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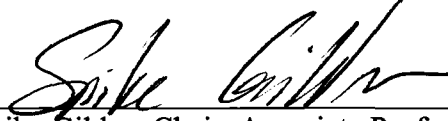
by

**Petronila da Silva Tavares**

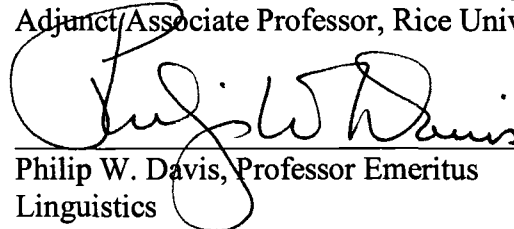
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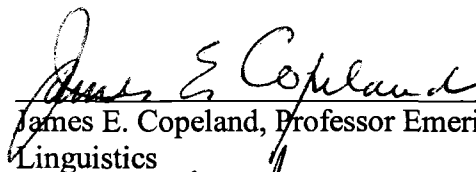
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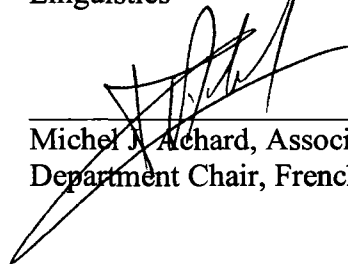
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## ABSTRACT

### A Grammar of Wayâna

by

Petronila da Silva Tavares

Wayâna is a Cariban language spoken in northern Brazil, southern Surinam, and southern French Guyâna by a total of around 900 speakers.

The previous descriptive works on this language consist of a few vocabulary lists, a short grammar sketch, and a few articles on specific topics. This dissertation contributes to the documentation of the language by providing a more detailed description of most aspects of the Wayâna grammar. The chapters range from a description of the language's phonological aspects to the morphology of the speech classes and the basic syntactic patterns. In addition, the appendixes include a collection of texts and a vocabulary list.

Patterns discussed in this work include those of syllable reduction, in which words may undergo reduction of entire syllables; differences in the possessibility of nouns, which depend on semantic and cultural considerations; the complex system of spatial postpositions distinguishing features such as the position, path or goal of a trajector vis-à-vis its landmark; and a split ergative system in which no motivation for the split has yet been explained.

The data used in this work were obtained through elicitation sessions and from recordings of spoken narratives.

*To the living,*  
my mother and siblings  
my husband and daughter

*to the dead,*  
my father  
Aimole Wayâna  
Mohto Wayâna

*and for the One above all.*

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, 1991. Belem, Brazil. Denny Moore and his students recorded an elicitation session with Kujupë, a now deceased Wayâna speaker. Here, a little from the tape:

‘What is the word for stone?’ (Denny Moore)

‘Ah! “stone”, isn’t it ?...[təpu]’ (Kujupë)

This piece is significant for me for showing the first Wayâna word I heard elicited by my first teacher in linguistics. At that time, Dr. Denny Moore, a real passionate on the indigenous languages of Brazil, led a team of young trainees in linguistics at the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, both as a teacher and as a friend. No one forgets the heated after hours discussions on grammatical themes at his kitchen table while hungrily waiting for his famous pork chops; or the times in which he had our medical bills paid for. He was my first teacher in descriptive linguistics. It was him who told me about this “marvelous” language that I ought to take a look at. That was the beginning of everything.

Soon after I started transcribing those Wayâna tapes, two new additions were made to the Museu. The first to come was Sérgio Meira, a remarkable young intellect with a sometimes obnoxious tendency to precision (he was the one who pointed out to me that I had mistranscribed the Wayâna word for stone as [topu] instead of the “obvious” [təpu]). Meira turned out to be a caring colleague and friend who assisted me so substantially and in so many ways throughout the years (*Ipok manai, Sesu!*). His superb Tiriyo grammar was a great aid in the writing of this dissertation.

The second addition was Dr. Spike Gildea who came to the Museu with a project that sharply improved the knowledge on the grammar of northern Cariban languages (specially Tiriyo, Wayâna and Kaxuyana). And it was under the tutoring of Dr. Gildea that my education on Cariban grammar as well as my first field trip to the land of the Wayâna took off. His honesty and immediate connection with the Wayâna people made the way easier in my field work. Through the time of my first elicitation sessions with a Wayâna speaker to the last adjustments of the final draft of my dissertation, Dr. Gildea was more than a teacher, he was a true friend; all and all, his assistance was from the very beginning an indispensable condition for this dissertation to happen.

From my time as a student at the Department of Linguistics at Rice University, there were two very special people I wish to thank. First, my recognition goes to Dr. Philip Davis, who understood my background, and supported me solidly not only through the writing of this work, but through my years in grad school. Second, my recognition goes to Ursula Keierleber, our former department coordinator, for the many times she told me ‘Don’t worry, you’ll do it’ (Yes, Ursula. I took it to heart, and I did it!)

My gratitude also goes to Rita Riley, our department coordinator, for the several times she helped me meet deadlines.

As for the research developed among the Wayâna, I wish first to thank this people who amazed me not only with such a beautiful language, but also with the emotional and logistic support while in the villages. My acknowledgments go to all those who shared their language with me, specially Anakali, Pikala, Alinawale, Paji, Vitorino, Enapin, Enemha, Patuli, Melekuku, Tuwalinke, Aligo, Majani, Mohto, Samole, Mikili, Pipinë, Francisco, Marieta, Jane, Walema, Nataniel, Ikuwa, Kuwaiman, Tintin, Olisimë, Noki,



Mopelu, Sapotoli, Malisa, Renato, Alvina, Pilasisi, Salomao, Aimole, Konsa, Dora, Tadeu, Polonildo, Rubi, Alitana, Araiba, Ohpokaka, Jamae, Apekuwa, Bete, Ocimar, Malikë, Kajapo, Siuka, Paulinho Apalai, Elani, Trindade, among others.

Thanks to the late Aimole (“*um rei que reinava como um ser comum*”)\*, to Joao Aranha and to all the Wayâna leaders whose posture confirms the truthfulness of the words of a German expeditioner to the Amazon region (Jari river):

*“Eles tem uma andadura soberba, livre, aprumada. A plenitude dos cabelos em cima dos ombros, flechas e arcos na mão, esses homens pernudos e de ombros largos oferecem um espetáculo maravilhoso. Eles são de uma estatura mais esguia [...] com mãos, dedos e pés esbeltos, bonitos, os rostos esquinados, antes quadrangulares do que ovais”.* (Cristóvão Lins, 1997)

*(They have a regal, free, and portly stroll. The plenitude of their hair over the shoulders, arrow and bowls in hand, these long-legged and large-shouldered men offer a marvelous spectacle. They are of a more slender stature [...] with slim hands, fingers and feet, beautiful, the rectilinear faces, rather quadrangular than oval)*

And I want to thank the FUNAI (Brazilian Bureau for Indigenous Affairs) representatives for giving me administrative support (and friendship) in my many trips to the Paru River (Obrigada Josinete, Moisés e Rosinha).

The data for this grammar were collected with the support of two grants from the National Science Foundation, The Northern Brazilian Cariban Languages Documentation Project (Project #9818244), and a Doctoral Dissertation Research Grant: A Grammar of Wayana (Project #9909118).

And I want to thank the Wayâna researchers. This grammar was written primarily for you. For you who take upon yourself the responsibility of studying this remarkable people and their language. If you can use this grammar in any way, help to fix its so many flaws, and advance the knowledge of Wayâna grammar, you will have this work justified. May it be another step in the ladder. I want to thank, in particular, Walter Jackson whose

work of only 35 pages proved to be solidly thorough and reliable. I have come back to it so many times since the beginning of my work that, at this point, I can say I know it by heart. My gratitude also goes to Eliane Camargo and Lucia Hussak van Velthem for sharing the same ideal.

Finally, I thank you my beloved husband, friend and partner of so much. Thank you, Jeff, for your love and support (and for gathering wood in the forests of the Wayâna land so we could have our fire). And thank you for taking care of our beautiful child, *a maravilhosa* Ana Maria Mira, while I wrote.

\*Lyrics by Martinho da Vila, Rodolfo, Graúna. Samba enredo da Vila Isabel, 1980.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Attrb	Attributive'
ExistentAvlz	'Existential adverbializer'
Avlz	'Verbalizer'
Nmlz	'Nominalizer'
ModAvlz	'Modifier Adverbilizer'
GenModAvlz	'Generic Modifier'
SpcModAvlz	'Specific Modifier'
Defect	'Defective'
Prtc	'Participle'
Neg	'Negative'
Intens	'Intensifier'
Red1	'Reduplication type 1'
Red2	'Reduplication type 2'
Red3	'Reduplication type 3'
Red4	'Reduplication type 4'
Red5	'Reduplication type 5'
Pro	'Pronoun'
Pss	'Possessive'
1	'First person'
2	'Second person'
1+2	'First person dual inclusive'
1+3	'First person exclusive'
3	'Third person'
3Refl.	'Third person reflexive'
Cll	'Collective'
Dvl	'Devaluative'
AgtNmlz	'Agent Nominalizer'
ObjNmlz	'Object Nominalizer'
PatModNmlz	'Patient Modifier'
PstAgt	'Past Agent'
CircnstNmlz'	'Circumstantial Nominalizer'
SpcEvtnttNmlz	'Specific Event Nominalizer'
GenEvtnttNmlz	'Generic Event Nominalizer'
PtNmlz	'Participant Nominalizer'
PrivNmlz	'Privative Nominalizer'
Priv	'Privative'
RecprN	'Reciprocal on nouns'
Recpr	'Reciprocal on postpositions'
Erg	'Ergative'
Dem	'Demonstrative'
Inan	'Inanimate'
Anm	'Animate'
Prox	'Proximal'
Med	'Medial'

Dist	‘Distal’
snd	‘sound symbolic word’
NPst	‘Non Past’
HabPst	‘Habitual Past’
RecPst	‘Recent Past’
ImpAblat	‘Imperative Ablative’
HortAbl	‘Hortatory Ablative’
DistPst	‘Distant Past’
ProxImp	‘Proximal Imperative’
ImpAllat	‘Imperative Allative’
ProxHort	‘Proximal Hortatory’
HortAllat	‘Hortatory Allative’
PurpMot	‘Purpose of Motion’
Vrbzl	‘Verbalizer’
PrivVrbzl	‘Privative Verbalizer’
PpNVrbzl	‘Postpositional Verbalizer’
Trans	‘Transitive’
N	‘Noun’
Attr	‘Attributive’
Det	‘Detransitivizer’
Compl	‘Completive’
Prfct	‘Perfective’
Resumpt	‘Resumptive’
Necessit	‘Necessitative’
Pcoll	‘Postpositional Collective’
Comit	‘Comitative’
Inclus	‘Inclusive’
Des	‘Desiderative’
OblAgt	‘Oblique Agent’
Ben	‘Benefactive’
Dat	‘Dative’
Instr	‘Instrument’
AvIntens	‘Adverbial Intensifier’
()	Indicate the text source of the example. \$kkk

## 1. INTRODUCTION.

**1.1. The Wayâna People.** The term *Wayâna* is the people's autodenomination and the name of their language; it also means 'people,' 'person.' Other denominations referring to this group and their language are found in the literature: Wayâna, Ayana, Wajana, Oayana, Oyana, Urucuiana, Upurui, and Roucouyenne. (cf. van Velthem 1998:31, van Velthem 1995:28, Gildea 1998:14). The differences in the terms mostly reflect the different nationalities of researchers and explorers and of some different ethnic groups incorporated to the Wayâna, as for instance the Upului, who joined this group in the last century (Rauschert-Alenani, 1981).

The Wayâna villages are located in an area divided by the borders of three countries, Surinam, French Guyana, and Brazil. On the Brazilian side, their settlements are located along the shores of the Paru river, in Almeirim, Pará. Grimes (1998) counted 950 Wayâna people, and now *Ethnologue* counts a total of 750 in all the three countries. In the census carried out by the Brazilian Bureau of Indigenous Affairs (FUNAI), the Wayâna population on the Brazilian side was of 160 individuals (pc.); the Language Museum gives the number of Wayâna in French territory as 200, and *Ethnologue* reports a population of 397 in Surinam (see below for the electronic addresses of *Ethnologue* and the Language Museum).

Formerly, the Wayâna territory included settlements on the middle and upper Paru river and the upper Jari river, on the now Brazilian side, and settlements on the Litani river and the Palomeu river on the Surinam side (van Velthem 1995:32, Barbosa & Morgado 2003). The inhabitants of the upper Jari now live on the Lawa and Litani rivers in French Guyana. Today, the Wayâna share part of their traditional geographic location

with other Carib groups, particularly the Aparai and also the Tiriyo. The association with the Aparai has continued through several generations, through intermarriage bonds which continue today. This and the shared territory on the Paru River have led the two peoples to often be referred to by a composite label, the Wayâna-Aparai, but van Velthem (1995:29) points to important cultural differences between the two groups, in addition to the language.

The contact with foreigners dates from centuries ago; the Wayâna were first known in the 17<sup>th</sup> century in the north and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century on the Brazilian side by Brazilian traders and explorers, traders from Surinam, and the *meikolo*, among others (van Velthem, 1998:37). In the second half of the 20th century, American missionaries (from 1962 to 1976) and Brazilian institutions established themselves along the Paru River. The Brazilian Air Force installed a landing site in 1970, and the FUNAI established a headquarters in 1973 (Morgado & Camargo, 1996). Today, external presence in the area includes Brazilian Portuguese teachers, FUNAI representatives, and medical personnel. In 1995, the Aritu (the Association of the Indigenous People of the Tumucumaque Reservation) was created, having as one of its main roles that of administrating the health system.

Today, the Aparai (or Bona) village is the most cosmopolitan in the region, with Wayana, Aparai and Tiriyo communities, and is the most assisted by Brazilian institutions with a nucleus for nurses, teachers, etc.

Our field trips were all carried out along the Paru River, and we discuss the situation of the Wayâna people in this area as it was in our last trip in 2001.

**1.2. The economy.** The Wayâna are primarily hunters, gatherers and farmers. Thus, their diet consists primarily of what they gather from the forest, rivers, and their farms. However, other aliments bought in the cities, especially Macapá (AP), are also used daily, for instance, salt, sugar, and coffee. A variety of other goods are acquired in the cities, including cloth, sandals, soap, toothpaste, batteries, flashlights, matches, gasoline for motor boats, etc.

Selling arcrafts locally or via Aritu is a common way of obtaining cash. Many individuals, however, have steady salaries as employees of one of the institutions operating in the village, the Aritu, Dsei, Nei and Funai, working as language teachers, health workers, boat pilots, radio operators, etc.

**1.3. The sociolinguistic situation on the Paru River.** Aparai enjoys the status of a *lingua franca* along the Paru River, being the language of the school and of the church (Koehn & Koehn 1986:33, Camargo 1995:4, Camargo & Morgado 1996:4). Therefore, it is more common than Wayâna in the region. Most villages speak only Aparai as their daily language, with the exceptional case of Suwisuwimîn, a Wayâna village, and perhaps Murei (in our only visit of approximately one hour, Wayana was the only language we heard).

Though Suwisuwimîn is considered to be a purely Wayâna village by the people of the Paru River, Wayâna is not the only language used there. As we observed in the course of our several visits, Aparai was spoken in everyday conversations by several speakers. We frequently observed dialogs among members of every family being held in

Aparai. Nevertheless, children and men talk to each other mostly in Wayâna. Also, in all major group activities, Wayâna is the language used: men playing sports, Wayâna teachers speaking to Wayâna children in school, the Christian service (though the New Testament was read in Aparai, it was explained to the group in Wayana), and participants in social gatherings in the village hall, the *tukusipan*, all use Wayâna. Thus, in Suwisuwimĩn both languages are spoken daily, but with Wayâna dominance.

An almost contrary situation is found in Bona, a predominantly Aparai village (thus, its official name ‘Aparai’), with a Wayâna leader and residents from three ethnic groups: Aparai, Wayana and Tiriyo. Aparai is the language most spoken there, but also some Tiriyo, Wayâna, and Portuguese, the latter in everyday communication with the Brazilian personnel, are used.

Two families in Bona spoke Wayana at home. One member of one of the two families was said by everyone to speak Wayâna only: ‘She doesn’t lose her language,’ we were told. We took that to be an indication of a good understanding of Wayâna by the members of the community, since the speaker in question could communicate very well with everyone. On our last trip (2001), however, we witnessed for the first time that speaker addressing others in Aparai.

In sum, the situation of the Wayâna language is not very healthy along the Paru River, as we contacted no monolingual speakers; the few families that speak Wayâna daily also speak other languages, especially Aparai. The reverse situation is not true for Aparai, whose speakers sometimes cannot speak Wayâna fluently.

**1.4. Previous research on Wayâna.** Until 1994, all the work on the Wayâna language consisted of a few word lists and some morphological descriptions in the works of J. Crevaux (1882), DeGoeje (1909, 1946), and a description of basic morphological patterns by Walter Jackson (1972).

After 1994, when Eliane Camargo and Petronila Tavares started their respective fieldwork, the situation improved enormously. The contributions of Camargo are now many: Compositions in Wayâna (1995), a small lexicon with clinical terms (together with Paula Morgado and Wayâna-Aparai speakers, 1996), a basic phonological description (1996), an essay about bilingualism among the Wayâna and Aparai (1997a), a Wayâna-Portuguese lexicon with about 3,000 entries (1997b), a description of nominal possession (1999), a description of the grammar of the postpositions *pëk* and *ja* (2000a), a description of word order (2000b), a description of the lexical similarities between Wayâna and Aparai (2001a), three Wayâna texts (2001b), a description of food classification (2002), and a description of lexical categories and word formation (in press), among others.

Other contributions are a dissertation by Jean Chapuis with a lexicon (1998) and some articles by Tavares, on the so called ‘active/stative’ system (1994), on the Wayâna fricatives (1999a), and on the distribution of discourse information in narratives (1999b) (the latter two are manuscripts).

**1.5. The database for the present study.** Most of the data used for the present study were gathered in my several field trips to the Paru River (for 5 months in 1994, 1 month

in 1995, 2 months in 1997, 2 months in 2001, and 2 months in 2002) and also in numerous occasions in meetings with Wayâna speakers in Belém and Macapá (from 1992 to 2002).

About 80% of the data gathered have been entered in an electronic format, and approximately half have been parsed with the Shoebox program. Most examples in the database constitute elicited data, but as much as possible we have tried to illustrate our arguments in the chapters with examples found in texts. Twenty-six transcribed of various lengths and genres (personal narratives, reports, descriptions, mythical/historical narratives, etc) are entered and parsed with the Shoebox program in a total of approximately 3,000 clauses.

**1.6. The scope of this work.** This dissertation aims to contribute to the understanding of the basic facts of the Wayâna grammar, most particularly the morphological aspect which forms the bulk of the language's grammar. Thus, we describe all the major speech classes undergoing morphological processes, nouns, verbs, postpositions and adverbs, in more detail than some other aspects of the grammar. Particles, which constitute a class lacking any morphology, are briefly commented on chapter 3.

In addition to the morphological aspects of the language, we present a chapter on the language's phonological aspects (Chapter 2) and a chapter on its basic syntactic patterns (Chapter 8).

It is our intention in this work to be as descriptive as possible. Therefore we seldom adopt a more elaborate theoretical view, even though we recognize that our approach has its pitfalls. We hope that future researchers will fill this gap. For now, we



intend to describe the patterns we have extracted from our data in a most clear way. The reader may disagree with our parsing, labeling, or account of some pattern in the data, but we hope our description is clear enough so she may understand the pattern itself and come to her own conclusions about the most appropriate theoretical analysis.

**1.7. Wayâna on the Web.** Some information on the Wayâna people is found online in the following sites:

- i) *Povos Indígenas do Brasil*: the site on Wayâna/Aparai organized by Gabriel Barbosa e Paula Morgado. This is one of the most complete sites about the history and social-economic organization of the Wayâna people.  
[www.socioambiental.org/website/pib/epi/aparai/aparai.shtm](http://www.socioambiental.org/website/pib/epi/aparai/aparai.shtm).
- ii) *Ethnologue.com*, which includes some information on the population and some socio-economic factors, and the existing SIL bibliography.  
[www.ethnologue.com/show\\_language.asp?code=WAY](http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=WAY)
- iii) *The New Testament in Wayâna*, contributed by Wolfgang Kuhl:  
[www.christusrex.org/www1/pater/JPN-wayana.html](http://www.christusrex.org/www1/pater/JPN-wayana.html)
- iv) *The Language Museum*, offering a sample of the language, the ‘Our Father’ from the New Testament translation.  
[www.language-museum.com/w/wayana.php](http://www.language-museum.com/w/wayana.php)
- v) *Povos indigenas do Brazil*: photos of cultural activities among the Wayâna.  
[www.socioambiental.org/website/pib/epi/aparai/hist.shtm](http://www.socioambiental.org/website/pib/epi/aparai/hist.shtm)

## 2. PHONOLOGY.

Wayâna's segmental inventory is relatively small. It contains only nine distinctive consonants (three stops, two nasals, one fricative, one liquid, and two glides) and seven distinctive vowels. Complexity arises in determining the phonemic representation of some segments, in some language-wide morphophonological processes such as syllable reduction, and in phonological processes occurring in consonant clusters. The most interesting aspects of Wayâna phonology are:

(i) The phonological status of the fricatives. Though there are several fricative sounds in the language, and all may be phonetic realizations of a single underlying segment (/h/ (2.3.3), morphophonological alternations show that some cases of fricatives occurring in coda position are better analyzed as realizations of underlying stops undergoing a dissimilation rule (/stop+stop/→[fricative+stop] (2.3.2.3).

(ii) Syllable reduction. Wayâna, like many other Cariban languages, presents a pervasive phenomenon of syllable reduction that causes words to have entire syllables lost in some environments but preserved in others (2.3.1).

(iii) Phonological processes in consonant clusters: assimilation of voice and nasality, dissimilation, and denasalization (2.3.2).

