative. It occurs when preceded by a long vowel, nasal consonant or glottal stop.

/aasé/	'walk'	[aazé]
/u-yá-pon-sé/ (1s ag seat fut) be'	'my seat to be'	[uyáponzé]
/yuʔsé/	'want x'	[yuʔzé]

[ẓ̌] voiced palatal fricative. It occurs when after a long high front vowel, and after a nasal consonant when the preceding or following sound is a high vowel.

/iisáʔsá/	'his shoe'	[iizáʔzá]
/-ensí/	'daughter (male speaker)	[-enzí]
/tiwinseróŋ/	'alone'	[tibinžeróŋ]
/insenán/	'these'	[inženán]

[s] elsewhere

/samán/	'hard'	[samán]
/wárinósá/	'woman' (nun[uurinosá] in Guiana)	
/kísé/	'manioc plant' (manihot)	[kísé]

2.1.1.5 The bilabial nasal /m/ has the allophone [ṃ], which occurs in syllable-initial position only. The bilabial nasal also occurs preceding its homorganic stop.

/maaká/	'guan' (Penelope super- ciliaris)	[maagá]
/améŋ/	'now'	[améŋ]
/u-mpó/ (ls shoulder)	'my shoulder'	[umbó]

2.1.1.6 The alveolar nasal /n/ has the following allophones.

[ñ] palatal nasal, which occurs when the preceding or following vowel is a high front vowel.

/u-ni ^o /	'my husband'	[u ^ñ o]
(1s husband)		
/íni-rí/	'it is a clay pot'	[í ^ñ ri]

I have found no instances of the sequence /un/ that would reveal whether /n/ → [ñ] in this context.

[n] elsewhere.

/noopí/	'wife'	[noobí]
/kanáwá/	'canoe'	[kanáwá]

2.1.1.7 The velar nasal /ŋ/ has the allophone [ŋ] which occurs when in syllable final position preceding /r/ and in word final position.

/aŋrá/	'heron'	[aŋrá]
	(Casmerodius albus egretta)	
/aríŋrá/	'electric eel'	[aríŋrá]
/puŋ/	'blind worm'	[puŋ]
/áimutuŋ/	'white color'	[áimutuŋ]

Note that the derived nasal before /r/ is not velarized.

[r]	[anré]	'his son'
-----	--------	-----------

2.1.1.8 The voiced alveolar flap /r/ has the allophone [r] which occurs in all positions. The phoneme never occurs word-finally.

/raatʃ/	'side; turn around'	[raadʃ]
/síráru/	'roasted/dried meat'	[síráru]
/norá/	'dirty'	[norá]

2.1.1.9 The voiced palatal approximant /y/ has the following allophones.

[d] voiced alveolar fricative, with low tongue tip occurs in all environments, except in the vicinity of a front or back high vowel.

/á-ya/ (2s pr)	'inside you'	[áda]
/y-eramá/ (3s)	'see it'	[deramá]
/konó?-yái/ (rain time)	'winter'	[konó?dái]
/aníya/ (who ag)	'who'	[anída]

[y] occurs before and after /u/ and /i/.

/áyu/	'black ant'	[áyu]
/miyé/	'small bush'	[miyé]
/u-yó/	'my food meat'	[uyó]

2.1.1.10 The bilabial approximant /w/ has the following allophones.

[b] voiced bilabial fricative, occurs preceding front vowels.

/tiwɪn/	'one'	[tibín]
/wéi/	'sun'	[bei]
/siwíski/	'intestine'	[sibíski]

[w] elsewhere (see footnote 1).

/wáʔwá/	'child, baby'	[wáʔwá]
/kanáwá/	'canoe'	[kanáwá]

2.1.1.11 The glottal stop /ʔ/ has the allophone [ʔ], and occurs only in syllable final position.

/moʔ/	'worm'	[moʔ]
/aʔtón/	'flu'	[aʔdón]
/moróʔ/	'fish'	[moróʔ]
/kúʔpɪ/	'lake'	[kúʔbɪ]
/yaʔpó/	'pierce'	[daʔbó]

2.1.2 General Rules Applying to Consonants

The consonant Feature Chart (Chart II) below follows the conventions as in Chomsky and Halle (1968).

CHART II

The Consonant Feature Chart

	p	t	k	ʔ	s	m	n	ŋ	w	r	y
sonorant	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
anterior	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
coronal	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
continuant	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
nasal	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
high	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
back	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

2.1.2.1 Full Voicing Rule

A non-syllabic sound is fully voiced after nasals or long vowels. Such a rule is formalized:

$[- \text{son}] \rightarrow [+ \text{1 voice}]$

$\left. \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ syl}] \\ [+ \text{ long}] \\ [+ \text{ nas}] \end{array} \right\}$

<u>Underlying form</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
koopí	koobí	'salamander'
sumpá	šumbá	'basket'
kurúútú	kurúúdú	'tiger fish'
samantá	samandá	'to die'
amookó	amoogó	'grandfather'

<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u> (cont'd)
pemónkon	pemónkon	'person'
kaasé	kaazé	'bone marrow'
tiarónpensá	tiarómbenzá	'sometimes'

This rule, which affects all obstruent consonants, is highly economical to the language.

2.1.2.2 Partial Voicing Rule

Stops are partially voiced after a glottal stop, as observed in the examples following the rule:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{son} \\ - \text{cont} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [2 \text{ voice}] / ? \underline{\hspace{2cm}}$$

<u>Underlying</u>	<u>Derived</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
paʔpái	paʔbái	'uncle'
aʔtá	aʔdá	'hole'
aʔká	aʔgá	'light'
kúʔpí	kúʔbí	'lake'

2.1.2.3 Palatalization Rule

/n/ and /s/ are palatalized in the environment of a high front vowel. The high back vowel /u/ palatalizes a preceding /s/.

The rule for fricative palatalization (see 2.2.3) is the following.

$$(a) \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ cor} \\ + \text{ cont} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ hi} \\ + \text{ syll} \\ + \text{ hi} \\ - \text{ back} \end{bmatrix} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right\} \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ syll} \\ + \text{ hi} \end{bmatrix}$$

The rule for nasal palatalization is the following.

$$(b) \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ cor} \\ + \text{ nas} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ hi} \\ + \text{ syll} \\ + \text{ hi} \end{bmatrix}$$

It is tempting to collapse the palatalization rule into:

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ cor} \\ + \text{ nas} \\ + \text{ cont} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ hi} \\ + \text{ syll} \\ + \text{ hi} \\ - \text{ back} \end{bmatrix} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right\} \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ syll} \\ + \text{ hi} \end{bmatrix}$$

This, however, is not possible since the [+ cont] palatalizes after a [- back] (rule a) which is not the case for the nasal. The [+ nasal] palatalizes before and after a [+ high] (rule b).

<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
simú	šimú	'wood trap to catch fish'
awáiiisá	awáiižá	'swollen'
-nió	ňó	'husband'
ínì	íñì	'clay pot'
sumpá	šumbá	'basket'

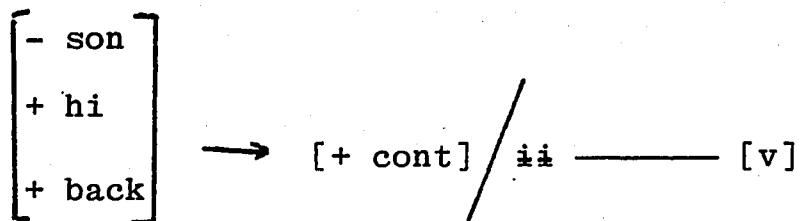
2.1.2.4 Nasal Assimilation Rule

The assimilation of a nasal to the place of articulation of an adjacent consonant is quite natural. According to this rule nasals take the features of a following consonant. This rule does not apply to words which have an underlying nasal before /r/. In such cases, the nasal is always the velar phoneme /ŋ/. Formally, there is a basic assimilation rule and another rule that has the nasal underlyingly velar before -r.

<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
sumpá	sumbá	'basket'
motá (mouth)	u-ndá (1s mouth)	'my mouth'
more (child)	u-nré (1s child)	'my child'
pemónkoŋ	pemónkoŋ	'people'
tiarónpensá	tiarómbenzá	'sometimes'
anrá	aŋrá	'heron' (Casmerodius albus egretta)

2.1.2.5 Spirantization Rule

The velar stop becomes a fricative after the mid central long vowel /ɨɨ/.

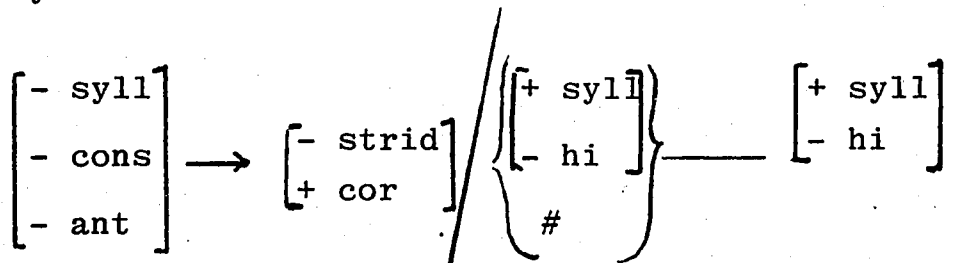


<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
atɨɨ-kɨ (go imp)	atɨɨgɨ	'go!'
pɨɨ-kɨ (bathe imp)	pɨɨgɨ	'bathe!'

2.1.2.6 Approximant Strengthening Rules

The palatal sonorant changes into a continuant obstruent after a non-high vowel in or word initial position.

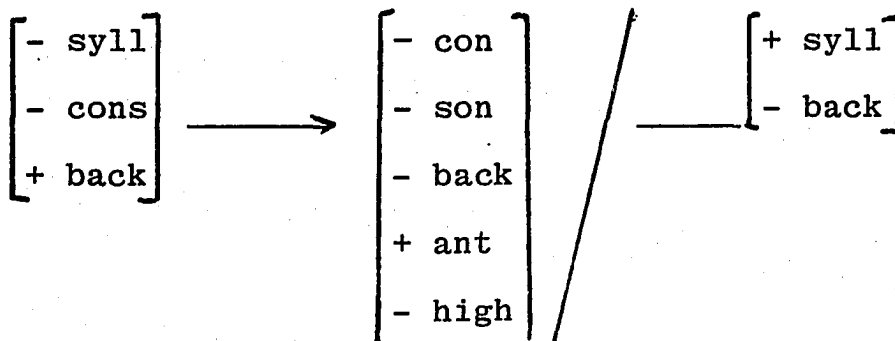
(a) y \longrightarrow d



<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
á-ya	áda	'inside you'
yamɨ	damɨ	'plural marker'
konóʔ-yái	konóʔdái	'winter'

(b) w → b

Rule (b) says that the velar sonorant changes into a continuant obstruent before a front vowel.



<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
tiwín	tibín	'one'
wéi	béi	'sun'
awené	abéné	'wide'

2.1.3 The Syllable Pattern

The predominant syllable pattern is CV.

CV ka.póí 'moon'
e?.má

The vowel alone, or in cluster, may also make up a syllable.

V ó.tu.mí 'long vine snake'
VV aa.tú 'aunt' 'mother's sister'

Other instances of syllable include combinations of vowel and consonant (VC) and consonant, vowel and consonant (CVC).

VC	<u>a</u> ŋ.rá	'a heron' (Casmerodius albus egretta)
CVC	p <u>ó</u> ŋ	'clothes'

The geminate stops and geminate nasal yield the syllable type CCV (see Section 2.1.4.3). The geminates in the same syllable conform to the intuition of the native speakers.

CCV	a. <u>tt</u> á	'hammock'
	a. <u>kk</u> á	'light'
	ya. <u>nn</u> á	'call'
	ye. <u>nn</u> á	'buy'

The only sounds not found word initially are /ʔ/ and /ŋ/. Syllable finally only the glottal stop, nasals, and vowels are found.

oʔ.má	'mythical animal'
móʔ	'worm'
móo	'still, quiet'
máŋ	'blood'

2.1.4 Consonant Clusters

Consonant clusters are restricted to initial and medial positions in the word. Instances of medial clusters include clusters of identical stops and alveolar nasal clusters. These refer to underlying forms of words.

2.1.4.1 Word Medial Clusters

Stop gemination includes (see geminate dissimilation rule 2.1.4.3):

péppé	'butterfly'
íppó	'tasty'
áttá	'hammock'
íttá	'hear it'
akkúsa	'needle'
íkkéi	'bread'

There are also several instances of geminate consonants arising from accent shift and vowel loss: (see Section 2.1.4.3):

[téppá]	'back bone'	a compound made up of <u>teepi</u> 'bone' and -pá 'back'
[dékkí]	'Bite it!'	from y-eká-kí (3 sg-bite-imp)
[dátíí]	'Cut it!'	from y-atí-tí (3 sg-cut-imp)

The above forms could optionally be pronounced with an open transition between the consonants, represented as a schwa [ə] (see 2.2.3).

There is also alveolar nasal gemination in the middle of the word.

ánna		'we'	(excl)
yanná		'call'	

There are also medial clusters that surface as a result of accent shift with the consequent loss of a vowel.

karéta	→	kárta	'letter/book'
peúra	→	pémra	'cheap'

2.1.4.2 Word Initial Clusters

Consonant clusters in initial position are always derived and have an obstruent as a first member. The second member of the cluster is quite often an anterior sound.

taráramú	→	tráramú	'the wood ibis' (Mycteria americana)
parákarí	→	prákarí	'cassava drink'
karáiwá	→	kráiwá	'white person'

Other anterior sounds as second member of the cluster surface as a result of short vowel suppression, which causes the consonants to occur in the same syllable.

potá	'place'	→	ptá-remá	'earth place gets day-light'
sípá-sípá	'waves'	→	špá-špá	'waves'
kásapán	'sand'	→	ksáapán	'sand'

2.1.4.3 Gemination Dissimilation Rule

All geminated stops may be dissimilated yielding clusters of the type [hC] or [çC] conditioned by the preceding vowel. C stands for any consonant in this rule.

Thus [hC] surfaces in fast, casual speech and follows all but high front vowels.

appó	'fire'	[a ^h pó]
attá	'hammock'	[a ^h tá]
akká	'light'	[a ^h ká]
uttí	'I go'	[u ^h tí]

Likewise, in fast, casual speech [çC] surfaces following high front vowels.

ippó	'tasty'	[i ^ç pó]
i-ttá	'hear it!'	[i ^ç tá]
i-kkí	'shred it!'	[i ^ç kí]

Geminat dissimilation may be formalized in the following way.

- a) $C_1 C_1 \rightarrow h C_1$
 b) $h \rightarrow \text{ç/i} \text{ --- } C$

This means that I consider that the first consonant of the cluster goes into [h]--and [h] symbolizes the voiceless counterpart of the vowel which precedes it--or becomes a palatal fricative when preceded by the high front vowel.

2.2 Vowels

The phonetic vowels are numerous. Nasality is not a distinctive feature nor is height in mid vowels (Chart III).

The phonemic vowels are: /i ii e ee a aa ɨ ɨɨ o oo u uu/. Chart III displays the Phonetic Vowels of Macuxi.

CHART III

The Phonetic Vowels

	FRONT		BACK	
	UNROUNDED	UNROUNDED	ROUNDED	
HIGH	i ĩ ii ĩĩ		u ũ uu ũũ	
Closed	e ě ee ěě	ɨ ɨ̃ ɨɨ ɨ̃ɨ̃	o õ oo õõ	
MID		(ə) ³		
Open	ɛ ẽ εε ẽẽ		ɔ õ ɔɔ õõ	
LOW		a ă aa ăă		

2.2.1 Description of the Allophonic Variations of Vowels

2.2.1.1 The high front close vowel /i/ has the following allophones:

[ĩ] occurs contiguous to a nasal segment, in an accented syllable.

ímú	'starch'	[ĩmú]
ínná	'yes'	[ĩnná]
tiwíŋ	'one'	[tiwĩŋ]

[i] elsewhere

/piipí/	'brother'	[piibí]
/isáŋ/	'his mother'	[iśáŋ]
/pimí/	'pepper'	[pimí]

2.2.1.2 The mid front vowel /e/ has the following allophones:

[ẽ] occurs contiguous to a nasal segment in an accented syllable.

/éntamooká/	'eat'	[ẽntamoogá]
/améŋ/	'now'	[amẽŋ]

[ɛ] occurs when followed by a glottal stop and in word-final position following a nasal consonant.

/eʔtírí/	'give oneself'	[ɛʔdírí]
/neʔneʔ/	'pain'	[nɛʔnɛʔ]
/awené/	'wide'	[abené]
/kanaimé/	'devilish being'	[kanaimẽ]

[e] elsewhere

/siríripé/	'today'	[sirírepe]
/peppé/	'butterfly'	[pe ^h pe]

2.2.1.3 The low central open unrounded vowel /a/ has the following allophones:

[ã] occurs contiguous to a nasal segment in an accented syllable.

/ãŋrá/	'heron'	[ã̃ŋrá]
	(Casmerodius albus egretta)	

[a] elsewhere

/aʔpá/	'your grinding mortar'	[aʔbá]
/eramá/	'see'	[eramá]

2.2.1.4 The mid central unrounded close vowel /ɨ/ has the following allophones:

[ĩ] occurs when accented following a nasal segment.

/simɨ/	'diarrhea'	[simĩ]
/wanɨ/	'be'	[wanĩ]
/mɨŋ/	'blood'	[mĩŋ]

[i] elsewhere

/ɨʔ/	'what'	[ɨʔ]
/pinkɨ/	'cassava squeezer'	[pinkĩ]

2.2.1.5 The high back close rounded vowel /u/ has the following allophones:

[ũ] occurs preceding a nasal consonant or following any nasal segment in an accented syllable.

/pũŋ/	'small brown snake'	[pũŋ]
/u-mũ/	'my son'	[umũ]

[u] occurs elsewhere.

/muré/	'boy'	[muré]
/árú/	'porcupine'	[árú]
/kusúpará/	'machete'	[kušúbrá]
/símu/	'wooden fish trap'	[símu]

2.2.1.6 The mid back close vowel /o/ has the following allophones:

[õ] occurs preceding a nasal segment.

/pon/	'clothes'	[põŋ]
/pomõi/	'egg'	[põmõi]

[ɔ] occurs before a glottal stop and in word-final position.

/móʔ/	'worm'	[móʔ]
/oʔmá/	'mythical being'	[ɔʔmá]
/siipó/	'hair'	[šiiβó]

[o] occurs elsewhere.

/ótumí/	'blind snake'	[ótumí]
/norá/	'dirty'	[norá]

2.2.2 Long Vowels

Length is phonemic for vowels in initial, medial, and final position. There are also instances of surface long vowels resulting from phonological rules (see 2.4.4) of the language. Long vowels are subject to the same rules of nasalization (see 2.2.1) as short vowels.

2.2.2.1 /ii/	iipɛ	'go'
	siipɔ	'hair'
	komíí	'fever'
2.2.2.2 /ee/	ee-kátumí	'he runs'
	kanee-pé	'quick'
	yéé	'tooth'
2.2.2.3 /aa/	aa-sé	'let us go'
	maaká	'guan' (Penelope superciliaris)
	motáá	'shoulder'
2.2.2.4 /iɪ/	iɪpɛ	'yam'
	sɪikí	'burn'
	mɪí	'field'

2.2.2.5 /uu/ In initial position the long /uu/ is a result of w+u (see Assimilation 2.4.1).

u-wutɪ → u-utɪ 'I go'

puupáí 'head'

imúú 'starch'

2.2.2.6	/oo/	oo	'Oh!'
		pootí	'leader'
		móo	'quiet, still'

2.2.3 Vowel Reduction

All vowels when short at a morpheme boundary (see 2.3.2 on phrasal accent) may reduce to a schwa /ə/ or disappear.

/a/	/eramá-kí/ (see imp)	'look!'	[eráməkí]
/i/	/patí-pí/ (strike actual)	'strike'	[pátəpí]

This also occurs in initial syllables without morpheme boundary.

/e/	/pe-píŋ/ (adv neg)	'not'	[pəpíŋ]
/o/	/po-tá/ (loc at)	'at'	[pətá]
/u/	/séuru-putí/ (talk iter)	'bark'	[séurəputí]
/ɨ/	/sírírf-pe/ (soon adv)	'today'	[sírírepé]

2.2.4 Diphthongs

Diphthongs occur as falling and rising diphthongs. The falling diphthongs include any of the phonemic vowels and a semi-vowel in the same syllable.

/ái/	áimutun	'white'
	yái	'season'
/ói/	kóima	'kidney'
	kapóí	'moon'
/úi/	tukúí	'hummingbird'
	kúí	'small frog'
/íi/	ikíí	'snake'
	míí	'uncle'
/éi/	yéí	'tree'
	ikkéí	'bread'
/éu/	séúruné	'three'
	séúná	'leg calf'
/iu/	piiríú	'twinkle'

Rising diphthongs are more restricted in their distribution in that they are found only with low vowels.