(iv) The ambiguous phonemic status of glides /j/ and /w/ as opposed to vowels /i/ and /u/: different phonological processes may treat glides sometimes as consonantal and sometimes as non-consonantal segments (2.3.6).

(v) Stress. Wayâna seems to be of rare typological type: none of the well-known phonetic correlates of stress (vowel quality, length, pitch and intensity) consistently isolate any particular syllable in a given word. Words in isolation have typical intonation

patterns, but these are the same as those found in whole sentences: pitch falls or rises (in questions, lists, etc.) at the end of an utterance (2.4.1).

(vi) Sound Symbolic words. the Wayâna lexicon is formed by two distinctive categories, the main vocabulary and the sound symbolic words, each presenting some unique phonological features: the fricatives and [ŋ] behave distinctively in the two groups (2.6).

**2.1. The segments.** There are nine distinctive consonants and seven distinctive vowels in Wayâna.<sup>1</sup>

**2.1.1. Vowels.** There are seven distinctive vowels in Wayâna, as shown in Table 1:

Table 1  
Wayâna Distinctive Vowels

	front	central	back
high	i	ɨ	u
mid	e	ə	o
low		a	

The back vowels /u/ and /o/ are articulated with the lips unrounded. They are therefore different from the vowels found in English or French in which the lips are rounded and prominent. After stops, these sounds are realized just as a burst of air coming out of one side of the lips. When these vowels are adjacent to [w], they are sometimes pronounced with slightly rounded lips.

<sup>1</sup> Examples are presented phonetically according to the IPA chart revised to 1989 (Ladefoged 1993). Stress is not indicated in the examples since it is not distinctive in the language.

The mid vowels /e/ and /o/ present both open and closed realizations: [e]~[ɛ] and [o]~[ɔ], respectively, with the latter being the most frequent pronunciation.

	[e]~[ɛ]			[o]~[ɔ]				
1)	a. [muɾej]	~	[muɾɛj]	'fruit (kd.)'	a. [ijoj]	~	[ijɔj]	'lizard (kd.)'
	b. [ʃijew]	~	[ʃijɛw]	'rodent (sp.)'	b. [pɔm]	~	[pɔm]	'lay down'
	c. [kəɾɛekom]	~	[kəɾɛɛkom]	'our liver'	c. [kopə]	~	[kɔpə]	'rain'
	d. [pɛpta]	~	[pɛpta]	'big'				
	e. [ahnɛp]	~	[ahnɛp]	'peanut'				

In many instances, the vowel seems to be articulated somewhere between [e] and [ɛ], a sound which I represent here as [ɛ̃]: [ahnɛ̃p] 'peanut'.

A kind of vowel harmony usually accompanies this variation: a vowel is usually found either the open or the closed variant in an entire word.

	[o]	[ɔ]	
2)	a. [ʃokɔɾõm]	b. [hɔkɔɾɔm]	'to paddle'
	c. [koko]	d. [kɔkɔ]	'night'
	e. [kinoɾo]	f. [kinoɾɔ]	'macaw' <sup>2</sup>

	[e]	[ɛ]	
3)	a. [têntetên]	b. [têtetɛn]	'to bounce'
	c. [wewe]	d. [wewɛ]	'wood'
	e. [ɛɾɛkit]	f. [ɛɾɛkit]	'wound'
	g. [pɛpta]	h. [pɛpta]	'big'
	i. [ahnɛp]	j. [ahnɛp]	'peanut'

There also exists a tendency for certain words to be realized either by their open or closed version: [kujɛɛkõm] 'our mother', [kujekõm] 'our teeth'. The adverbializer *t-**V-(h)e* is almost always realized as [hɛ], the collective suffix *-kom(o)* is almost always realized as [kõm], etc.

<sup>2</sup> Some speakers say that it must be pronounced [kunoɾo], and that [kinoɾo] is a pronunciation borrowed from Aparai. In any case, [kinoɾo] is the most common pronunciation among Wayâna speakers in the Paru River.

In a few words, neutralization between /o/ and /u/ is observed (cf. minimal pairs in Table 2).

- 4) a. [hamut] ~ [hamot] 'sand'  
 b. [tamo] ~ [tamu] 'grandfather (vocative)'  
 c. [wakuwa] ~ [wakowa] 'I washed it'

**2.1.1.1. Minimal pairs.** Table 2 shows minimal pairs for vowel quality.

Table 2  
Minimal Pairs for Vowel Quality

	/i/	/e/	/ə/	/i/	/a/	/o/	/u/
/i/							
/e/	[wipohnəp] 'I think of him/her/it' [wepohnəp] 'I missed him/her/it'						
/ə/	[ipi] 'her brother' [əpi] 'your brother'	[eɾewe] 'plant (sp.)' [əɾewe] 'fly'					
/i/	[ipi] 'my brother' [ipi] 'hill'	[epi] 'tree' [ipi] 'hill'	[ije] 'my mother' [əje] 'your mother'				
/a/	[ipi] 'her brother' [ipa] 'his/her shoulder blade'	[ke] 'question particle' [ka] 'fish'	[kunmə] 'we (dual)' [kunma] 'our pan'	[ipi] 'hill' [ipa] 'my shoulder blade'			
/o/	[upi] 'someone found it' [upo] 'clothing'	[eki] 'pet, family' [oki] 'drink'	[pəɾe] 'fish (sp.)' [poɾe] 'to arrive'	[min] 'inani mate distal demonstr.' [mon] 'there'	[man] 'third person copula' [mon] 'there'		
/u/	[ihmo] 'egg' [uhmo] 'someone killed (it)'	[eputpi] 'pit' [uputpi] 'his head'	[uɾə] 'lit' [uɾu] 'manioc bread'	[ipi] 'hill' [upi] 'H/She bathed someone'	[aɾu] 'idiot' [uɾu] 'manioc bread'	[hopu] 'soap' [hupu] 'spoon'	

Though there are underlying long vowels in some words, there are no minimal pairs attesting the distinction between underlyingly long and short vowels. Examples of underlying long vowels are shown in (5). Other cases result from a process of syllable reduction that leads to compensatory lengthening: in examples (6), (7), and (8) the last

syllable of the root, *ɬu* or *ɬi*, is lost in all environments but retained when the root is followed by a *CCV* morpheme (cf. 2.3.1.2). (A morpheme boundary is represented by ‘-’, and a word boundary is represented by ‘+’.)

- 5)
- |    |               |   |             |                      |
|----|---------------|---|-------------|----------------------|
| a. | /w-i-paɾaaka/ | → | [wipaɾaaka] | ‘I spread something’ |
| b. | /w-i-naməpa/  | → | [winaməpa]  | ‘I adorned someone’  |
| c. | /w-i-puuma/   | → | [wipuuma]   | ‘I blew on it’       |
| d. | /onookone/    | → | [onookone]  | ‘damp’               |
| e. | /toloome/     | → | [toloome]   | ‘swollen’            |
| f. | /maakaɾu/     | → | [maakaɾu]   | ‘bird sp.’           |
| g. | /kəɾupuukə/   | → | [kəɾupuukə] | ‘beetle (sp.)’       |
- 6)
- |      |                        |               |                         |
|------|------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| u/uu |                        | CCV morpheme  |                         |
| a.   | [pupu] ‘foot’          | [pupupɟik]    | ‘small foot’            |
| b.   | [puupu] ‘river turtle’ | [puupuɾupɟik] | ‘small turtle’          |
| c.   | [aɾu] ‘idiot’          | [aɾumna]      | ‘there is no idiot’     |
| d.   | [aɾuu] ‘porcupine’     | [aɾuɾumna]    | ‘there is no porcupine’ |
- 7)
- |      |                     |             |                      |
|------|---------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| e/ee |                     |             |                      |
| a.   | [etaa] ‘his kidney’ | [etaɾimna]  | ‘without his kidney’ |
| b.   | [eetaa] ‘hole’      | [eetaɾimna] | ‘without a hole’     |
| c.   | [ije] ‘his mother’  | [ijemna]    | ‘without a mother’   |
| d.   | [ijee] ‘his tooth’  | [ijerimna]  | ‘without teeth’      |
- 8)
- |      |                            |             |                            |
|------|----------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| a/aa |                            |             |                            |
| g.   | [ipa] ‘his shoulder blade’ | [ipapɟik]   | ‘his small shoulder blade’ |
| h.   | [ipaa] ‘his granddaughter’ | [ipaɾipɟik] | ‘his small granddaughter’  |

**2.1.1.2. Distribution of vowels.** All vowels can occur word initially, medially and finally as syllable nuclei (in syllable types V., VC., CV., CVC.).

In co-occurrence with consonants, there are gaps and asymmetries in the distribution of certain vowels. For instance, it is infrequent to find certain consonants co-occurring with /i/: /ki/ is rare, /ti/ almost non-existent and, surface occurrences of /ji/ and /wu/ are not attested.

Vowels are affected by only three phonological phenomena: nasalization from adjacent nasal consonants, the backing of /a/, and the devoicing of [j].<sup>3</sup>

**2.1.1.3. Backing of /a/.** The low back vowel /a/ presents a still more back pronunciation when preceding word-final [k]. The realized vowel, [ɑ], is similar to that of the English word *father* (Tavares, 1993):

- 9)     a. [uφpək]       ‘long time ago’  
       b. [juphək]     ‘lit’  
       c. [pəpək]     ‘father’  
       d. [akawək]    ‘bird (sp.)’  
       e. [məhək]     ‘mosquito’  
       f. [akaɾephək] ‘far’  
       g. [ɾapək]     ‘fish (sp.)’

The same pattern is observed word medially, when in slow speech there is a pause between the syllables:

- 10)    a. [ʃaktikip]~[ʃ ak.ti.kip] ‘cut’  
       b. [aktuφpɔj]~[ak.tuφ.pɔj] ‘up river’

It is easy to determine that [ɑ] is not an allophone of /ə/ because [ə], which realizes the latter can also occur preceding word-final /k/.

- 11)    a. [nəpək]       ‘potato (sp.)’  
       b. [ekəɾək]    ‘take it!’  
       c. [itək]       ‘go!’  
       d. [kunmək]    ‘he came (long ago)’  
       e. [wanək]     ‘ant sp.’  
       f. [tuɾək]     ‘fly.sp’

---

<sup>3</sup> Camargo (1996:119) presents differences in vowel quality (lax vs. tense) related to stress. Such patterns were not attested in our data.

**2.1.1.4. Nasalized vowels.** Vowels are nasalized in normal speech when they are followed by nasal consonants in coda position (Camargo 1996:118). Elsewhere, the oral realization occurs.

- |     |              |                      |                |                     |
|-----|--------------|----------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 12) | (C)V.N.CV... |                      | (C)V.NV/ NV.CV |                     |
|     | a. [ēmna]    | 'we (excl.)'         | e. [amat]      | 'branch'            |
|     | b. [kūnmək]  | 'he came (long ago)' | f. [kama]      | 'finish'            |
|     | c. [pāmpɪʔa] | 'paper'              | g. [muʔe]      | 'child'             |
|     | d. [īmna]    | 'there is not'       | h. [mamək]     | 'mother (vocative)' |

There exist exceptions to this pattern. In a few words, vowels receive a light nasalization in word-final position, even when not adjacent to a nasal consonant. This nasalization disappears in slow speech. I represent this nasality with [̃], though it is not as strong as that in the examples described above.<sup>4</sup>

- |     |               |             |  |
|-----|---------------|-------------|--|
| 13) | NORMAL SPEECH | SLOW SPEECH |  |
|     | a. [paʃinā]   | [paʃina]    | 'fish (sp.)'                               |
|     | b. [wajanā]   | [wajana]    | 'people'                                   |
|     | c. [huwā]     | [huwa]      | 'as such'                                  |
|     | d. [akenā]    | [akena]     | 'first'                                    |
|     | e. [piʔamī]   | [piʔami]    | 'hand-made piece used to climb palm trees' |

In the speech of at least one speaker (Xamore, Bona village), there are words with strongly nasalized word-final vowels. This nasalization is a vestige of the possessive suffix *-n(u)*<sup>5</sup> as in example (14), which is preserved with *-kom(o)*, the collective suffix (14 d), and a *CCV* particle. Other speakers preserve the possessive suffix in all environments.<sup>6</sup>

- |     |            |        |                |        |
|-----|------------|--------|----------------|--------|
|     | Xamore     |        | Other speakers |        |
| 14) | a. [pitaj] | 'heel' | a. [pitaj]     | 'heel' |

<sup>4</sup> Some speakers have corrected me when I pronounced these words with nasal vowels, as in Portuguese, and insist that they are not nasalized. For some speakers [huwā] 'as such' is nasalized even in slow speech.

<sup>5</sup> In the examples, *-n(u)* 'possessive suffix' undergoes vowel deletion: /nu/ → [n]/\_\_# or /\_\_-CV. The same happens to *-kom(o)* 'collective'. The deletion of segments is thoroughly discussed in section 2.3.1.

<sup>6</sup> In the examples, [i] represents a syllable nucleus and [j] a coda, as in [ip.ta.ɪ] 'my heel' and [pitaj] 'heel', respectively. This convention will be used throughout this chapter.



- |                 |                 |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| b. [iptaĩ]      | ‘my heel’       | b. [iptaĩn]     | ‘my heel’       |
| c. [iptajnuɸik] | ‘my small heel’ | c. [iptajnuɸik] | ‘my small heel’ |
| d. [kuptainkom] | ‘our heel’      | d. [kuptainkom] | ‘our heel’      |

**2.1.1.5. Devoicing of /i/.** The voiced [i] and voiceless [j] realizations of /i/ are in free variation between [ɸ] and a voiceless consonant.

- 15) a. [maɸjike] ~ [maɸike] ‘so’  
 b. [akiɸita] ~ [akiɸita] ‘rheumatism’  
 c. [təɸjikōm] ~ [təɸjikōm] ‘their being’

**2.1.2. Consonants.** There are nine distinctive consonants in the main vocabulary of Wayâna.

Table 3  
Wayâna Distinctive Consonants

	labial	alveolar	retroflex	velar	palatal	glottal
stop	p	t		k		
fricative						h
nasal	m	n				
lateral flap			ɽ			
glides	w				j	

**2.1.2.1. Minimal and analogous pairs.** Table 4 presents minimal and analogous pairs for consonants. (‘1’ stands for first person, ‘2’ for second, and ‘3’ for third.)

Table 4  
Minimal and Analogous Pairs for Consonants

	/p/	/t/	/k/	/m/	/n/	/h/	/tʃ/	/j/	/w/
/p/									
/t/	[ətəp] 'in a hammock' [ətət] 'hammock'								
/k/	[pa] 'surprise particle' [ka] 'quest. particle'	[patu] 'pan' [paku] 'fish sp.'							
/m/	[afiphək] 'hot' [afimhək] 'fast'	[tan] 'here (spc.)' [man] '3 <sup>rd</sup> copula'	[wətupoka] '1 undressed' [wətupoma] '1 dressed'						
/n/	[epi] 'tree' [eni] 'container'	[ʃit] 'vein' [ʃin] 'this here'	[kəkə] 'night' [kənə] 'brother-in-law'	[weme] '1 ate fruit' [wene] '1 saw 3'					
/h/	[hupu] 'spoon' [huhu] 'milk'	[itu] 'jungle' [iʃu] 'shrimp' <sup>7</sup>	[kɛ] 'instrumental' [hɛ] 'desiderative'	[mit] 'artery' [ʃit] 'vain'	[nene] '3 saw 3' [hene] '1+2 saw 3'				
/tʃ/	[ipi] 'her young brother' [iʃi] 'sloth'	[ʃom] 'burn' [tom] 'collective particle'	[ka] 'question particle' [ʃa] 'negative particle'	[mɛ] 'like' [ʃɛ] 'intensifier'	[pəne] 'piranha' [pəʃɛ] 'fish sp.'	[hɛ] 'desiderative' [ʃɛ] 'intensifier'			
/j/	[epu] 'pole' [eju] 'light'	[jaʃa] 'floor' [taʃa] 'how'	[ka] 'question particle' [ja] 'dative'	[mene] '2 saw 3' [jene] '3 saw 1'	[nene] '3 saw 3' [jene] '3 saw 1'	[hene] '1+2 saw 3' [jene] '3 saw 1'	[ʃɛ] 'intensifier' [jɛ] 'mother'		
/w/	[pəne] 'piranha' [wəne] '1 bit 3'	[taʃə] 'here (global)' [waʃə] '1 took 3'	[kapu] 'sky' [wapu] 'palm tree sp.'	[mene] '2 saw 3' [wene] '1 saw 3'	[nene] '1 saw 3' [wene] '1 saw 3'	[hene] 'We saw 3' [wene] 'I saw 3'	[ʃɛʃɛ] 'bat' [wewe] 'wood'	[jene] '3 saw 1' [wene] '1 saw 3'	

<sup>7</sup> Minimal pairs for /h/ vs. /k/, /h/ vs. /m/ show [ʃ] as a realization of /h/, which palatalizes before [i] (cf. section 2.1.2.2.2).

The table above shows an interesting minimal pair for /p/ and /m/: [afiphak] ‘hot’ and [afimhak] ‘fast’. Both forms consist of a root, [afi], and an adverbializer suffix (which has two allomorphs, *-phak(ə)* and *-mhak(ə)*). The root by itself does not suffice to indicate a difference in meaning between ‘fast’ and ‘hot’, so the distinction is shown by the selection of different allomorphs of a same suffix (other examples showing the same phenomenon are [jumhak] ‘burning’ and [juphak] ‘lit’.)

As for consonant length, there exists at least one example with a long consonant. This is a unique form since no other geminates are attested elsewhere in the corpus. However, it is possible that this is a mis-transcription of an Aparai word with a glottal stop:

- 16) k/k  
a. [okko] ‘fish.sp’  
b. [oko] ‘Someone cut (it)’

**2.1.2.2. Free variation and complementary distribution of consonants.** Consonants that are in free variation and complementary distribution are discussed in this section, with the exception of coda consonants in consonant clusters (all the phonological processes and constraints taking place in consonant clusters are discussed in section 2.3.2).

**2.1.2.2.1. Stops.** With the exception of coda stops in consonant clusters (2.3.2), stops are affected by three processes: free variation between released/unreleased realizations word-finally, aspiration, and the palatalization of /t/.<sup>8</sup>

- Free variation. Word-finally there exists free variation between released and unreleased stops. The release seems more frequent in /k/ than in /p/ and /t/.

- 17)
- |              |   |            |                                 |
|--------------|---|------------|---------------------------------|
| a. [kuhelap] | ~ | [kuhelap̚] | ‘manioc stem’                   |
| b. [kunenep] | ~ | [kunenep̚] | ‘someone brought it (long ago)’ |
| c. [ətət]    | ~ | [ətət̚]    | ‘hammock’                       |
| d. [amat]    | ~ | [amat̚]    | ‘branch’                        |
| e. [ipək]    | ~ | [ipək̚]    | ‘occupied with it’              |
| f. [waɾak]   | ~ | [waɾak̚]   | ‘fish sp.’                      |

- Aspiration. Stops present a characteristic burst of air resulting from their release in onset position.

- 18)
- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| a. [p <sup>h</sup> amp <sup>h</sup> iɾa] | ‘paper’     |
| b. [p <sup>h</sup> up <sup>h</sup> ot]   | ‘body hair’ |
| c. [t <sup>h</sup> oɾop <sup>h</sup> it] | ‘bird’      |
| d. [t <sup>h</sup> ot]                   | ‘they’      |
| e. [k <sup>h</sup> ok <sup>h</sup> o]    | ‘night’     |
| f. [k <sup>h</sup> op <sup>h</sup> ə]    | ‘rain’      |

- Palatalization of /t/ before /i/ (cf. Camargo 1996:130). At the moment, there exist only five morphemes presenting a /ti/ sequence in my database. These are always realized with a slight palatalization of /t/.<sup>9</sup>

- 19)
- |                  |   |                 |                          |
|------------------|---|-----------------|--------------------------|
| a. /panti/       | → | [pant̪i]        | ‘male vestment’          |
| b. /tintin/      | → | [t̪int̪in]      | ‘noise of metal hitting’ |
| c. /aɾepatajeti/ | → | [jaɾepatajet̪i] | ‘fish sp.’               |
| d. /makwatiɾi/   | → | [magwat̪iɾi]    | ‘fish sp.’               |
| e. /timanu/      | → | [t̪iman]        | ‘insect sp.’             |

<sup>8</sup> Camargo (1996:131) has described the glottalization of /k/ (/k/ → ʔ/ \_\_ #.) as one of the distributional facts about consonants in Wayãna. Such data are not attested in our corpus.

<sup>9</sup> This does not happen across word boundary: [onot.içjan] ‘new fruit (kd.)’.

The only stop undergoing free variation is /t/. Free variation between [tʰi] and [ti] is found in the dialect of some speakers (cf. Camargo 1996:130 for a similar pattern).

The phenomenon is restricted to only a few words.

- 20) a. [aʁeptiʁɛ] ~ [aʁeptʰiʁɛ] ‘small leaf’  
 b. [tiʁephe] ~ [tʰiʁephe] ‘feverish’

**2.1.2.2.2. Fricatives.** Wayâna presents only one distinctive fricative: /h/. Its pattern of realization is, however, complex. In order to understand it completely, it is necessary to discuss the realization of /h/ both morpheme-internally and in morphophonological alternations at morphemic boundaries. Thus, the distribution of /h/ in both environments is discussed in this section.<sup>10</sup> The allophones of /h/ are found in Table 5.

Table 5  
Realizations of /h/<sup>11</sup>

	postalveolar	glottal
voiceless	ʃ	h

Morpheme internally, the postalveolar voiceless fricative [ʃ]<sup>12</sup> and the glottal fricative [h] occur in complementary distribution as follows: [ʃ] is realized before [i] and between [i] or [t] and a vowel. [h] is realized word-initially before a vowel (except [i])

<sup>10</sup> As with other consonants, the realizations of /h/ in coda position are not discussed in this section (cf. section 2.3.3 for a discussion on the underlying status of fricatives in this environment). See also section 2.6 for a discussion on the realizations of fricatives in sound symbolic words.

<sup>11</sup> In two words with [s] were attested in the speech of young speakers: [apsik], [isandajan]. In both, [s] freely alternates with [ʃ].

<sup>12</sup> The postalveolar [ʃ] is normally a slightly more fronted sound than that in English word *shoot*. Very rarely it may be articulated very close to [s], but it is still a different sound from [s] in European languages such as Portuguese, French and English.

and word medially between vowels and between a consonant and a vowel (as a convention, I use *V* to represent vowels other than [i]).

- 21) [ʃ] / \_\_ i            a. [ʃiʃi] ‘sun’, b. [ʃipaʃat] ‘crab’, c. [əʃiʃiwə] ‘smoke’, d. [mafʃike] ‘then’,  
    e. [aʃii] ‘pepper’, f. [ʃikə] ‘flea’, g. [ʃija] ‘this way’.
- 22)            / [i] \_\_ V            a. [ifu] ‘srimp’, b. [piʃa] ‘domestic cat’, c. [iʃoʃi] ‘rapids’, d. [niʃiktaj]  
    ‘urinate’, e. [kuʃiʃa] ‘mud’,
- 23)            / [t] \_\_ V            [panaŋmatʃe] ‘good to hear’<sup>13</sup>
- 24) [h] /# \_\_ V            a. [huʃuj] ‘fish (sp.)’, b. [hapon] ‘like’, c. [hɛ] ‘desiderative postposition’,  
    d. [həʃəʃə] ‘bird (sp.)’, e. [hakahak] ‘spider’.
- / V \_\_ V            a. [ehet] ‘his name’, b. [ihi] ‘yes’, c. [təhem] ‘food’.
- 25)            / C \_\_ V            a. [tikaphe] ‘woven’, b. [anumhak] ‘strong’.

Table 6 summarizes the distribution of fricatives morpheme-internally.

Table 6  
Distribution of fricatives - Complementary distribution

ʃ	h
__ i	# __ V
i __ V	V __ V
t __	C __ V

Across morpheme and word boundaries, /h/ has a similar distribution. At morpheme boundary, with the exception of one type of environment, described in the next paragraph, /h/ palatalizes as expected: / \_\_ -i or /- \_\_ i (the examples in (26) are verbs inflected with the proximal hortatory suffix *-(h)i*, /i- \_\_ V (examples in (27), (28), and (29) are respectively a postposition, a noun, and a verb inflected by personal prefixes) and /t- \_\_ (the examples in (30) show a verb inflected by suffixes starting in /h/).<sup>14</sup> (The examples in (26 a) and (26 c) show /h/ deletion, a phenomenon discussed in section 2.3.1.3.)

<sup>13</sup> The suffix *-tʃe* derives adverbials from verbs: [uwə] ‘to kill’ => [uwə-tʃe] ‘good to kill’ (7.2.1.2.1.)

<sup>14</sup> One speaker did not accept the palatalized realization of /h/ in this environment.

- 26) a. /h-ene-hi/ → [henej] ‘Let’s see’  
 b. /h-ene-hi+hku/ → [heneʃihku] ‘Oh, let’s see’  
 c. /h-i-panakma-hi/ → [ʃipanaŋmai] ‘Let’s listen’  
 d. /h-i-panakma-hi+hku/ → [heneʃihku] ‘Oh, let’s see’
- 27) a. /maɾija+he/ → [maɾijahe] ‘S/he wants a knife’  
 b. /i-he/ → [ihe] ‘S/he/it desires me’  
 c. /ə-he/ → [əhe] ‘S/he/it desires you’  
 d. /i-he/ → [iʃe] ‘S/he/it desires S/he/it’
- 28) a. /hapa/ → [hapa] ‘machete’  
 b. /i-hapa-nu/ → [ihapan] ‘my machete’  
 c. /ə-hapa-nu/ → [əhapan] ‘your machete’  
 d. /i-hapa-nu/ → [iʃapan] ‘his machete’
- 29) a. /tə-e-hahka-he/ → [təhahkaj] ‘torn apart’  
 b. /m-i-hahka/ → [miʃahka] ‘you tore it apart’
- 30) a. /n-utati/ → [nutat] ‘he got lost’  
 b. /t-utati-he/ → [tutatʃe] ‘lost’  
 c. /t-utati-he-amo/ → [tutatʃamo] ‘the lost ones’  
 d. /utati-he/ → [enatʃe] ‘in order to get lost’

Unexpectedly, when in a suffix, /h/ does not undergo palatalization conditioned by a preceding /i/.

- 31) a. /t-eɾemi-he/ → [təɾemihe] ‘sang’ (\*teɾemiʃe)  
 b. /t-upi-he-amo/ → [tupihamo] ‘the ones that look for’ (\*təpiʃamo)  
 c. /eɾemi-he/ → [eɾemihe] ‘in order to sing’ (\*eɾemiʃe)

/h/ undergoes palatalization conditioned by /t/ at word boundary, but only in the desiderative postposition (32).<sup>15</sup> No palatalization conditioned by /i/ occurs across word boundaries (33).

- 32) a. /onoto/ → [onot] ‘fruit (sp.)’  
 b. /onoto+he/ → [onotʃe] ‘S/he/it wants *onot*’  
 c. /onoto+haponu/ → [onothapon] ‘like *onot*’ (\*onotʃapon)  
 d. /onoto+heɾə/ → [onothəɾə] ‘this *onot*’ (\*onotʃəɾə)

<sup>15</sup> No other postposition starting in /h/ has been found. Thus, it is not possible to test if this kind of palatalization is restricted only to the desiderative postposition.





between a consonant and a vowel, environments that do not present themselves as a natural class.

Another possibility would be to propose /s/ as the underlying form (cf. Camargo 1996). I chose not to adopt this analysis because, though it assumes a common phonological change (cf. Ferguson 1990 for a discussion on the historical trend turning [s]'s into [h]'s) and in fact reflects the history of Wayâna (Tavares 1999a), it creates unnecessary complexity in the synchronic representation of fricatives in the modern language. With /s/ as the underlying form, it would be necessary to derive the realization of *all* fricatives, including [h] and [ʃ], by rules. In addition, it posits as the underlying segment a form that is virtually lacking from my data, namely, [s] itself.<sup>17</sup>

To summarize, distributional evidence leads to the conclusion that the fricatives [ʃ] and [h] are allophones of a single phoneme; both economy and naturalness require that this phoneme be identified as /h/.<sup>18</sup>

**2.1.2.2.3. Nasals.** There exists only one phonological process affecting nasals (other than the process of denasalization in coda nasals (2.3.2.4)). Following [i] and [j], /n/

---

<sup>16</sup> Roots ending in /h/ and suffixes starting in /i/ are unattested. Thus, it is not possible to test if /i/ would cause palatalization in the \_\_-i context in suffixal position.

<sup>17</sup> The Camargo analysis is based on data different from mine. She cites one example presenting [s]: [kasi'ri] 'manioc beer' (1996:132). This pronunciation is found among the Wayâna of the Maroni river. Jackson (1972:48), also reports the existence of [s] in the Wayâna of the Tapanahonij river, which according to him "varies freely between alveolar and alveopalatal points of articulation". In the speech of the Wayâna of the Paru River in Brazil, where I have conducted my fieldwork, [s] is basically not found (but see footnote 11). It is interesting, however, that [s] both in Jackson's and Camargo's data occurs only adjacent to [i] and after [t] (with the exception of some sound symbolic words in Jackson's data). Thus, it presents the same distribution as [ʃ] in my data. According to my hypothesis of how fricatives changed through time, this was precisely the only environment where \*s was preserved to later palatalize and become [ʃ]. Elsewhere it turned into [h] (with the exception of sound symbolic words (section 2.6).)

<sup>18</sup> There exist a few exceptions to the patterns presented here: [kaʃo] 'pan, box' (a clear borrowing from Portuguese *caixa* 'box'), and few names for animals which are of onomatopoeic origin (2.6).

normally presents a more palatal realization (Camargo 1996:119), being articulated between the alveolar ridge and the hard palate. This phenomenon takes place mainly in normal speech, being absent in slow speech. Nevertheless, some free variation is also observed in normal speech (35).

	NORMAL SPEECH		SLOW SPEECH
35)	a. [ɪnuu]	~	b. [i.nuu] 'his tongue'
	c. [ɪnəɾə]	~	d. [i.nə.ɾə] '3 <sup>rd</sup> anaphoric pronoun'
	e. [pəɟnəkə]	~	f. [pəj.nəkə] 'wild pig'
	g. [mɔɾɔɟnə]	~	h. [mɔ.ɾɔj.nə] 'then'
	i. [ɪnene]	~	j. [inene] 'ant (sp.)'

**2.1.2.2.4. The retroflex lateral flap.** Jackson (1972:48) describes this segment as '*a reverse flap with lateral opening*'. The articulation of /ɾ/ can also sometimes come close to a flap ([r]) or to a lateral ([l]). All these articulations can occur freely in all contexts, but the reverse/retroflex is by far the most common pronunciation.<sup>19</sup>

36)	a. [tumtaɾa]	'get on board (a canoe)'
	b. [eglot]	'cloud'
	c. [pampɪɾa]	'paper'
	d. [walə]	'I took it'

**2.1.2.2.5. Glides.** The labial glide /w/ is usually not rounded, though sometimes it is slightly so. It alternates freely with the bilabial fricative [β] before front vowels (maybe as a result of hardening in an onset position):

37)	a. [βipanaŋma]	~	[wipanaŋma]	'I heard it'
	b. [βeβe]	~	[wewe]	'wood'. <sup>20</sup>
	c. [βene]	~	[wene]	'I saw S/he/it'

<sup>19</sup> Jackson states that '*after e and i there tends to be less lateral opening*' (1972:48). Though Jackson's phonetic description of the segment is accurate, I was not able to confirm his distributional correlations. This may be due to dialectal variation, since Jackson worked with the Wayana of Surinam.

<sup>20</sup> This word can be also realized as [βeβe] or [wewe], since [e] and [ɛ] may also occur in free variation.

d. [eɾewe] ~ [eɾeβe] 'wild fruit (kd.)'

Hardening may occur also in the articulation of the palatal /j/. In syllabic onset, [j] and [j<sup>3</sup>] (still a palatal glide, but with some friction) alternate. This occurs mostly before [u] and [e]. (The alternation is more common in the speech of speakers of the Mulei and Bona villages.)

- 38) a. [jukiñi] ~ [j<sup>3</sup>ukiñi] 'otter'  
b. [juwej] ~ [j<sup>3</sup>uwej] 'I am going to dance'  
c. [jɛɾɛ] ~ [j<sup>3</sup>ɛɾɛ] 'my friend'  
d. [jewanə] ~ [j<sup>3</sup>ewanə] 'my heart'

**2.2. Phonotactics.** There are several restrictions on the co-occurrence of segments in Wayâna. The most pervasive is the restriction on co-occurrence of identical elements: no geminates, no sequences of homorganic consonants (with the exception of glides) ever occur root internally, etc.

**2.2.1. Syllable types.** There are four syllable types in Wayâna, *V*. (only word initially, but cf. section 2.2.3 for exceptions), *VC*., *CV*., and *CVC*. No tautosyllabic consonant clusters have been attested.

- 39) **V.** a. /i.ɾi/ 'sloth', b. /e.pi/ 'tree', c. /i.pi/ 'mountain', d. /ə.mə/ 'you', e. /a.pə/ 'his arm', f. /o.mo/ 'hand', g. /u.ɾu/ 'bread'.  
40) **VC.** a. /em.na/ 'we (exclusive)', b. /ek.ɾoti/ 'cloud', c. /ap.hi.ki/ 'little, small', d. /em.ʃi.ɾi/ 'his daughter', f. /ihkə/ 'skin-worm'.  
41) **CV.** a. /pa.pa.ko/ 'father', b. /pi.tə/ 'first', c. /ko.ɾɛ/ 'many, a lot', d. /mu.ɾɛ/ 'child', e. /hapa/ 'machete', f. /pu.pu/ 'foot', g. /ju.ju/ 'boil', h. /wa.pu/ 'fruit (kd.)', i. /we.we/ 'wood'.  
42) **CVC.** a. /pəj.nə.kə/ 'wild pig', b. /mam.ha.ɾi/ 'bird (sp.)', c. /tut.pə/ 'vase', d. /mun.pə/ 'rat', e. /tak.wa/ 'how are you?', f. /i.joj/ 'lizard (sp.)'

All consonants can occur as syllabic onsets. However, not all consonants co-occur with all vowels or with equal frequency: /hə/ and /jə/ occur in only one example

each ([təpəhəməj] ‘got again’ and [jə] ‘S/he/it bit me’), /ti/ occurs in only five examples, see (20) above, /ki/ is rare, and /ji/ and /wu/ never occur. As syllabic coda, the restrictions are greater: /ɾ/ never occurs as coda, and /h/ never occurs as coda word-finally.

**2.2.2. Consonant clusters.** All consonants show a defective distribution in the clusters: not all consonants occur as coda, and some clusters never happen. Sequences of consonants are always heterosyllabic.<sup>21</sup>

The attested consonant clusters are:

- 43) [pt], [pk], [ph]  
a. [aptaw] ‘when/if’, b. [epku] ‘sap’, c. [aʃiphak] ‘hot’.
- 44) [tp], [tk]  
a. [ʃitpiti] ‘old, ugly’, b. [iwatki] ‘his tale’
- 45) [kp], [kt]  
a. [takpiɾem] ‘red’, b. [aktuɸpoj] ‘up river’.
- 46) [hp], [ht], [hk], [hm], [hn], [hɾ], [hj], [hw]  
a. [aɾahpa] ‘parakeet’, b. [ihpe] ‘there is’, c. [tehte] ‘to cut wood fast’, d. [mahkaw] ‘bird (sp.)’, e. [waɾuhma] ‘young woman’, f. [əmehna] ‘wrist’, g. [tihwə] ‘different’, h. [ihjan] ‘new’.
- 47) [mp], [mt], [mk], [mh], [mn], [mj]  
a. [pampiɾa] ‘paper’, b. [əninomtaɾa] ‘not leaving’, c. [imko] ‘gills’, d. [eɾamhək] ‘afraid’, e. [əmnə] ‘nose’, f. [amomjai] ‘I will take it’.
- 48) [np], [nt], [nk], [nm], [nw]  
a. [munpə] ‘rat’, b. [wantək] ‘remember’, c. [tinkij] ‘fan’, d. [kunmə] ‘we (dual)’, e. [ipinwə] ‘caring for’.
- 49) [jp], [jt], [jk], [jh], [jm], [jn]  
a. [wajpu] ‘cotton anklet’, b. [apukujta] ‘paddle’, c. [kajkuj] jaguar, dog’, d. [eɾajmak] ‘wait!’, e. [awajna] ‘dawn’.
- 50) [wt]  
a. [əwtə] ‘land, place’, b. [tiwtiw] ‘bird sp.’

Some sounds, [ŋ], [b], [g], occur only in clusters:

<sup>21</sup> Some morphemes start in consonant clusters (/ptiɾe/ ‘tiny’, pʃik ‘small, little’, /mna/ ‘without’, /hpe/ ‘existential’, etc.) but all must resyllabify:

/aɾe+ptiɾe/	→	/a.ɾe.p.ti.ɾe/	‘tiny leaf’
/omo+pʃiki/	→	/o.mop.ti.ɾe/	‘small hand’

- 51) [bj], [ɲm], [ɲn], [gɽ], [gw]  
 a. [wibja] ‘noise in the canopy’, b. [teɲme] ‘heavy’,  
 c. [tiponɲem] ‘perfumed’, d. [egɽot] ‘cloud’, e. [wipetugwa] ‘eu gardei’.

As seen above (2.1.2.2.2), [ʃ] is a realization of /h/ which palatalizes after /t/.

- 52) [tʃ]  
 [enetʃe] ‘good to see’.

Table 7 summarizes the distribution of consonants in clusters.

Table 7  
 Morpheme-internal Consonant Clusters

	p	t	k	h	m	n	ɽ	j <sup>22</sup>	w
p	∅	pt	pk	ph	∅	∅	∅	bj	∅
t	tp	∅	tk	tʃ	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
k	kp	kt	∅	∅	ɲm	ɲn	gɽ	∅	gw
h	hp	ht	hk	∅	hm	hn	hɽ	hj	hw
m	mp	mt	mk	mh	∅	mn	∅	mj	∅
n	np	nt	nk	∅	nm	∅	∅	∅	nw
ɽ	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
j	jp	jt	jk	jh	jm	jn	∅	∅	∅
w	∅	wt	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅

Some conclusions can be made on the basis of the clusters found in table 7:

- No identical segments occur in clusters: this can be understood as a constraint disallowing geminates in the language.
- Some segments do not occur as coda: /ɽ/ never occurs as coda, and /w/ occurs in that position only in [əwtə] ‘place’, which alternates with [əɽtə]). /ɽ/ almost fails to occur at all in consonant clusters: only [gɽ] and [hɽ] are found.
- /h/ occurs as coda preceding all consonants, except in a geminate (/hh/) cluster.

<sup>22</sup> The glides /j/ and /w/ are listed here as consonants. See section 2.3.6, however, for a discussion on their ambiguous phonological status.

- Besides the restrictions on geminates, and on /t/ and /w/ codas, there are many other non-attested consonant clusters, \*[pm], \*[pn], \*[pʈ], \*[pj], \*[pw], \*[tm], \*[tn], \*[tʈ], \*[tj], \*[tw], \*[kh], \*[km], \*[kn], \*[kʈ], \*[kj], \*[kw], \*[mʈ], \*[mw], \*[nh], \*[nʈ], \*[nj], \*[jʈ], \*[jw] (/th/ → [tʃ]).

Looking at the clusters that do occur, it is possible to infer that some gaps seem to be due to phonological processes taking place in the clusters. The sounds [b], [g], and [ŋ] occur only in the clusters [bj], [gʈ], [gw], [ŋm], [ŋn]. At the same time, the clusters \*[pj], \*[kʈ], \*[kw], \*[km], and \*[kn] never occur. The most plausible explanation is that two phonological processes take place in the clusters: assimilation of voice and nasality.

53) [stop] → [+voice] / \_\_ [+sonorant] [-nasal] /pj/, /kʈ/, /kw/ → [bj], [gʈ], [gw], respectively.

54) [stop] → [+nasal] / \_\_ [+nasal] /km/ and /kn/ → [ŋm] and [ŋn], respectively.

Obviously, this has implications for other clusters with stops in coda position: the non-attested \*[pn] and \*[tm] do not occur because stops undergo the two rules in 53 and 54, being thus realized as [mn], [nm].

Some clusters that could be affected by nasalization and voicing as \*/pm/, \*/pʈ/ \*/pw/, \*/tʈ/, \*/tj/, \*/tw/, and \*/kj/, represent a gap: \*[mm], \*[bʈ], \*[bw], \*[dʈ], \*[dj], \*[dw], and \*[gj] never occur within a morpheme. Other clusters such as \*/kh/, \*/mʈ/, \*/mw/, \*/nʈ/, \*/nj/, \*/jʈ/, and \*/jw/ also never occur.

The hypothesis regarding the assimilation of voice and nasalizability is corroborated by morphophonological alternations: In consonant clusters, voiceless stops assimilate voice and nasality from following onset consonants across morpheme and word

boundaries. The non-attested consonant clusters with coda stops, \*/pm/, \*/pɾ/, \*/pw/, \*/tʃ/, \*/tj/, \*/tw/ and \*/kj/ do occur at morpheme and word-boundaries. The outcomes of such clusters are discussed in section 2.3.2.

**2.2.3. Vowel sequences.** In general, no sequences of two vowels are found either in the same syllable (with the exception of long vowels), or in different syllables (thus,  $*V_iV_j$ ,  $*V_iV_j$ ,  $*V_iV_i$ ). The only exceptions are  $V.u$  and  $V.i$  sequences.<sup>23</sup> Examples are presented here both in normal and slow speech: in slow speech it becomes clear that the contiguous vowels are in two different syllables.<sup>24</sup>

	NORMAL SPEECH	SLOW SPEECH	
55)	a. [iu]	b. [i.u]	'I'
	c. [əu]	d. [ə.u]	'eye'
	e. [kumau]	f. [ku.ma.u]	'papaya'
	g. [wei]	h. [we.i]	'drought'
	i. [ai]	j. [a.i]	'let's go'
	k. [jau]	l. [ja.u]	'wolf-like animal'
	m. [jou]	n. [jo.u]	'black jaguar'

These cases are also exceptional in terms of distribution: [i] and [u] are the only vowels that occur as onsetless syllables word-medially (otherwise,  $V$  syllables occur only word-initially). While  $(C)V.i$  and  $(C)V.u$  are frequent, no other  $(C)V.V$  sequences are found in the data (cf. 2.2.1).

<sup>23</sup> See, however, some heterosyllabic vowel sequences arising from phonological processes: reduplication in section 2.3.7 and of /w/ deletion in section 2.5.1. See also section 2.3.1.1.3 for cases of fusion in vowel sequences at morpheme boundary:  $V_iV_2 \rightarrow V_2$ .

<sup>24</sup> It is important to note that a distinction between  $Vj./Vw$ . versus  $V.i/V.u$  exists, as demonstrated by words such as [ku.ma.u] 'papaya' in comparison to [ka.paw] (\*ka.pa.u) 'deer', and [we.i] in opposition to [i.joj] (\*ijjo.i).