/iá/	piásaŋ	'medicine man/shaman'
	piá	'embryo'
/uá/	kúási	'coati' (Nasua)
	kararúá	'blue and yellow macaw' (Ara ararauna)

2.3 Pitch Accent

2.3.1 Word Accent

Word accent is distinctive in Macuxi. Two levels of pitch serve to distinguish the meaning of lexical items:

low pitch (˘) and high pitch (ˊ).⁴

átɬ	'you go'
àtɬ	'he goes'

According to Pike (1956: 3), "A tone language may be defined as a language having lexically significant, contrastive, but relative pitch on each syllable."

The relative heights of the pitch on the syllables in the examples below help in deciding the tonal units in Macuxi:

áyáá	'vine' (Paullinia pinnata)
áyà	'crab'
á-ya (2s inside)	'inside you'

áyáá 'vine' is a word with two high pitch syllables, hence two high tones. áyà 'crab', also a disyllabic word, consists of two contrastive tones: á bears a high tone whereas yà bears a low tone. The word á-ya 'inside you' is a composition of the second person pronoun á- and the suffix -ya, which is a neutral clitic and as such does not bear a lexical tone marking. Pike (1956: 25) refers to this type as "unstable neutral syllables", because they do not have an inherent toneme.

Neutral affixes, if prefixed to a stem, remain with no accent. Examples:

<u>pí</u> -ríú	'arrow'
(n. class A arrow)	
<u>po</u> -roo	'over'
(loc one)	
<u>u</u> -yó	'my food meat'

If suffixed to a stem the neutral affix may take the falling intonation pitch in declarative sentences or remain neutral.

màikán-pi-sí- <u>pò</u>	'Raposa Village'
(Fox n. class A Leg place)	
ní- <u>rî</u>	'a drink'
(drink one)	
píŋkî- <u>ke</u>	'with the cassave squeezer'
(cassavã squeezer instr)	
ròráf- <u>pe</u> -kànón	'the guava is yellow'
(yellow pred guava)	

Among the few lexical items that do not have an inherent pitch accent and take the toneme of a contiguous syllable within the phrase or sentence are:

morîî	'good'
(good)	
mo-roo	'directional (there)'
(dem det)	

High pitch, considered the marked pitch in this language, is not fixed to one position in words of more than

one syllable. High pitch may be found on the final, penultimate or antepenultimate syllable of the word.

Examples of high pitch accent on the final syllable include:

kàwáí	'tobacco'
mùré	'child'
ù?wí	'flour'
yà?pá	'pierce'
ààtí	'older sister'
yèèpí	'bone'

Examples of high pitch accent on the penultimate syllable include:

áṅrà	'heron' (Casmerodius albus egretta)
rápòn	'small duck'
pàrúrù	'banana'

One example of a trisyllabic word with high pitch on the antepenultimate syllable is áímtùn 'white'.

Some four and more syllable words alternate low and high pitches.

tàràrà mú	'wood ibis' (Micteria americana)
àrí m à r á á k à	'dog'

There is a strong tendency for the underlying pitch patterns of individual words to be replaced by the above

mentioned, superimposed rhythmical pattern in polysyllabic (words and) utterances. The exact extent of this tendency has not been fully investigated and I am unable to give a complete account of it at this time. Much work remains to be done on the interaction of rhythm, tone and intonation in this language.

2.3.2 Phrasal Accent

Words in composition or phrasal combinations may have their underlying accent pattern disturbed. There is no meaning alteration in the lexical items themselves. Pike (1956: 24-25) calls the substitutions of one toneme for another "perturbations of tonemes", and points out that one toneme is perturbed by another in regular tone sandhi. A word such as yèèpɛ 'bone' may suffer alterations in both its segmental and suprasegmental levels upon composition. Thus, yèèpɛ 'bone' in composition with -pá 'back', loses its final low accented vowel (see 2.2.3). This loss causes the high pitch which occurred on the vowel to be moved from the final syllable to the preceding syllable: yéppá 'backbone'. A verb and its suffix may behave the same way. Hence the example yèèká 'bite' suffixed with 'kɛ 'imperative' will yield yèkákɛ underlyingly and yékkɛ 'bite,' as its surface form.

2.4 Other Phonological Processes

There are several rules of both the phonologically and morphologically conditioned sorts. They include assimilations, dissimilation, deletion, compensatory lengthening, metathesis and reduplication. Some are operative only in allegro speech.

2.4.1 Assimilation

1. The high back velar sonorant /w/ syllabifies when followed by an unaccented short, back vowel which is suppressed (see 2.2.3 Vowel Reduction). This process is ordered after syllable suppression.

witʃ	→	utʃʃ	'house'
wopá	→	upáá	'basket'
wanʃ	→	unʃʃ	'be'

2. The low central vowel, a, is raised and fronted in two grammatical processes. In the first, it follows the possessive allomorph uyé 'mine'. An initial a is lost and a second a is raised to the front mid e.

<u>attá</u>	→	uyé-tt <u>e</u>	'hammock/my hammock'
-------------	---	-----------------	-------------------------

The second grammatical process to involve a → e⁵ relates verbs to their non-indicative mode.

entaimá	'I yell'	inteimé	'about to yell'
áʔanai	'I warm up'	áʔané	'about to warm up'

2.4.2 Dissimilation

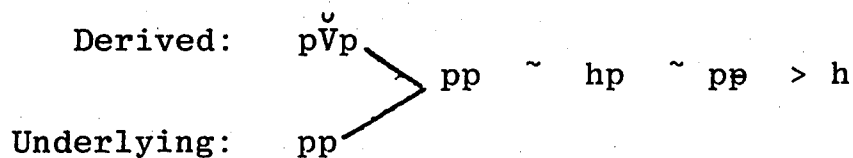
As stated above, word medial position (see 2.1.4.3), intervocalically, the geminate stops dissimilate into /hC/. Phonetically, such a cluster is realized as a palatal plus stop before a high front vowel and as a glottal approximant elsewhere.

attá	→	ahtá	'hammock'	
appó	→	ahpó	'fire'	
akká	→	ahká	'look out'	
itté	→	ihté	→	içté 'his tooth'
ippóka	→	ihpóka	→	içpóka 'who shoots an arrow'
ikkéi	→	ihkéi	→	içkéi 'bread'

A second case of dissimilation of a stop concerns the bilabial stop. When an intervocalic bilabial stop is before a short unaccented vowel, which in turn is preceded by another bilabial stop, the second bilabial stop is dissimilated into its homorganic fricative. Optionally, the resulting cluster may be further pronounced as the approximant [h] in casual speech style. The rule follows vowel suppression.

pepín	→	ppín	'no, never' [hɪ]
népupɪ	→	néppi	'brought' [néhɪ]
makúfpípe	→	makúfpe	'it is ugly' [makuihé]

Therefore, [h] may be derived in the language from either underlying geminate /pp/ or two /p/ phonemes coming together as a consequence of vowel suppression. Thus the following:



2.4.3 Deletion

1. A short, unaccented vowel is suppressed in initial syllables in normal, connected speech.

kɪsé	'manioc root'	→	kse-rá	'manioc plant' (manioc one)
kapóɪ	'moon'	→	kpóɪ-aró?	'the hat of (moon hat) the moon'

Note that such short vowels are always deleted when between voiceless obstruents.

2. Likewise, a short vowel is suppressed in morpheme boundaries (see Section 2.2.3).

komimɪ	'spend time, live'	→	komɪn-tó	'life' (live nom)
yeeká	'bite'	→	yéek-kɪ	'bite!' (bite imp)
po	'locative'	→	pomóɪ-p-táa-sé	'nest' (egg loc in pur)

Note that the two processes, vowel deletion and N assimilation, are ordered.

3. Certain words drop a syllable upon affixation.

As a result, the glottal stop is inserted between the stem and suffix. The process is not fully understood.

pi-sí	'leg'	→	uʔ-sí	'my leg'
(Class A leg)			(1s leg)	
náapí	'eat fruit'	→	náʔ-kí	'eat fruit!'
(eat fruit)			(eat imp)	

Other words, whose first syllable begins in a stop, will lengthen the vowel upon suppression of the second syllable.

tírí	'to give'	→	tíi-kí	'give!'
			(give imp)	
nírí	'to drink'	→	níi-kí	'drink!'
			(drink imp)	

2.4.4 Compensatory Length

When a short vowel is suppressed, the vowel that immediately precedes a stop consonant in its vicinity is lengthened.

woroké	'parrot'	→	urooké
kasapán	'sand'	→	ksaapán
kusupará	'machete'	→	ksúuprá

wáki-ri-pé 'agreeable' → wákrfi-pé
 míki-rí 'he' → mfíkrí

2.4.5 Metathesis

Instances of metathesis indicate stylistic preference of the speaker; the following were the only instances in my data.

kasa-páŋ 'sand' → skaa-páŋ
 (sand much)
 tuku-páŋ 'smoke, fog' → kutu-páŋ
 (smoke much)

2.4.6 Vowel Harmony

The vowel in a non-accented affix, in casual style may be changed to harmonize with the stem vowel in its vicinity. Vowel harmony is a characteristic of many Carib languages (Hoff, 1968; De Goeje, 1946; Derbyshire, 1979). This is a topic for further investigation, but it is clear that the mid-high vowel /ɨ/ is subject to this change when it is an affix, taking the feature of frontness or backness of the stem vowel in the syllable that immediately precedes or follows it. The prefix -pɨ "noun class A marker" and -riɨ 'det' are also found in non-harmonized form in very careful speech.

<u>pi-ríw</u>	'arrow'	(of someone)
<u>pu-mói</u>	'egg'	(of someone)
<u>pi-sí</u>	'leg'	(of someone)
<u>po-ro</u>	'here'	(<u>po-</u> 'loc' <u>-rí</u> 'one')

2.5 Borrowing

A language in contact with others is bound to influence and be influenced by neighboring languages. The following is a list to illustrate lexical items that were borrowed from Portuguese.

<u>Macuxi</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Portuguese</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
akkúsa	needle	agulha	needle
arákupsa	muzzle loader	arcabuz	muzzle loader
káreta	book, letter	carta	letter
karíwaná	chicken	galinha	chicken
kawaré (kowaré)	horse	cavalo	horse
kóku	coconut	coco	coconut
kumpáatre	godfather	compadre	godfather
páaka	cow/cattle	vaca	cow
piráta	coin/money	prata	silver, coin
póoti	goat	bode	goat
tarápa	fishing net	tarrafa	fishing net
méesa	table	mesa	table

The above examples present interesting substitutions to avoid unpermitted sounds or clusters into the borrower's language. For instance, in initial position, no voiced stop is permitted. Thus, galinha, vaca and bode show replacement of voiced obstruents by the corresponding voiceless stop. The change of the palatal lh to s may indicate that the original word was the Spanish word aguja that was borrowed, not the Portuguese one. Otherwise, one might expect r to be used for lh, as in the word galinha, where the syllable nha was also replaced, and wa-ná used instead. (The 2 for 1 syllable may be due to the preference for alternating low/high accent syllables in words with more than three syllables.) The same is valid for the word arákupsá 'muzzle loader' derived via syllable suppression, by maintaining the accented vowel u and adding a final a. Also noteworthy are the words káreta from carta and pírata from prata, which have the vowels e/ɛ inserted to break unpermitted underlying clusters.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

¹The allophone [v] occurs in free variation with [w] in the word /yawon/ 'in the middle of'.

²See 2.4.2 for processes involving stop dissimilation where [h] and [ç] are phonetically in complementary distribution and /pp/ is dissimilated into [pɸ] and eventually becomes [h].

³A transition vowel [ə] is found at morpheme boundaries (see 2.2.3).

⁴In this section, high and low pitch are both marked. Elsewhere in the work, only high pitch is marked.

⁵Even though the gloss indicates futurity, this is not a frequent enough process to occur in the analyzed data. This is the reason why a → e is not further treated in the present work.

CHAPTER III

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

The present chapter deals with nouns, their derivation and composition, their modifiers and grammatical affixes, as well as postpositions. Also introduced are personal and object pronouns, possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns and relative pronouns.

The verb and its formatives, affixes that may occur with the verb, such as tense, aspect and mode indicators are also introduced in this chapter. Compound and complex sentences, adverbs and quantifiers are also subject to study in Chapter III.

3.1 Noun Morphology

Nouns are inflected for possession and case; postpositions signal other relationships.

Nouns may occur set off by pauses from the rest of the utterance without inflectional affixes. They may be preceded by possessive or demonstrative pronouns (see 3.2.2 for possessives and 3.2.3 for demonstratives).

Thus it is common to receive as a reply to a question:

ɛʔkunééká-p-tóʔ-yáʔ 'What do they make?'
 (Q make perf 3pl ag)

wopá 'basket' or wopá séni 'this basket' or

wopá kunééká-p-tóʔ-yáʔ 'They make baskets'
 (basket make perf 3pl ag)

And to the question:

anɛ-repámíi-pɛ 'Who arrived?', any of the answers,
 (Q arrive perf)

mɛkí-rɛ maiwá 'this duck', uyé yakón repámíi-pɛ
 (dem one duck) (1s poss companion arrive
 perf)
 'my friend arrived'

Likewise,

ɛʔ-énúúku-pɛ káʔ-ponáʔ 'What ascended to the sky?'
 (Q ascend perf sky loc)

elicits the response:

erééti 'the smoke', or

kútu-paŋ 'the dust, fog'
 (fog much)

Noun morphemes in the language must be marked in the lexicon for three possessive subclasses. The first subclass undergoes initial syllable suppression when possessive pronouns are prefixed. The set of possessive pronouns that occur with Noun Subclasses A, B and C below are the pronouns displayed in Chart VI (see 3.2.2) repeated here for convenience:

Possessive Pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st	u-yé 'my'		'our' anná (excl), u-yé...kóŋ (incl)
2nd	a-yé 'your'		'your' a-yé...koŋ
3rd	i-té 'his'		'their' i-tó

1. Noun Subclass A.

Noun sub-class A is formally marked by the prefix pi- 'animate related'. Objects that may be owned by animate beings are formally marked by pV- (see also 3.2.3, Chart VII, for its alternation with mi-). This class marker is reduced when the possessive pronoun is used, and the suppressed syllable is then represented by the presence of /ʔ/ on the surface (see 2.4.1).

pi-rfu → itóʔru-pé 'their arrow'
(n A arrow)(3pl arrow pred)

pi-sí → uʔ-sí 'my leg'
(n A leg) (1s leg)

pu-mói → uʔmói 'my egg'
(n A egg) (1 sg egg)

2. Noun Subclass B

The second noun subclass includes all domestic animals. When this subclass of nouns is possessed, the possessive pronoun ekîŋ is prefixed to the noun and the noun itself may be deleted. In this regard, ekîŋ 'pet animal' functions like a pronoun in the language.

u-y-ekíŋ wutí 'I will ride my animal'
 (1s poss pet animal go)

u-y-ekíŋ yuwái wutí 'I am looking for my animal'
 (1s poss animal look go)

The referent noun may be expressed overtly, if focus is intended.

iwáriká u-y-ekíŋ 'my monkey'
 (monkey 1s poss pet animal)

woroké u-y-ekíŋ 'my parrot'
 (parrot 1s poss pet animal)

3. Noun Subclass C

The third noun subclass (Noun Subclass C) includes kinship and body part nouns. The great majority of nouns in this subclass require that a possessor be indicated, that is, they are inalienably possessed.

u-sáŋ 'my mother'
 (1s poss mother)

u-y-énú 'my eye'
 (1s poss eye)

u-y-úŋ 'my father'
 (1s poss father)

u-púúpú 'my foot'
 (1s poss foot)

The following list shows words of categories A and C in their full form (column 1) and their possessed form (column 2).

<u>Column 1</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Column 2</u>
<u>non-possessed (full) forms</u>		<u>possessed forms</u>
míá	'hand'	u-y-énya
mutá	'mouth'	u-ntá
púúpú	'foot'	u-púúpú
wéépi	'lip'	u-wéépi
yeepf	'bone'	u-yeepf
-énu	'eye'	u-yénu
-yé	'tooth'	u-yé
pisí	'leg'	u?-sí
pimf	'neck'	u?-mf
pa?pa	'father'	u-y-ún
ma?ma	'mother'	u-sán
moré	'child'	u-nré
finf	'clay pot'	uyé-r-ín

Some body parts may be used as alienable entities.

Compare the following instances.

- a) akaré mutá-yeepf kure-nán 'The alligator's jaw
(alligator mouth bone big be) is big'
(with a noun possessor)
- b) u-ntá né?né?-pé 'my mouth hurts'
(1s poss mouth pain pre) (with a bound possessive pronoun.)

When the demonstrative (see 3.2.3) is used with body parts or other objects that are commonly found as inalienable items the full form of the noun surfaces.

miikrɛ́ iwáriká mopó yeebɛ́ 'this is a monkey's back'
 (dem monkey shoulder bone)

sení ɛ́ini roná-kɛ́ 'wash this pot!'
 (demon pan wash imp)

As mentioned above, the three noun classes (A, B, C) are also used with demonstrative pronouns. With demonstratives (see 3.2.4, Chart VII) there is no vowel reduction (2.2.3) in the noun form. Therefore, the use of demonstratives is a good frame for obtaining the full form of nouns.

sení pi-rɛ́u 'this arrow' : uʔ-ru-pé 'my arrow'
 (this arrow) (is arrow pre)

sení pi-mɛ́ 'this neck' : uʔ-mɛ́ 'my neck'
 (this neck) (is neck)

3.1.1 Composition of Nouns

Compound nouns may include the combination of two or more than two nouns. The first member of the compound bears high accent, with the consequent loss of accent in the second member.

-énu 'eye' and siipo 'hair'
 -énu-siipo 'eye lash'

miá 'hand' and -epéru 'fruit'
 miá-y-eperu 'finger'

-pú 'foot' and -epéru 'fruit'
 -pú-y-eperu 'toe'

miá	'hand'	and	-u	'father'
		miá-y-uŋ	'thumb'	
konóʔ	'rain'	and	yái	'season'
		konóʔ-yai	'winter'	
miá-y-				
eperu	'finger'	and	piipɪ	'cover, skin'
		miá-y-eperu-piipɪ	'fingernail'	
yéi	'tree'	and	piipɪ	'cover, skin'
		yéi-piipɪ	'bark'	

3.1.2 Noun Derivation

Derived nouns may be grouped into sub-classes depending on processes that they undergo upon affixation.

3.1.2.1 Nouns derived from Verbs.

The following are productive suffixes that are used with verb stems to form nominals.

3.1.2.1.1 Nominalizer -toʔ The simple verb may be nominalized by the addition of -toʔ, (which is homophonous with the third person plural personal pronoun) (see 3.2.1).

ekáátumáá	'run'	+ <u>-tóʔ</u>	ekáatumáá- <u>tóʔ</u>	'running'
esenupáá	'study'	+ <u>-tóʔ</u>	esenupáá- <u>tóʔ</u>	'studying'
serénka	'sing'	+ <u>-toʔ</u>	serénk- <u>tóʔ</u>	'singing'
aasáá	'walk'	+ <u>-toʔ</u>	aasáá- <u>tóʔ</u>	'walking'

The suffix -tóʔ is called by Abbott (1973: 32) 'Instrument'. She says "(the) suffix toʔ indicates that the referent is the instrument, place, time or appropriate circumstance of the action... Inanimate objects are referred to by the instrument nominalization." Since I use the term "Instrument" for the instrumental case particle -ke (see 3.1.4.3.5), I do not use Abbott's term. The suffix resembles a gerundive in that the nominalized form acts as a dependent clause.

séni káreta esénupaa-tóʔ 'This book is for study-
(dem book study nom ing'

ekáátumíí-tóʔp-ta-sé mírírí 'that is a racing place'
(run nom loc pos pur dem)

3.1.2.1.2 Nominalizer -koi, predicate nominals.

The nominalizer -koi is compounded of -ko 'possessor of' and -i 'purposive aspect' (see 3.3.5.1.6). The nominalizer occurs only with intransitive verb stems. It expresses the notion that the individual is a performer of the action expressed by the verb stem.

piipí maikáŋ síf-pó komáŋ-kói 'brother is a dweller
(brother fox leg loc live nom) at Fox's Leg'

míikrí sérenk-kói 'he is a singer'
(3s sing nom)

The form takes -kon (see 3.1.4.1) to express plural number.

piipf muré napoleao-pó komf η -koi-kón
(brother child N. loc live nom pl)

'Brother and child are dwellers at Napoleão.'

3.2.1.3 Nominalizer -e η

The nominalizer -e η co-occurs with both transitive and intransitive verb stems. Two pronouns may co-occur with -e η to complete its form, n- 'actor/one who' (see 3.2.5) and s- 'self/the same' (see 3.3.1).