Certain gaps in the syllable types provide a clue to understanding this: *\*wu* and *\*ji*, as well as *\*ij* and *\*uw*, are unattested.<sup>25</sup> The lack of co-occurrence of glides with their equivalent vowels may be accounted for by postulating the existence of a constraint disallowing identical adjacent segments. Both [w] and [u] and [j] and [i] present respectively the same matrix of phonological features, with the first element of each pair occupying a position at the edge of a syllable while the second occupies the nucleus (Kenstowicz 1994:37).<sup>26</sup> Thus, adjacent /w/ and /u/, and /j/ and /i/, similarly to geminates, may not occur in the language. The result is that onset glides get deleted (cf. section 2.5.1 on /w/ deletion):

Figure 1  
Deletion of Onset Glides

/wu/ → [u]  
/ji/ → [i]

Unlike the constraint against geminates, the constraint disallowing *\*wu* and *\*ji* is restricted to the domain of the syllable. Note that since *i.jV* and *u.wV* are allowed, but *\*ij* and *\*uw* are not, the constraint must operate within the syllable: (examples are presented as produced in slow speech):

	<b>u.w</b>		<b>i.j</b>	
56)	a. [hu.wa]	‘as such’	e. [ʃi.ja]	‘this way’
	b. [e.ɾu.wa]	‘man’	f. [ma.ɾi.ja]	‘knife’
	c. [u.wa]	‘not’	g. [ʃi.jew]	‘squirrel-like animal’

<sup>25</sup> In the speech of at least one consultant (Nataniel, born in Surinam), it is possible to detect [wu] and [ji] in just a few words. In all [w] and [j] freely alternate with ∅: (all other examples coming from Nataniel, however, follow the pattern laid out above).

[mawuu]	‘cotton’
[kuɾəwumna]	‘there’s no owl (sp.)’
[ijojihpe]	‘there is lizard (sp.)’

<sup>26</sup> See section 2.3.6 for morphophonological alternations that provide more evidence on the close relationship between [w] and [u], and [j] and [i].



d. [nu.nu.wə] ‘moon’

h. [pi.ja] ‘eagle’

**2.3. Morphophonology.** Several phonological processes take place at morpheme boundaries. These include the process of syllable reduction (which is comprised of several other phonological processes such as vowel deletion, /r/ deletion, /h/ deletion, and the several processes taking place in consonant clusters); the reduplication processes in verbal words; the allomorphic alternations in verbal and nominal roots (ablaut); the voicing of consonants before vowels across word boundary, etc.

**2.3.1. Syllable reduction.** The erosion of segments is a common phenomenon in the Cariban family. The whole process, which may result in the deletion of entire syllables, starts with vowel deletion, followed by the weakening and consequent loss of the onset consonant: CV.CV → CVC → CV. (see Gildea 1995 for a discussion on the Cariban family as a whole).

Gildea (1995) has reconstructed (V)CV(CV)... as the canonical syllabic template for words in Proto-Carib. This suggests that all cases of final consonants or CC clusters in the daughter languages result from vowel deletion: \*V.CV.CV → V.CVC, \*V.CV.CV → VC.CV. In Wayâna both patterns are attested in morphophonological alternations:

- 57) a. /piti/ → [pit] ‘wife’                      c. /mineɾumi/ → [mineɾum] ‘husband’  
b. i-piti/ → [ipit] ‘my wife’                      d. /i-mineɾumi/ → [imneɾum] ‘my husband’

In the examples above, vowel deletion took place at the edge of the root affecting either the first or the last vowel, or both. It is clear that vowel deletion took place

historically root-medially as well. In such cases, however, the deleted vowel cannot be recovered, because the affected forms do not present allomorphs preserving it:<sup>27</sup>

- 58) a. /w-əpkəɾə/ → [wəpkəɾə] 'I broke it'  
 b. /w-əkɾama/ → [wəɾama] 'I put it up'  
 c. /w-i-təhpəma/ → [witəhpəma] 'I stretched it'  
 d. /w-i-wipka/ → [wiwipka] 'I scratched it'  
 e. /momta/ → [mōmta] 'house (kd.)'  
 f. /əkɾə/ → [əɾə] 'foam'  
 g. /əmnə/ → [əmnə] 'nose'

Morphological alternations show that besides vowels, consonants can also delete. This is the case of /h/ and /ɾ/ (the latter leaving behind, in some cases, compensatory lengthening). There exist, thus, three syllable reducing processes in the language:

1) *Vowel deletion*. Vowels are deleted in specific environments, leaving behind a consonant that resyllabifies as a coda: (C)V.CV → (C)VC.

- 59) a. /onoto-mna/ → [onotomna] 'without fruit (kd.)'  
 b. /onoto/ → [onot] 'cashew fruit'

2) */ɾ/ deletion*. After vowel deletion, due to the *no coda /ɾ/* constraint, /ɾ/ is deleted resulting (sometimes) in compensatory lengthening: (C)V.ɾV → (C)V.ɾ → (C)VV.

- 60) a. /iʃuɾu-mna/ → [iʃuɾumna] 'without shrimp'  
 b. /iʃuɾu/ → [iʃuu] 'shrimp'

3) */h/ deletion*. In some morphemes, /h/ is deleted preceding /i/ and /e/ word-finally: (C)V.hi → (C)Vj. Here instead of the vowel, the onset consonant is deleted.

- 61) a. /wəɾihi+phiki/ → [wəɾiʃipʃik] 'small woman'  
 b. /wəɾihi/ → [wəɾij] 'woman'

<sup>27</sup> Almost all forms in the language end in a vowel that is deleted in the surface allomorph. The only exception seems to be forms ending in glides. See section 2.3.6 for a discussion on the behavior of glide segments.

Table 8 below shows the contexts where these elements are lost and those where they are preserved. Roughly, long allomorphs occur preceding *CCV* particles or suffixes while short allomorphs occur word-finally, before *-VC(V)* suffixes and, in the case of verbs, preceding *-CV* suffixes. The non-verbal forms are nouns, adverbs, postpositions, and particles. (Examples are presented with person marking prefixes, *n-* ‘3A3O’, *w-* ‘1A3O’, *í-/j-* ‘1<sup>st</sup> person’, *i-* ‘3<sup>rd</sup> person’, the discontinuous morpheme *t-* *-ke* ‘having’, the suffixes *-ta* ‘Possessive Inchoative Verbalizer’, *-k(ə)* ‘Proximal Imperative’, *-tpě* ‘Devaluative’, *-kom(o)* ‘Collective’, *-əmə* ‘Resumptive’, *-me* ‘Attributive’, *-mna* ‘without’, and the particle *pfik* ‘little, small’).

Table 8  
Long and Short Allomorphs

	_#	_CV... suffix/particle	_VC(V) suffix	_C/CCV Particle/suffix		
<b>words</b>						
<b>Non-verbal forms</b>	PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION	SHORT ALLOMORPH			FULL ALLOMORPH	
	V	/jum/ 'father'	[i-jum] 'his father'	[ijumta] 'I have a father'	-	[ijumimna] 'without my father'
/ɾi/ (/ɾu/)	/piɾi/ 'brother'	[ipii] 'my brother'	[tipiike] 'with a brother'	[ipiɾam] 'my brothers'	[ipiɾimna] 'without a brother'	
/h/	/wəɾihi/ 'woman'	[wəɾij] 'woman'	[wəɾijme] 'like a woman'	[wəɾiham] 'women'	[wəɾiɸimna] 'without a woman'	
<b>Verbs</b>						
V	/enepi/ 'bring'	[n-enep] '3-brought-3'	[enepkə] 'bring-3!'	-	[nenepipɸik] '3-brought-3 a little'	
/h/	/əpəhi/ 'grab, get'	[napəj] '3-got-3'	[apəjkə] 'get-3!'	[təpəhəməj] '1-got-3 again'	[wapəɸipɸik] '1-got-3 a little'	
/ɾu/ (/ɾi/)	/ewaɾu/ 'burn'	FULL ALLOMORPH	[newaɾu] '3-burned-3'	[ewaakə] 'burn-3!'	-	wewaɾupɸik '1-burned-3 a little'
<b>Suffixes</b>						
V	-n(u) 'possessive'	[ipakoɾon] 'my house'	[ipakoɾonkom] 'their house'	-	[ipakoɾonutpi] 'his old house'	
/ɾi/	-ɾi 'possessive'	[jeɾee] 'my liver'	[iɾeekom] 'their liver'	-	[eɾeɾinpi] 'his former liver'	
/h/	-he 'purpose of motion'	[enej] 'go in order to see'	-	-	[enehepɸik] 'go in order to see a little'	

Full allomorphs occur whenever followed by *CCV* particles or suffixes, a surface *-C* suffix (63 c), and by some morphemes beginning with *CV*: *-pɪn(i)* ‘Privative Nominalizer’ (with *-mɪn* allomorph), *-ɹa* ‘Negative’ and the postposition *ja* ‘Dative.’

*-n(u)* and *-t(i)* ‘Possessive’

- 62) a. /paɹuɹu/ → [paɹu] ‘banana’  
 b. /paɹuɹu-mna/ → [paɹuɹumna] ‘no bananas’  
 c. /i-paɹuɹu-nu/ → [ipaɹuɹun] ‘my banana’  
 d. /əɹeki/ → [əɹek] ‘wound’  
 e. /j-eɹeki-ti/ → [jeɹekit] ‘my wound’

*-pɪn(i)*

- 63) a. /ipoke/ → [ipok] ‘good’  
 b. /ipoke-pini/ → [ipokepin] ‘good’  
 c. /əməmhakə/ → [əməmhək] ‘greedy’  
 d. /əməmhakə-pini/ → [əməmhəkəpin] ‘the one with no greed’

*-ɹa*

- 64) a. /ipoke/ → [ipok] ‘good’  
 b. /ipoke-ɹa/ → [ipokeɹa] ‘good’  
 c. /əməmhakə/ → [əməmhək] ‘greedy’  
 d. /əməmhakə-ɹa/ → [əməmhəkəɹa] ‘the one with no greed’

*ja*

- 65) a. /pakako/ → [paɹək] ‘father’  
 b. /pakako+ja/ → [paɹəkəja] ‘by/to my father’  
 c. /imepini/ → [imepin] ‘another’  
 d. /imepini+ja/ → [imepinija] ‘by/to another’

The following sections discuss the main aspects of syllable reduction (vowel deletion, /h/ deletion, and /ɹ/ deletion) with relation to non-verbal and verbal morphemes.

### 2.3.1.1. Vowel deletion.

**2.3.1.1.1. Non-verbal Forms.** Discussion of these forms will be arranged according to the number of syllables in the morpheme. Thus, one syllable morphemes are presented first, two syllable morphemes are presented second, and so on.

**2.3.1.1.1.1. Forms with one syllable.** In all forms consisting of one syllable, only suffixes undergo vowel deletion. Suffixes ending in /i/ and /u/ all have their vowels deleted (examples (66));<sup>28</sup> As for suffixes ending with /ə/, some undergo vowel deletion, such as the proximal imperative *-k(ə)* and the imperative allative *-kə(ə)* (examples (67)), but *-nə* ‘Generic Event Nominalizer’ does not (cf. section 4.2.2.1.2); suffixes ending in /e/ only delete the vowel if preceded by /k/ (examples (68)).

Other suffixes that delete their vowel are *-m(i)* ‘Participant Nominalizer’, *-n(u)*

‘Possessive’, *-w(ə)* ‘in’, *t(i)* ‘Possessive’, *-k(ə)* ‘into.’

66)	a. /t-ə-he-mi-mna/	→ [təhemimna]	‘without food’
	b. /t-ə-he-mi/	→ [t-ə-hem]	‘food’
	c. /i-pakoɾo-nu-mna/	→ [ipakoɾonumna]	‘I don’t have my house’
	d. /i-pakoɾo-nu/	→ [ipakoɾon]	‘my house’
	e. /i-pakoɾo-nu+ta-wə/	→ [ipakoɾontaw]	‘inside my house’
	f. i-pakoɾo-nu+ta-wə+phiki/	→ [ipakoɾontawəpʃik]	‘to my house also’
	g. /i-pakoɾo-nu/	→ [ipakoɾon]	‘my house’
	h. /epi-ti-mna/	→ [epitimna]	‘without his medicine’
	i. /epi-ti/	→ [epit]	‘his medicine’

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<sup>28</sup> This includes the possessive suffix /ɾi/. This however is discussed in section 2.3.1.2.

Two suffixes, the proximal imperative *-k(ə)* and the discontinuous *t-N-k(e)* ‘having’ (with allomorphs *t-N-ʔe* and *t-N-je*), have a long and a short allomorph. The imperative suffix undergoes vowel deletion everywhere, except when preceded by consonants and high vowels (example (67)) (cf. section 2.3.1.1.1.1 for examples with /u/) and with stems undergoing /h/ deletion). The allomorph *t-N-k(e)* of the adverbializer undergoes vowel deletion that is lexically conditioned:

- 67) a. /enepi-kə/ → [enepkə] ‘bring!’  
 b. /epi-kə/ → [epikə] ‘bathe!’  
 c. /əməmi-kə/ → [əməmkə] ‘enter!’  
 d. /eɾemi-kə/ → [eɾemikə] ‘sing!’  
 e. /ətuku-kə/ → [ətuhkə] ‘eat!’  
 f. /ku-meɾeka-kə/ → [kumeɾekak] ‘touch me!’  
 g. /ene-kə/ → [enek] ‘look at it!’  
 h. /oko-kə/ → [okok] ‘cut it!’  
 i. /aɾə-kə/ → [aɾək] ‘take it!’  
 j. /apəhi-kə/ → [apəjkə] ‘get it!’  
 k. /ehi-kə/ → [eikə] ‘be!’
- 68) a. /ti-pakoɾo-ke/ → [tipakoɾoke] ‘(someone) has a house’  
 b. /ti-tumeɾi-ke/ → [titumeɾik] ‘(someone) has a clay bowl’

The other two allomorphs of the adverbializer do not reduce:

- 69) a. /ti-pupu-ɾe/ → [tipubɾe] ‘(someone) has feet’  
 b. /t-əwu-ɾe/ → [təwɾe] ‘(someone) has eye’  
 c. /t-əki-je/ → [təkije] ‘(someone) has an animal’  
 d. /ti-pi-je/ → [tipije] ‘(someone) has a wife’

Most morphemes of one syllable do not undergo vowel deletion. Examples below show free forms:<sup>29</sup>

- 70) a. /ka/ → [ka] ‘fish’  
 b. /pa/ → [pa] ‘shoulder blade’  
 c. /nu/ → [nu] ‘tongue’ (cf. *-n(u)* suffix)

<sup>29</sup> Some other morphemes of one syllable are: a) suffixes: *-ma* ‘Give verbalizer’, *-ta* ‘Possessive inchoative verbalizer’, *-ja* ‘Non-past’, *-po* ‘Causative’, *-ne* ‘Agent nominalizer’, *-nə* ‘Generic event nominalizer’, *-ne* ‘Distant Past’, *-la* ‘Negation’, *-me* ‘Attributive adverbializer’; b) particles: *pa* ‘surprise’, *ne* ‘Question’, *lə(lə)* ‘Emphatic’, *ka* ‘Question’, *mə* ‘Emphatic’; c) postpositions: *ke* ‘Instrument; Source’, *ta* ‘in permanent location’, *ja* ‘Dative’.

d. /ta/ → [ta] ‘what?’

Obviously, these words could never undergo vowel deletion, since the output would be a form consisting of a sole consonant.

**2.3.1.1.1.2. Forms with two syllables.** Vowel deletion is more prevalent in two-syllable than one-syllable forms, since some free forms undergo vowel deletion. Still, the majority of these forms presents a full allomorph:

<i>CV.CV</i>	<i>V.CV</i>
71) a. /mita/ → [mita] ‘mouth’	71b) a. /uɾu/ → [uɾu] ‘cassava bread, potato (sp.)’
b. /jeri/ → [jeri] ‘tooth’	b. /oti/ → [oti] ‘meat’
c. /pupu/ → [pupu] ‘foot’	c. /əmi/ → [əmi] ‘face’
d. /tuma/ → [tuma] ‘pan (kd.)’	d. /əpə/ → [əpə] ‘arm’
e. /pimi/ → [pimi] ‘neck’	e. /api/ → [api] ‘back’
f. /mota/ → [mota] ‘shoulder’	f. /eni/ → [eni] ‘container’
g. /kumu/ → [kumu] ‘palm fruit (sp.)’	g. /omo/ → [omo] ‘hand’
h. /paku/ → [paku] ‘fish (sp.)’	h. /əɾe/ → [əɾe] ‘liver’
i. /tami/ → [tami] ‘cigarret’	i. /əmu/ → [əmu] ‘testicles’
j. /patu/ → [patu] ‘pan’	j. /əwu/ → [əwu] ‘eyes’
k. /kapu/ → [kapu] ‘sky’	k. /əɾi/ → [əɾi] ‘vagina’
l. /hapo/ → [hapo] ‘hat’	l. /eki/ → [eki] ‘family, pet’
m. /pəne/ → [pəne] ‘piranha’	m. /əti/ → [əti] ‘what?’

Some of the forms in (72) present a short allomorph when possessed by a noun.

Examples in (72 a-b) undergo vowel and /ɾ/ deletion (cf. section 2.3.1.2 for a discussion on /ɾ/ deletion).

72) a. /niɾa+paɾi/ → [niɾapaa] ‘Nila’s grandchild’
b. /niɾa+piɾi/ → [niɾapii] ‘Nila’s brother’
c. /niɾa+miti/ → [niɾamit] ‘Nila’s artery’
d. /niɾa+ɟiti/ → [niɾaɟit] ‘Nila’s vein’
e. /niɾa+punu/ → [niɾapun] ‘Nila’s body’

A few two-syllable words undergo vowel deletion in all environments (except, of course, in the environments where vowels are retained: \_\_*CCV* particles and suffixes, etc.).



These are function words, a few body parts, and some kinship terms. The deleted vowels are /e/, /i/, /ə/, /u/, and /o/.

	<i>CV.CV</i>	→	<i>CVC</i>	
73)	a. /i-piti-mna/	→	[ipitimna]	‘without his wife’
	b. /piti/	→	[pit]	‘wife’
	c. /ajmoŋe+piti/	→	[ajmoŋepit]	‘Aimole’s wife’
	d. /i-jumi-mna/	→	[ijumimna]	‘without his/her father’
	e. /jumi/	→	[jum]	‘father’
	f. /niŋa+jumi/	→	[niŋajum]	‘Nila’s father’
	g. /mane+hnə/	→	[manehnə]	‘third person copula + also’
	h. /mane/	→	[man]	‘third person copula’
	i. /məki+nma/	→	[məkinma]	‘the distal demonstrative animate plus really’
	j. /məki/	→	[mək]	‘distal demonstrative animate’
	k. /mini+hnə/	→	[minihnə]	‘distal demonstrative inanimate plus also’
	l. /mini/	→	[min]	‘distal demonstrative inanimate’
	m. /hini+hnə/	→	[ʃinihnə]	‘proximal demonstrative inanimate plus also’
	n. /hini/	→	[ʃin]	‘proximal demonstrative inanimate’
	o. /pəkə+hnə/	→	[pəkəhnə]	‘about (it) also’
	p. /pəkə/	→	[pək]	‘about’
	q. /patu-tomo-mna]	→	[patutomnna]	‘without pans’
	r. /patu-tomo/	→	[patutom]	‘pans’
	s. /toto/	→	[tot]	‘third person particle’
	t. /ŋep/	→	[ŋep]	‘adversative particle’
	u. /heke/	→	[hek]	‘only’

Almost all free forms undergoing vowel deletion are of syllabic shape *CV.CV*.

Forms of syllabic shape *V.CV* almost never reduce: \**V.CV* → *VC*. There are only two exceptions to this pattern: the words for /uŋu/ ‘bread’ and /oti/ ‘meat’ reduce when

inflected by prefixes for first and second persons and do not reduce when inflected by

third person reflexive prefix. The dual prefix presents an idiosyncratic allomorph of these two forms: *ik-* (in all other nouns, *k/\_V* and *ku/\_C*).

74)	a. /uŋu/	→	[uŋu]	‘bread’
	b. /niŋa+uŋu/	→	[niŋauŋu]	‘Nila’s bread’
	c. /j-uŋu/	→	[juu]	‘my bread’
	c. /əw-uŋu/	→	[əuŋu]	‘your bread’
	c. /ik-uŋu/	→	[iku]	‘our bread (dual)’
	c. /t-uŋu/	→	[tuŋu]	‘his own bread’
	d. /oti/	→	[oti]	‘meat’

- g. /pəne+oti/ → [pəneoti] ‘piranha’s meat’
- f. /j-oti/ → [jot] ‘my meat’
- f. /əw-oti/ → [əwot] ‘your meat’
- f. /ik-oti/ → [ikot] ‘our meat (dual)’
- e. /t-oti/ → [toti] ‘his own meat’

In looking at all two syllable words, one is tempted to conclude that vowel deletion seems to take place in the most frequent forms. Suffixes, for instance, like function words, all undergo vowel deletion, including those of syllabic type *V.CV*:

- 75)
- a. /ene-topo-npə/ → [enetoponpə] ‘former seeing’
  - b. /ene-topo/ → [enetop] ‘seeing’
  - c. /ku-patu-komo+hnə/ → [kapatukomohnə] ‘our pan also’
  - d. /ku-patu-komo/ → [kapatukom] ‘our pan’
  - e. /ətuku-kətə+hnə/ → [etuhkətəhnə] ‘come to eat also’
  - f. /i-pampiṛa-pini-mna/ → [ipampiṛapimna] ‘one not in need of paper’
  - g. /i-pampiṛa-pini/ → [ipampiṛapin] ‘with no paper’
  - h. /ipoke-anu/ → [ipokan] ‘good one’

To summarize: words with the syllabic shape *VC.V* never reduce; a few with the syllabic shape *CV.CV* reduce (function words, body-parts, kinship terms). All bound morphemes of two syllables reduce. In all cases, the deleted vowel is the last; indeed, it is the only vowel that can be deleted without compromising syllable structure constraints.

**2.3.1.1.1.3. Forms with three syllables.** In these forms, it is possible to see that vowel deletion is not restricted to the rightmost syllable, but may also happen in other syllables within a root (vowels undergoing deletion are presented in boldface):

- 76)
- |   |         |   |       |             |                |             |                      |
|---|---------|---|-------|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 3 | V.CV.CV | → | 2     | V.CVC       | a. /amati/     | →[amat]     | ‘branch’             |
|   |         |   |       |             | b. /amati-mna/ | →[amatimna] | ‘there is no branch’ |
|   |         |   |       |             | c. /i-piti/    | →[ipit]     | ‘my wife’            |
|   |         |   |       |             | d. /piti-mna/  | →[pitimna]  | ‘there is no wife’   |
|   | V.CV.CV | → | VC.CV | e. /i-mita/ | →[imta]        | ‘my mouth’  |                      |
|   |         |   |       | f. /mita/   | →[mita]        | ‘mouth’     |                      |
|   |         |   |       | g. /i-pumo/ | →[ihmo]        | ‘his egg’   |                      |

CV.CV.CV	→	CV.CVC	h. /pumo/	→[pumo]	'egg'
(CV.CV.CV	→	CVC.CV)	i. /pupoti/	→[pupot]	'body hair'
			<i>Not attested in morphophonological alternations</i>		

All the cases in which it is still possible to recover the root-medial vowel are found in nouns. This is due to the fact that unpossessed forms still preserve the vowel that is lost in the possessed forms (all other cases of root-medial vowel deletion in the language are of this nature).<sup>30</sup>

In example (76 e, f) above, the word /mita/ 'mouth' is a two-syllable word that may not have any of its vowels deleted: the deletion of /i/ would create an ill-formed cluster, and /a/ is never deleted (most two-syllable words do not undergo vowel deletion anyway). When it is inflected by *ɛ* 'First person,' it is a three syllable word, and thus the deletion of medial /i/ is possible.

The examples below show that all of the vowels /e/, /i/, /ə/, /u/, and /o/ undergo deletion word-finally. Only the vowels /i/ and /u/, however, delete root-medially.

- 77) V.CV.CV → V.CVC
- a. /i-jumi/ → [ijum] 'my father', b. /i-punu/ → [ipun] 'my body',
  - c. /imiti/ → [imit] 'my artery', d. /i-peti/ → [ipet] 'my thigh',
  - e. /eheti/ → [ehet] 'name', f. /j-akono/ → [jakon] 'my sister',
  - g. /əjamo/ → [əjam] 'louse', h. /onoto/ → [onot] 'fruit (kd.)',
  - i. /ipoke/ → [ipok] 'good', j. /joɾoko/ → [joɾok] 'evil supernatural being',
  - k. /əw-oti/ → [əwot] 'your animal based food',
  - l. /ətaku/ → [ətak] 'saliva', m. /əkunu/ → [əkun] 'waist',
  - n. /əɾeki/ → [əɾek] 'wound',
  - o. /ətati/ → [ətat] 'hammock', p. /əniki/ → [ənik] 'who?',
  - q. /umiti/ → [umit] 'log', r. /ikati/ → [ikat] 'his fat',
  - s. /upake/ → [upak], t. /j-epi-ti/ → [jepit] 'my medicine',

- 78) V.CV.CV → VC.CV
- a. /i-tuma/ → [inma] 'my pan (kd.)', b. [tuma] 'pan (kd.)',
  - c. /i-mita/ → [imta] 'my mouth', d. /mita/ → [mita] 'mouth'

<sup>30</sup> Forms that must have undergone this kind of vowel deletion historically are: a) V.CV.CV → VC.CV: /ətpo/ 'beard', /emna/ 'we (exclusive)', /ihkə/ 'skin-worm', among others; b) CV.CV.CV → CVC.CV: /tutpə/ 'vase (kd.)', /watki/ 'tale', /munpə/ 'rat', among others.

e. /i-pumo/ → [ihmo] 'his egg', f. /pumo/ → [pumo] 'egg'

- 79) CV.CV.CV → CV.CVC
- a. /ipoke/ → [ipok] 'good',
  - b. /wapoto/ → [wapot] 'fire',
  - c. /kaneti/ → [kanet] 'hammock string',
  - d. /munətə/ → [munət] 'scorpion',
  - e. /katipi/ → [katip] 'like',
  - f. /mihenu/ → [mihen] 'poor', g. /joɾoko/ → [joɾok] 'devil',
  - h. /teɾenu/ → [teɾen] 'big', i. /kuɾumu/ → [kuɾum] 'vulture',
  - j. /hamutu/ → [hamut] 'sand',
  - k. /paɾumi/ → [paɾum] 'son-in-law',
  - l. /kopini/ → [kopin] 'grass',
  - m. /wetepu/ → [wetep] 'belly',
  - n. /patumi/ → [patum] 'nephew', o. /j-emi-ti/ → [jemit] 'my face',
  - p. /wapoto/ → [wapot] 'fire'.

There are at the same time several words in which /e/, /i/, /ə/, /u/, and /o/, in the same contexts, do not delete.

- 80) /e/ [oɾoke] 'royal sloth'
- 81) /i/ a. [manati] 'breast',  
b. [ipimi] 'my neck' (cf. /kaneti/ → [kanet] 'hammock string', c. /ətati/ → [ətat] 'hammock',  
d. /i-mita/ → [imta] 'my mouth').
- 82) /ə/ a. [əwanə] 'heart', b. [nunuwə] 'moon', c. [ʃiɾikə] 'star', d. [tutukə] 'brazil-nut',  
e. [əɾukə] 'caterpillar', f. [nunuwə], g. [əɾiwə] 'clay', h. [puɾunə] 'clay', i. [əwtə] 'land'  
(cf. /munətə/ → [munət] 'scorpion')
- 83) /u/ a. [piɾaku] 'ankle', b. [əmeku] 'lower-arm, wrist',  
c. /i-mumu/ → [imumu] 'my son (man speaking)'
- 84) /o/ a. [opoto] 'bread holder', b. [oɾoko] 'helmet (kd.)', c. [etato] 'side',  
d. [əheto] 'both sides', e. [nukumo] 'throat' (cf. /onoto/ → [onot] 'fruit (kd.)')

This shows that vowel deletion is not automatic; it applies to some words, but not to others. In addition, there exists an asymmetry in terms of frequency: /i/ is most frequently deleted (with only two attested cases in which it is not deleted), followed by /u/ (with four attested non-deleting words). /ə/, on the other hand, seems to be the vowel that is deleted least frequently (with only one attested example undergoing deletion). As for /o/, though it deletes in several examples, in several others it does not. And /e/, though it is preserved in only one example, is deleted in only three.

As expected, /a/ and /i/ do not delete at the ends of three-syllable words. The same is true of /ɾV/, other than /ɾu/ and /ɾi/ (cf. section 2.3.1.2 for the deletion of /ɾu/ and /ɾi/ final syllables):

- 85) a. [atuɾa] ‘river otter’, b. [epaɾe] ‘palm fruit (sp.)’, c. [akuɾi] ‘agouti’, d. [eɾuwa] ‘man’,  
 e. [kaɟiɾi] ‘manioc beer’, f. [maɾija] ‘knife’, g. [ɾekimi] ‘lime’, h. [kajama] ‘cassava flower’,  
 i. [kumaka] ‘three (sp.)’, j. [maɾipa] ‘palm fruit (sp.)’, k. [manaɾe] ‘sieve’, l. [kinoɾo] ‘macaw’,  
 m. [taɾaɾa] ‘lightning’, n. [hoɾoɾo] ‘bird (sp.)’, o. [pijaɾo] ‘bird (sp.)’, p. [koɾoɾo] ‘white’,  
 q. [paɾoɾo] ‘house’, r. [akəɾə] ‘with’.

Finally, comparing forms with two and three syllables, it becomes clear that vowel deletion takes place more commonly in forms with three syllables. Words such as /peti/→[peti] ‘thigh’ as opposed to /i-peti/→[ipet] ‘my thigh’, as well as /pumo/ as opposed to /i-pumo/→[ihmo] ‘his egg’, illustrate this.

**2.3.1.1.1.4. Forms with four syllables.** These forms behave similarly to three syllable words. Due to their larger size, however, it is possible to see that more than one vowel can be deleted in the same word.<sup>31</sup> The example in (89 b) shows a word with four syllables shortening to two syllables.<sup>32</sup>

	4		3			
86)	V.CV.CV.CV	→	V.CV.CVC	a. /imepini+hnə/	→	[imepinihnə] ‘another also’
				b. /imepini/	→	[imepin] ‘another’
87)	V.CV.CV.CV	→	V.CVC.CV	/i-wapota/	→	[iwapta] ‘my fire’
88)	V.CV.CV.CV	→	VC.CVC	<i>Not attested in morphophonological alternations</i>		
	4		2			

<sup>31</sup> Examples of forms with four syllables that must have undergone vowel deletion historically, but not attested in morphophonological alternations are: V.CV.CV.CV→V.CVC.CV /aɾahpa/ ‘bird (sp.)’, /əhehmu/ ‘knee’, /əkəmnə/ ‘later’, /əpihpə/ ‘eyebrow’, /əjapta/ ‘armpit’; V.CV.CV.CV→VC.CV.CV not attested; CV.CV.CV.CV→CV.CVC.CV /paɾakta/ ‘fruit (kd.)’, /watənkə/ ‘vulture (sp.)’, /pajakwa/ ‘bird (sp.)’, /waɾəhna/ ‘back of the knee’; CV.CV.CV.CV→CVC.CV.CV /hitpiɾi/ ‘ugly, bad’, /mamhaɾi/ ‘bird (sp.)’, /jahpine/ ‘shallow’, /wotkaɾa/ ‘ribs’.

<sup>32</sup> Examples that must have undergone the same change are: /aphiki/→[apɟik] ‘little small’, /ihjanu/→[ihjan] ‘new’, /ahmiti/→[ahmit] ‘bench’, /umheti/→[umhet] ‘hair’.



/ə/ almost always delete (with the exception of /imanati/ → [imanati] ‘my breasts’ and /əɾeminə/ → [əɾeminə] ‘kidney’, /i-wapotə/ → [iwaptə] ‘my fire’. /o/ and /e/ do not delete word-finally.

**2.3.1.1.1.5. Forms with five syllables.** Forms with five syllables show the same pattern of root-medial vowel deletion as words of three and four syllables, with /i/ and /u/ deleting. The only attested syllabic types undergoing vowel deletion are:

- 97)  $\begin{matrix} 5 & & 3 \\ V.CV.CV.CV.CV & \rightarrow & VC.CV.CVC \end{matrix}$  a. /i-mineɾumi/ → [imneɾum] ‘my husband’  
 b. /i-minenoti/ → [imnenot] ‘my mother-in-law’  
 c. /i-kiɾəkunu/ → [iɾəkun] ‘my ankle’  
 d. /i-pitajinu/ → [iptain] ‘my heels’

- 98)  $\begin{matrix} 5 & & 4 \\ V.CV.CV.CV.CV & \rightarrow & V.CV.CV.CVC \end{matrix}$  a. /əheɾuwawə/ → /əheɾuwaw/ ‘three’

Recall that in words with four syllables, in the cases in which vowel deletion takes place twice in the same word (i.e. word-finally and root-medially), deletion occurred in alternate syllables (CV.CV.CV.CV → CVC.CVC, for instance). In the examples above, however, it takes place in the last syllable and in the fourth syllable from the right:

V.CV.CV.CV.CV → VC.CV.CVC. The third syllable from the right would be expected to undergo vowel deletion, but it does not. This is explained by the fact that third syllables from the right contain vowels that may not delete root-medially (/ne/, /ɾə/, /ji/). The examples below show that deletion might have taken place, at least historically, in the third as well as in the second syllable:

- 99) \*V.CV.CV.CV.CV → VC.CV.CVC [uwakʃitʃi]

---

seem to represent this pattern.

100) \*V.CV.CV.CV.CV→ VC.CV.CVC [əwokohko] ‘fish (sp.)’

Some words of five syllables that do not undergo vowel deletion are:

101) a. [tapaɾukawa] ‘venus’, b. [tapiɾukawa] ‘wasp (sp.)’, c. [kuɾitapaɾu] ‘fish (sp.)’,  
d. [kapukapuʃi] ‘supernatural being’, e. [ijaɾamata] ‘my chin’

Forms with six or more syllables present a similar pattern to that found in forms with five syllables, with deletion of segments occurring in alternating syllables (example 102b shows /h/ deletion (2.3.1.3):

102) a. /ti-mumuku-ta-he/→[timumuktai]  
b. /ti-mineɾumi-ta-he/→[timneɾumtai]

In summary, vowel deletion does not affect all Wayâna words; it seems to occur in a process of lexical diffusion that affects some forms and not others. For instance, most words of two syllables keep their last vowel, with vowel deletion restricted to the most frequent terms: function words, body parts, and kinship terms. Words such [pimi] ‘neck’(from /pimi/), as opposed to [min] (from /mini/) ‘Distal Demonstrative Inanimate’, and [manati] ‘breast’ (from /manati/), as opposed to [kanet] (from /kaneti/) ‘hammock string’, are examples of this.

Historically, vowel deletion must have taken place in syllables in all positions within the word (with the exception of the leftmost syllable). Looking at synchronic data, one may come to the incorrect conclusion that deletion took place only at the edges of words. It appears to be the case that word-medial deletion is always related to possession (e.g., when a possessive prefix results in a three-syllable word, the second syllable of the word, and the first syllable of the root, is subject to deletion):

103) a. /pumo/ → [pumo] ‘egg’ 2 syllables phonemically  
b. /i-pumo/ → [ihmo] ‘his egg’ 3 syllables phonemically



In comparing the two forms, we arrive at an underlying form preserving the vowel. However, to define the locus of deletion as the edge of the word would be to miss the fact that root medial consonant clusters almost certainly resulted historically from vowel deletion, though in such cases the deleted medial vowel does not reappear in allomorphic variation:

104)	/umheti/	→	[umhet]	‘hair’
	/j-umheti/	→	[jumhet]	‘my hair’
	/miphakə/	→	[miphak]	‘ant’
	/watənkə/	→	[watənkə]	‘vulture (sp.)’

Considering the cases that do undergo vowel deletion, it is possible to discover that vowel deletion obeys strong principles:

i) Vowel deletion depends on vowel quality. While /i/ and /u/ delete both word-finally and -medially, /o/ deletes almost only word-finally (with one exception /i-wapətə/ → [iwapətə] ‘my fire’), /e/ deletes only word-finally, and /a/ and /i/ never delete.

ii) Vowel deletion takes place from right to left. There are no attested cases of deletion of a vowel word-initially, or in an initial *CV* syllable (due to disallowed tautosyllabic consonant clusters). Word-final vowel deletion, on the other hand, is widely attested. Vowel deletion takes place from right to left in alternating syllables, since deleting two sequential vowels would create syllables with an unacceptable consonant cluster: *CVCVCVCV* → \**CV.CVCC*). This is clear in the existing examples: (example (105 c) undergoes /h/ deletion (2.3.1.3))

105)	V.CV.CV.CV	a.	/i-pupoti/	→	[ihpot]	‘my body hair’
	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	b.	/ku-manati-komo/	→	[kumanatkom]	‘our breast’
	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	c.	/ti-mumuku-ta-he/	→	[timumuktai]	‘having a son’

This organization must obey the vowel quality principle; thus, deletion skips vowels that may not be deleted (only /i/ and /u/, and /o/ can be deleted root-medially): examples (106 a-d) show vowel deletion starting at the rightmost syllable, then skipping the third syllable since /e/, /ə/, and /a/ may not delete. In examples (106 e and f), deletion skips the rightmost syllable; in example (106 f), deletion starts on the second, and then goes to the fourth syllable from the right. In effect, when the rightmost syllable cannot be deleted, the deletion begins with the rightmost syllable that can, and moves left in alternation from that point.

- 106) V.CV.CV.CV.CV a. /imineɾumi/ → [imneɾum] ‘my husband’  
 b. /iminenoti/ → [imnenot] ‘my mother-in-law’  
 c. /i-kiɾəkunu/ → [igɾakun] ‘my ankle’  
 d. /i-pitajinu/ → [iptain] ‘my heels’  
 e. /mumukə/ → [mumkə] ‘woman’s son’  
 CV.CV.CV.CV.CV f. /t-əki-nomə-ke/ → [təɲnomke] ‘having pets’

There are no cases of three deleted vowels that can be recovered, but cases like

- 107) \*V.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV [aktuɸpoɟ] ‘up river’ (\*/a.kV.tu.CV.po.jV/)

shows that deletion must take place three times in the same word, as well.

Though there are not a large number of examples in support of this analysis, there are none that contradict it. There are no cases showing root-medial deletion skipping a syllable with /i/ and /u/ further to the right (i.e. in morphophonological alternations there are no roots with consonant clusters preceding a syllable with /i/ or /u/).<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> As a matter of fact, there exists one exception in my corpus, one case that must have undergone syllable reduction on the third syllable without having undergone syllable reduction on the first: [ʃitpiɾi] ‘ugly, bad’. But, this example is not clearly an exception: the ɾi/ɾu does not always delete, and a /pɾ/ cluster is not allowed in the language. Forms such [iwatki] ‘his wing’ may seem like an exception but, they are not, since they had -ɾi deleted: /i-watki-ɾi/ → [iwatki].

iv) There exists a hierarchy among vowels. Observing which vowel is chosen to be deleted, it is possible to see that some vowels outrank the others. In /ijumi/→[ijum] ‘my father’ and /imita/→[imta] ‘my mouth’ it is possible to see that /i/ is chosen to be deleted over /u/ and /a/. In /i-pupoti/→[ihpot] ‘his body hair’, /u/ is deleted, but /i/ is also deleted (indicating that /u/ preceding /i/ on the same root will only delete if the /i/ also deletes). In the case of /i-pumo/→[ihmo] ‘his egg’, it seems that /u/ outranks /o/. The hierarchy is:

/i/→ /u/ → /o/ → the others.

The hierarchy is, thus, more important than starting the vowel deletion in the right-most syllable.

Whenever the hierarchy does not distinguish between two vowels (i.e., when the two are equal), vowel deletion starts in the right-most syllable, as expected. Never in these cases is there root-medial deletion; thus, the validity of the *right to left* parameter is corroborated.

- 108) a. /i-punu/→[i-pun] ‘my body’, b. /j-əkunu/→[jakun] ‘my waist’, c. /əniki/→[ənik] ‘who?’,  
d. /imepini/→[imepin] ‘another’.

In the next section, vowel deletion in verb forms is discussed.

**2.3.1.1.2. Verbal forms.** Vowel deletion is much more straightforward in verbs than in other word classes. It is almost completely restricted to the right edge of the verbal root, with only three examples of vowel deletion occurring on the left edge of the root (only example (109) is a monomorphemic root; examples (110) and (111) are stems derived from nouns that undergo left edge vowel deletion (cf. section 2.3.1.1.1.3):

- |      |                       |   |                |   |
|------|-----------------------|---|----------------|---|
| 109) | a. /ni-pikəɾə/        | → | [nipkəɾə]      | ‘he cut it’   |
|      | b. /i-punu+pikəɾə-po/ | → | [ipunpikəɾəpo] | ‘someone caused him to cut meat’                        |
| 110) | a. /ni-pupo-ka/       | → | [nihpoka]      | ‘he shaved it (a pig)’ (vowel deletion + dissimilation) |
|      | b. /pupo/             | → | [pupo]         | ‘body hair’   |
| 111) | a. /wemitapi/         | → | [wentap]       | ‘I opened my mouth’                                     |

As for right edge syllable reduction, verbal roots with two or fewer syllables almost never reduce. The only exceptions are those discussed in section 2.3.1.2.2 on /ɾ/ deletion and roots ending with /ju/ (/w-aju-ja-he/→[wajjaj] ‘I dry it’, /w-eju-ja-he/→[wejjaj] ‘I scold him/her’).<sup>35</sup> /i/ and /u/ are deleted at the ends of verbal roots with three or more syllables (no cases of /e/, /i/, /o/, and /ə/ being deleted are found)<sup>36</sup>. These vowels are retained when followed by *CCV* particles or suffixes (and the same exceptional *CV(C)* morphemes: *-pɪn(i)* ‘privative nominalizer’ and *-ɾa* ‘negative’) and

<sup>35</sup> Other examples of verbal roots with one and two syllables are:

. /w-ene/→[wene] ‘I saw it’, /w-eta/→[wetə] ‘I played flute’, /w-epa/→[wepa] ‘I teached s/he/it’, /w-epi/→ [wepi] ‘I bathed’, /i-hita/→[iʃita] ‘I burped’, /w-e-pi/[wepi] ‘I ate (vegetal based food)’, /w-apu/→[wapu] ‘I prayed’, /w-i-nəmə/→[winəmə] ‘I left it’, /w-i-pimi/→[w-i-pimi] ‘I tied it ip’.

<sup>36</sup> Examples of verbal roots that do not undergo vowel deletion: [weɾama] ‘I went back’, [nepeta] ‘it gave fruit’, [jeɾemi] ‘I cried’, [jetakina] ‘I whistled’. Examples that must have undergone word-medially vowel deletion historically are: [nuhmo] ‘he killed it’, [wapkəɾə] ‘I broke it’.

when inflected by the nominalizer  $-\emptyset$  ‘Specific event’ (examples are presented with *he* ‘Desiderative’):<sup>37</sup>

- 112) *CCV*            a. /w-uməki+phiki/ → [uməkipʃik]    ‘I came a little’  
       *-pɪn(i), -ʒa*    b. /uməki-ʒa/     → [uməkiʒa]    ‘not come’  
       *-∅ + he*        c. /uməki+he/     → [uməkihe]    ‘someone wants to come’
- 113) *CCV*            a. /w-ukuku+phiki/ → [ukukupʃik]    ‘I tried a little’  
       *-pɪn(i), -ʒa*    b. /ukuku-ʒa/     → [ukukuʒa]    ‘not tried’  
       *-∅ + he*        c. /ukuku+he/     → [ukukuhe]    ‘someone wants to try it’

There are two environments in which the last vowel of a verbal root is deleted, the first two being when the root is followed by a *-CV* suffix or  $-\emptyset$  ‘Recent Past’ (if not followed by a *CCV* particle)<sup>38</sup> (the examples are presented with *-ja* ‘Non-past’):

- 114) *-CV*            . /n-uməki-ja / → [numəkja]    ‘He will come’  
       *-∅*                . /n-uməki/     → [numək]     ‘He came’
- 115) *-CV*            . /n-ukuku-ja/ → [nukugja]    ‘He will try’  
       *-∅*                . /n-ukuku/     → [nukuk]     ‘He tried it’

Note that the two zeros suffixes,  $-\emptyset$  ‘recent past’ and  $-\emptyset$  ‘Specific event nominalizer’, affect the verbal roots differently. While the former causes vowel deletion, the latter causes vowel retention (the nominalizer  $-\emptyset$  is discussed in section 4.2.2.1.2).