3.2.1.3.1 Nominalizer n-e η 'agentive'. The nominalizer n-e η can be used only with transitive verbs; n-e η is equivalent to agentive -er in English.

kawáf appó-n-é η riktú η -ké-yé
(tobacco chew nom black with teeth)

'The tobacco chewer has black teeth.'

anita i- η -kunék-n-é η apó eramá-í á \ddot{t} f
(Anita 3s rel work nom wood see to 3s go)

'Anita who is a worker goes to look for wood.'

makúusi póóka-n-é η repámi-i-pí
(macuxi arrow shōōt nom arrive act)

'The arrow-shooter Macuxi arrived.'

i-t-énsi pu-n-é η u-rí
(3s poss daught \bar{e} r know nom 1s)

'I know(er) his daughter.'

Other verbs stems that are nominalized by the suffix n-e η include:

éerupá- <u>n-éη</u>	'seller'
enná- <u>n-éη</u>	'buyer'
y-asooká- <u>n-éη</u>	'piercer'

To indicate the plural of the above forms, the suffix -an is used after n-éη.

éerupá- <u>n-éη-án</u>	'sellers'
enná- <u>n-éη-án</u>	'buyers'
y-aasooká- <u>n-éη-án</u>	'stabbers'

3.2.1.3.2 Nominalizer ti-...-s-éη. 'patient, reflexive patient'. The nominalizer -s-éη is obligatorily accompanied by the prefix ti- (t- before vowels), 'one who', which refers to the subject of the nominalized clause. The reflexive s- (see 3.3.1) is the intensifier of the subject of the action, and is glossed 'self'.

ti-wóne-s-éη repámíi-pí
(rel hunt refl nom arrive perf)

'The one who is himself a hunter arrived.'

t-eeserénk-s-éη tiwín-sa-rí repámíi-pí
(rel sing refl nom one perf one arrive perf)

'The one who is himself a solo singer arrived.'

kariwaná ti-wíi-s-éη repámíi-pí
(chicken rel kill refl nom arrive perf)

'The one who is to kill the chicken himself arrived.'

wopa t-enna-s-éŋ tii-po-na
 (basket rel buy refl nom stone loc pos)

'The one who is to buy the basket on the rock himself.'

The plural form of the nominalized expression is achieved by adding the plural suffix -oŋ to s-eŋ when the stem vowel is long.

t-esumínaa-s-en-óŋ 'ones who themselves play'

t-ekátumaa-s-en-óŋ 'ones who themselves run'

If the last vowel of the stem is short, -sanóŋ is the plural allomorph.

t-eserénk-s-an-óŋ 'ones who sing'

t-i-wóne-s-an-óŋ 'ones who hunt'

3.1.3 Noun Phrases, Noun Modifiers

A noun may modify another in the clause. The head noun always comes before its modifier in possessive constructions.

aʔanáí-ye-puupf 'ear of corn'
 (corn stalk skin)

as in the phrase,

aʔanáí ye-puupf ími-ríí-séŋ mooká
 (corn stalk skin ripe det nom pl pick)

'The ears of corn are ripe to pick.'

The same order is observed in identity clauses (Abbott, 1973: 23) where a noun or noun phrase identifies or qualifies the subject. In the following sentences, the subject is a noun, followed by a nominal predicate. Each predicate consists of two nouns, the first of which is the head.

ii-sásá akaré piipí
(3s shoe alligator skin)

'His shoe is alligator's skin.'

aʔtá torón ye-wí
(hole bird poss house)

'The hole is the bird's house.'

wáŋ yéi yariikó-pu-kón
(bee tree flower loc poss)

'The bee is on the flower of the tree.'

The demonstrative pronouns (see 3.2.3) in their unmarked order precede the noun.

pisé-ri worooké wáinuŋ-kói-pepíŋ
(this det parrot fly nom neg)

'This parrot is not a flyer.'

The numerals precede the noun they modify (see 3.1.3.1)

sakí-nán aʔanáí yepuupí Imí-rii-sén
(two nom pl corn stalk skin ripe det nom)

'Two ears of corn are ripe.'

When both the demonstrative and numeral occur before the noun it is irrelevant to meaning which will be closer to the noun.

ma-ní saakrír-on-kón kanón suyú ippó
(dem four nom pos pl guava red tasty)

'Those four tasty red guavas.'

It is equally acceptable to begin the nominal clause with the numeral (see 3.1.3.1).

tiwín tíf-kí uri-tón
(one give imp is ben)

'Give me one!'

saakrír-on-kón ma-ní kanón
(four nom poss pl those guava)

'those four guavas'

Adjectives used to modify the noun immediately follow it.

kanón suyú ippó ímíí-rii-sén mooká
(guava red tasty ripe det nom pick)

'The tasty red guava is ripe to pick.'

ayó siráru néppu to'mán
(food meat bring 3 pl cont)

'They are bringing food.'

u-pón akórí
(is clothes loose)

'My clothes are loose.'

ponó-pi-sí akóri
(seat n.a. leg loose)

'The leg of the seat is loose.'

Except for the first three, which are primitive roots, cardinal numerals are formed by compounding numeral terms with deictics (used as multipliers) and body parts, especially 'hand' and 'foot'. Numerals are studied in the following section (3.1.3.1).

3.1.3.1 Numerals.

The cardinal numbers from one through ten are:

tiwíŋ	'one'
sááki-né	'two'
séúru-né	'three'
sááki-rí-rí	'four'
miá-t-eikíŋ	'five'
tiwíŋ-miáá-ponáa-t-emootá-f	'six'
saki-né-miáá-t-emootá-f	'seven'
seuru-né-miáá-ponáa-t-emootá-f	'eight'
saki-rí-rí-miáá-ponáa-t-emootá-f	'nine'
miáá-tamína-uu-rí	'ten'

The numerals to number three are primitive roots.

All of the other numbers are derived in combination with

words for 'hand', miá, 'foot' -púu and 'person' pemóηkóη.

Hoff (1968: 279) describes the numeral system of Carib and the two systems are obviously similar. The first three numbers in Carib are (Ibid.):

one	o:wif
two	o:ko
three	o:ruwa

whereas in Macuxi they are,

one	tiwif
two	sááki-né
three	séúru-né.

The ending -né of 'two' and 'three' occurs with certain stative verbs and could be related to ená 'become' (see 3.3.3.1). The internal history of each language will probably clarify other similarities and differences. Even in cases where the Carib and Macuxi terms for numerals are not cognates there are parallel semantic developments that account for the number names. For example the -kari?na (i.e. 'twenty') 'one score' is also the Carib word for 'man, human being, Carib' (Hoff: 405). Although the Macuxi term is not cognate, it shows completely parallel development; pemóηkóη 'twenty' also has the meaning 'man, person, people'.

Number four in Carib is said to be non-transparent by Hoff. In Macuxi this number is formed from the morpheme for number two, plus a possibly reduplicated deictic -ri 'det' (see 3.2.2).

'five' miáá-t-eikíŋ, refers to the entire hand on one side of the body; 'ten' refers to both hands. According to Hoff, the number ten in Carib is glossed as 'on both sides' (p. 280). In Macuxi,

miáá-t-eikíŋ	'five'
(hand 3s side)	
(one side of hand)	

miáá-tamína-uu-rí	'ten'
(hand all 1s det)	
(both my hands)	

Both Macuxi and Carib use the numbers one, two, and three as base forms for numbers six, seven and eight (Hoff: 279). In the former language,

tiwíŋ-miáá-ponáá-t-emootá-i	'six'
(one hand loc 3s change to)	

(it is changing 1 to other hand)

saaki-né-miáá-ponáá-t-emootá-i	'seven'
(two hand loc 3s change to)	

(it is changing 2 to other hand)

seuru-né-miáá-ponáá-t-emootá-i	'eight'
(three hand loc 3s change to)	

(it is changing 3 to other hand)

The same pattern of composition is also found for the number nine in Macuxi; but not in Carib (Ibid.: 280). which derives the number nine from two plus a 'non-transparent compound'.

saki-rʒ-rʒ-miáá-ponáá-t-emootá-i 'nine'
(four det. det hand loc 3s change to)

(it is changing 4 to other hand)

Hoff (p. 282) mentions that the numbers eleven through nineteen are formed by composition with the meaning 'on top of 'ten, one'', etc. Likewise, Macuxi can be glossed in a similar fashion, with the difference that the morpheme -púú 'foot' substitutes for miáá 'hand' and number fifteen which is formed from 'five'.

tiwíŋ-púú-ponáá-t-emootá-i 'eleven'
(one foot loc 3s change be)

(it is changing 1 to foot)

Number fifteen is formed analogically from five by substituting -púú for miáá.

púú-t-éikiŋ 'fifteen'
(foot 3s side)

(one side of foot)

Number twenty compounds the free morphemes 'one' and 'person'.

tiwíŋ-pemóŋkón
(one person)

'twenty'

The word pemóŋkón 'man, twenty' is used with decimal numerals. Interesting is that with decimals the word pemóŋkón seems to be re-analyzed as 'ten', rather than 'twenty'.

séuruné-pemóŋkón
(three people)

'thirty'

sakí-rí-rí-pemóŋkón
(four people)

'forty'

Similarities in the numeral system of the Carib and Macuxi languages also include the use of the morpheme meaning 'times' in such a way as to multiply the base number by itself to indicate numbers above one hundred. In Macuxi one hundred is miáá-tamína-u-rí-pemóŋkón teeká (literally, hand all become 1s person times) or 'ten times a person's hands'.

miáá-tamína-uu-rí-pemóŋkón-teeká
(hand all 1s person times)

'one hundred'

(ten times a person)

sáákí-né-pemóŋkón-teeká
(two people times)

'two hundred'

(twenty times)

2

Note that number two hundred is derived from number two, rather than twenty. Number 1,000 is unlikely to occur. According to speakers of the language, the number for one hundred is reduplicated and the idea of 1,000 is then understood. It is possible to "create" large numerals (as in telephone number or postal codes, for example) by compounding the first ten numerals with pemónkón 'person, people' and teeká 'times'.

3.1.4 Grammatical Affixes: Number, Gender, Case, and Post-positions.

3.1.4.1 Number

Number is not too productive a category in the language. Williams (1932: 51) has correctly observed that -kón 'plural' and -yamí 'plural' occur in relation to animate beings. He also claims that animate and inanimate categories are kept apart by the use of gón and kón, respectively. His comment: "As a rule animate beings take the suffix gón, and inanimate things take the suffix kón, but there appear to be some exceptions... (Williams, 1932: 51).

Williams fails to notice the allophonic status of the k/g relationship (see Full Voicing Rule 2.2.1.1), which automatically makes -kón and -gón conditioned variants.

On the other hand, as he notes, not just animate beings, strictu sensu are pluralized.

It is difficult to elicit the plural noun in isolation, because the plural -koŋ indicates that an individual has in his possession, or available for himself, more than one of an object. The attributes of the possessed object are also equally marked by -koŋ, which also pluralizes certain pronouns (see 3.2).

á-y-erin-kóŋ morii-kóŋ
(2s poss pot pl good pl)

'Your pots are good.'

inkamoró kaiw-áŋ-kóŋ kúrenaŋ-kóŋ morii-kóŋ pááka-yamí
(dem fat pl big pl good cow pl)

'The good cows are those that are big, fat.'

In the example 'your pots are good', the objects possessed by the second person possessor have the attribute of being good, which is also marked by the plural -koŋ. On the other hand, the example 'The good cows are those that are big, fat', the pluralized individuals 'cow' have certain attributes all marked by the plural marker 'koŋ. Animate beings themselves take -yamí.

inkamoró kaiwán-kóŋ kúrenan-kóŋ moríí-kóŋ pááka-yamí
(dem fat asp pl big asp pl good pl cow pl)

'The good cows are the big fat ones.'

-yamí is suffixed only to animate nouns that denote individuals that can possess the attributes of being 'good, fat, big, etc.' The same can be observed with 'children' that have the quality of being 'good ones' in the example:

u-mukú-yamí- moríí-kón
(1s poss child pl good pl)

'My children are good ones.'

Derbyshire (1979: 17-18) regards the two cognate particles in Hishkaryana komo and yamo as collective markers 'when focus is on a group'. He notes that:

They are only used when the referent is 'human', defined for this purpose as including, in addition to human beings, animals, and items regarded as an integral part of the culture or environment of the people (Derbyshire, 1979: 18).

This is in agreement with the fact that in Macuxi there are nouns that in the object world refer to inanimate beings, at least in the western conception, and are nevertheless pluralized, such as 'star', 'tree':

sírikí-yamí 'stars'
(star pl)

yéí-yamí 'trees'
(tree pl)

Typically, members of the noun sub-class (see 3.1) B when pluralized take the suffix -yamɛ and nouns of sub-classes A and C the suffix -koŋ. Some examples in Class B are:

woroké (parrot)	:	woroké- <u>yamɛ</u> (parrot <u>pl</u>)	'parrots'
iwariká (monkey)	:	iwariká- <u>yamɛ</u> (monkey <u>pl</u>)	'monkeys'
torón (bird)	:	torón- <u>yamɛ</u> (bird <u>pl</u>)	'birds'

Examples of nouns in Class A are:

pisí (leg)	:	anná pisí- <u>kóŋ</u> (1pl excl leg <u>pl</u>)	'our legs'
pumói (egg)	:	uʔ-mói- <u>kóŋ</u> (1s egg <u>pl</u>)	'my eggs'

Plural nouns from sub-class C are,

u-y-ún (1s father)	:	u-y-un- <u>kóŋ</u> (1s father <u>pl</u>)	'our fathers' (inclusive)
u-pú (1s foot)	:	u-pu- <u>kóŋ</u> (1s foot <u>pl</u>)	'our feet'

There are a few nouns that appear to have koŋ as part of their singular form, and pluralize according to the class they belong in. For instance,

<u>pemóŋkóŋ</u>	:	<u>pemóŋkóŋ-yamɛ</u>	'man : men'
u-y- <u>émokóŋ</u> (1s arm)	:	u-yé- <u>émokóŋ-kóŋ</u> (1s arm <u>pl</u>)	'my arm : my arms'

In addition to the suffixes -koŋ and yami there is one other collective suffix -ka, homophonous with the postposition -ka (see 3.1.4). This collective marker occurs only with a sub-class of nouns denoting plants. It occurs following a head noun which is compounded with -yé 'stalk, stem, trunk'.

kiséra (manioc)	:	kiséra-yé-ká (manioc stalk coll)	'manioc field'
aʔanáí (corn)	:	aʔanáí-yé-ká (corn stalk coll)	'corn field'
watí (rice)	:	watí-yé-ká (ricestem coll)	'rice field'
yéi (tree)	:	yéi-yé-ká (tree trunk coll)	'forest'

3.1.4.2 Gender

Macuxi does make productive use of grammatical gender. Father Keary (1944: 3) mentions a grammatical suffix -pa used with nouns that semantically refer to women. His examples,

potöru	'master'	potöruba	'mistress'
poituru	'servant'	poituruba	'maid servant'
mekoro	'negro'	mekoroba	'negress'

were confirmed by my consultant. He/she offered two further examples.

makúúsi	'a Macuxi'	makúúsi-pá	'a Macuxi woman'
karaiwá	'a white person'	karaiwá-pá	'a white woman'

The lexicon of the language provides ways to indicate whether the user of kin terms is male or female. Sometimes the relative age bracket of the speaker is also indicated when siblings refer to one another. This use of 'gender of the speaker', is significant only with kinship terms¹.

uwí	'older brother'	(male speaker)
píípi	'older brother'	(female speaker)
mó?i	'younger brother'	(male speaker)
wá?wá	'baby, youngest brother'	(female speaker)
wuríísi	'younger sister'	(male speaker)
áátu	'young sister'	(female speaker)
ná?ná?	'older sister'	(male speaker)
pásí	'oldest sister'	(female speaker)

3.1.4.3 Case Marking.

The language has suffixes that mark the following cases. Agent marker -ya (3.1.4.3.1), dative marker -piá (3.1.4.3.2), a benefactive case -tompé (3.1.4.3.3), a locative pose -po (3.1.4.3.4), and an instrumental case

-ke (3.1.4.3.5). The object case is not ordinarily marked. The exception is in embedded clauses where it is marked by n- 'whom' (see 3.2.5).

3.1.4.3.1 Agent marker -ya. The subject noun or noun phrase of a transitive verb is formally marked by -ya, which is suffixed to the final element of the NP.

u-ni6-yá tɛ tɪrɛi-pi-mán
(1s husband ag stone give perf cont)

'My husband has given the stone.'

-ya is not used with subjects of intransitive verbs. Because of this formal marking of the agent of a transitive verb, plus the fact that in many cases a single set of pronouns is used to mark the subjects of intransitive verbs and the objects of transitive verbs (see 3.2.1), Macuxi is an ergative language.²

When the subject is pluralized, the agentive marker follows the plural marker.

muré-yami-yá kaiurá enáá-pɛ
(child pl ag pineapple eat perf)

'The children ate pineapple.'

uraay6-yamɛ-yá mor6? éнна-pɛ
(man pl ag fish buy perf)

'The men bought fish.'

anita moróopái maria-ya pári-ná
(Anita and Maria ag grass clean)

'Anita and Maria clean the weeds.'

wán moróopái ayúú-ya u-y-i-kiikáá-pi
(bee and ant ag |s sting perf)

'The bee and ant stung me!'

When the agent appears in pronominal form it is suffixed to the pronoun, even if the pronoun is represented only as a verbal affix and is also marked by -ya.³

wa?wá-píi-u-yá
(child bathe |s ag)

'I bathe the child.'

aro-yenná-pi-u-yá
(hat buy perf |s ag)

'I bought a hat.'

3.1.4.3.2 Dative Marker -piá. The dative case has the formal marker -piá and it immediately follows the noun or pronoun in the dative position. The dative suffix occurs with ditransitive verbs and is glossed 'to x'.

joão-ya maria-piá kareta tfríi-pi
(João ag Maria dat book give perf)

'João gives Maria the book.'

káreta tíi-sa-pe wanií-pi wiríi-piá
(book give asp be woman dat)

'The book was given to the woman.'

ii-piá ii-tír*-u-ya
 (he dat it give I ag)

'I give it to him.'

Joáo-yá muré-yamf piá kariwaná y-enéepif-pf
 (ag João child pl dat chicken 3s bring, perf)

'João brought the chicken to the children.'

urayó-yá uu-piá arimaraaká y-enéepi
 (man agt I dat dog it-bring)

'The man brought me a dog.'

3.1.4.3.3 Benefactive Marker -tompé. The benefactive case is marked by the suffix -tompé and is glossed as 'for x'. This case marker is a composition of the suffix -ton 'due/for' and predicative -pe (see 3.4.3).

u-ri-tom-pe káreta ménooká-i-yá
 (ls be ben pre letter write 3s ag)

(She writes a letter for me.)

Joáo-yá muré-yamf-tóm-pe kariwaná y-enéepif-pf
 (Joáo ag child pl ben pre chicken bring perf)

'João brought the chicken for the children.'

3.1.4.3.4 Locative Markers -po, -na, -ta, -ya, -ka.
 The locative case in Macuxi has the suffix marker -po, which identifies the location or spatial orientation indicated by the verb.

kumpáátré-ri s-empoó-pi kontáun-po
(godfather det self born perf kontaun loc)

'Godfather was born in Contão village.'

joáo-mãḡ boa Vista-po
(cont 3s Boa Vista loc)

'João, he is in Boa Vista city.'

uu-sif-po amĩḡke-pai
(1s walk loc far away from)

'I walk from a place far away.'

The locative may be accompanied by directional suffixes to indicate a more precise orientation. The suffix -na indicates 'on, onto'.

joáo-ya káreta tírii-pi mésa-po-na
(João ag book give perf table loc dir)

'João placed the book on the table.'

urayó eramá-u-ya arimarááka páátĩ-po-na
(man see 1s ag dog hit loc dir)

'I see the man who hit the dog!'

joáo wutíi-pi Boa Vista-po-ná
(João go perf Boa Vista loc dir)

'João went to Boa Vista.'

The suffix -ri 'det' (see 3.2.2) is also used with the locative case marker -po, and is changed to harmonize with the vowel of this marker (see. 2.4.6).

sénii-po-ró wutíi-pi-man
(this loc det go perf 3s cont)

'He was going this way.'

máni-po-ró wúti-pi-saa-sé
(that loc det is go perf walk)

'I went to walk in that direction.'

yéi wí-po-ro
(tree mountain loc det)

'the tree over the mountain'

konáfi-po-ro wúti
(hook loc det I go)

'I go fishing that way.'

The locative suffix may also be followed by the positional suffix -ta 'at'.

ó?non-po-ta u-káreta-ri-nái
(where loc pos my book det asp)

'Where is my book at?'