**2.3.1.1.3. Vowel deletion in *V-V* sequences.** Vowel deletion takes place in one additional context to those discussed above: root-final vowels are deleted at morpheme

<sup>37</sup> The same behavior is seen with other postpositions and particles following verb form nominalized with  $-\emptyset$ .

<sup>38</sup> Verbal roots with two syllables are an exception:

$\emptyset$ - ‘Recent Past’	<i>-CV</i> ( <i>-ne</i> ‘distant past’)
[wepi] ‘I bathed’	[wepine] ‘I bathed a long time ago’
[wapu] ‘I prayed’	[wapune] ‘I prayed a long time ago’
[wamo] ‘I cried’	[wamone] ‘I cried a long time ago’

boundaries when inflected by a suffix starting with a vowel. This is due to the constraint disallowing tautosyllabic sequences of vowels in the language. As a result, the first vowel is deleted and the second occupies its position:  $CV_i-V_j \rightarrow CV_j$ . The reduction takes place independently of vowel quality.

There are several vowel-initial suffixes in Wayâna, as for instance, the allomorphs of the ‘Participant’ nominalizer and of the collective morpheme which start with /a/ and the ‘Resumptive’ *-əmə*:

- 116) a. /ipoke+nma/ → [ipokenma] ‘very good’  
 b. /ipoke-anu/ → [ipokan] ‘the good one’  
 c. /ipoke-anu-mna/ → [ipokanumna] ‘without the good one’  
 d. /koʔe+nma/ → [koʔenma] ‘a lot’  
 e. /koʔe-anu/ → [koʔan] ‘the many’  
 f. /koʔe-anu-nma/ → [koʔanunma] ‘the very many’  
 g. /eʔa-mhakə+nma/ → [eʔamkakənma] ‘very scared’  
 h. /eʔa-mhakə-anu/ → [eʔamhakan] ‘the scared one’  
 i. /i-piʔi-Ø-amo/ → [ipilamo] ‘her brothers’
- 117) a. /kokone/ → [kokone] ‘yesterday’  
 b. /kokone-ato/ → [kokonat] ‘the one from yesterday’  
 c. /upake-ʔa/ → [upakeʔa] ‘not long ago’  
 d. /upake-ato/ → [upakat] ‘the old one’  
 e. /upake-ato-nomo/ → [upakatonom] ‘the old ones’
- 118) a. /ti-pata-ke/ → [tipatake] ‘possessing a village’  
 b. /ti-pata-ke-amo/ → [tipatakamo] ‘the ones possessing a village’  
 c. /t-utati-he/ → [tutatʃe] ‘lost’  
 d. /t-utati-he-amo/ → [tutatʃamo] ‘the lost ones’

The Resumptive suffix has three allomorphs: *-jəmə*, *-jmə*, and *-əmə*. In a very consistent pattern, the allomorphs distinguish three different verb classes in the language: class 1, inflected by *-jəmə*, is composed of the verbal roots ending in /i/ that do not undergo vowel deletion and of /i/; class 2, inflected by *-jmə*, is composed of roots ending in /a/, /o/, /e/, /ə/ (all of which do not undergo deletion); and class 3, inflected by *-əmə*, is

composed of verbal roots ending in /i/ and /u/ which undergo vowel deletion. Class 3 is the only one to undergo vowel deletion, as table 9 shows. (In the table 9, V stands for /e/, /a/, /o/ and /ə/).

Table 9  
The /i(j)ə)mə/ ‘Resumptive’ suffix

	Vowel deletion	plus /jəmə/	Examples
class 1	/Ci/→Ci	ijəmə	/w-i-pimi-jəmə/→[wipimijəmə] ‘I tied it up again’ /w-aki-jəmə/→[wakijəmə] ‘I missed it again’, /w-e-pi-jəmə/→[wepijəmə] ‘I took bath again’
	/Ci/→Ci	ijəmə	/w-upi-jəmə/→[upijəmə] ‘I searched it again’ /j-eɾemi-jəmə/→[jeɾemijəmə] ‘I sang again’
class 2	/CV/→CV	Vjmə	/w-ene-jmə/→[wenejmə] ‘I’ve found it back’ /w-oko-jmə/→[wokojmə] ‘I cut it again’ /w-epe-jmə/→[wepejmə] ‘I fled again’
class 3	Ci/u→C	Cəmə	/j-iniki-əmə/→[jinikəmə] ‘I slept again’ /w-uməki-əmə/→[uməkəmə] ‘I came again’ /w-ukuku-əmə/→[ukukəmə] ‘I tried it again’ /w-eneɾi-əmə/→[weneɾəmə] ‘I brought it again’

The next section addresses another important process in syllable reduction: /ɾ/ deletion.

**2.3.1.2. /ɾV/ deletion.** The high vowels /i/ and /u/ are *par excellence* the elements that delete in all word classes. They are basically the only vowels that delete having /ɾ/ as their onset consonant (All other vowels are retained with /ɾ/ as onset.)<sup>39</sup> With the

<sup>39</sup> There are a few examples of forms ending with /ɾə/ that also undergo /ɾV/ deletion. The deletion of /ɾə/, however, is a much more restricted phenomenon than that affecting forms ending with /ɾu/ or /ɾi/. The only attested examples are five pronominal forms (/inəɾə/→[inəɾə] ‘3<sup>rd</sup> Person Anaphoric Pronoun’, /əməɾə/→[əməɾə] ‘2<sup>nd</sup> Person Pronoun’, /məɾə/→[məɾə] ‘Demonstrative Animate Medial Pronoun’, /məɾə/→[məɾə] ‘Demonstrative Animate Medial Collective Pronoun’, /məhəɾə/→[məhə]

deletion of /i/ and /u/, /ɾ/ is left as coda, and then deleted due to the *no coda /ɾ/* constraint operating in the language. The output is the reduction of the whole syllable (with lengthening on the vowel of the preceding syllable depending sometimes on word size).

Though there are cases of /i/ and /u/ deleting root-medially, this never happens if /ɾ/ is the onset; i.e., there are no cases of long allomorphs with *ɾi/ɾu* root-medially alternating with short allomorphs.

Again, as in vowel deletion, there are differences between verbal and non-verbal forms. These are discussed in the next sections.

**2.3.1.2.1. Non-verbal forms.** The most interesting aspect of /ɾ/ deletion in nouns is that it is necessary to distinguish between the possessive suffix *-ɾi* and *ɾi/ɾu* syllables that are part of the nominal root. As in the case of vowel deletion, the *ɾi/ɾu* syllable is retained when followed by morphemes that trigger the long allomorph (*CCV* particles or suffixes and the idiosyncratic *CV* morphemes, the privative *-pɪn(i)*, the negative *-ɾa*, and the dative postposition *ja*).

Lengthening can be an indication of whether there is a lost *ɾi/ɾu* syllable. As a general rule, forms presenting a long vowel word-finally have lost a *ɾi/ɾu* syllable. However, this statement is valid only for some three syllable words, mostly those starting

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'Demonstrative Animate Proximal Collective Pronoun',) two adverbs (/hemaɾəɾə/→[hemaɾə] 'today', /huwaɾə/→[huwa] 'as such',) and a particle (/ɾəɾə/→[ɾə] 'Emphatic'.)



with a V.CV syllabic sequence (119 a and e). For all other word sizes, the lengthening is basically lost, unless a CV suffix or clitic follows immediately (120 c and f).<sup>40</sup>

- 119) a. /ewu-ʔi/ → [euu] 'his/hers/its eye' c. /uʔu/ → [uʔu] 'bread'  
 b. /ewu-ʔi-mna/ → [euʔumna] 'with no eye' d. /uʔu-mna/ → [uʔumna] 'with no bread'
- e. /pəʔəʔi/ → [pəʔə] 'frog' g. /kopə / → [kopə] 'rain'  
 f. /pəʔəʔi-mna/ → [pəʔəʔimna] 'with no frog' h. /kopə-mna/ → [kopəmna] 'with no rain'
- o. /əʔewəʔi/ → [əʔewə] 'fly' k. /aʔiwe/ → [aʔiwe] 'alligator'  
 j. /əʔewəʔi-mna/ → [əʔewəʔimna] 'no fruit' l. /aʔiwe-mna/ → [aʔiwemna] 'no alligator'
- 120) a. /epəʔiʔi/ → [epəʔi] 'fruit'  
 b. /epəʔiʔi-mna/ → [epəʔiʔimna] 'no fruit'  
 c. /epəʔiʔi+pəkə/ → [epəʔiʔipək] 'occupied with fruit'  
 d. /ku-tuna-ʔi/ → [kutuna] 'our (dual) water'  
 e. /ku-tuna-ʔi+phiki/ → [kutunaʔipsik] 'our (dual) little water'  
 f. /ku-tuna-ʔi-komo → [kutunaakom] 'our water (of us all)'

In the case of the -ʔi suffix, the lengthening on the final vowel occurs, obviously, only in the possessed forms; the suffix reappears in its full form when followed by the morphemes that trigger long allomorphs.<sup>41</sup> (-ʔi 'possessive' undergoes vowel harmony when inflecting nouns ending in /u/).

- 121) a. /pupu/ → [pupu] 'foot'  
 b. /i-pupu-ʔi/ → [ipupu] 'his foot'  
 c. /i-pupu-ʔi-mna/ → [ipupuʔumna] 'without his foot'  
 d. /pupu-mna/ → [pupumna] 'with no feet'  
 e. (\*ipupumna, \*pupuʔumna)
- f. /omo/ 'hand'  
 g. /j-amo-ʔi/ → [jamo] 'my hand'  
 h. /j-amo-ʔi-mna/ → [jamoʔimna] 'without my hand'  
 i. /omo-mna/ → [omomna] 'without a hand'

<sup>40</sup> Other examples of ʔi/ʔu deletion are: [paʔu] 'banana', [aʔuu] 'porcupine', [ipo] 'mythical river being', [akiʔi] 'raised animal, parasite', [mamii] 'liana (sp.)', [iʃuu] 'shrimp', [ekuu] 'flower', [mauu] 'cotton', [epu] 'pole', [aʃi] 'pepper', [puupu] 'river turtle' (Note the Aparai form [puʔupuʔu] 'river turtle'), etc.

<sup>41</sup> Other examples are: [əta] 'kidney', [əpə] 'arm', [əʔe] 'liver', [əʔi] 'cowlick', [əu] 'eye', [əmu] 'testicles', [əʔi] 'vulva', [nu] 'tongue', [miu] 'blood', [eki] 'pet, family', [waʃi] 'lower leg', [mumkə] 'woman's son', [pana] 'ear', [mota] 'shoulder', [mita] 'mouth', [wetep] 'belly', [napi] 'potato', etc.

(\*jamomna, \*omorimna)

Nouns ending in /tʰə/ change their endings to /tʰi/ when taking possessive prefixes. This may have been historically a result of vowel harmony, but no examples of /ə/ harmonizing to /i/ are attested elsewhere in the language:

- 122) a. /uputʰə/ → [uputʰə] 'head'  
b. /j-uputʰi/ → [juputʰi] 'my head'  
d. /j-uputʰi-mna/ → [juputʰimna] 'without my head'
- a. /əwotʰə/ → [əwotʰə] 'aunt'  
b. /i-wotʰi/ → [iwotʰi] 'my aunt'  
c. /i-wotʰi-mna/ → [iwotʰimna] 'without my aunt'

Nouns with the devaluative suffix *-tʰə* (with allomorph *-npə*)<sup>42</sup> show parallel behavior to the nouns above (cf. section 4.2.1.1):

- 123) a. /pupu-tʰə/ → [puputʰə] 'footprints, former foot'  
b. /pupu-tʰə-mna/ → [puputʰəmna] 'there are no footprints, former foot'  
c. /i-pupu-tʰi/ → [ipuputʰi] 'my footprints, former foot'  
d. /i-pupu-tʰi-phiki/ → [ipuputʰipsik] 'my little footprints, former foot'
- e. /jeɽi-npə/ → [jeɽinpə] 'hand severed from the body'  
f. /jeɽi-npə-mna/ → [jeɽinpəmna]  
g. /i-jeɽi-npi/ → [ijeɽinpi] 'my former hand'<sup>43</sup>  
h. /i-jeɽi-npi-mna/ → [ijeɽinpiɽimna] 'without my former hand'

There exist some forms for which it is not possible to determine whether compensatory lengthening results from the deletion of a syllable of the nominal root or

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<sup>42</sup> The occurrence of either *-npə* or *-tʰə* is defined lexically. Nouns inflected with *-npə* are /ətə/ 'kidney', /ətati/ 'hammock', /ka/ 'fish', /miwu/ 'blood', /pana/ 'ear', /əwu/ 'eye'. Nouns inflected with *-tʰə*: /nu/ 'tongue', /wetepu/ 'belly', /uɽu/ 'bread', etc.

<sup>43</sup> See section 2.3.8 on ablaut for o/a and other alternations.

from the deletion of *-ɾi*. These forms end in *ɾi/ɾu* in the unpossessed forms, and delete *ɾi/ɾu* in the possessed form.<sup>44</sup>

- 124) a. /jeɾi/ → [jeɾi] ‘tooth’  
 b. /i-jeɾi/ → [ijee] ‘my tooth’  
 c. /i-jeɾi-mna/ → [ijeɾimna] ‘without his tooth’  
 d. /jeɾi-npə/ → [jeɾinpə] ‘tooth severed from the body’  
 e. \*jeɾiɾimna,  
 f. /uɾu/ → [uɾu] ‘manioc bread’  
 g. /j-uɾu/ → [juu] ‘my manioc bread’  
 h. /j-uɾu-mna/ → [juɾumna] ‘without his manioc bread’  
 i. /uɾu-npə/ → [uɾunpə] ‘old, unpossessed manioc bread’  
 j. \*jeɾuɾumna

It is noteworthy that since the *-ɾi* ‘possessive’ undergoes deletion, the final vowel of the surface allomorph of the nominal root is always kept.

- 125) a. /wetepu/ → [wetep] ‘belly’  
 b. /i-wetepu-ɾi/ → [iwetepu] ‘my belly’  
 c. /əɾamuku/ → [əɾamuk] ‘sweat’  
 d. /j-əɾamuku-ɾi/ → [jeɾamuku] ‘my sweat’  
 e. /əɾinatu/ → [əɾinat] ‘plate’  
 f. /j-əɾinatu-ɾi/ → [jeɾinatu] ‘my plate’ (check length)  
 g. /ətaku/ → [ətək] ‘saliva’  
 h. /j-ətaku-ɾi/ → [jetaku] ‘my saliva’

In suffixes starting with a vowel, such as the adverbial nominalizer *-an(u)* and the collective *-am(o)*, and in a few possessive phrases, vowel deletion takes place, but /ɾ/ is kept (note that in the compounds it is preserved only in certain forms):

<sup>44</sup> Other similar forms are: /paɾi/ ‘granddaughter’, /piɾi/ ‘brother’. It is interesting to compare /jeɾi/ ‘tooth’ and /paɾi/ ‘granddaughter’ with /pa/ ‘shoulder blade’ and /je/ ‘mother’, the latter with no possessive suffix at all: (examples are shown with discontinuous morpheme *ku-N-kom(o)* ‘1<sup>st</sup> Person Collective’

/ku-paɾi-komo/ → [kupaakom] ‘our granddaughter’

/ku-pa-komo/ → [kupakom] ‘our shoulder blade’

/ku-jeɾi-komo/ → [kujeekom] ‘our tooth’

/ku-je-komo/ → [kujekom] ‘our mother’

- 126) a. /pətukuɾu/ → [pətuku] ‘beautiful, well’  
 b. /pətukuɾu-anu/ → [pətukuɾan] ‘the beautiful one’  
 c. /i-piɾi-amo/ → [ipiɾam] ‘his brothers’  
 d. /ku-piɾi-amo-komo/ → [kupiɾamkom] ‘our brothers’  
 e. /pupu+epeɾiɾi/ → [pupuepeɾi] ‘sole’  
 f. /i-pupu-ɾi+epeɾiɾi/ → [ipupuɾepeɾi] ‘my sole’  
 g. /ə-pupu-ɾi+epeɾiɾi/ → [əpupuɾepeɾi] ‘your sole’  
 h. /pupu+umiti/ → [pupuumit] ‘big toe’  
 i. /i-pupu-ɾi+umiti/ → [ipupuumit] ‘his big toe’  
 j. /i-pupu-ɾi+umiti/ → [ipupuɾumit] ‘my big toe’  
 k. /ə-pupu-ɾi+umiti/ → [əpupuɾumit] ‘your big toe’  
 l. /ti-pupu-ɾi+umiti/ → [tipupuɾumit] ‘his own big toe’  
 m. /hiku+eni/ → [ɟikuɛni] ‘bladder (Lit. ‘urine container’)  
 n. /i-hiku-ɾi+eni/ → [iɟikuɾeni] ‘my bladder’

Not all *ɾi/ɾu* final syllables delete. A few nouns and the postposition nominalizer

-*ɾi* preserve them:

- 127) a. [ɟitpiɾi] ‘ugly’, b. [aɟikaɾu] ‘sugar’, c. [kuɾitapaɾu] ‘fish (sp.)’, d. [kahuɾu] ‘bead’,  
 e. [maakaɾu] ‘bird sp.’, f. [ekoɾoɾi] ‘bread crumbs’; g. [iɟoɾi] ‘rapids’.  
 128) a. /taɾi+hna-ɾi/ → [taɾihnaɾi] ‘the one in the open’, b. /itu+hta-ɾi/ → [ituhtaɾi] ‘the one in the bushes’, c. /tuna+kwa-ɾi/ → [tunagwaɾi] ‘the one in the water’.

It is interesting that as in the cases of vowel deletion, only words of more than two syllables lose the *ɾi/ɾu* syllable (/paɾi/ → [paɾi] ‘granddaughter’, but /i-paɾi/ → [ipaa] ‘my granddaughter’, /jeɾi/ → [jeɾi], but /i-jeɾi/ → [ijee].<sup>45</sup> The interesting exception is the word for ‘manioc bread,’ which is compared here with the word for ‘meat’ (cf. section 2.3.1.1.1.2 on two-syllable words). The forms inflected by *j*- ‘1<sup>st</sup> Person’ have two syllables, but they behave just like other three-syllable words, losing their last syllable or vowel. Note that *t*- ‘3<sup>rd</sup> Person Reflexive’ does not cause this phenomenon.

- 129) a. /uɾu/ → [uɾu] ‘manioc bread’  
 b. /j-uɾu/ → [juu] ‘my manioc bread’  
 c. /tuɾu/ → [tuɾu] ‘his/her/its own manioc bread’  
 d. /oti/ → [oti] ‘meat’

<sup>45</sup> See section 2.3.1.1.1.2. for a discussion on forms like /paɾi/ and /piɾi/ losing their last syllable when possessed by a noun.

- e. /j-oti/ → [jot] ‘my meat’  
 f. /t-oti/ → [toti] ‘his own meat’

**2.3.1.2.2. Verbal forms.** Similarly to nouns, verbal roots lose their [ɾu] or [ɾi] in the final syllable entirely. However, while nouns preserve those syllables only when they are followed by the morphemes that trigger long allomorphs, verbs preserve them everywhere except when followed by a CV suffix. Examples are shown with *-ja* ‘Non-past’ (plus *-(h)e* ‘SAP Affirmative’), *-ne* ‘Remote Past’, the verbal ambifix *t-V-(h)e*, *-∅* ‘Recent Past’ and the postposition *he* ‘Desiderative.’<sup>46</sup>

- 130) a. /w-iɾi-ja-he/ → [wiɾijaj] ‘I am going to make it’  
 b. /w-iɾi-ne / → [wiine] ‘I made it (a long time ago)’  
 c. /t-iɾi-he/ → [tiihe] ‘made’  
 d. /w-iɾi/ → [wiɾi] ‘I made it’  
 e. /iɾi+he/ → [iɾihe] ‘someone wants to make it’  
 f. /tiɾi-kə/ → [tiikə] ‘do it!’
- 131) a. /w-ewaɾu-ja-he/ → [wewaajaj] ‘I am going to burn it’  
 b. /w-ewaɾu-ne/ → [wewaane] ‘I burned it (a long time ago)’  
 c. /t-əwaɾu-he/ → [təwaahē] ‘burned’  
 d. /w-ewaɾu/ → [wewaɾu] ‘I burned it’  
 e. /ewaɾu+he/ → [ewaɾuhe] ‘someone wants to burn it’  
 f. /ewaɾu-kə/ → [ewaakə] ‘burn it!’

It is interesting that *-k(ə)* and *-(h)e* (suffixes that reduce after vowels other than /i/ and /u/) do not reduce when there is *ɾi/ɾu* reduction (cf. section 2.3.1.1.2 on vowel deletion in verbs, and section 2.3.1.3 on /h/ deletion). Phonotactics accounts for this: with a preceding long vowel, if the suffixes reduced the result would be an extra heavy syllable, not attested anywhere in the language (V.CVVC, e.g., \*ewaak).

<sup>46</sup> Other CV suffixes are *-ta* ‘Imperative Ablative’, *-k(ə)* ‘Proximal Imperative’, *-kə(ə)* ‘Imperative Allative’, *-(h)e* ‘Purpose of Motion’.

Preceding *-əmə* ‘Resumptive’, a suffix starting in a vowel, *ɽi/ɽu* syllables undergo vowel deletion, but */ɽ/* is retained.

- 132) a. */w-ewarɽu-əmə/* → [wewarəmə] ‘I burned it again’  
 b. */w-iɽi-əmə/* → [wiɽəmə] ‘I made it again’

The third and last issue related to syllable reduction is the deletion of */h/*.

**2.3.1.3. /h/ deletion.** Usually the first step in syllable reduction is the deletion of vowels, leaving behind onset consonants to resyllabify as coda of the preceding syllables, or, as in the case of */ɽ/*, to be deleted. In the case of word-final */hi/* and */he/* syllables, it is the consonant itself that is deleted (recall that */i/* never deletes). The remaining vowel resyllabifies as a coda glide of the preceding syllable: */Vhi/* → *Vj*, */he/* → *CVj*.

The environments in which */h/* is preserved are the very same as those in which vowels are: preceding the morphemes that trigger long allomorphs.

**2.3.1.3.1. Non-verbal forms.** Two bound morphemes undergo */h/* deletion: *-(h)e* ‘SAP Affirmative’ and *-(h)i* ‘Proximal Hortatory’.<sup>47</sup>

- 133) a. */j-iniki-ja-he/* → [jinikjaj] ‘I will sleep’  
 b. */j-iniki-ja-he+phiki/* → [jinikjahepsik] ‘I will sleep a bit’,  
 c. */w-epi-ja-he/* → [wepijaj] ‘I will eat vegetable based food’  
 d. */w-epijahe+psik/* → [wepijahepʃik] ‘I will eat vegetable based food a bit’

The SAP Affirmative suffix does not always undergo deletion, however. In the example below (134 b), the full form of *-(h)e* occurs in a contexts where there is

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<sup>47</sup> The postposition *he* ‘desiderative’ and the postpositional collective suffix *-he* do not undergo this change.

emphasis (here the speaker is announcing he is approaching the house where the hearer is). This is the only attested context in which this suffix does not undergo /h/ deletion.

- 134) /w-uməkə-ja-he/ → a. [uməgjaj] 'I will go, I am coming'  
 → b. [uməgjahe] 'I am coming !'

In addition to /h/ deletion, there exists a process of glide formation. This takes place in certain morphemes ending in /he/ (all occurring word-finally): the purpose of motion suffix (135 b), *t-V-(h)e* (135 a), and the SAP Affirmative suffix (135 d). The process can be represented as

CV.he → Cve → CVj

- 135) a. /t-əne-he/ → [tənei] 'seen'  
 b. /ene-he/ → [enei] 'in order to see'  
 c. /ene-he/ → [enei] 'used to see'  
 d. /w-ene-ja-he/ → [wenejai] 'I am seeing he/she/it'

An explanation for this is that the deletion of /h/ before /e/ creates a  $V_iV_j$  sequence not attested in the language (i.e. [ae]). [j], on the other hand, is a perfectly possible coda (cf section 2.2.1 on Wayâna syllabic structure).

The Proximal Hortatory *-(h)i* also undergoes /h/ deletion:

- 136) a. /k-iniki-hi/ → [kinikij] 'let's sleep'  
 b. /k-iniki-hi+hku/ → [kinikiʃihku] 'please, let's sleep'  
 c. /kut-iʃi-hi/ → [kutiʃij] 'let's make it'  
 d. /kut-iʃi-hi+hku/ → [kutiʃiʃihku] 'please, let's make it'  
 e. /h-apəhi-hi/ → [hapəʃij] 'let's get it'  
 f. /h-apəhi-hi+hku/ → [hapəʃiʃihku] 'please, let's get it'

In free forms, as in suffixes, /h/ deletion generally takes place word-finally. There are, however, some exceptions: when inflected with the Attributive adverbializer *-pe*, /pihi/

‘shame’ is then a word with three syllables, which undergoes /h/ deletion (cf.

/mita/→[mita], /i-mita/→[imta] ‘my mouth’).<sup>48</sup>

- 137) a. /pihi/ → [piʃi] ‘shame’  
b. /pihi-pe/ → [piʃpe] ‘shameful’  
c. /w-i-pihi-ptə/ → [wipisiptə] ‘I made him ashamed’

/h/ may be deleted in words with more than two syllables:

- 138) a. /əʔahi/ → [əʔaj] ‘fear’  
b. /j-eʔahi-ʔi/ → [jeʔaʃi] ‘my fear’  
c. /ətahi/ → [ətaj] ‘cheeks’  
d. /j-etaʃi-ʔi / → [jetaʃi] ‘my cheeks’  
e. /wəʔihi/ → [wəʔij] ‘woman’  
f. /i-waʔiʃi-ʔi] → [iwaʔiʃi] ‘my daughter’ (i.e. a close woman that is not a wife)’

/h/ deletion has created ambiguity in the phonological representation of some forms. It is now difficult to determine whether or not words ending in [j] are a result of /h/ deletion (note that these words do not present the same morphophonological alternations as the ones above because they cannot be possessed).<sup>49</sup> Consequently, in elicitation sessions, speakers alternate greatly when asked to produce such roots followed by *CCV* particles.

In some words, it seems that speakers insert /h/ where it was not historically present. This is clearly the case of the word for snake:

- 139) a. /əkəju/ → [əkəj] ‘snake’  
b. /əkəju-jmə/ → [əkəjumə] ‘anaconda’  
c. /əkəju-mna/ → [əkəʃimna] ‘with no snake’  
(\*əkəjumna)  
d. /əkəju-hpe-an/ → [əkəʃihpe] ‘there is a snake’  
(\*əkəjuhpe)

In some cases, the variation in speaker judgment is great: a single speaker in a single session may spontaneously offer a form and refuse it the next minute. Others

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<sup>48</sup> There is comparative evidence for /h/ deleting word-medially in Wayâna: the word for tapir is [majpuʔi] in Wayâna but [maʃipuʔi] in Aparai).



accept one form but not the other and *vice-versa*, and still others recognize two possibilities. Some of these forms are:

140) \_\_\_#                    \_\_\_CCV (*psik* ‘small little’, *-mna* ‘without’, *-hme* ‘Existential’)

a. [muɾej]	[muɾejɪpɪk]	~	[muɾeimna] <sup>50</sup>	‘fruit (kd.)’
b. [əkəj]	[əkəɸihme]	~	[əkəimna]	‘snake (generic)’
c. [ehnaj]	[ehnaɸipɪk]	~	[ehnaipɪk]	‘corn’
d. [aɾakakaj]	[aɾakakakɸimna]	~	[əɾakakaimna]	‘bird (sp.)’
e. [kuwaj]	[kuwaɸimna]	~	[kuwaimna]	‘palm tree (sp.)’
f. [tunaj]	[tunaɸipɪk]	~	[tunaipɪk]	‘snake (sp.)’
g. [tukuj]	[tukuɸimna]	~	[tukuimna]	‘hummingbird’
h. [anapamij]	[anapamiɸimna]	~	[anapamiimna]	‘fan’

The examples below, however, were produced consistently by speakers, always presenting /h/ when followed by *CCV* particles. Further investigation must be carried out in order to discover whether this is truly a consistent pattern as opposed to mere coincidence.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Most nouns for animals, fruits and elements of nature, may never be possessed (cf. section 4.1.3).

<sup>50</sup> See section 2.3.6 on morphophonological alternations between [j] and [i]: j→i in onset position, etc.

<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, it is interesting to compare Wayâna with Aparai, a language that has preserved /s/ where Wayâna lost /h/ (cf. Tavares (1999a) on the s→h phonological change that took place in Wayâna). Most words that consistently present /h/ before *CCV* particles in Wayâna have an [s] (or [ʃ]) in Aparai (Aparai data were collected by myself in my fieldtrips to the Paru River.)

Aparai	Wayâna		Plus <i>CCV</i>	
[oɾisi]	[wəɾij]	‘woman’	[wəɾiɸipɪk]	‘small woman’
[kaikusi]	[kajkuj]	‘jaguar’	[kajkuɸipɪk]	‘small dog, jaguar’
[oɾosi]	[oɾoj]	‘cashew fruit’	[oɾoɸipɪk]	‘small cashew fruit’
[pijasi]	[pijaj]	‘shaman’	[pijaɸimna]	‘with no shaman’
[umosi]	[umoj]	‘jealousy’	[umoɸimna]	‘with no jealousy’
[mose]	[məj]	‘that one’	[məɸihnə]	‘this one (animate) also’
[masi]	[kuwamaj]	‘snot’	[kuwamaɸimna]	‘with no snot’
[josi]	[joj]	‘lizard (sp.)’	[joɸimna]	‘with no lizard (sp.)’

However, there are also exceptions. The words below present an [s] or [ʃ] in Aparai, but fluctuate in Wayâna.

[tukusi]	[tukuj]	‘hummingbird’	[tukuɸimna]~[tukuimna]
[muɾesi]	[muɾej]	‘fruit (sp.)’	[muɾejɪpɪk]~[muɾeimna]
[oɸinase]	[ehnaj]	‘corn’	[ehnaɸipɪk]~[ehnaipɪk]

- 141) a. /məhi/ → [məj] 'this one'  
 b. /məhi+hnə/ → [məʃihnə] 'this one also'  
 c. /wəʔihi/ → [wəʔij] 'woman'  
 d. /wəʔihi+phiki/ → [wəʔiʃipʃik] 'small woman'  
 e. /kajkuhi/ → [kajkuj] 'dog, jaguar'  
 f. /kajkuhi-mna/ → [kajkuʃimna] 'with no dog, jaguar'  
 g. /tuʔihi/ → [tuʔii] 'fruit (kd.)'  
 h. /tuʔihi-mna/ → [tuʔiʃimna] 'with no fruit (kd.)'  
 i. /pijahi/ → [pijaj] 'shaman'  
 j. /pijahi-mna/ → [pijaʃimna] 'with no shaman'  
 k. /omohi/ → [umoj] 'jealousy'  
 l. /umohi-mna/ → [umoʃimna] 'with no jealousy'  
 m. /kuwamahi/ → [kuwamaj] 'snot'  
 n. /kuwamahi-mna/ → [kuwamaʃimna] 'with no snot'  
 q. /ijohi/ → [ijoj] 'lizard (sp.)'  
 r. /johi-mna/ → [joʃimna] 'with no lizard (sp.)'  
 s. /tinkihi/ → [tinkij] 'de-juicing instrument'  
 t. /tinkihi-mna/ → [tinkiʃimna] 'with no de-juicing instrument'

Words that consistently do not present /h/ before *CCV* particles are:

- 142) a. /əpij/ → [əpij] 'stair'  
 b. /əpij-mna/ → [əpiimna] 'no stairs'  
 c. /kutej/ → [kutej] 'bottle'  
 d. /kutej-hme/ → [kuteihme] 'there is a bottle'

Again, as in the case of vowel and /ʔ/ deletion, the change does not affect all

forms. Attested examples that fail to undergo vowel deletion are:

- 143) a. [emʃii] 'sister'  
 b. [aʔumaʃi] 'fish (sp.)',  
 c. [patakaʃi] 'fish (sp.)'  
 d. [kunumuʃi] 'old woman',  
 e. [kapukapuʃi] 'Kapukapusi (a supernatural being's name)'  
 f. [paʃi] 'small agouti'  
 g. [taʃi] 'sister'  
 h. [eʔaʃi] 'scissors'  
 i. [kuʔaʃi] 'chicken'

The same is true of words that do not have a fricative in Aparai but may present one in Wayâna.

[tunai]	[tunaj]	'snake (sp.)'	[tunaʃipʃik]~[tunaimna]
[okoj]	[əkəj]	'snake (generic)'	[əkəʃihme]~[əkəimna]
[aʔakakaj]	[aʔakakaj]	'bird (sp.)'	[aʔakakaʃimna]~[aʔakakaimna]
[waj]	[kuwaj]	'palm tree (sp.)'	[kuwaʃimna]~[kuwaimna]

j. [tamuʃi]	‘old man, grandfather’
k. [kapaʃi]	‘armadillo’
l. [kuʃi]	‘toucan (sp.)’

**2.3.1.3.2. Verbal forms.** Two verbal roots /apəhi/ ‘to get/grab’ and /epuhi/ ‘to get fat’ present /h/ deletion. The contexts in which /h/ is kept and lost in these forms is the very same as those in which vowels are kept or lost in other verbal roots. The only exception is when the two roots are inflected by *-ja* ‘Non-past’ and *-əmə* ‘Resumptive’. In this case, vowel deletion occurs as in all other verbal roots. These constitute the only attested cases in which the surface allomorph of a root ends in a fricative.

144) a. /h-apəhi-j/	→ [hapəʃij]	‘let’s get it’
b. /apəhi-ta/	→ [apəjta]	‘go get it’
c. /w-apəhi-ne/	→ [wapəjne]	‘I got it (long ago)’
d. /n-apəhi-ja/	→ [napəhja]	‘he will get it’
e. /w-apəhi-əmə/	→ [wapəhəmə]	‘I got it again’
f. /apəhi-ʃa/	→ [apəʃiʃa]	‘not to get it’
g. /w-epuhi-ne/	→ [wepujne]	‘I got fat (long ago)’
h. /n-epuhi-ja/	→ [nepuhja]	‘he will get fat’
i. /w-epuhi-əmə/	→ [wepuhəmə]	‘I got fat again’
j. /epuhi-ʃa/	→ [epuʃiʃa]	‘not to get fat’

Note that under no other circumstance does /i/ undergo deletion. In the examples above, however, preceding [-consonant] elements, it does (cf. section 2.3.6, however, for a discussion on the ambiguous behavior of glides as sometimes [-consonant] and sometimes as [+consonant] segments).

Some forms of the copula also undergo /h/ deletion: (examples below show voice and nasal assimilation, discussed in sections 2.3.2.1 and 2.3.2.2, respectively)

145) a. /wahe/	→ [waj]	‘I am’
b. /ipoke+wahe+hnə]	→ [ipogwahehnə]	‘I am good also’
c. /manahe/	→ [manaj]	‘you are’
d. /ipoke+manahe+hnə]	→ [oponjmanahehnə]	‘you are good also’

In conclusion, there seems to exist a tendency in the language to make morphemes as small as possible. The two main points to be highlighted are: first, syllable reduction starts at the right edge of words. It may progress in the word, in alternating syllables, in order to respect the syllabic template. Deletion of segments (vowels, /t/ and /h/) follow this pattern (examples already presented are repeated here):

### 3→2

(C)V.CV.CV→(C)V.CVC	/wetepu/	→	[wetep]	'belly'	<i>V deletion</i>
(C)V.CV.CV→(C)V.CV	/pəɾəɾi/	→	[pəɾə]	'frog'	<i>/t/ deletion</i>
(C)V.CV.CV→V.CVj	/ətahi/	→	[ətaj]	'cheeks'	<i>/h/ deletion</i>
	/w-apəhi/	→	[wapəj]	'I got it'	<i>/h/ deletion</i>

### 4→3 or 2

(C)V.CV.CV.CV→CV.CV.CVC	/əɾamuku/	→	[əɾamuk]	'sweat'	<i>V deletion</i>
(C)V.CV.CV.CV→CV.CV.CV	/j-eɾahi-ɾi/	→	[jeɾafi]	'my fear'	<i>/t/ deletion</i>
(C)V.CV.CV.CV→CV.CV.CVj	/h-apəhi-hi/	→	[hapəɟij]	'let's get it'	<i>/h/ deletion</i>
(C)V.CV.CV.CV→(C)VC.CVC	/i-pupoti/	→	[ihpot]	'my body hair'	<i>V deletion</i>

### 5→4 or 3

(C)V.CV.CV.CV.CV→(C)V.CV.CV.CV	/i-wetepu-ɾi/	→	[iwetepu]	'my belly'	<i>V deletion</i>
	/j-eɾamuku-ɾi/	→	[jeɾamuku]	'my sweat'	<i>/t/ deletion</i>
(C)V.CV.CV.CV.CV→(C)V.CVC.CVj	/w-apəhi-ja-he/	→	[wapəhɟaj]	'I will get it'	<i>/h/, V deletion</i>
(C)V.CV.CV.CV.CV→(C)VC.CV.CVC	/i-mineɾumi/	→	[imneɾum]	'my husband'	<i>V deletion</i>

Second, deletion takes place through the process of *lexical diffusion*, with the change not taking place at once, but happening to individual words as members of different classes:

a) two syllable, three syllable words and so on are affected differently: three

syllable words present the most cases of reduction.

b) vowels are affected differently: /i/ is the most frequent to delete and /i/ the least; /a/ never deletes.

It is not clear what is the prime factor motivating syllable reduction is. Stress would be a likely candidate (as proposed in Gildea 1995). It is not possible, however, to account for the synchronic patterns of syllable reduction in Wayâna on the basis of stress

patterns. As opposed to Tiriyo, which presents a rhythmic stress system, Wayâna lacks any systematic phonetic correlates for diagnosing stress clearly. A phonetic feature that might be thought to be a correlate of stress is that utterances normally end with a falling or with a raising pitch. Sometimes in three-syllable words, it is the second syllable that is realized with the highest pitch and the greatest intensity (cf. 2.4.1). Note that this is exactly the syllable that is currently undergoing deletion in at least one word: /w-itə-ja-he/ → [wítʃaj]~[witóʃaj] ‘I will go’.

**2.3.2. Phonological processes in consonant clusters.** After vowel deletion, consonant clusters are created (*CVC* → *CC*). The clusters created at morpheme and word boundaries present less restriction concerning the co-occurrence of consonants than the clusters found root-internally. Nasal geminates are found at word boundaries and geminate glides are found at morpheme and word boundaries. The distribution of glides is defective and asymmetrical: there are roots ending in [w], but no bound morpheme (or even a particle) starting with [w] was found. Bound morphemes starting with [j], however, are quite frequent. Thus, [jj] is possible at morpheme and word boundaries. Some of the restrictions found root-internally still hold: /ʈ/ never occurs as coda; /h/ is found in consonant clusters, but never in a geminate.

Some restrictions, however, also hold at morpheme and word boundaries: specifically, those related to the defective distribution of stops. As seen in section 2.1.2.2.1, voiceless stops show defective distributions, never occurring as the first

element in clusters with nasals, non-nasal sonorants, or with other homorganic stops.

Examples below show voiceless stops:

- 146) a. /onoto+pəkə/ → [onotpək] 'on the fruit (kd.)'  
 b. /j-akpɪɾami/ → [jakpɪɾam] 'I go red'
- 147) a. /enepi-ta/ → [enepɪtə] 'go get it!'  
 b. /məhəkə+pəkə/ → [məhəkpək] 'busy with the mosquito'
- 148) a. /enepi-kə/ → [enepkə] 'bring it'  
 b. /onoto+kə/ → [onotkə] 'with fruit (kd.)'
- 149) a. /kaphəkə/ → [kaphək] 'fat'  
 b. /t-ənatu-he/ → [tənətʃe] 'finished'  
 c. /t-ətuku-he/ → [tətukhe] 'eaten'

Table 10  
Defective Distribution of Stops

	p	t	k	h	m	n	w	ɾ	j
p		pt	pk	ph					
t	tp		tk	tʃ					
k	kp	kt		kh					

Morphophonological alternations provide us with a clue to understanding this distribution. Stops undergo five phonological processes in consonant clusters: (i) voicing, (ii) nasalization, (iii) dissimilation (c.f. Jackson 1972, Camargo 1996, and Tavares 1998), (iv) denasalization, and (v) deletion or change due to the \*/pɾ/ constraint.

These processes take place across both morpheme and word boundaries, as seen in the next sections.

**2.3.2.1. Voice assimilation.** Stops become voiced before non-homorganic non-nasal sonorants. Note that in addition to assimilating voice, /t/ becomes palatalized before [j]

(151 d). The examples below show assimilation of voice taking place across morphemic and word boundaries: (The emphatic particle  $\tau\theta$  in example (150 d) undergoes / $\tau V$ /

deletion (2.3.1.2))

- 150) a. /tumhu $\tau$ op/ → [tumhu $\tau$ op] ‘jump (sound symbolic)’  
 b. /tumhu $\tau$ op+wi-ka/ → [tumhu $\tau$ obwika] ‘I jumped’  
 c. /w-ene $\pi$ i/ → [wene $\pi$ ] ‘I brought it’  
 d. /w-ene $\pi$ i+ $\tau\theta$  $\tau\theta$ / → [weneb $\tau\theta$ ] ‘I really brought it’
- 151) a. /ikaneti/ → [ikanet] ‘hammock string’  
 b. /ikaneti+w-ene/ → [ikanedwene] ‘I saw the string of the hammock’  
 c. /n-enatu/ → [nenat] ‘it finished’  
 d. /n-enatu-ja-he/ → [nenad<sup>3</sup>jaj] ‘it will get finished’
- 152) a. / $\tau\theta$ g $\tau$ e $\beta$ e/ → [ $\tau\theta$ g $\tau$ e $\beta$ e] ‘slippery’  
 b. /m $\theta$ ki-jamo/ → [m $\theta$ gjam] ‘they’  
 c. /ak $\tau$ o/ → [ag $\tau$ o] ‘foam’  
 d. / $\theta$ niki/ → [ $\theta$ nik] ‘Who’  
 e. / $\theta$ niki+ $\tau\theta$  $\tau\theta$ / → [ $\theta$ nig $\tau\theta$ ] ‘Who really?’

Table 11 summarizes this:

Table 11  
Voiceless Stops and the Assimilation of Voice

	p	t	k	h	m	n	w	$\tau$	j
p		pt	pk	ph			bw	b $\tau$	bj
t	tp		tk	t $\int$			dw		d <sup>3</sup> j
k	kp	kt		kh			gw	g $\tau$	gj

In the table above, we notice that [d $\tau$ ] is missing. This gap is accounted for in section 2.3.2.3 on the dissimilation process.