Historically, at least, -po appears to be derived from a noun which can be glossed as 'location' or 'place'. Note that the independent noun has accent, -pó.

pó-ta kománii-sa-yá
(loc pos late compl season)

'It was late at the place.'

Accent is lacking in the following example, however.

maiwá pomói po-táá-se
(duck egg loc pos pur)

'It is the duck's nest.' (Lit. 'place of the egg' for 'nest')

The positional suffix -ta is also extensively used with the noun 'house' without the locative marker -po.

u-ye wít-ta wani siríri
(1s poss house pos be temp)

'I will be at home soon.'

anná komámi wít-ta
(1 pl excl stay house pos)

'We stay at home.'

u-ye wít-ta kuimá-u-yá
(1s poss house pos clean 1s ag)

'I clean my house!'

The positional -ya, different from the agentive -ya (see 3.1.7.3.1), is used without the locative marker and is translated as 'in'.

muré-yamí-man kanáwa-yá
(child pl cont canoe pos)

'The children are in the canoe.'

a-tí-pi sénkama-i mí-ya
(he go perf work pur field pos)

'He goes to work in the field!'

The postposition -ka is homophonous with the suffix -ka 'collective' (see 3.1.7.1) and means 'inside a body of water'.

kuup-ká wutí
(pond pos go)

'I go to the pond!'

weenámi-i-pí tunáa-ka tá
(remain perf water pos pos)

'He remained in the water.'

3.1.4.3.5 Instrumental Marker -ke. The instrumental case is marked by -ke, used with inanimate nouns which refer to the object used in the process expressed by the co-occurring transitive verb.

u²-rupé moríí-ké e²rupá
(ls arrow good instr refl deal with)

'I sell my good arrow!'

urayó-ya arímaráaka páatiipi yéí-ke
(man-agt dog hit perf wood instr)

'The man hit the dog with a stick!'

maná²ta wani-i-pí tawará-ke y-araakámi-sa-pé
(door be knife-instr it open compl pre)

'The door was opened with a knife!'

urayó-ya yéíka y-áati waaká-ke
(man agt forest it cut axe instr)

'The man cut the forest with an axe!'

s-íkipuu-sá apóó-ke
(refl burn perf fire instr)

'I burned myself with fire!'

muré-yamí-yá érupá-pí emiríi-sen kanón-ké
(child pl ag deal perf ripe nom guava instr)

'The children sold ripe guavas!'

3.1.4.4 Postpositions

The following are free morphemes which may be postposed to nouns to indicate direction or location. They may be compounded.

yawoŋ 'in the middle of/inside'

eréŋ yawoŋ maikám-sí
(river middle of fox-leg)

'Fox Leg village is in the middle of the river.'

sení akaré i-kú yawoŋ
(this alligator it wet in the middle of)

'This alligator is in the middle of his swamp.'

yooko 'under'

mésa yooko muré-maŋ
(table under child-be)

'The child is under the table.'

u-mú-ku-yamí-maŋ kanóŋ-ye yooko
(my child poss pl cont wild guava tree under)

'My children are under the wild guava tree.'

wenai 'by, through'

arímarááka ená?-pí tuná-ka písána wenái
(dog fall perf water pos cat by action)

'The dog has fallen into water because of the cat.'

urayó-pi wenai káreta tñi-sa-pe wanii-pi
 (man pre by book give compl pre be-perf
 wiríi-piá
 woman dat)

'The book was given to the woman by the man.'

ya-raki-ri 'comitative'

The comitative is not analyzed as a case marker, since it occurs as a string of morphemes. ya- refers to an individual who keeps company to somebody, raki 'to accompany, follow on the side of', and ri- 'a, an'.

wíti táá-pi-u-yá ya-raki-rí
 (house say perf 1s ag 3s com)

'I say I will be at home with him.'

inári-pampi esénupa-pái waní aya-raki-rí
 (also more 1s study des be 2s com)

'I am also wishing to study more with you!'

aasé ééseuru-mán-pa u-y-éru ya-raki-rí
 (let's 2s talk cont so to 1s poss sis-in-law
3s com)

'Let's go so as to talk to my sister-in-law!'

3.2 The Pronominal System

This section deals with subject, object, possessive, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns.

3.2.1 Subject and Object Pronouns

There are basically two sets of pronouns that can occur in the position of subject and object of a verb phrase. The two sets present similarities in their plural forms more so for the first person exclusive, anná, 'I and he/they', and the first person inclusive, úri-ni-kón, 'I and you' (see Charts IV and V below) which are identical in both sets.

The two sets consist of (1) personal pronouns that occur independently as full form pronouns (Chart IV) and (2) reduced personal pronouns (Chart V). The independent pronouns are used when focus on subject or object is intended.

Since the full-form pronouns appear to be little more than the prefixed pronouns plus some sort of deictic -ri 'determiner' I would almost be willing to take the position that the prefixes, or reduced pronominal forms are basic and the independent ones, derived.

CHART IV

Full Form Pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st	u-rí	ú-rí-ní-kón (incl) anna (excl)
2nd	á-mí-rí	á-mí-rí-ní-kón
3rd	mí-kí-rí	ínka-mo-ró

Note that the morpheme -rí 'det' is present in several simple and all forms of the compound personal pronouns. It functions as a demonstrative and is generally glossed 'det' (see 3.2.2 and 3.2.3) although in this context it merely serves as a base to which number and person specification is attached; u- indicates first person singular. The plural forms take the pluralizer -kón (see 3.1.4.1 above); preceded by ní- 'other, latter' (see 3.2.3), an indefinite that occurs with first and second plural personal pronouns. The first person singular u-rí functions as a subject, and is obligatory in existential clauses,

kusán u-rí
(tall ls det)

'I am tall.'

it-énsí pu-nén u-rí
(3s poss daughter know nom ls det)
(his daughter know I)

'I know his daughter.'

and as an object (direct or indirect).

erú u-rí-tón ká?-kí
(sis-in-law ls det ben weave imp)

'Weave me one, sister-in-law!'

u-rí míká-kí
(ls det free imp)

'Set me free!'

The first person plural inclusive in subject position,

u-rí-ní-kón-ya yání-pí (transitive)
(pl incl ag eat perf)

'We ate it.'

yausín-pé u-rí-ní-kón (stative)
(happy pre lpl incl)

'We are happy.'

ú-rí-ní-kón komámí wít-tá (intransitive)
(lpl incl live house loc)

'We live in the house.'

and in object position,

ú-rí-ní-kón yatí-i-yá
(l pl incl cut 3s ag)

'He cuts us.'

erú ú-rí-ní-kón-tón kápí
(sis-in-law lpl incl ben weave)

'Sister-in-law weaves for us.'

performs in a similar way with the singular first person.

The first person exclusive anná means either 'he/she and I' or 'they and I' and is used in precisely the same position as u-rí 'I' and ú-rí-ní-kón 'you and I', as subject.

anná-ya aró'yenná
(lpl excl ag hat buy)

'We buy a hat.'

yausín-pé anná
(happy pre lpl excl)

'We are happy.'

anná komámí wít-tá
(lpl excl live house loc)

'We live in the house.'

The same is true for anná in object position, where it does not behave differently from the other pronouns in this section.

anná yatí-i-yá
(l pl excl cut 3s ag)

'He cuts us!'

erú anná-tónká?-kí
(sis-in-law lpl excl ben weave imp)

'Weave for us, sis-in-law!'

The second person singular á-mí-rí is formed from á- 'second person', mí- 'animate' and -rí the determiner base.

yausín-pé á-mí-rí (stative)
(happy pre 2s)

'He is happy.'

y-akú á-mí-rí-ya (transitive subj.)
(3s eat bread 2s)

'You eat it.'

á-mí-rí yatí-i-yá (transitive obj.)
(you obj cut 3s ag)

'He cuts you.'

To indicate the plural the pronominal pluralizer ní-kón is added to the singular.

yausín-pé á-mí-rí-ní-kón
(happy pre 2pl)

'You are happy.'

y-akú á-mí-rí-ní-kón-ya
(3s eat bread 2pl ag)

'You eat it.'

á-mí-rí-ní-kón yatí-i-yá
(2pl cut 3s ag)

'He cuts you.'

The third person pronouns, not surprisingly, also function as demonstrative pronouns (see 3.2.2), but because they are used by the speakers in the personal pronouns paradigm, they are also treated in this section. They indicate that the individual referred to is at a distance from the speaker. The affix mí- 'animate', kí-

'second/third person pronoun' (see 3.2.2) and -rĩ the determiner base are the forms which enter in the composition of this pronoun.

yausĩn-pé mĩ-ki-rĩ
(happy pre 3s)

'He is happy!'

mĩ-ki-rĩ-yá y-ánĩ-pĩ
(3s ag eat fruit perf)

'He ate it.'

mĩ-ki-rĩ yatĩ-i-yá
(3s cut 3s ag)

'He cuts him!'

The third person plural form ĩn-ka-mo-ró 'those, they' is a compound of the locative mo- 'there' -rĩ 'det' (-ro is an alternant form of -rĩ with vowel harmony) (see 2.4.6), i- '3rd person', n- (mĩ-) in the plural form, and ka- 'far' (see 3.2.3). It occurs in both subject and object positions.

yausĩn-pé ĩnkamoró
(happy pre 3pl)

'They are happy!'

ĩnkamoró-ya tuná nĩrĩ
(3pl ag water drink)

'They drink water.'

ĩnkamoró yatĩ-i-yá
(3pl cut 3s ag)

'He cuts them!'

The reduced form of subject and object pronouns (Chart V) occur affixed to the verb stem. These forms are discourse anaphoric, as is the case with personal pronouns. They are used when no emphasis is intended.

CHART V

Reduced Form Pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
	<u>patient</u>	<u>agent</u>	
1st	u-,	-u	anná (excl), ú-ri-ni-kón (incl)
2nd	á-,	-á redupli- cation of stem ini-	á-...ni-kón; á-...-kón
3rd	i-,	-i tial vowel	tó?-, -tó?

The first person singular pronominal affix occurs prefixed to the intransitive verb and to the aspectual copula wani 'be' (see assimilation rule 2.4.1).

u-simín
(ls play)

'I play'

yausín-péφwaní
(happy pre ls be)

'I am happy/will be happy.'

With transitive verbs, the pronominal affix is suffixed to the verb stem, when it designates the ergator, or agent of transitive verb.

i-pót-u-yá
(3s burn 1s ag)

'I burn it.'

pemónkón eramá-u-yá
(man see 1s ag)

'I see the man.'

When in object position the pronoun is prefixed to the verb stem.

u-yátí-mán
(1s cut cont asp)

'He is cutting me.'

There are intransitive verbs that do not take the first person singular pronominal form, but keep their base form as the first person form. They are divided into long or short vowel syllable initial verbs. I consider /N/ and /ʔ/ as syllable lengtheners.

∅ arápuní
(1s jump)

'I jump.'

∅ eseurumá
(1s talk)

'I talk.'

Compare: á-arápuní
(2s, jump)

'You jump'

Compare: é-eseurumá
(2s talk)

'You talk.'

The syllable closed by a nasal or glottal sound does not take singular form of the pronoun in their stem either, but rather uses the base form as first person.

ø é?-wíí
(refl 1s kill)

'I kill/will kill myself.'

áw-e?-wíí
(2s refl kill)

'You kill yourself!'

Compare:

ø entamooká
(1s eat)

'I eat/will eat.'

áw-entamooká
(2s eat)

'You eat.'

Compare:

The second person singular á- occurs prefixed to the intransitive verb and to the aspectual copula waní 'be'.

á-tí
(2s go)

'You go/will go!'

yausín-pe á-waní
(happy pre 2s be)

'You are happy!'

The second person singular pronoun is suffixed to transitive verb stems when in subject position.

patíá yatí-a-yá
(watermelon cut 2s ag)

'You cut the watermelon!'

pisianá eramá-a-yá
(cat see 2s ag)

'You see the cat!'

When in object position the pronoun is prefixed to the verb stem.

á-yáti-mán
(2s cut cont 3s)

'He is cutting you.'

Those intransitive verbs whose stem begins in a short syllable reduplicate the initial vowel and mark it with high pitch accent to indicate second person singular.

á-árápuní 'you jump'

é-éseurumá 'you talk'

Presumably this é- represents an assimilated form of á-.

Intransitive verbs that begin with a vowel in a long syllable (i.e., vowel followed by /N/ or /?/) show the allomorph áw- for the second person singular.

áw-é?-tírf
(2s refl give)

'You give yourself.'

áw-éntamooká
(2s eat)

'You eat.'

The third person pronoun prefix i- (y- before vowels) occurs with transitive verbs only. Its presence indicates a general object, unspecified as to its semantic content.

maría-yá y-akúú-pí
(Maria ag 3s eat bread perf)

'Maria ate it.'

i-pót-u-yá
(3s burn 1s ag)

'I burn it.'

When suffixed to the transitive verb stem it is a subject
(semantically, the agent),

u-pót-i-yá
(1s burn 3s ag)

'He burns me.'

muré eramá-i-yá
(child see 3s ag)

'He sees the child.'

The third person singular a- occurs as subject of
the intransitive verbs of motion wutí 'go' and -ipí 'come',
and the auxiliary waní 'be'. This pronoun has low pitch
accent (`).

a-tíí boa vista po-ná
(3s go Boa Vista loc)

'He goes into Boa Vista.'

a-ipí wít-tá
(3s come home pos)

'You come to the house.'

yausín-pe a-waní
(happy pre 3s be)

'He is happy.'

Intransitive verbs whose stem begins in a short syllabic vowel, reduplicate the initial vowel with low pitch accent to indicate third person singular. Note that these forms differ from the corresponding second person forms by the presence of high pitch on the latter.

a-arápuní 'he jumps'

e-eseurumá 'he talks'

Intransitive verbs that begin with a vowel in a long syllable (i.e., closed syllable) have the allomorph w- for the third person singular.

w-é?-tí-rí
(3s refl give)

'He gives of himself!'

w-éntamóka
(3s eat)

'He eats!'

In embedded relative clauses two additional third person pronouns are used: -t, to indicate anaphoric subject and n- for anaphoric object, respectively. They may be glossed as 'who' or 'the one who', i.e., as relativizers (see 3.2.5).

pemónkón uy-eramá-t-pón wutí-pí
(man is see 3s loc go perf)

'The man who spied on me went away!'

u-n-eramá pemónkón wutí-pí
(1s 3s see man go perf)

'The man whom I see went away.'

sení aponó u-n-kunééka-pí morí
(dem seat is 3s make)

'This seat that I made is good.'

The plural forms of personal pronouns present a less complex picture, as far as morphological alternations are concerned, than their singular counterparts. Thus u-rí-ní-kón 'we incl' and anná 'we excl' do not differ in any substantial way from the full pronominal forms.

In subject position with intransitive verbs the word order shows the pronoun preceding the main verb or the copula. This is the normal patient position (cf. objects of transitive verbs, below).

ú-rí-ní-kón-ípí
(lpl incl come)

'We come!'

yausín-pé ú-rí-ní-kón waní
(happy pre lpl incl be)

'We are happy!'

ú-rí-ní-kón esénupá
(l pl incl study)

'We study!'

anná ípí
(lpl excl come)

'We come!'

yausín-pé anná waní
(happy pre lpl excl be)

'We are happy.'

anná esenupá
(lpl excl study)

'We study.'

In subject position of a transitive verb, the pronoun is suffixed to the verb stem.

i-pót-ú-ri-ni-kon-yá
(3s burn lpl incl ag)

'We burn it.'

a-pótí anná-yá
(2s burn lpl excl ag)

'We burn you!'

The pronoun is prefixed to the verb in object position.

ú-ri-ni-kon-pótí-to?-yá
(lpl incl burn 3pl ag)

'They burn us!'

anná pótí-to?-yá
(lpl excl burn 3pl ag)

'They burn us!'

The second person plural with intransitive verbs is á-...-kón. The second person prefix is in the normal position, while the pluralizer, -kon is suffixed.

áw-entamóoka-kón
(2 eat pl)

'You eat.'

yausín-pé á-waní-kón
(happy pre 2 be pl)

'You are happy.'

With those verbs whose stem initial vowel is reduplicated the second person singular form together with -kón indicates the second person plural.

é-esénupa-kón
(2 study pl)

'You study.'

To indicate the subject of a transitive verb, the second person plural is suffixed to the verb followed by the agent marker -ya (see 3.1.4.3.1) and the plural marker -kón.

aponó y-enéé-pâ á-yá-ni-kón
(seat 3s bring perf 2 ag pl)

'You brought the seat.'

to?-pót-á-yá-ni-kón
(3pl burn 2 ag pl)

'You burn them'

The object position is indicated by prefixing the pronoun to the verb stem. The deictic and pluralizing portions of the pronoun remains to the right of the verb stem.

á-póti-ni-kón to?-yá
(2s burn pl 3pl ag)

'They burn you.'

á-mikáá - ni-kón to?-yá
(2 free pl 3pl ag)

'They set you free.'

The third person pronoun to?- precedes the stem of intransitive verbs, including the copula.

tó?-ipí
(3pl come)

'They come.'

tó?-esenupá
(3pl study)

'They study.'

yausín-pé tó?-waní
(happy pre 3pl be)

'They're happy.'

In subject position with transitive verbs, the pronoun is in the usual suffixed position.

u-póti-to?-yá
(1s burn 3pl ag)

'They burn me.'

y-enéé-pí-to?-yá
(3s bring perf 3s ag)

'They brought it.'

In object position the pronoun is again prefixed to the verb stem.

tó?-pót-u-ri-ni-kon-yá
(3pl burn 1pl incl ag)

'We burn them.'

tó?-y-enéé-u-yá
(3pl 3s bring 1s ag)

'I bring them.'

3.2.2 Possessive Pronouns

The base form for possessive pronouns is the same as for the personal pronouns (see 3.2.1). The possessive pronouns are seen in Chart VI.

CHART VI

Possessive Pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st	u-yé	u-yé...-kon(incl), anná (excl)
2nd	a-yé	a-yé...-kon
3rd	i-té	i-to-

The first and second persons of pronouns in Chart VI are marked by -yé in their full forms, and the third by -té (-tó for the plural). These are isomorphic with the subject and object pronouns, except for the third person singular where i-yá is the personal pronoun with its agentive case marker. The presence of -t as an indicator of a third person was pointed out earlier (3.2.1).

The allomorphic distribution of the above pronouns is as follows. Preceding a noun starting with a vowel, there is suppression of the last vowel of the possessive pronoun.

ó?non u-y-úrupá-i-nái
(Q loc ls poss bow 3s 3s)

'Where is it, my bow?'

sení u-y-étté
(dem is poss hammock)

'This is my hammock.'

Before a noun starting with a back consonant, only the base form of the pronoun shows up.

sení u-káritá-rí-i-nái
(dem ls poss book 3s det be Q 3s)

'This is it, my book?'

u-wáka-rí-ké y-áti-u-yá
(ls ax det inst 3s cut ls ag)

'I cut it with my ax.'

The full possessive pronoun form occurs in all other environments.

ó?non u-yé-tawará-i-nái
(Q loc ls poss knife 3s be Q 3s)

'Where is it, my knife?'

ó?non u-yé-ru-pé-nái?
(Q loc ls poss arrow pre be Q3s)

'Where is it, my arrow?'

The possessive pronouns occur prefixed to noun stems. In a sentence, the possessed noun is frequently followed by the suffix -rɨ, in these instances functioning as a determiner (see 3.2.3).

u-nrɛ-rɨ pisérɨ repámɨ
(1s poss son det dem arrive)

'This son of mine is arriving!'

The status of -rɨ 'determiner' is controversial in Carib languages. Father Keary (1944: 81) mentions that when rɔ (i.e., rɨ) is affixed to a noun, pronoun, adverb, or preposition it denotes a certain "vagueness" or "indefiniteness" about such grammatical elements. Williams (1932: 53) calls -rɨ a "nominalizer", then (Ibid.: 55) an indicator for "possession" and then (p. 56) "the particle rɛ is also suffixed to an adjective to give it the force of an adverb". Later (p. 56) Williams states: "It would seem that this particle rɛ is also used at times to give a substantive or prominent existence to the word to which it suffixed,..."

For other Carib languages, Derbyshire (1979: 230) states that rɨ (which alternates with nɨ) is used to refer to possessed nouns. De Goeje (1946: 31) says of this particle that it is placed by nouns when they are preceded by a personal prefix, or by a noun or pronoun

that is in the place of a personal prefix. And he also states:

C'est probablement la même particule qui sert à former l'infinitif. Il semble qu'elle ajoute solidité ou réalité au concept exprimé par le mot... (De Goeje, 1946: 31)

Thus, the particle -ri is used in connection with personal pronouns and its use gives a substantive existence to the word to which it is suffixed. The fact that at times such particle is glossed as 'self' or 'always' adds to the difficulty in analyzing its precise function in the language. De Goeje is right in affirming that the particle occurs suffixed to nouns or pronouns that refer to persons in the real world. On the other hand, the existential status of the particle is explained by its occurrence with personal pronouns subjects in existential clauses, to indicate a permanent state of affairs, since there is no existential 'be' in the language.

Some examples where the particle -ri 'determiner' is to be found in relation to possession include,

i-wáriisa-ri enaa-pi tunáá-ká
(3s poss basket det fall water dir)

'Her basket fell in water.'

seni-uyé-ma-ri
(dem 1s poss path det)

'This is my path.'

Another particle that occurs with possessed nouns is the suffix -kɨ. Hoff (1966: 135) mentions the use of kɨ- (alternating with k-) 'first plus second person' which equals to first person plural inclusive with transitive and intransitive verb stems. Derbyshire (1979: 228) presents kɨ- (ku-, k-) as a person marking suffix of first plus second person, that is, inclusive first person plural, as in Carib. De Goeje (1946: 18-19) introduces ku-, ki-, k- as object of first person and subject of third person with transitive verbs meaning 'near', and ku- also meaning 'we two'.

This suffix is found in many pronominal compounds. With possessive pronouns it is not found consistently, but there are possessed items that when possessed must be followed by kɨ- (alternating with -ku for vowel harmony, see 2.4.6).

á? séni
(grinding mortar dem)

'This is a grinding mortar.'

uy-á-ku séni
(1s poss grinding mortar dem)

'This is my grinding mortar.'

ay-á-ku séni
(2s poss grinding mortar dem)

'This is your grinding mortar.'

woʔ payarú
(drink, cassava)

'cassava drink'

u-wó-ku
(1s drink poss)

'my drink'

a-wó-ku
(2s drink poss)

'your drink'

wuríwóʔ
(fan)

'fan'

u-wuríwo-kí
(1s fan poss)

'my fan'

a'ríwo-kí
(2s fan poss)

'your fan'

The interesting fact here is that all words above are followed by /ʔ/. Comparative studies with other Carib languages may prove that this phoneme is an innovation in Macuxi, and a reflex of an earlier /k/ phoneme.

The following paradigms illustrate the occurrence of the first person singular and plural, possessive pronouns uyé (uy-, u-) uyé-...koŋ and anná, respectively.

1) First person singular

óʔnon-po-tá uyé-tawará-i-nái?
(Q loc pos 1s poss knife 3s be Q 3s)

'Where is it, my knife?'

ó?non-po-tá ϕ wáaka-r-i-nái?
 (Q loc pos 1s ax det 3s be Q 3s)

'Where is it, my ax?'

2) First person (inclusive) plural

ó?non-po-tá uyé-rin-koŋ-nái?
 (Q loc pos 1 poss pot pl incl be Q 3 s)

'Where is it, our pot?'

o?non-po-tá uy-apon-koŋ-se-nái?
 (Q loc pos 1 poss seat pl 3 be Q 3s)

'Where is it, our seat?'

3) First person (exclusive) plural

ó?non-po-tá anná-yé-tawara-i-nái?
 (Q loc pos 1pl excl poss knife 3s be Q 3s)

'Where is it, our knife?'

ó?non-po-tá anná-y-apón-se-nái?
 (Q loc pos 1pl excl poss seat 3s be Q 3s)

'Where is it, our seat?'

Examples with the second person singular and plural possessive pronouns are as follows.

1) Second person singular

ó?non - po-tá ayé-táwará-i-nái?
 (Q loc pos 2s poss knife 3s be Q 3s)

'Where is it, your knife?'

ó?non-po-tá a-wááka-r-i-nái?
 (Q loc pos 2s poss ax det 3s be Q 3s)

'Where is it, your ax?'

2) Second person plural

ó?non-po-tá ayé-rín-koŋ-nái
 (Q loc pos 2pl poss pot be Q 3s)

'Where is it, your pet?'

ó?non-po-tá ay-etté-koŋ-nái?
 (Q loc pos 2pl poss hammock be Q 3s)

'Where is it, your hammock?'

The third person singular and plural possessive pronouns are exemplified as follows.

1) Third person singular

ó?non-po-tá it-apon-se-nái?
 (Q loc pos 3s poss seat 3s be Q 3s)

'Where is it, his seat?'

o?non-po-tá i-káreta-r-i-nái?
 (Q loc pos 3s poss book det 3s be Q 3s)

'Where is it, his book?'

2) Third person plural

ó?non-po-tá itó-táwara-i-nái?
 (Q loc pos 3pl poss knife 3s be Q 3s)

'Where is it, their knife?'

o?non-po-tá to?-y-ette-nái?
 (Q loc pos 3pl poss hammock be Q 3s)

'Where is it, their hammock?'

The demonstrative pronouns (see 3.2.3, Chart VII) can also be used to indicate the possessor of an item by an animate being.

pi-sin-é rutí tífí-pón
 (near dem poss basket rock loc)

'This individual's basket is on the rock.'

emíku té-wíí-tá pi-sín-e
 (leave to go 3s house dir
near dem poss)

'He leaves to go to his home.'

u-tínk-sii-san-é
 (1s poss cassava squeezer dem poss)

'This is my cassava squeezer.'

The alternation si- ~ sa- is not clear at the moment.

The change of -ní into -né is clearly for redundant indication of possession.

3.2.3 Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstratives are divided into animate and non-animate. Chart VII displays these demonstrative pronouns. These pronouns display forms for singular and plural, distinctions for distance in space and time, as well as specificity and generality.

Chart VII (see page 113) indicates that Macuxi demonstrative pronouns inflect for number, spatial deixis, temporal deixis and animacy.

The formative se- (si- ~ si-) is used to indicate nearness to the speaker and it is glossed 'this/these'.

CHART VII

Demonstrative Pronouns

<u>Distance</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Animate</u>	<u>Inani- mate</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
near	sení		+	'this/ these'
	míséni (-sp) mísérí (+sp)	ínsenan ...-koŋ	+		'this/ these'
far	míkíní (-sp) míkírí	ínkanan ...-koŋ ínkamoró	+		'that/ those'
	maní		+	+	
Time/Loc					
near	sirírí (+sp)	sirírí		+	'this here/now'
		...-koŋ			'these'
far	mirírí (+sp)	mirírí		+	'that there/ soon'
		...-koŋ			'those'

se-ní rutí tíf-pón
(this basket rock loc)

'This basket is on the rock.'

mí-sé-ni moré maikán si-pó komán-kói
(near dem boy fox leg loc live nom)

'This boy lives at Fox Leg.'

To indicate spatial distance from speaker (and possibly closeness to a hearer) the formative -kí 'that/those' is used. It is not clear if -kí is polyssemic with the -kí found with possessives (see 3.2.2).

mí-kí-ní roráf-pón
(fár dem yellow clothing)

'That one is in yellow shirt.'

ín-ka-nan muré-yamí sumína-pó komán-kói
(fár dem boy pl sumina loc live nom)

'Those children live in Sumina.'

The nonanimate category is unmarked; mí- (~ pí-) indicates the animate class. The forms pí-se-ní and mí-sé-ni, pí-sé-rí and mí-sé-rí respectively, alternate freely. -ni and -rí are determiner suffixes to be dealt with below. The suffix pu- was seen earlier as a marker for Noun class A (see Section 3.1, this Chapter); mí is also present in the composition of the plural suffix ya-mí 'pl' (see Section 3.1.4.1). It is possible that internal reconstruction and comparison with other Carib languages will clarify the p/m alternation observed in

this paragraph. Also unclear is the status of mí- when in composition with -rí to indicate location.

Space deixis for object location is indicated by pointing to the object. sí-rí-rí 'this' and mí-rí-rí 'that' are used when focus on the location is intended, as opposed to sení 'this' and maní 'that' which are used to focus on the object itself, when a question involves selection of one item over others.

sí-rí-rí wítí kurenán
(near dem house big)

'This house is big.'

mí-rí-rí po-ná e-réut-sá
(far dem loc dir 3s perch perf)

'That place he perched on.'

Thus as an answer to the question í?kurenán 'What is big?' sení not sí-rí-rí or mí-rí-rí is used.

sení wítí kurenán
(dem house big)

'This house is big.'

maní i-pantá kurenán
(dem 3s branch big)

'That branch is big.'

This is further illustrated in connected discourse. The following is the comment of a young man about the story of an old lady.

- a. si-rí-rí kó?kó pántonín penáron-kón
(this grandma's story old folks)
- b. komán-pí-tí-pí mi-rí-rí waranté
(live iter that time)
- c. mi-rí-rí ye-nén prífá é?-pí-tí-pí
(that for/why nom healthy refl be iter)

There was no other context for this comment than the story that the young fellow had heard. Sentence (a) is translated 'This story of grandma's was about old folks'.

Thus, introduction of a new topic of conversation is done through the use of si-rí-rí. Location in time or place is intended through the use of mi-rí-rí 'that' in (b) 'and their living at that time' and (c) 'That is why they lived healthily. In the latter (c) sentence mi-rí-rí 'that' functions as a sentence connective.

In addition to these functions, si-rí-rí and mi-rí-rí also play the role of time adverbials (see 3.5.1.1).

All of these functions in regards to si-rí-rí and mi-rí-rí are dealt with by Hodsdon and Lowe (1974). They say of these demonstratives:

The personal deictics siríri-miríri, in fact, can function as place deictics, time deictics, impersonal deictics, and miríri can in addition function as a discourse deictic. (Ibid.: 3)

Of all functions mentioned by Hodsdon and Lowe, the only one for which I cannot find motivation is impersonal deictics. They state that this type of deixis "expresses

either the emotional involvement of the speaker in the discourse or the solidarity of the speaker and hearer" (p. 20). They also say this is optionally expressed by the speaker in a sentence. This optionality may be the reason why I do not find this use exemplified in my own data. They state that when they function as impersonal deictics,

Sîrîrî indicates that the location under discussion is considered to be the physical location of the ego (here). Mîrîrî indicates that it is located outside ego environment. (Ibid: 23)

They go on to give the examples kure?nan Boa Vista sîrîrî ('big one Boa Vista in ego environment') 'Boa Vista (within my ego environment) is a big city' and kure?nan Boa Vista mîrîrî ('big one Boa Vista out of ego environment') 'That there Boa Vista is a big city'. They argue that in the first instance, the use of sîrîrî indicates the presence of the speaker either in the town itself or quite near it. In the second sentence mîrîrî indicates that the speaker is outside Boa Vista. What is crucial, they say, is not the physical presence of the individual at that place "but the fact that he feels it is necessary to inform his audience of this fact"... (p. 24).

Longer stretches of analyzed text may possibly clarify this point. The story from which examples are quoted below does not support Hodsdon and Lowe's "impersonal

deixis" analysis in any of the occurrences of si-rf-rf and mi-rf-rí (in a total of 82 sentences).

The suffixes -rí and -ní that enter in the composition of pronouns displayed in Chart VII indicate degree of specificity. -rí 'det', indicates a singular entity, being or object. -ní 'other' plays a secondary role in the discourse.

James Williams (1932: 66) claims that the distinction between -rí and -ní is that the former occurs when the pronoun is a substantival and the latter when the pronoun is an adjectival. My own data do not lend support to this view, however. Thus my use of the labels (Chart VII) (+specific) with -rí and (-specific) with -ní (~ -ní). This is more clearly observed in story telling. When more than one character is involved in the action, the main character is referred to as mi-sé-rí 'this' or mi-ki-rf 'that'. The individual to lead a real or apparent secondary role is referred to as mi-sé-ní 'this' or mi-ki-ní 'that'. In one story where a puróótóótó 'owl' and a maiwá 'duck' were brothers-in-law, the mother-in-law shows preference for the owl. Thus, the story starts:

maiwá mi-ki-ní
(duck anim far sp dem)

'there (was) this duck'

and after indicating the kinship relation between the characters it states that puróótóótó goes to work.

pi-sé-rí (~ mí-sé-rí) wutí mí-rí-rí esénkamá-i
(anim near +sp go temp work perf)

'This (owl) is going to work.'

This sentence refers to the owl who by going to work soon is favored by the mother-in-law. Then when the long hours put in by the owl are mentioned, míkírí 'he/that' is used as a demonstrative adjective.

mí-ki-rí puróótóótó áppi... maní-poró-wéí-t-uusé
(anim spec owl remains dem loc sun 3s go away)

'That owl remains there until the sun sets.'

Usage of sení 'this' as a pronoun in the story includes,

sení-yát-kí
(near dem cut imp)

'Cut those here.'

and as a demonstrative adjective, sení is also used.

sení yee-ká yat-kí tín waaká
(near dem tree coll cut imp sound ax)

'Oh axe, cut this tree trunk.'

The demonstrative maní is neutral as to animacy, since it occurs with both animate and inanimate nouns.

maní uraió eramá-u-yá
(far dem man see 1s ag)

'I see that man.'

maní kanón imiiri-sén mooká
(far dem guava ripe nom pick)

'That guava ripened to be picked.'

This pronoun can also occur with directionals and adverbs.

Then its alternate form mñi occurs.

umf-yéebí pootiiká-i-yá mñi warantí
(field lip, edge get close 3s ag dem like)

'She gets close to the edge of the field like that.'

a-ttí mî-rî-rî mñi-po-ró
(3s go imm adv dem loc dir)

'She goes that direction.'

The indefiniteness category is absent with the plural forms of the demonstrative pronouns. Proximal and distal inanimate categories are unmarked for number. In the animate categories, near and far distance are marked by in-se-naŋ ... -kóŋ, in-ka-naŋ ... -kóŋ and in-ka-moró. The first two differ only in the marking for 'near' -se and 'far' -ka. Both take the plural marker, -kóŋ, the plural aspect marker -naŋ 'continuative aspect' (see 3.3.5.1.1) and i- '3s' which receives high accent, thus allowing for non-accented vowel suppression of the underlying mî- 'animate' category. The presence of -koŋ is not obligatory with these pronouns.

ín-se-naŋ t-esénupa-sá-ni-kón
(near dem pl rel study compl pl)

'These who are students.'

ín-ka-naŋ nírí
(far dem pl also)

'Those also (are students).'

The proximal deictic plural form pluralizes both mí-sé-ni 'this nonspecific' and mí-sé-rí 'this specific'. Two plural forms ín-ka-naŋ...-kón and ín-ka-mo-ró correspond to the distal mí-kí-ní 'that nonspecific' and mí-kí-rí 'that specific', respectively. The difference between the two forms is that ín-ka-naŋ 'those' includes the continuative aspect plural formative -naŋ whereas the directional mo-ró 'there' occurs with ín-ka-mo-ró, 'those specific'.

ín-ka-nán rutí-kón tíf-pón-kón
(far anim dem basket pl stone loc pl)

'Those (people's) baskets are on the stone.'

ín-ka-nán muré-yamí suminá-pó-kón komán-kói-kón
(far anim dem child pl Sumina loc pl live nom pl)

'Those children live in Chumina.'

ín-ka-mo-ró wutí mí-rí-rí
(far anim dem go adv)

'Those there are going.'

ín-ka-mo-ró muré-yamí repámíí pí-kón
(far anim dem child pl arrive perf pl)

'Those children there arrived.'

3.2.4 Interrogative Pronouns

Like the demonstrative pronouns (see Chart VII, 3.2.3) the interrogatives may be divided into animate and inanimate, and a third spatial dimension, place (Chart VIII).

CHART VIII

Interrogative Pronouns

	<u>Animate</u>	<u>Nonanimate</u>	<u>Location</u>
Base	a-ní 'who'	í? 'what'	o?non-po-tá 'where'
Derived	a-ní-yá 'by whom'	í?kaimá 'by what manner', 'how'	
	a-ní-yá-kí-rí 'with whom'	í?pená 'at what time', 'when'	
		í?-winí 'what for'	
		í?-urá-pon-kón 'what number', 'how many'	
		í?-urá-pó 'what amount', 'how much'	

The base form for animate beings appears to be composed of the formatives a- 'agentive', prefixed to ní- 'other /whom'.

a-ní yepórii-pi-a-yá
(Q anim find perf 2s ag)

'What have you found?'

a-ní-yá kanáwá kuneká
(Q anim ag canoe make)

'The canoe is made by whom?'

The base form of the interrogative for inanimates is í? 'what'.

í?-yené-pi-tó-yá
(Q bring perf 3pl ag)

'What have they brought?'

í?-pená ín-ka-mo-ró repámii-pí
(Q time anim pl dem arrive perf)

'When did they arrive?'

The interrogative pronoun used to refer to place is ó?non-po-tá 'what place, where'. This locative interrogative is compounded with -tá 'at', -po 'loc' and ó?non 'where'.

ó?non-po-tá u-y-apón-se-nái
(Q loc pos at 1s poss seat near cont)

'Where is my seat?'

ó?non-po-tá tí-komán-sén a-y-ún
(Q loc pos at rel live nom 2s poss father)

'Where does your father live?'

Further examples of a-ní and agent marker, and a-ní and comitative are as follows.

a-níya maikán sii-po eramá-pi táá-pi-nái
 (Q anim ag Fox Leg loc see perf say perf be)

'Who said he is going to visit Raposa?'

a-ni-yá-ki-rí ti-komán-sén a-mi-rí
 (Q anim ag com rel live nom 2s)

'Who are you going to live with?'

Examples of í? based interrogatives include:

í?-kaimá a-ree-sé
 (Q manner 2s name near)

'What are you called?'

í?-pená-se apónoo-kón kunekáá-pi-a-yá
 (Q time near seat pl make perf 2s ag)

'When did you make the seats?'

í?-winí waní-re-nén maikán sii-pó-a-tí
 (Q for be cont fox leg loc 2s go)

'Why are you going to Raposa?'

í?-urá-poŋ-kón á-muku-yamí
 (Q number pl 2s child pl)

'How many children do you have?'

í?-urá-pó-se maikán síi-pó
 (Q amount near fox leg loc)

'How far is Raposa?'

3.2.5 Relative Pronouns

There are three relative pronouns in Macuxi. They are ti- (t- before a vowel) '3rd person subject', i- (y- before a vowel) '3rd person subject' and ni- (n- before

vowels and certain consonants) '3rd person object'. The functional difference between t- and i- is that the former occurs as subject of restrictive clauses and the latter as subject of non-restrictive clauses. The following chart displays the relative pronouns (Chart IX).

CHART IX

Relative Pronouns

<u>Pronoun</u>	<u>Clause</u>	<u>Restrictive</u>	<u>Non- Restrictive</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Subject		t̄-	i-	who, that
Object		n̄-		whom, that

For anaphoric reference to the subject of the embedded clause t̄- 'who' is used. The use of this pronoun indicates that the subject of the embedded clause and subject of the main clause are coreferential in a restrictive clause.

pemōŋkōŋ u-y-eramá-t̄-pōŋ wut̄f̄-p̄i wit-tá
(man ls see rel loc go act home dir)

'The man who saw me went home.'

iwáriká t̄-w̄f̄-s-éŋ moró
(monkey rel kill refl nom adv)

'The one who is himself to kill the monkey is there.'

When the embedded clause is non-restrictive, then i- 'who' is the relative pronoun used, with focus on the subject of the main clause.

a-samántaa-pí i-ntamooká-n-éŋ
(3s die perf rel eat/feed 2s nom)

'He who fed him died.'

makúúsi i-póóka-n-éŋ repámíi-pí
(macuxi rel shoot arrow 3s nom arrive perf)

'Macuxi who shoots arrows arrived.'

In restrictive clauses ni- 'whom, that' indicates that the object of the embedded clause is co-referential with the subject of the main clause. Non-restrictive clauses are unmarked for object.

pemóŋkóŋ u-n-eramá-pí wutíí-pí wít-tá
(man 1s rel see perf go perf home, dir)

'The man whom I saw went home.'

sení aponó i-n-kunéékáá-pí morí
(dem seat 3s rel make perf good)

'This seat that he made is good.'

3.3 Verb Morphology

The verb morphology is formally distinguished from noun morphology by the occurrence of particular derivational and inflexional affixes. Few affixes may be used with both nouns and verbs. Person and number, aspect and

mode, and secondarily tense, are the inflectional categories of the verb. The aspectual system in the language is especially elaborate, in contrast with the tense system, which almost exclusively is on the use of temporal adverbials (see 3.5.1).

Two broad classes of verb stems may be distinguished in the verb system. They are transitive and intransitive verb stems. They are set apart mainly on the basis of their occurrence with particular sets of pronominal affixes (see 3.2.1, Charts IV and V).

For instance, a transitive active verb stem, when inflected for person and number, takes as subject marker a suffixed form of the pronoun followed by the agent marker -ya.

arímarááká eramá-i-yá
(dog see 3s ag)

'He sees the dog!'

wa?wá pi-i-u-yá
(baby bathe 1s ag)

'I bathe the baby!'

kanáwá kunééká-pi-tó?-yá
(canoe make perf 3pl ag)

'They made the canoe.'

The only instance in which the pronoun is preposed to the stem of a transitive verb is when the relative pronoun (see 3.2.5) is prefixed to the stem.

sení aponó i-n-kunéékáá-pí morí
 (near dem seat 3s rel make perf good)

'This seat that he made is good.'

Intransitive verb stems prefix the reduced form pronouns (see 3.2.1, Chart V) to the stem. These have the same form as objects of transitive verbs and may be thought of as "patient" pronouns.

a-ípi wít-tá mî-rí-rí
 (3s come home dir temp)

'He came home then.'

u-simín sí-rí-rí
 (1s play temp)

'I play soon.'

If the intransitive verb has a stem initial vowel, indication of the subject is also prefixed to the stem (see 3.2.1).

é-éseurumá-pám-pí
 (2s talk quant)

'You talk a lot!'

Compare: séurumá-kí
 (talk imp)

'Talk!'

ø é?-píí
 (1s refl bathe)

'I bathe myself.'

Compare: áw-é?-píí
 (2s refl bathe)

'You bathe yourself.'

When the stative intransitive verb is used, either the independent pronouns (see 3.2.1, Chart IV) or the inflected

form of the copula 'be' (see 3.3.3.2) or aspect wai (see 3.3.5.1.1) is used.

yausín u-rí
(happy 1s det)

'I am happy.' (at all times)

yausín-pé u-rí waní
(happy pre 1s det be)

'I am/will be happy.' (eventually)

yausín-pé wai
(happy pre 1s cont)

'I am getting happy/I was happy just now.'

The pronominal object of a transitive verb is prefixed to the verb stem. It is identical in form to the corresponding subject pronoun used with intransitive verbs. In this sense Macuxi is an ergative language.

ayúú-yá u-íkiikáá-pí
(ant ag 1s sting perf)

'The ant stung me.'

á-níó-yá i-tí-rii-pí
(2s husband ag 3s give det perf)

'Your husband gave him the stone.'

3.3.1 Transitivity Change

The verb that requires both a subject and an object to complete its predication can be turned into an intransitive verb. To use Chafe's (1970: 95-104) terms, the same

verb that requires an agent and a patient to complete its predication, can, with the addition of third person affixes -t- and -s- (see 3.1.2.1.3) become a process or stative verb, respectively. This is called 'la voix moyenne' in Carib languages, by De Goeje (1946: 17, 18). Williams (1932: 81) also comments on the middle voice and defines it as follows: "The action of the verb in this voice refers back to the subject from which it issues." The affixes -t- and -s- are infixes between the first vowel of the stem and its reduplicate to convey the equivalent of an impersonal passive voice, or a reflexive/reciprocal voice, respectively. Thus a transitive verb such as y-enkaramó?-pi-u-yá 'I opened it' is an example of a predicate that needs two arguments, a subject and an object, to complete its predication. The same verb stem may be turned into a process e-t-enkaramó?-pi taurá-ké 'it is to be opened with a knife'. The surface subject may be manáátá 'door'. A similar mechanism operates with the verb stem to convey a state which has just been completed. The predication consists of the stative marker -s- and the stem, e-s-enkaramá?⁴ 'it is open'. Here again, the surface subject could be a noun like manáátá 'door'.

Compare sentences (a) transitive stem verbs and (b) process of stative stem verbs.

- a) torón̄ y-apiisí-tó?-ya
(bird 3s catch 3pl ag)

'They catch a bird.'

- b) yéí-pì a-t-apiisí
(tree to 3s attach)

'It is attached to a tree.'

- a) saráru y-átì-u-yá
(meat 3s cut 1s ag)

'I cut the meat.'

- b) taurá-ké a-s-áátí
(knife instru 3s cut)

'I am cut with a knife.'

- a) tíí y-enúmi-tó?yá
(stone 3s throw 3pl ag)

'They throw a stone.'

- b) nón-po-ná e-s-enúmi
(ground loc on 3s fall)

'I have fallen to the floor'

A transitive verb stem may be made reflexive by prefixing e?- to the verb stem, whereby the action initiated by an agent falls on himself (see 3.2.1, Charts IV, V for pronouns with these verbs).

Compare the following paradigms.

transitive stem

i-kana?má-u-yá
(3s scratch 1s ag)

'I scratch it.'

reflexive

∅ é?-kanamá
(1s refl scratch)

'I scratch myself.'

transitive stem

i-ti-rí-a-yá
(3s give 2s ag)

'You give it'

i-wí-i-yá
(3s kill 3s ag)

'I kill it'

reflexive

áw-é?-ti-rí
(2s refl give)

'You give yourself'

w-é?-wí
(3s refl kill)

'He kills himself'

The plural forms show as their only difference the presence of the reflexive category prefix e?-, as opposed to the transitive verb stem.

i-kana?má-anná-yá
(3s scratch 1pl excl ag)

'We scratch it'

i-ti-rí-u-rí-ní-kón-yá
(3s give 1 pl incl ag)

'We give it'

i-kana?má-a-yá-ní-kón
(3s scratch 2 pl)

'You scratch it'

i-kana?má-to?-yá
(3s scratch 3pl ag)

'They scratch it'

anná e?-kana?má
(1pl excl refl scratch)

'We scratch ourselves'

u-rí-ní-kón é?-ti-rí
(1 pl incl refl give)

'We give ourselves'

aw-é?-kana?má-kón
(2 refl scratch pl)

'You scratch yourselves'

to?-é?-kana?má
(3pl refl scratch)

'They scratch themselves'

Intransitive verb stems can be made transitive through the addition or suppression of morphological elements. The most productive process includes the suffixation of -ní-pí

to the stem, and suppression of the suffix -mi of the intransitive category.

ara- <u>mf</u>	:	ara- <u>ni-pf</u> -u-yá
'I burn myself'		'I burn x.'
e?- <u>mi</u> ?pá- <u>mf</u>	:	mi?pá- <u>ni-pf</u> -u-yá
'I stop'		'I stop x.'

One verb, api?k-pf 'I tire' is made transitive by prefixing y- '3 s' and infixing ni- y-api?ká-ni-pf-u-yá 'I tire x'.

3.3.2 Derivation and Composition

3.3.2.1 Derivation.

The following are verbalizers that contribute to the lexical meaning of the word.

3.3.2.1.1 The verbalizer ke- 'be with/have'. The verbalizer ke- is homophonous with the Instrumental (see 3.1.4.3.5) case suffix. It precedes the noun or adjective with which it forms a clause. The construction typically requires a form of the copula waní 'be' or the continuative aspect wai, and may be glossed as 'be with, have'.

i-ké-é-pé-perá-waní
 (3s have sharp pre neg be)
 (It is without sharpness)

'It is dull.'

ke-wé-sa-wáí
(with sweat perf 1s cont)

'I was sweaty.'

3.3.2.1.2 The Verbalizer e-. The prefix e- added to a noun stem makes the noun into a verb. In the following examples the noun is contrasted with its verbal counterpart(s).

mutá	'mouth	<u>é-nta-mooká</u> (<u>vb</u> mouth take)	'to eat'
		<u>é-nta-pamf</u> (<u>vb</u> mouth stop)	'to yawn'
		<u>é-nta-ma-pií-tf</u> (<u>vb</u> mouth caus iter)	'to yell'
miá	'hand'	<u>é-nya-ka?má</u> (<u>vb</u> hand put)	'to work out something'
pi-sí	'leg'	<u>e-sí</u> (<u>vb</u> leg)	'to move'

The desiderative particle -pai also takes the stem formative e- to form the auxiliary verb 'wish'.

<u>-pai</u>	'disera- tive'	<u>e-pái</u> (<u>vb</u> wish)	'to wish'
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For further examples, see Section 3.3.5.2.2 Desiderative Mode.

3.3.2.1.3 The Verbalizer -ka 'un-'. There is a group of verbs in Macuxi that use the suffix -ka to form a new stem, expressing the opposite of the action meant by the base. Compare examples under column (a) with their antonymous stems in column (b):

(a)	y-ámí-u-yá	(b)	y-ámí- <u>ká</u> -u-yá
	'I roof x.'		'I unroof x.'
	y-ará?kamí-u-yá		y-ara?kamí- <u>ká</u> -u-yá
	'I lock x.'		'I unlock x.'
	a-t-ará?kamí		a-t-ará?kamí- <u>ká</u>
	'I am locked.'		'I am unlocked.'

This verbalizer is semantically related to the negative adverb kánné 'no'.

3.3.2.2 Composition.

A compound verb form may be the result of a noun combined with a verb.

<u>Noun</u>		<u>Verb</u>		<u>Compound</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ya?ré	'food, meat'	tí	'give'	ya?ré-tí	'to feed'
yé?kare	'food, fruit'	tí	'give'	yé?kare-tí	'to feed with fruit'
-nta	'mouth'	mooká	'take'	é-nta-mooká	'to eat'
-enya	'hand'	ka?má	'put'	y-én-ka?má	'to work'

The verb stem is also found in composition with the determiner -rĩ 'det' (see 3.2.2). The stem may be transitive or intransitive, and the aspectual marker follows this composition.

u-sá-rĩ-pĩ
(1s walk perf)

'I walked.'

tuná-nĩ-rĩ-u-yá
(water drink 1s ag)

'I drink water.'

wakĩ-rĩ-pe-mán kayurá
(agreeable det pre 3s cont pineapple)

'Pineapple is agreeable to him.'

3.3.3 Auxiliary Verbs

There are several verbs that do not occur in isolation in the language, but are always used with another, main verb. These auxiliary verbs are introduced and exemplified in the following sections. They include 'ená 'become', waní 'be', komámĩ 'stay, remain', mápiĩtĩĩ 'cause' and kúpi 'force'.

3.3.3.1 The Auxiliary verb ená -become'.

The auxiliary verb ená is used only with stative verbs.

u-karáwa-pé-ená
(1s thin pre become)

'I will become thin.'

This auxiliary may co-occur with the suffix for the locative case. It is then glossed 'return'.

u-karáwa-pé-ená-pó
(1s thin pre become loc)

'I will return thin.'

Other aspectual suffixes may occur with this verb.

yausín-pe ená-piáti
(happy pre 3s become inch)

'He begins to become happy.'

3.3.3.2 The Auxiliary Verb waní 'be'.

The auxiliary waní 'be' is used with stative verbs.

It refers to a non-permanent state of affairs.

makúipi-pé á-waní
(dirty-ugly pre 2s be)

'You are/will be dirty/sinful.'

The copula may inflect for tense/aspect.

koppi-pé a-waní-pi
(full pre 3s be perf)

'It was full.'

wutí-pai~~o~~waní-pi patá-pon
(go des 1s be perf place loc)

'I was wishing to go to a place.'

The aspectual marker wai 'continuative aspect' is also glossed as 'be' and will be dealt with under aspect (see 3.3.5.1.1). It is not uncommon in natural languages that a full verb, or certain forms of a verb, change morphological category. One may cite, for example, the modal auxiliaries in English. Therefore, it is possible that wanɨ and wai are historically related. There is certainly sufficient formal similarity between the two.

In other languages of the Carib family, the form wai or wa and their variants indicating person, are translated 'be'. Among these are Wayana (Jackson 1972: 54) and Carib (Hoff 1968: 212-213). Even though the alternate forms are not precisely the same as the Macuxi forms, there is enough similarity in the first person form to suggest that these are cognate.

For Macuxi, the first analysis to separate wanɨ and wái was that of Williams (1932: 70), who states:

(b) The substantive verb. The Spanish verb 'ser' expresses absolute existence, or the kind of being, while the verb 'estar' expresses relative existence, or the manner of being. In the Makúchi language wa-nə sometimes carries suggestions of the former, and wái, with its connections, suggestions of the latter.

This difference was also noted by Abbott (1973: 18-24). In her section on stative clauses (1.3), the two forms are called 'stative verbs'; wanɨ is termed "regular form",

whereas wái and its forms are the "irregular" stative 'be'.

In the subsection on existential clauses, however, Abbott points out that one of the formal differences between this particular type of stative clause and other stative clauses is that "only regular forms of the verb 'to be' occur" in the former (pp. 20-21). Abbott's examples include:

káikusí waní'pí
(tiger was)

'There was a tiger.'

parurú waní'pí
(banana was)

'There were bananas.'

The occurrences of wái and waní are distinct in the following sentences because of the idea of the continued action present with the use of wái versus a more permanent fact expressed with the use of waní.

roráf-pé y-epéru-mán
(yellow pre 3 sg fruit 3 sg cont)

'The fruit is yellow.'

samán-pé a-waní
(hard pre 3 sg be)

'It is hard.'

Many times this difference is not easily perceived since the interpretation of what is permanent and what is not depends on the speaker. This judgment is made according to each situation individually. When the existence of some being is expressed as a "timeless truth", neither waná nor wai is used; in such cases no verb form is necessary.

u-rúí á?ke;onpampí anná-epótírí
(1 sg poss brother older 1 dl excl poss chief)

'My older brother is our chief.'

My own analysis of wái (see Chart X for full paradigm) as aspect comes from the fact that this suffix does not occur alone with suffixes for mood or tense, as waná does. Furthermore, in sentences where the wái forms appear, if no other main verb, with its modal and tense suffixes, is present, then continuative aspect is conveyed.

With descriptive adjectives:

u-yé-narú-mán priá? perá
(1 s poss sister 3s cont health neg)

'My older sister is sick.'

rorái-pé ka?-mán
(yellow synt mk sky 3 s cont)

'The sky is yellow.'

with the locative case:

joáo mán boa vísta-po
(João 3s cont Boa Vista-loc)

'João is in Boa Vista!'

with the desiderative mode:

tuná anení-pái-mán
(water drink des 3 s cont)

'He wishes to drink water.'

with a negated predicate:

eramá-u-yá-perá-wái
(see 1 sg agt neg 1 s cont)

'I am not seeing!'

3.3.3.3 The Auxiliary Verb komámi 'remain, stay'.

The auxiliary komámi may take aspectual markers but no person markers. It occurs with either transitive or intransitive verbs.

seurumá komámi
(talk remain)

'I remain speaking!'

eramá-u-yá komám-pi-tí
(see/look 1s ag remain iter)

'I had been looking!'

yausín-pé komámi-pí
(happy pre remain perf)

'I remained happy.'

3.3.3.4 The Auxiliary verb máápiitíí 'cause'.

The auxiliary máápiitíí 'cause' can be fully inflected for aspect, person and number and agentive case -ya.

Compare the examples in column (a) with those of (b):

(a)	(b)
arimarááká-yá pisaná ramá (dog ag cat see)	arimarááká-yá pisaná ramá <u>máá píí-tíí-yá</u> (dog ag cat see <u>cause</u> 3 s ag)
'The dog sees the cat.'	'He caused the dog to see the cat.'
arimarááká-yá pisaná wí (dog ag cat kill)	arimarááká-yá pisaná wí <u>máá píí tíí-pí-u-yá</u> (dog ag cat kill <u>cause asp</u> 1 s ag)
'The dog kills the cat.'	'I caused the dog to kill the cat.'
ereutá epái-nó (sit down 1 s may)	ereutá <u>máá píí tíí-u-yá</u> (sit down <u>cause asp</u> 1s ag)
'I may sit down.'	'I make someone sit down.'

3.3.3.5 The Auxiliary Verb kupí 'force'.

The formative kú 'make' and the aspectual -pí combine into a verb stem that co-occurs with other verb stems to form a complex sentence. Its semantic content involves causation, much like máápiitíí, but to a stronger degree. It also indicates that the hearer(s) will be patient of an action, rather than the subject of 'force'.

wakirí-pé kaiurá waní-kú-pí sirirí
(agreeable pre 1s pineapple be make asp time adv)

'I will be forced to like pineapple.'

eramá-pa i-kú-pí-u-yá
(see so to it make 1 sg agt)

'I force you to see it.'

3.3.4 Directional Verbs

The directional verbs 'come' and 'go' are often used as auxiliary verbs also (see 3.3.3 above), usually conveying the idea of future intention on the part of the speaker. The base forms of these verbs are ipí 'come' and wutí 'go'. The directional verbs may take either the full (see Chart IV) or reduced (Chart V) form pronouns, which occur with intransitive active verbs. As shown above (see 3.2.1) the third person singular differs from the second person in its accentual pattern. The paradigm for the unmarked aspect (3.3.5.1) with directional verbs is the following.

<u>ipí</u> 'come'	<u>wutí</u> 'go'
u-ipí 'I come'	∅ wutí 'I go'
á-ipí 'you come'	á-tí 'you go'
á-ipí 'he comes'	a-tí 'he goes'
anná ippí 'we (excl) come'	anná wutí 'we (excl) go'

úrɪnɪkón iipí	'we (excl) come'	úrɪnɪkón wutí	'we (incl) go'
tó? iipí	'they come'	tó? wutí	'they go'

Directional verbs inflect for mode (see 3.3.6) and aspect.⁵

á-iipí-pí boa vista po-ná
(2s come perf B.V. loc dir)

'You came to Boa Vista.'

amírɪ-kón iipí sirírɪ waron-yá
(2 full pro pl come temp night)

'You all will come tonight.'

wutí-m-pí-mán wít-tá
(go rel perf 3s cont home dir)

'He is going home.'

é?pi-i to?-wutí sirírɪ
(refl pur bathe 3pl go temp)

'They will go swimming.'

éntamooká-i á-iipí-pí waron-yá
(eat pur 2s come perf night time)

'You came to eat tonight.'

3.3.5 Verb Inflection

The Macuxi verb is inflected for aspect and mode (in addition to person and number discussed above). The indicative mode is not formally marked. Temporal adverbs tend to be used to indicate the time of the action or event referred to by the verb, if such time is emphasized,

or the speaker wishes to distinguish a particular time. Therefore the affixes for tense are not a feature in Macuxi. By far the most elaborate sub-system of verb inflection is that of aspect. Besides aspect, the imperative mode system is also quite complex. Other mode suffixes are also analyzed in this section.

3.3.5.1 Aspect and Time.

3.3.5.1.1 The Continuative Aspect -wáí. This aspectual marker is suppletive for person in the singular, but maintains a single form throughout the plural. There is a further suppletive form for the interrogative mode (see 3.3.5.2.4). The forms may be glossed as continuative aspect.

CHART X

Continuative wáí

	1s	2s	3s, 1pl, 2pl, 3pl
Affirmative	wáí	nán	mán
Question	wáí	nán	néŋ

Examples of these paradigmatic forms are as follows:

y-eká-pi-wáf
(3 sg bite perf 1 sg cont)

'I was biting it.'

y-eká-pi-nán
(3 sg bite perf 2 sg cont)

'You were biting it.'

i-eká-pi-mán
(3 sg bit perf 3 sg cont)

'He was biting it.'

anná y-eká-pi-mán
(1 excl 3s bite perf cont)

'We are/were biting it.'

urɪnikón y-eká-pi-mán
(1 pl incl 3 s bite perf cont)

'You are/were biting it.'

amíri-nikón i-eká-pi-mán i-eká-pi-nán-ti
(2 pl 3s bite perf cont) (3 sg bite cont)

'You are/were biting it.'

to? y-eká-pi-mán
(3 pl 3s bite perf cont)

'They are/were biting it.'

The interrogative forms vary only in the third person singular and all plural forms by the use of -nen.

torón eramáa-pi-nán
(bird see/look perf Q)

'Have you seen the bird?'

to? we?nánnu-pi-nén
(3pl sleep perf Q)

'Have they slept?'

yausín-pe-wáí
(happy pre 1s Q)

'Am I happy?'

(For more on the interrogative see 3.3.5.2 below.)

The negative forms of the continuative aspect are formed with the negative perá (see 3.3.5.2 for details).

yausín-pe-perá-wáí
(happy pre neg cont)

'I am not happy.'

3.3.5.1.2 The Perfective Aspect -pí. The suffix -pí asserts that the action is not merely potential, but is already taking place or has taken place.

The translation of the verb in this aspect almost always designates past.

(a) pisaná eramá-pí-u-yá
(cat see perf 1sg agt)

'I saw the cat.'

When the continuous aspect marker -wáí follows a main verb with -pí, the translation is into the present simple tense or continuative aspect.

(b) pisaná eramá-pí-wáí
(cat see perf 1sg cont)

'I see the cat/I have just seen the cat.'

Williams (1932: 78) says of -pɿ: "The infinitive mood and the suffix -bə [pɿ] expresses past time" (see example b above). In an earlier paragraph on the same page, Williams states that "the infinitive mood and suffix -pə with the verb 'to be' -wáɪ, serves as another method of expressing present time, as already explained." The two suffixes discussed by Williams, -pə and -bə, are allophonic variants. They are the equivalent of what I have called 'perfective aspect' -pɿ. The discrepancy of tense interpretation is eliminated by my analysis, since -pɿ is an aspect rather than a tense marker.

American missionaries who have written on Macuxi refer to -pɿ as 'remote past tense' (Burns 1962: 7); 'distant past tense' (Abbott 1973 and Hodsdon 1974). Burns points out that the same -pɿ particle indicates immediate time range (example (b) above) when followed by the immediate aspect marker -wáɪ. Thus, the possibility of 'remote past' interpretation for -pɿ is not consistent with its occurrence with the immediate time range marker -wáɪ, as the two tenses should be complementary to each other. In a footnote, Burns (fn. 5, p. 14) expresses the relativity of the time concepts for remote and immediate time, and admits that the problem is not fully resolved:

Remote and immediate time range is a relative comparison depending upon circumstances. When thinking of a lifetime, two or three years could be immediate time range. Usually immediate time refers to the present day or within the hour. The remote or immediate aspect is clear with past tense, -bī, but the exact shade of meaning manifested by the other tense-aspect morphemes needs further checking. (p. 14)

On rechecking the data for -pī-wai sentences with a consultant, I verified that the analysis of past tense for -pī was untenable. Sentences which had earlier been uttered by a consultant concerning a fact in the past sometimes received a present tense gloss on subsequent occasions. This is consistent with glosses found in Abbott, who gives the following examples when dealing with gerundive clauses (Abbott 1973: 29):

oʔmá eraʔmá-pī?wái
(beast see perf ls cont)

'I saw the beast.'

éntamokán pī?wái
(eat perf ls cont)

'I am eating.'

Sentences in the negated mode (3.3.5.2.3) and imperative mode (3.3.5.2.1) have the particle -pī suppressed:

etá-u-yá-pepīŋ
(hear 1 s ag neg)

'I don't hear/I haven't heard.'

ki-sé i-kíí-kí
(manioc 3 s shred imp)

'Shred the manioc root!'

The 'potential' aspect expresses uncertainty as to the event; it is opposed to the actual aspect marker, none of which is used in the sentence.

i-tuusé waní-yá wutí
(3 sg want be conn 1 sg go)

'When I want to, I go.'

3.3.5.1.3 Inchoative Aspect -piá. The stem formative -piá suffixed to the verb phrase expresses the initiation of an action (inch). Examples below illustrate this usage.

eramá-u-yá-piá-tíi-pí
(see 1 sg ag inch iter)

'I begin to see.'

joáo eséura-má-piá-tí-pí-mán ingris-pé
(João talk caus inch iter 3 sg English pre)

'João is beginning to speak English.'

i-karáu-piá-tí-pí
(3 sg cry inch iter)

'He began to cry.'

3.3.5.1.4 Iterative Aspect -pitiipi. The aspectual marker -pitiipi is suffixed to the verb stem to express the repeated aspect of the action. Examples below illustrate the iterative aspect.

piisóka-pítíípi-u-yá
(pinch iter 1 s agt)

'I pinch and pinch (someone).'

ø-arapúni-pítíípi
(1 s jump iter)

'I jump and jump.'

ø-esénupa-pítíípi
(1 sg study iter)

'I study and study.'

rorái y-enaapí-pítíípi-i-yá
(cashew 3 s eat iter 3 sg agt)

'He eats and eats cashew fruit.'

i-ásaati-pítíípi-a-yá
(3 s cut iter 2 sg agt)

'You cut it and cut it.'

3.3.5.1.5 The Completive Aspect -sa. The suffix -sa indicates elapsed time. It also indicates that the action or process is complete at the moment of speech. It can be termed either past time or completive aspect. It immediately follows the verb stem.

i-páti-sá-u-yá
(3 s hit complet 1s ag)

'I hit him.'

aa-sáman-sá
(3 s dead complet)

'He is dead.'

The suffix -sa may be followed by other verbal inflections as well. The following examples indicate that

the action may have extended itself over a period of time but it is finished at the time that the sentence is uttered.

piikáá-sa-wái
(tire complet 1 s imm)

'I was tired.'

i-kík-sa-wái
(3 s roast complet 1 s imm)

'I was roasting it.'

The negative mode suffix -perá immediately follows

-sa:

eripín-sa-perá-wái
(arrive complet neg 1 s cont)

'I have not arrived.'

The state of a thing may be expressed by marking the verb with the completive -sa, suffixed by -pe:

káreta tíí-sa-pé waníí-pí wuríí-píá
(letter give complet pre be act woman dat)

'The letter was given to the woman.'

This time-aspect indicator may also be followed by -ya which is a connective that occurs with dependent clauses:

wutíí-sa-yá maiwá pokáá-pí-u-yá
(go complet sub duck shoot act 1s ag)

'When I went I shot the duck.'

joáo-yá ingris-taá-sa-yá y-anu mǎ pǎ-i-yá
 (João agt English hear complet sub 3s learn act 3s ag)

'If João had heard English he would have learned it.'

Williams (1932: 74) terms the suffix -sa 'aorist' to express indefinite past time. He also calls it a past participial form in certain constructions.

3.3.5.1.6 Purposive Aspect -se. The suffix -se occurs with intransitive verb stems to indicate a purposive aspect. It has a second allomorph -i. If there is suppression of a syllable in the verb stem, then -se is used; otherwise -i is suffixed to the unaltered verb stem. It occurs with the dependent verb. The subject of the verb is expressed in the main clause verb (for more on this see 3.4.3).

wutǐ wenun-sé (base form wenenún)
 (1 sg go sleep pur)

'I go to sleep.'

y-enǐǐ-sé k-atǐ-í (base form yenǐrǐ)
 (3 sg drink pur neg go imp)

'Do not go drink it!'

asáá-sé wutǐ mǐrǐrǐ (base form sarǐ)
 (2 sg walk pur go temp)

'You will go to walk.'

If the base form is maintained unaltered, the allomorph -i is used.

aasé eepí-i tunááka (base form eepí)
 (let us bathe pur water-coll)

'Let's go bathe in the water.'

atí-pí senkamá-i mǎ-yá (base form senkama)
 (3 s go act work pur field in)

'He goes to work in the field.'

u-yé-wi-tón kuneeká-i-u-yá séúrenikón (base form kuneeká)
 (1 s poss house ben make pur 1 s ag similar 2 pl)

'I will make my house like yours.'

3.3.5.2 Mode

Macuxi verbs are inflected in the imperative mode, desiderative mode, negative and interrogative modes, necessity counter-factual and potential modes.

3.3.5.2.1 The Imperative Mode. Active verbs may take the imperative mode suffixes. There are forms to express that the action is to be carried out where and when the command is issued, and separate forms to indicate that the action is to be performed after the hearer goes somewhere. The latter type of imperative is commonly called 'hortatory'. Chart XI shows, on the left, the forms of command for action to be carried out in situ; to the right, the hortatory command forms.

CHART XI

Imperative Mode

Action to be carried on at place of speech		Action to be carried on after going elsewhere	
Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
Sg. -kí	ka-...-i	-ta	ka-...-tíi
Pl. -tí	ka-...-tí	-tantí	ka-...-títí

The recurring -ka 'neg' is derived from the negative ad-
verb kaane 'no'. Examples:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (a) eráma-kí
(look <u>imp sg</u>)
'Look!' | (f) e-s-éímináá-tantí
(dry <u>hort imp pl</u>)
'Go get dried!' |
| (b) e-s-éímináá-kí
(dry <u>imp sg</u>)
'Get dried!' | (g) k-es-éramá-i
(neg look <u>sg imp</u>)
'Do not look!' |
| (c) eráma-tí
(look <u>imp pl</u>)
'Look!' | (h) ka-s-éimaní-i
(<u>neg</u> dry <u>imp sg</u>)
'Do not dry yourself!' |
| (d) eráma-tá
(look <u>hort imp sg</u>)
'Go see!' | (i) eráma-ka-tíi
(look <u>neg hort imp pl</u>)
'Do not go look!' |
| (e) eráma-tantí
(look <u>hort imp pl</u>)
'Go see!' | (j) e-s-éíminá-ka-tíi
(dry <u>neg hort imp pl</u>)
'Do not go dry yourselves!' |

- (k) k-e-s-érama-tʃ
(neg look imp pl)
'Do not look!'
- (l) ka-s-éimanáá-tʃ
(neg dry imp pl)
'Do not dry yourselves!'
- (m) eráma-katʃitʃ
(look neg hort imp pl)
'Do not go look!'
- (n) e-s-éiminá-katʃitʃ
(dry neg hort imp pl)
'Do not go dry yourselves!'

The addition of imperative mode suffixes to the verb stem provides a good test frame for determining whether the final stem vowel is short or long. A phonological rule (see 2.2.3) raises the short final vowel /a/ to [ə]. Also, the high pitch accent is moved to the preceding syllable (see 2.3.2) as is the case with all occurrences of the stem eramá → erámə. On the other hand, the final long vowel maintains its pitch accent upon suffixation and causes the voicing of the following obstruent.

The imperative suffix for the singular in situ form is -kʃ (examples a, b); the corresponding plural form is -tʃ (example c). If the order is to be carried out elsewhere the type of imperative called 'hortative' here, the

singular form is -ta (example d) and the corresponding plural form is tantɨ (examples e,f). All of these forms are actual orders to an individual (or individuals) to perform an action.

If the order is negative, and the action is therefore not to be undertaken, the imperative suffixes are preceded by ka, which is presumably derived from the negative adverb kanné 'no'. The presence of a final suffix -i indicates a contrary-to-fact mode, with the order issued to one individual (examples g-j). On the other hand, if the order is issued to a group, the suffix -tɨ is invariably present (examples c, i-n).

The fact that examples (i), (j), (m) and (n) present the negation immediately preceding the -tɨ, as opposed to examples (g), (h), (k) and (l) where ka- is prefixed to the nuclear stem of the verb, allows one to assume that -ta and -tɨ are possibly related to the directional verb wutɨ in some way as yet unclarified.

3.3.5.2.2 Desiderative Mode -pai. The desiderative mode marker -pai is suffixed to the verb to express the willingness or desire of an individual for something to occur:

torón a-n-wɨɨ-pái wanɨ tarɨ
 (bird 2s rel kill des be adv)

'The bird you are in the hope of killing is here.'

samánta-pái perá wái
(die des neg 1 s cont)

'I am not willing to die.'

The same aspectual marker -pái may also function as an auxiliary verb by using the verbalizing prefix e- (see 3.3.2.1.2).

ee-pái waní-sa wutí boa vista-po-ná
(wish be compl 1 s go Boa Vista loc dir)

'I wish I were going to Boa Vista.'

ee-pái wái
(wish 1s cont)

'I am willing: I am on my way.'

3.3.5.2.3 Negative Mode. There are two major allomorphs of the negative divided according to their occurrence in continuative (see 3.3.5.1.1) clauses or perfective clauses (see 3.3.5.1.2). The continuative clauses take the negative form perá preposed to the aspectual form wái. Perfective clauses express negation by the use of pepín prefixed to the verb stem.

makúsi'epúti-u-yá-perá-wái
(Macuxi 3 s know s ag neg 1 s cont)

'I do not know Macuxi.'

i-tá-u-yá-perá-wái
(3 s say 1 s ag neg 1 s cont)

'I am not saying anything.'

amánun-sá perá-wái
 (wet compl neg 1 s cont)

'I was not wet.'

The perfective aspect, negative mode takes the form
-pepíŋ.

epaaká-pepíŋ
 (3 s leave neg)

'He does not leave.'

u-ipí-pepíŋ
 (1 s come neg)

'I do not come.'

ená-pepíŋ
 (1 s fall neg)

'I do not fall (in the water).'

wutí-pitíípi-pepíŋ
 (1 s go iter neg)

'I do not keep going.'

The form pepíŋ is also used with the nominalized
 expressions in -koi (see 3.1.2.1.2).

mikirí s-erénk-koi-pepíŋ repámíi-pí
 (dem refl sing nom neg arrive act)

'The one who is not a singer arrived.'

ka- is also prefixed to imperative forms to create
 the negative imperative:

k-eseramá-í 'Do not look!'
k-ekáátumǎ-í 'Do not run!'
ka-séfmanaa-tǐ 'Do not get dried!'

In addition to the imperative mode, ka- (kǐ- back consonants, k- before vowels) is also prefixed to nominalized verb stems to express negation:

k-esénupa-nén
 (neg study nom)

'The ones who are not students.'

This negation marker is semantically related to the adjective kanné 'no'.

3.3.5.2.4 The Interrogative Mode. The only overt indicators of the interrogative mode are the continuative (see Chart X) and nai, which replaces wanǐ 'be' (see 3.3.3.2) in all persons, singular and plural. If explicit reference to the subject of the sentence is desired then a full pronominal form (see Chart IV) is used with stative verbs, and a reduced pronominal form (see Chart V) is used with transitive verbs. Rising-falling final accent characterizes the mode.

yausíŋ-pe-nâi
 (happy pre aux Q)

'Is he happy?'

or

yausín-pe-mikírí-nâi
(happy pre 3s. aux Q)

'Is he happy?'

The main verb is inflected in these constructions:

y-eká-pi-u-yá-nâi
(3s bite act 1s ag aux Q)

'Am I biting it?'

y-eká-pi-úri-níkoŋ-ya-nâi
(3s bite act 1 pl incl ag aux Q)

'Are we (incl) biting it?'

The continuative aspect indicates that the action is in progress. The use of pronouns is not necessary with the singular forms, as the suppletive wai, naŋ express 1st and 2nd person singular, respectively. As the form neŋ expresses reference to 3rd person singular and all plural persons, if reference to such individuals is made, the presence of the pronoun is necessary. This request for information mode is characterized by a sharp rising intonation on the penultimate syllable and falling intonation on the last syllable.

wé?nan-pi-wâi
(sleep perf cont Q)

'Have I slept?'

yausín-pe-naŋ
(happy pre cont Q)

'Are you ha^e-naŋ

weʔnán-nu-pi-néŋ
 (sleep perf cont Q)

'Has he slept?'

When the independent pronouns are used, it is common to use the form neŋ with all persons in the interrogative mode.

naʔ-neŋ-uri
 (eat fruit cont Q 1s)

'Have I eaten fruit?'

naʔ-neŋ amíri
 (eat fruit cont Q 2s)

'Have you eaten fruit?'

naʔ-neŋ mákirí
 (eat fruit cont Q 3s)

'Has he eaten fruit?'

anná naʔ-neŋ-kon
 (1pl excl eat fruit cont Q pl)

'Have we (excl) eaten fruit?'

tóʔ-naʔ-neŋ
 (3pl eat fruit Q cont)

'Have they eaten fruit?'

Transitive verbs behave the same way. If the independent pronoun is explicit, then the form neŋ is used rather than wai or naŋ.

uraatá rumák-pi-naŋʔ
 (maçarico set free perf Q cont)

'Did you set the maçarico bird free?'

tawará y-apóri-nen amírí?
 (knife 3s use cont Q 2 s)

'Are you using a knife?'

Other nominal or verbal expressions in the language follow an identical accentual pattern that indicates the interrogative mode.

y-éramá-a-ya?
 (3 s see 3s Q ag)

'Does he see it?'

kátuḡ-kóí amírí?
 (run nom 2 s Q)

'Are you a runner?'

3.3.5.2.5 The Necessity Counter-Factual Mode.

The necessity counter-factual mode is expressed by teurén 'ought, should'. It is not inflected for tense or aspect like some other auxiliaries (see 3.3.3) in the language. Tense, aspect and person are all expressed in the main verb of the sentence. The use of teurén indicates that the action expressed by the verb should have occurred, but actually failed to take place.

konó?-yái wítí to?-n-kupí teurén
 (rain season house 3pl rel make neces)

'They who should have made house in the rainy season.'

komám-prá urayó u-n-eramá-pí teurén repamíí-pí
 (temp man 1s rel see act neces arrive act)

'The man I should have seen yesterday arrived.'

3.3.5.2.6 The Potential Mode. The potential mode is expressed by ee-pai-nó 'can, may'. Like the necessity counter-factual mode (3.3.5.2.5) it does not inflect for person, tense, or aspect, which are all expressed with the main verb. The sole function of ee-pai-nó is to express modality. It is formed by the prefix e- (3.3.2.1.2), -pai (3.3.5.2.2) and -no (not semantically transparent, possibly temporal suffix).

e-tá-u-yá ee-pai-nó
(vb hear 1s ag pot)

'I may hear it.'

e-paaká ee-pai-nó
(1s leave pot)

'May I leave?'

3.4 Compound and Complex Sentences

Few connectives are found which display coordination and subordination functions at the clause level. Juxtaposition of clauses rather than the use of connectives is also found in coordination and subordination. Therefore the category of connectives is composed of relatively few morphemes.

3.4.1 Coordination

One of the connectives found in my data is moroopai 'and, then' (examples (a) and (b)). The idea expressed by

this connective may also be conveyed by the comitative expression ya-rakarí 'with' (example (c)).

- (a) p̄séri worooké muroopái arímaraká repámíi-pí
(dem parrot conn dog arrive perf)

'This parrot and dog arrived.'

- (b) urí moroopái m̄kírí kaiurá yu?sé-perá-anna-mán
(1 sg conn 3 s pineapple want neg 1 pl excl cont)

'He and I, we are not wanting pineapple.'

- (c) pukón-pé ya-rakarí aáketón wanií
(3 sg child pl pre commit old man be)

'There was an old man and/with his children.'

A second connective in Macuxi is narí 'also, too'

(example (a) above, and (d) and (e) below). Note the possibility of translating example (e) as 'and':

- (d) t̄ií-pái narí-wái
(give des conn cont)

'I am also wanting to give.'

- (e) morí wairá kurenán kaiwán narí
(good tapir big fat conn)

'The good tapir is big, fat too.'

The temporal connective típo 'after', in conjunction with the demonstrative sirirí, can also be used to link two sentences.

- (f) sirirí-tipó enaá-po wíípi-yá
(dem conn become loc house in)

'Afterwards, I will be at home.'

- (g) aasé éntamookaá tipó sirirí
(let us eat conn dem)

'Let's eat after this.'

3.4.2 Subordination.

The connectives in this section are quite limited in number. As stated earlier, most subordination is shown through juxtaposition of clauses. The subordinate clause may occur before or after the main clause.

Among the few connectives in this section are the suffix -ya 'when, if', homophonous with the agentive marker (see 3.1.4.3.1) and the postposition -ya 'in' (see 3.1.4.4); it differs from these in that it is postposed to verbs, while the other two are postposed to nouns or pronouns.

- (a) joáo-yá ingris-taá-sa-yá y-anumí-pi-i-yá
(João ag English hear compl sub 3s learn perf 3sag)

'If João had heard English he would have learned it.'

- (b) wúti-sa-yá boa vista-po-ná amirí eramá-pi-u-yá
(1 sg go compl sub Boa Vista loc dir 2 sg see
act 1 s ag)

'When I went to Boa Vista, I saw you.'

Also used as subordinators are the relative pronouns (see 3.2.5) and the demonstrative maní 'that' (see 3.2.3).

- (c) unépuutí urayó maní it-ekín-man arímaraká
 priaá-perá
 (1 sg know man sub 3 sg poss pet cont dog
 health not)

'I know the man whose pet dog is sick.'

Virtually all interrogative words (see Section 3.2.4) may also be used as relative pronoun subordinators. Some examples are í?pensá 'when' (example (d)) and í?wini 'why' (example (e)).

- (d) í?pensá wutí putírí aá-perá-waní
 (temp sub 1 sg go know 2 sg neg be)

'You do not know when I go.'

- (e) í?wini waníre-nén maikáŋ-sii-po-ná a-tí etá-i-
 yá-perá-mán
 (sub be nom fox leg loc dir 2 s go hear
 3 s ag neg cont)

'He has not heard why you are going to Foxleg Village.'

Several connectives express a certain temporality in the sequence of events expressed in the subordinate clause. Thus -pa 'so to', -ma 'while, as', -tané 'after' express that the event takes place correlatively with another, or at the same time as another event or right after another event has taken place.

Abbott (1973: 35) classifies -pa as 'permission mode.' However, -pa is actually a correlative conjunction and may be glossed as 'so'. This is treated under compound and complex sentences (see 3.4).

- (f) atíí-pí te-wí-ya erén erám-pa
(3s go act 3s poss home dir river see so to)
'He went to his home in order to see the river.'
- (g) te-wí-ya a-tíí-pí erén-eramá-i-má
(3s poss home dir 3s go act river see pur as)
'As he went home he saw the river.'
- (h) ee-serenk-tané wuri manánú
(3s sing after girl dance)
'After he sang the girl danced.'

The following relative clauses have dependency conveyed by juxtaposition rather than through subordinators or connectives. The sentences immediately below (i), (j), (k), (l) show one alternative for the ordering of the sentence elements.

- (i) urayó eramá-u-yá arimaraáka paatí-ti-pón
(man see ls ag dog hit perf rel loc)
'I see the man who hit the dog!'

The nominal object urayó 'man' may be preceded by the demonstrative pronoun maní 'that' for object focus (see Section 3.2.3).

- (j) urayó eramá-u-yá maria kománitó tarákarí
(man see ls ag Maria live comit)
'I see the man Maria lives with.'
- (k) João-yá káreta eramáá-pí maria numénukáá-pí
muré-piá
(João ag letter see perf Maria write perf boy dat)
'João saw the letter Maria wrote to the boy.'

- l) u-n-éputí urayó káreta tírii maría-yá ii-piá
(1 s know man book give perf Maria ag 3 sg dat)

'I know the man Maria gave the book to.'

- (m) u-n-épuutí urayó arimarááká t-ekín-man priá? perá
(1 s rel know man dog rel poss pet cont health
neg)

'I know the man whose pet dog is sick.'

3.4.3 Predicative Markers

The predicate of a stative verb is formally marked by

-pe:

- (n) morí-pé amén-nán
(well pre adv 2 s cont)
'You are well now.'
- (o) rorái-pé ká?-mán
(yellow pre sky 3 s cont)
'The sky is yellow.'
- (p) yáusín-pé ená-piá-tí
(happy pre become inch)
'He started to get happy.'

A noun or pronoun marked by -pí 'to' indicates a complement of an intransitive verb.

- (q) penáné wutí konéi-pí
(time adv 1 s go fishing hook to)
'Tomorrow I go fishing.'

The purposive aspect marker -se (-i) (see Section 3.3.5.1.6) also expresses dependency between two clauses.

This suffix is added to the dependent verb:

(r) wutí wenún-sé
(1 s go sleep pur)

'I go to sleep'

(s) ekóremá-í uríkón wutí sirirí
(fight pur 1 pl incl go temp adv)

'We will go fight.'

3.4.4 Direct and Indirect Speech

Verbs of saying (say, tell, ask) are used in direct and indirect quotations. The order of the sentence elements is free, as can be verified from examples (t) and (u), where the quotation may precede or follow the main clause.

(t) tá-u-yá e?miisáka-kí
(say 1 s ag stay up imp)

'I say, "Stay up".'

(u) epááká eepáinó tá-i-yá
(1 sg leave modal say 3 s ag)

'"May I leave?" he says.'

(v) tó?emiisáka-toopé isáá-tí-u-yá
(3 pl stay up ben ask 1 s ag)

'I ask them to stay up.'

(w) tá-u-yá emiisáka-pá
(say 1 s ag stay up so)

'I say so you may stay up/ I tell you to stay up.'

3.5 Adverbs

3.5.1 Temporal Adverbs

Temporal adverbs play an important role in the Macuxi language system to indicate the time of the event. Since there are no morphological tense markers in the language, it is natural that the gap should be filled by other parts of the grammar or lexicon. The following are some of the most relevant temporal adverbs.

3:5.1.1 The Adverbs sirírfí 'now' and mirírfí 'then'.

The words sirírfí and mirírfí were described earlier (3.2.2), along with the demonstrative pronouns. They are seen here as time adverbs, and as such they indicate the action or event as happening at some future time (examples a-d).

- (a) e?pí-i tó?wutí sirírfí
(fight pur 3 pl go time adv)
'They will go to fight.'
- (b) iwenun-sé itó-wutí mirírfí
(sleep pur 3 pl go time adv)
'They will go to sleep.'
- (c) amiríkon wutí sirírfí waróno-yá
(2 pl go time adv tonight)
'You all are going tonight.'
- (d) e?pí-i a-tí mirírfí
(fight pur 3 s go time adv)
'He will go to fight.'

The choice of using siríří or míríří is not random for the speaker. The use of siríří implies that the action or event is close to the speaker. However, the use of míríří indicates that another individual feels close to or involved in the event. Thus it is almost always the case that siríří will be used with the first person pronouns, whereas míríří will be used with the third person pronouns. Sentence (a) is not a counterexample to the above statement because it indicates the participation, or interest, of the speaker in the event. Hodsdon and Low (1974: 2) refer to siríří as 'attached to speaker' and to míríří as 'separated from speaker'. For further details on the semantics of siríří and míríří see Hodsdon and Lowe (1974).

3.5.1.2 The Adverb siríří-pé 'today'.

The time adverbial siríří with the formative -pe refers to an event that occurs within roughly a 24-hour time span. Its gloss is 'today' as in examples (e) and (f).

- (e) siríří-pé kuné?kaa-pi-wái u-y-e-wí
(time adv make perf cont 1 s poss house)

'Today I am making my house'

- (f) tarí á-waní siríří-pé
(place adv 2 s be time adv)

'You are here today.'

3.5.1.5 The Adverb penáné-ti-kománi-sé 'after tomorrow'.

This adverb is glossed as 'after tomorrow'. In 1.4 above, penáné was discussed and given the gloss 'tomorrow'. The verb kománi means 'exist, remain'. The formative -ti forms part of the iterative aspect marker and indicates extension of an action over a period of time (see 3.3.5.1.4). The formative -se occurs with certain stative verbs (see Section 3.3.5.1.6). The combination of these elements extends the meaning of penáné 'tomorrow' to include existence beyond tomorrow, a more distant time.

(k) u-y-eramá-a-yá penáné-ti-kománi-sé
(1 s see 2 s ag time adv)

'You will see me after tomorrow.'

3.5.1.6 The Adverb kománi-perá 'yesterday'.

This time adverb is glossed as 'yesterday', and is also formed on the basis of the verb kománi 'exist, remain', in conjunction with the negative postposition perá. The literal translation would be 'no longer existing', and the absence of the -ti- and -se implies that the time referred to is within about a 24-hour span from the moment of speech.

(l) kománi-perá ásitún-pé merúnti-ké waní-pí
(time adv wind comp strength have be perf)

'Yesterday, the wind was strong.'

- (m) áʔnáí pímí-pí-wái kománi-perá
 (corn plant perf cont time adv)

'Yesterday, I was planting corn.'

3.5.1.7 The Adverb míni-kománi-perá 'day before yesterday'.

The formation of this adverb is also based on kománi, with the negative perá for 'yesterday' and the addition of the demonstrative míni 'that'. míni is a demonstrative pronoun indicating distance from speaker, and occurs only in conjunction with adverbials (see Section 3.2.3). This adverb is glossed as 'day before yesterday'.

- (n) ikkéi kunéʔká urisá míni-kománi-perá
 (bread make woman time adv)

'I came from my distant home day before yesterday.'

- (o) míni-kománi-perá u-y-e-wí u-ipíi-pí áminké
 (time adv 1 s poss house 1 s come perf far away)

'I came from my distant home day before yesterday.'

3.5.1.8 The Adverb amén 'now'.

The adverb amén expresses a time coincidental with that of the speech event, and is translated as 'now'.

- (p) moríi-pé amén-nán
 (well comp time adv cont)

'You are well now.'

3.5.1.9 The Adverb kaisarí 'everyday'.

This adverb is glossed as 'everyday' and is used to indicate a habitual action.

- (q) saakrírí kapóí káisarí napoleão i-pó u-kómamí
 (four moon time adv Napoleão 3 s loc 1 s live)

'I've lived in Napoleão every day for four months.'

3.5.1.10 The Adverb -yai 'season'.

The suffix -yai 'time, season' combines with noun roots such as kono? 'rain' and wei 'sun', to express time of the year and time in general.

- (r) amírí reepámi-i-pí konó?-yái
 (2 s arrive perf rain time adv)

'You arrived at the rainy season.'

- (s) konó? reepámi-ni-pí-pepìn wéi-yái
 (rain arrive perf neg sun time adv)

'The rain did not arrive in the summer.'

3.5.1.11 The Adverb tiáron-pená-sá 'sometimes'.

This adverb is formed on the basis of tiáron 'other', pená 'time', and -sa, possibly the same as the completive marker (see 3.3.5.1.5), and is glossed as 'sometimes'.

- (t) tiáron-pená-sá umúku-yamí émpanató
 (time adv 1 s poss child pl remember)

'Sometimes my children remember.'

3.5.2 Adverbs of Assent, Dissent and Uncertainty

3.5.2.1 The adverb inná 'yes'.

When the speaker assents to or agrees on matters, he uses the adverb inná 'yes'.

- (a) inná kayurá wakuríí-pe-wáí
(aff pineapple like pre cont)

'Yes, I am enjoying the pineapple/I like pineapple!'

3.5.2.2 The adverb kanné 'no'.

To deny or disagree, the adverb kanné 'no' is used.

- (b) kanné tu?séé-perá-wáí
(neg 3s want neg 1 s cont)

'No, I am not wanting it.'

3.5.2.3 The adverb yei-perá 'maybe'.

When there is doubt involved, yei-perá is used.

The negative suffix -perá is present in this adverb, glossed as 'maybe, perhaps'.

- (c) joáo i-ipí yei-perá
(João 3s come doubt)

'Maybe João will come.'

3.5.3 Manner Adverbs

3.5.3.1 Adverbs From Adjectives.

Certain adjectives may take the derivational -pe (see 3.4.3) to form an adverb, commonly glossed as manner adverbs with the -ly suffix in English.

- (a) u-yé-nya kɪná imákɪi-pé
(1 s poss hand smell bad adv)
'My hand stinks.'
- (b) yepéru ramá-i-yá kaʔnéʔ-pé
(fruit see 3 sg agt quick adv)
'He quickly sees the fruit.'
- (c) mori-pé wanɪ imú
(good adv be starch)
'The starch is in good shape.'

The adverb inná 'yes' and the predicative -pe together form the adverb inápé 'truly'.

- (d) anɪ u-máimú etané-wanɪ-ya inápé e-esénupá
komamɪ-i
(pro 1 sg word hear 3 sg be conn adv 3 sg learn
live pur)
'Who when hearing my word truly learns to live.'

3.5.3.2 The Adverb inɪrɪ 'again'.

- (e) inɪrɪ pampɪ esénupaa-páɪ-wanɪ yakarɪ
(adv quant 1 sg learn des be comit)
'I want to learn still more.'
- (f) inɪrɪ wutɪ
(again 1s go)
'I go again.'

3.5.4 Place Adverbs

There are numerous compound words to indicate place in the Macuxi language.

3.5.4.1 The Adverb miá-rí-yá 'in that direction'.

The formatives in this adverb are miá 'hand', the determiner -rí and the directional -yá.

- (a) wutí-pái-wái miá-rí-yá
(1 s go des 1 s imm place adv)

'I want to go in that direction.'

3.5.4.2 The Adverb yaráá-tá 'this direction'.

The formatives of this adverb are yaraa, which is semantically opaque, and -ta which was previously analyzed as a positional.

- (b) u-ipí-sá yaráá-tá
(1 sg come compl place adv)

'I came this direction.'

3.5.4.3 The Adverbs amíŋ-ké 'far away' and amíŋ-ka-maré 'nearby, close to'.

In these two adverbs, the root amíŋ means 'distance'. When joined with the formative -ke 'be with, have' (Section 3.3.2.1.1), the meaning is 'with distance, far'. When joined with -ka 'negative' and the quantifier maré 'little', the meaning is, literally 'not much distance' or 'nearby'.

- (c) waní-mí amíŋ-ké
(1 s be still place adv)

'I stay far away.'

- (d) moróʔ-yamí enaá-pí amíŋ-ka-maré
(fish pl become act place adv)

'The fish were nearby!'

3.5.4.4 The Adverb moro 'there'.

- (e) máʔma moro-nái
(mother adv 2 s be Q)

'Are you there, Mother?'

- (f) urayó wutí moro
(man go adv)

'he goes there.'

3.5.4.5 The Adverb tari 'here'.

- (g) waní tari
(1 s be adv)

'I am here.'

- (h) aróʔyenná-pí u-yá tari
(hat buy perf 1s ag adv)

'I bought the hat here.'

3.5.5 Frequency Adverbs

Few adverbs of frequency were registered in my data.

They are words derived from the adjective tuuká 'amount'.

The first two words are antonyms.

- (i) tuuké-teeká 'number of times, often'

aní-patí-patí tuuké-teeká joáo-yá
(pro hit hit often Joao ag)

'Who has João hit often?'

(j) tuuké-maré-teeká 'few times, seldom'

joão wutí tuúke-maré-teeká boa vista-po-ná
(João go seldom Boa Vista loc dir)

'João seldom goes to Boa Vista.'

Note the presence of maré, the quantifier meaning 'little, few', in the second frequency adverb.

3.6 Quantifiers

Several quantifiers have been identified in Macuxi. Given that the native numeral system of the language (3.1.3.1) is not adequate to express large numbers, it is natural that quantifiers be employed in order to express undetermined large quantities. The quantifiers which have been identified so far are as follows:

(a) tamɛnarɛ 'all'

(a) tamɛnarɛ i-ni-kɛ
(quant 3 sg drink imp)

'Drink it all!'

(b) inkamoró tamɛna-narɛ iipɛ tarɛ
(dem pl quant conn come adv)

'All of those, too, come here!'

(b) pámpɛ 'more/much'

(a) ikkéí pámpɛ ma?má
(bread quant mother)

'More bread, Mother.'

- (b) aasé kaʔné pámpí maʔmá
 (walk fast quant mother)

'Let's go faster, mother.'

In the last example, pámpí is used as an intensifier rather than as a quantifier.

- (c) mararí 'little, few'

mararí a-tí
 (little 3 sg go)

'She goes a little ways/distance.'

- (d) mararí-perá 'several'

This word is a composition of mararí 'little, few', and the negative postposition perá. Literally 'few not', the gloss given by the consultant is 'several'.

FOOTNOTES- CHAPTER III

¹This is not an exhaustive treatment of the issue. For further details see Diniz (1972) Os Indios Makuxi do Roraima.

²Dixon's (1979: 60-61) definition of ergativity:

A language is said to show ergative characteristics if intransitive subject is treated in the same manner as transitive object, and differently from transitive subject. There are many ways in which this treatment can be realized.

³Macuxi, although a member of the Carib language family (see 1.1), does not lend support to Desmond Derbyshire's claim that Hishkaryana and Carib are typologically OVS languages. See Derbyshire (1977).

⁴The last vowel of the stem, -o, becomes -a with the stative -s-, in a morphophonemic change.

⁵The immediate-time aspect co-occurs with the relativizer -n- 'who' with the stem of the movement verbs 'come' and 'go': í-n-iipí-mán 'he who is coming' and wutí-m-pí-mán 'he who is going'. This formation needs further investigation to determine its precise function and implications in the language.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter summarizes all previous chapters (I, II, and III) in the work and indicates their central issues.

In the final paragraphs, directions for further investigation are pointed out. The area for further research is clearly open in Carib languages, especially in points usually raised in arguments for and against linguistic universals. Also of importance for future investigation is bilingualism, or the use of more than one linguistic code in the area, with consequences in the lexicon and grammar of each language being spoken. The semantics of the pronominal and verbal systems are also subjects for further study in this and related languages.

4.1 Summary

This dissertation consists of four chapters on Macuxi, a Carib language spoken by some 4,000 individuals in Northern Brazil (see Map 1, p. 2).

The work was intended as a preliminary, surface phonological and morphosyntactical analysis of in situ collected data. Its main purpose was to discover systematic regularities in the internal structure of the language, rather than to use the sample for testing theoretical issues.

Classification of the language with Northern Carib languages, current speakers' population and location, related literature, as well as information on conditions under which the data were collected were given in Chapter I.

A phonemic description as well as general rules operating with consonants and vowels are given in the outset of Chapter II. A characteristic phenomenon found in Carib languages is stop pre-aspiration (see Derbyshire 1979, Grimes 1972, and Hoff 1968, for examples). The present analysis indicates this to be a phonetic manifestation of stop degemination in Macuxi. Voicing with consonants is the result of rules operating in the language (see Chapter II, Section 2.1.2). The language has long vowels in its phonemic system, and also presents long vowels that are the result of phonological rules (see 2.5.4, for example). Also characteristic of the language is high and low accent. Phonological rules are also presented in Chapter II.

Chapter III deals with noun and verb morphology, and presents also the pronominal system, besides a brief introduction to coordination and subordination. A listing and discussion of the adverbs and quantifiers found in the data close this chapter.

Another salient characteristic of the language is the use of overt suffixes to indicate cases. The

accusative case is the unmarked case in the language, and the indication of direct object is done through position. The direct object--whether a noun or pronoun--is found immediately before the verb stem. The agentive case suffix -ya is an important indicator of the active subject of a transitive verb, thus placing Macuxi among the ergative languages.

The personal pronouns have both a full and a reduced set of forms (see Charts IV and V, Chapter III, Section 3.2.1). With stative verbs, only the full form pronouns are found. With all other verbs, full form pronouns are used for focus, whereas (for non-stative verbs) the reduced form pronouns may be used when focus is not important. The suffix -ri, extensively used with pronouns, and -ni as well, used in combination with demonstrative pronouns, were found to be indefinite pronouns, meaning 'a, an' and 'other', respectively. Also in connection with demonstrative pronouns, -pi and -mi were found in free distribution as markers of animatedness. The importance of such an alternation can be evaluated only after further comparative study of other Carib languages is pursued.

Affixes that occur with transitive and intransitive verb stems are numerous. Grammatical prefixes are either pronouns or voice changing prefixes. Postposed to the stem are auxiliary verbs with tense and aspect suffixes, or tense and aspect suffixes directly suffixed to the verb

stem. Aspect is the most important category to appear with verbs, followed in importance by mode. Time is the least salient category, and it is usually indicated by temporal adverbs.

Adverbs are numerous in the language, the temporal ones outnumbering all other types of adverbs. Their position in the clause is free, either initial or final, the latter being the unmarked one for semantic effects.

Chapter III closes with a few quantifiers intended for further investigation, rather than detailed analysis at the moment.

4.2 Suggestions for Further Investigation

In reference to phonology (see Chapter II), borrowing (see 2.5.8) and vowel harmony (see 2.5.7) should be subjects of in-depth studies.

Many facts prompt intensive lexical borrowing, especially in those areas of vocabulary where contact with western civilization brought along unknown items into the lives of the Macuxi speakers. It is not only with European languages spoken in the area, such as Spanish, Portuguese, English and French, that the Macuxi have intermittent contact. The contact is possibly more extensive with other tribal groups in the area, who speak languages such as Yanomami and Aruak, and also other Carib languages in the Territory of Roraima.

The adaptation of such borrowings into the phonological system of the language, and the consequences of the application of rules such as vowel harmony and accent change into such borrowings provide a fertile ground for further investigation.

Chapter III, which deals with morphology and syntax, has several topics that should be the subject of detailed investigation. Further research on pronouns, for instance, should seek to determine the semantic status of the suffixes -ri and -ki (see Chapter III, Section 3.2.2) when used in connection with possessed nouns. Also in relation to pronouns, the alternation found between mi- and pi- (see Chapter III, Section 3.2.3) needs historical and comparative investigation to determine the basis of the alternation in Proto-Carib.

As I close, Derbyshire and Pullum (IJAL 47, 3, 1981) have published their article on "Object-Initial Languages". Maintaining the position taken by Abbott (1977), Hodsdon (1976) and Williams (1932) I again state that the basic word order of Macuxi is Subject-Object-Verb, contrary to what Derbyshire and Pullum (1981) believe to be more basic in Macuxi.

Basic to languages is the use of the noun to convey new information on the subject of a sentence. The pronoun indicates that the audience already knows about the individual being referred to in the discourse. Macuxi has

the full noun in simple, declarative sentences, always preposed to the object and verb, in a typical SOV word order.

It is fruitless to use statistical counting that includes pronominal subjects derived from the more basic nominal sentence. It is worse to include complex sentences in the count, as the agentive suffix -ya is homophonous with the directional post-position -ya 'in' (see Chapter III, Section 3.1.4.3.4), which also occurs with nouns, like the agentive -ya, and the temporal subordinator -ya (see Chapter III, Section 3.4.2) which follows verbs. To illustrate the occurrence of all three homophonous suffixes, observe the sentence:

a-tí-yá té-wi-yá erén-eraamá i-yá
 (3s go sub 3s poss house dir river see 3s ag)

Sentences like the above may elude the count and help increase the apparent number of seemingly postponed subjects.

I agree with Derbyshire and Pullum that very little has been committed to print on Macuxi and other Carib languages being used as evidence for OVS languages, except for Hixkaryana (Ibid.: 193). Therefore, I suggest that such Carib languages should be thoroughly studied before any particular hypotheses regarding language universals can be set forth.

4.3 Conclusions

My final remarks on this work reinforce what Derbyshire and Pullum (1981) state in their article. There are very few descriptions of the indigenous languages of Brazil. The territory to be covered both in geographical and linguistic terms is vast. In this dissertation, I present the first necessary step into that territory: a global treatment of the Macuxi language.

Investigation shall be continued in order to fill the gap felt in linguistic circles concerning indigenous languages.

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