**2.3.2.2. Assimilation of nasality.** Stops become nasals before non-homorganic nasal consonants:

- 153) a. /emna/ → [emna] ‘we (exclusive)’  
 b. /jemn $\theta$ / → [jemn $\theta$ ] ‘fever’  
 c. /t-awanma-he/ → [tawanmai] ‘dig’

d. /kunmə/	→	[kunmə]	'we (inclusive)'
e. /tekme/	→	[teŋme]	'heavy'
f. /w-i-panakma/	→	[wipanaŋma]	'I heard it'
g. /t-ahaŋap-nəpi-he/	→	[tahaŋamnanəphe]	'H/she/it dried it'
h. /papako/	→	[papak]	'father (voc.)'
i. /papako+n-eha/	→	[papaŋneha]	'It was my father'
j. /tumhuŋop/	→	[tumhuŋop]	'jump (sound symbolic)'
k. /tumhuŋop+ni-ka/	→	[tumhuŋomnika]	'I jumped'
l. /itə-kə+naj/	→	[itəŋnai]	'Go now!'

Table 12 presents a summary of assimilation to nasality:

Table 12  
Voiceless Stops and the Assimilation of Voice and Nasality

	p	t	k	h	m	n	w	ʈ	j
p		pt	pk	ph		mn	bw	bʈ	bj
t	tp		tk	tʃ	nm		dw	dʈ	d <sup>3</sup> j
k	kp	kt		kh	ŋm	ŋn	gw	gʈ	gj

**2.3.2.3. Dissimilation.** Stops preceding non-approximant homorganic consonants change into [h] or [ʃ]~[ʒ]~[h] (/ i\_\_C)<sup>52</sup> as in examples (155 a and d and 156 b).<sup>53</sup>

• p/→[h] / \_\_ [labial] (p, m)

- 154) a. /i-pupo-ti-mna/ → [ihpotimna]~[iʃpotimna] 'without hair'  
 b. /pupo/ → [pupo] 'body hair'  
 c. /i-pupo-ti/ → [ihpot] 'my body hair'  
 d. /i-pupo-ti/ → [iʃpot] ~ [ihpot]~[iʒpot] 'his body hair'

- 155) a. /pupu+pumo/ → [pupu pumo] 'turtle egg'  
 b. /i-pumo/ → [ihmo] ~ [iʃmo] 'his egg, egg'  
 c. /tumhuŋop/ → [tumhuŋop] 'without something to see'  
 d. /tumhuŋop+mi-ka/ → [tumhuŋohmika] 'you jumped'

<sup>52</sup> There are some cases in which the [h]~[ʃ]/i\_C alternation does not take place. This is the case of the borrowed word [iʃkoŋa] (\*[ihkoŋa]) 'school', and some native words as [ihmulu] (\*[iʃmulu]) 'his pus'.

<sup>53</sup> Jackson (1972:48) states that *h* 'varies freely from devoicing of the vowel of the syllable nucleus to a fricative articulation': the bilabial fricative [ɸ] before [p], the interdental fricative [θ] before [m], and velar fricative [x] before [k]. Of these sounds, only [ɸ] is found in my data (cf. section 2.3.3 for a discussion on fricatives in coda position). Camargo (1996:128) has attested the uvular [χ] as an output of dissimilation. This sound is not attested in our data.



- 156) a. /ene-topo-mna/ → [enetopomna] 'without something to see'  
 b. /ene-topo+pəkə/ → [enetohpək] 'seeing'  
 c. /ene-topo+ke/ → [enetopke] 'with something to see'

•/t/→[h]→/ \_\_ [coronal] (t, n, ʈ)  
 [-approx]

- 157) a. /ətati-mna/ → [ətatimna] 'there is no hammock'  
 b. /j-etati/ → [jetat] 'my hammock'  
 c. /j-etati+taɾanme/ → [jetahtaɾanme] 'maybe my hammock'  
 d. /j-etati+ʈəɾə/ → [jetahʈə] '(It's) really my hammock'  
 e. /etati+ke/ → [etatke] 'with his hammock'  
 f. /peti/ → [peti] 'thigh'  
 g. /i-petit-a-ja-he/ → [ipehtej] 'I have a thigh'

- 158) a. /utati-ʈa/ → [utatiʈa] 'not lost'  
 b. /j-utati-ne/ → [jutahne] 'I got lost (distant past)'  
 c. /w-epekati/ → [wepekahne] 'I bought it (distant past)'

•/k/→ [h] / \_\_ [velar]

- 159) a. /uməki-ʈa/ → [uməkiʈa] 'someone/something did not come'  
 b. /uməki-kə/ → [məhkə] 'come!'  
 c. /m-uməki-təw/ → [muməktəw] 'you all came!'

Glides never trigger or undergo dissimilation:<sup>54</sup>

•/ww/ → [ww], /pw/ → [bw], /mw/ → [mw], /jj/ → [jj]:

- 160) a. /kuw-aptawə-he/ → [kuwaptawəhe] 'when, if all of us'  
 b. /opaɾan+ihpe+aptawə+w-itə-ja-he/ → [opaɾanihpeaptawwitəjaj] 'I will go if there is an airplane'  
 161) a. /hokoɾom/ → [hokoɾom] 'paddle'  
 b. /hokoɾom+wi-/ka/ → [hokoɾomwika] 'I paddled'  
 162) a. /w-ekeju/ → [wekeju] 'I baked bread'  
 b. /w-ekeju-ja-he/ → [wekejjaj]s 'I will bake bread'

There is one exception to the pattern /jj/ → [jj]: in the word for 'bottle' /j/ seems to undergo dissimilation, /jj/→[hj], in normal speech, though not in slow speech. Further investigation is necessary to clarify this.

- 163) a. /kuteji/ → [kutej] 'bottle'  
 b. /kuteji-mna/ → [kuteimna] 'small bottle'  
 c. /kuteji+ja-wə/ → [kutehjaj]~[ku.tej.jaw] 'inside the bottle'

<sup>54</sup> See section on the ambiguity of the phonemic status of glides.

Nasals never undergo dissimilation:

• /mp/→[mp], /mm/→[mm]<sup>55</sup>, /nt/→[nt], /nn/→[nn], /nr/→[nr]:

- 164) a. /təhemi+pəkə/ → [təhempək] 'about food'  
 b. /ʃokoɾom+mika/ → [ʃokoɾommika] 'You paddled'  
 c. /hokoɾom+wika/ → [hokoɾomwika] 'I paddled'  
 d. /uɾu+he+man+toto/ → [uɾuhemantot] 'They want bread'  
 e. /tawunu+n-eha/ → [tawunneha] 'it was the wind'  
 f. /ipoke-anu+ɾəɾə/ → [ipokanɾə] 'really the good one'  
 e. /tawunu-ja-wə/ → [tawunjaw] 'in the wind'

In the speech of at least two young consultants living in the Suisuimīn village, the dissimilation goes farther than for other speakers. Nasals dissimilate before homorganic consonants: /nt/→[ht], /nn/→ [hn], /nr/→[hr]. The examples below, produced by a woman, were the consultant's spontaneous responses to the Portuguese prompt (165 a-b). When asked to repeat the phrases, however, she pronounced them sometimes without dissimilating the nasals (165 c-d).

- 165) a. /i-pakoɾo-nu+neha/ → [ipakoɾohneha] 'It was my house'  
 b. /i-pakoɾo-nu+naj+neha/ → [ipakoɾohnai neha] 'It was my abandoned house'.  
 c. /i-pakoɾo-nu+neha/ → [ipakoɾonneha] 'It was my house'  
 d. /i-pakoɾo-nu+naj+neha/ → [ipakoɾonnai neha] 'It was my abandoned house'.

In Renato's speech the deletion was more systematic, with no variation:

- 166) a. /əməɾə+ken+ɾep/ → [əməkehɾep] 'It is up to you'  
 b. /i-pakoɾo-nu+neha/ → [ipakoɾohneha] 'It was my house'  
 c. /i-pakoɾo-nu+naj+neha/ → [ipakoɾohnaineha] 'It was my abandoned house'.

It is interesting that though the dissimilation occurs in /nn/ sequences, it did not in

/mm/, /mw/, /nt/:

- 167) a. /ʃokoɾom+mi-ka/ → [ʃokoɾommika] 'You paddled'  
 b. /ʃokoɾom+wi-ka/ → [ʃokoɾomwika] 'I paddled'  
 c. /i-pakolo-nu+t-əne-he / → [ipakolontənej] 'Someone saw my house'

<sup>55</sup> Though I present the output with doubled consonants, all geminates (*mm*, *nn*, etc) are pronounced short. Thus /mm/→[m]: /i-mineɾumi+me/→[imneɾume].

It seems that dissimilation is starting to encompass segments other than stops. However, since nasal dissimilation was attested in only two younger speakers of the same village, further investigation is needed.

To conclude, assimilation and dissimilation depend to some extent on the speed of speech. In normal speech, they take place in all environments (root internally, at morpheme boundary and at word boundary). In slow speech, however, there is an asymmetry:

i) Voicing: voicing of stops only occurs in normal speech:

	NORMAL SPEECH		SLOW SPEECH		
168)	a. /təkɾeweje/	→	[təgɾeβej]	~	[tək.ɾe.βej] 'slippery'
	b. /tumhuɾop+wi-ka/	→	[tumhuɾobwika]	~	[tum.hu.ɾop.wika] 'I jumped'
	c. /i-kaneti+w-ene/	→	[ikanedwene]	~	[i.ka.net.we.ne] 'I saw the hammock string'
	d. /iniki+ɾəɾə/	→	[inigɾə]	~	[inik.ɾə] 'Who really?'

ii) Nasality: root-internally assimilation of nasality occurs consistently in slow as well as in normal speech (examples 169 a-d). At morpheme and word-boundaries, however, there is no nasal assimilation in slow speech (examples 169 e-g).

	NORMAL SPEECH		SLOW SPEECH		
169)	a. /emna/	→	[emna]	~	[em.na] 'we (exclusive)'
	b. /kunma/	→	[kunmə]	~	[kun.mə] 'we (dual)'
	c. /tekme/	→	[teŋme]	~	[teŋ.me] 'heavy'
	d. /w-i-panakma /	→	[wipanaŋma]	~	[wi.pa.naŋ.ma] 'I heard it'
	e. /papako+neha/	→	[papaŋneha]	~	[pa.pak. ne.ha] 'It was my father'
	f. /tumhuɾop+ni-ka/	→	[tumhuɾomnika]	~	[tumhoɾop. nika] 'S/he/it jumped'
	g. /itə-kə+naj/	→	[itəŋnaj]	~	[i.tək. naj] 'Don't go'

iii) Dissimilation: root-internally there is never variation between [h] and a stop; the realization is [h] in both normal and slow speech. At morpheme boundaries also, though there is clearly dissimilation, [h] occurs in both normal and slow speech. At word boundaries, however, the realization of stops depends on the phonological status of the

following words: preceding postpositions and particles. Both in normal and in slow speech stops are realized as [h]. If the word following is phonologically independent, [h] occurs in normal speech while a stop occurs in slow speech:

	NORMAL SPEECH	SLOW SPEECH	
170)	a. /i-pupoti/	→ [ihpot]	~ [ih.pot] 'we (exclusive)
	b. /j-utati-ne/	→ [ju.tah.ne]	(*ju.tat.ne) 'I got lost'
	c. /məki-kə/	→ [məh.kə]	(*mək.kə) 'come!'
	d. /j-eɾemuku-kepi/	→ [jeɾamukuhkep]	(*je.ɾa.mu.kuk.kep) 'I am sweaty'
	e. /ene-topo+pək/	→ [enetohpək]	~ (*ene.top.pək) 'about seeing'
	f. /j-etati+ɾəɾə/	→ [je.tah.ɾə]	(*jetat.ɾə) 'It's really my hammock'
	g. /ipoke+ka+mane/	→ [ipohkaman]	(*i.pok.ka.man) 'Are you good?'
	h. /tumhuɾop+mi-ka/	→ [tumhuɾohmika]	~[tum.hu.ɾop.mika] 'You jumped'
	i. /j-etati+taɾanme/	→ [jetahtaɾanme]	~ [je.tat. tə.ɾan.me] 'maybe my hammock'

**2.3.2.4. Denasalization.** Nasals tend to be denasalized before voiceless consonants. The denasalization, however, is not complete. It does not result in a voiceless stop such as [p] or [t], but instead in a segment characterized by a transition from a nasal at the beginning to a more stop-like articulation with no voice, no friction coming through the nose, and no tension, in the end. In these cases, the preceding vowels are strongly nasalized:<sup>56</sup>

	/vm/ → [ṽ <sup>m</sup> p]	/vn/ → [ṽ <sup>n</sup> t]	
171)	a. /mita/	→ [mita]	'mouth'
	b. /i-mita-ɾi/	→ [i <sup>m</sup> pta]	'my mouth'
	c. /kanpə/	→ [kã <sup>n</sup> pə]	'roasted fish'
	d. /kun-ka/	→ [kũ <sup>n</sup> ka]	'Someone said it'

Besides this general pattern, some variation is observed among speakers. Some speakers have only the nasalization:

172)	a. /niɾa+mumukə/	→ [niɾamũkə]	'Nila's son'
	b. /jetumhakə/	→ [jetũhak]	'painful'

<sup>56</sup> Speakers have corrected me when I tried to pronounce these examples with plain stops.

In the dialect of some older speakers, nasals can be pronounced as voiceless (it is possible to hear the friction coming from the nose), with the preceding vowel strongly nasalized.

- 173) a. /munpə/ → [mũŋpə] ‘rat’  
 b. /ankə/ → [ãŋkə] ‘fish (sp.)’

This seems to be a recent process in the language. Though the post-oralized pronunciation is found in the speech of all speakers, there also exists significant variation in the way speakers articulate particular words. The best example to illustrate this is the word for ‘woman’s son’. Some speakers alternate between the full nasal and the post-oralized pronunciation, some alternate between the post-oralized and the deletion of the nasal consonant with nasalization of the preceding vowel, and one speaker (AW) produces this word only with [h]:

- 174) a. /i-mumuku-ta/ → [imumukta] ‘I have sons’  
 b. /i-mumuku/ → [imũmku] ‘my son’ (NW)  
                   → [imũ<sup>m</sup>pku] ‘my son’ (all including NW, except AW)  
                   → [imũku] ‘my son’ (RW, MW, RW)  
                   → [imuhku] ‘my son’ (AW only)

Different processes of denasalization seem to have been affecting morphemes in the language already for some time. There exist a good number of allomorphs showing an alternation between a nasal and a stop: *-mphak(ə)/-phak(ə)* ‘Modifier adverbializer’, *-hpe/-hme* ‘Existential’, *po/mo* ‘on’, *-tom(o)/-nom(o)* ‘Collective’, *-me/-pe* ‘Attributive’, *-mɪn(i)/-pɪn(i)* ‘Privative Nominalizer’, and *-npə/-tpə* ‘Devaluative’.

**2.3.2.5. The \*/pɽ/ constraint.** We have seen above that all [pɽ] clusters result from morphophonological alternation (across morpheme and word boundaries), and that such a

cluster is not found root-internally. Morphophonological alternations taking place in a few examples help to clarify this:

- 175) a. [piɾaku] ‘ankle’ → b. [igɾakun] ‘my ankle’  
c. [piɾami] ‘object to climb palm trees’ → d. [igɾamit] ‘my object to climb palm trees’  
e. [piɾoɾo] ‘floor’ → f. [ikɾoɾon] ‘my floor’
- 176) a. [piɾafi] ‘basket’ → b. [iiɾafin] ‘my basket’  
c. [piɾəw] ‘arrow’ → d. [iiɾe] ‘my arrow’

In the examples above, when vowel deletion takes place, a /pɾ/ consonant cluster is created root-internally. The output is interesting, /p/ seems to undergo a change, being either changed into [k] or deleted altogether leaving compensatory lengthening on the preceding vowel.<sup>57</sup>

The same seems to hold for \*/pj/ (another cluster never found root-internally).

This is the only example attested:

- 177) [pijaj] ‘shaman’ → [iijafi] ‘my shaman’

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<sup>57</sup> Loss of /pV/ word-initially is common across the Cariban family (Gildea, PC.).

**2.3.3. The phonological status of fricatives in coda position.** As seen in section 2.3.2.3, stops dissimilate before homorganic consonants. The result is a fricative in coda position. In the cases where there are no morphophonological alternations between a stop and a fricative, it becomes difficult to determine whether the segment in question is the realization of a stop or of /h/. In order to discuss this point, it is necessary to first describe the occurrences of fricatives in coda position root-internally.

Coda consonants occur root-internally as follows: [h] occurs between a vowel (other than [i]) and a consonant;<sup>58</sup> The voiceless labial fricative [ɸ] occurs between [u] and [p] where it is in free variation with [h].<sup>59</sup>

- 178) / V\_\_C                    a. [aʔahpa] ‘parakeet’, b. [ahto] ‘cough’, c. [wapodahkon] ‘firewood’  
    d. [tahmekantaj] ‘queasy’, e. [ehnaj] ‘corn’, f. [ahnep] ‘peanut’,  
    g. [əʔiwehʔe] ‘alligator (sp.)’, h. [təhwa] ‘again’, i. [weʔəhweʔə] ‘flute (kd.)’,  
    j. [təhjekaj] ‘to extract teeth’, k. [təhjomtəj] ‘to wrap’.
- 179) [ɸ]~[h] /u\_\_p        a. [aktuɸpoj] ~ [aktuhpoj] ‘up river’,  
    b. [uɸpʌk] ~ [uhpʌk] ‘a long time ago’.

In the environment between [i] and a consonant, [ʃ], [ʒ] and [h] alternate freely:

- 180) [ʃ]~[ʒ] ~ [h] / i\_\_C.
- a. [ihkə] ~ [iʃkə]            ‘skin worm’  
 b. [ihtajno] ~ [iʃtaino]      ‘jaguar’  
 c. [ihme] ~ [iʃme]            ‘to exist’  
 d. [ʃihnat] ~ [ʃiʒnat]        ‘liana’  
 e. [ihjan] ~ [iʒjan]            ‘new’

<sup>58</sup> Between a vowel (other than [i]) and a consonant, the voiceless glottal fricative [h] and the voiced glottal fricative [ɦ] vary freely independent of the context (cf. [afinep] ~ [ahnep] ‘peanut’). For the sake of simplicity, only [h] is presented in the examples.

<sup>59</sup> It occurs only between [u] and [p], so in the absence of either sound [ɸ] fails to occur: [nətuɦmo] ‘He/She/it fell’ (\*nətuɸmo), [alahpa] ‘parakeet’ (\*alaɸpa).

The major question concerning fricatives in coda position is how their phonemic representation can be determined. It is clear that /h/ can occur in coda position.

Examples such as

- 181) [tɪhwə] ‘different’, [wɛɾəhwɛɾə] ‘flute (kd.)’, [təhwɛkaj] ‘to extract teeth’, [təhwɔmtəj] ‘wrap’, and [ihjan] ~ [izjan] ‘new’

prove this. Since glides do not trigger or undergo dissimilation, [h] (also [ʃ] and [ʒ]) in these examples must be a realization of /h/. Thus, in coda position, both stops and /h/ can be realized as [h].

In order to solve this matter, it is necessary to recall how vowel deletion takes place. Consonant-vowel sequences delete differently from /h/-vowel sequences. All consonants can become coda segments after vowel deletion. /h/, however, almost never does. Normally, in /h/-vowel sequences, if there is deletion, it is /h/ (i.e., the consonant) that undergoes it. The only situation in which the vowel is deleted in a /h/-vowel sequence is when it is followed by a glide or vowel (i.e., by a [-consonant] onset), as the examples below show:

- 182) a. /h-apəhi-j/ → [hapəʃij] ‘Let’s get it’  
 b. /apəhi-ta/ → [apəjta] ‘Go get it’  
 c. /w-apəhi-ne/ → [wapəjne] ‘I got it (long ago)’  
 d. /apəhi-kə/ → [apəjkə] ‘Get it!’  
 e. /n-apəhi-ja/ → [napəhja] ‘He will get it’  
 f. /w-apəhi-əmə/ → [wapəhəmə] ‘I got it again’

Note that while /h/ deletes preceding /t/, /k/, and /n/ ([+consonant]) as onsets (examples 182 b-d), it is retained preceding /j/ ([-consonant]) as onset (182 e, f). The answer, then, seems to be that /h/-vowel sequences undergo /h/ deletion whenever preceding [+consonant] segments, but undergo vowel deletion when preceding [-consonant] segments. In this case, whenever [h] (also [ʃ], [ʒ] and [ʒ]) occurs preceding



obstruents and nasals it is the realization of a stop, whenever preceding a glide, it must be the realization of /h/:

CODA STOPS

- 183) a. /aɾappa/ → [aɾahpa] 'parakeet',  
 b. /ipme/ → [ihme] ~ [iʃme] 'to exist'  
 c. /atto/ → [ahto] 'cough'  
 d. /etnahi/ → [ehnaj] 'corn'  
 e. /aktuppoje/ → [aktuɸpoʃ] 'up river'  
 f. /ikkə/ → [ihkə] ~ [iʃkə] 'skin worm'

CODA /h/

- 184) a. /tihwa/ → [tihwa] 'again'  
 b. /t-əh-je-ka-he/ → [təhjekaj] 'pull teeth'  
 c. / weɾəhweɾə/ → [weɾəhweɾə] 'flute (kd.)'  
 d. / t-əh-jomtə-he/ → [təhjomtəj] 'wrap oneself'  
 e. /ihjanu/ → [ihjan]~[iʒjan] 'new'

**2.3.4. The phonological status of nasals in coda position.** Similar to the problem of fricatives in coda position is the problem of nasals in coda position: how to determine when a root-medial nasal in coda position preceding a nasal consonant is the realization of a nasal segment or of a stop undergoing nasal assimilation. [ŋ] is clearly the realization of /k/, since [ŋ] does not exist elsewhere in the language (cf. section 2.6, however, for a different phonological status of [ŋ] in sound symbolic words).

[m] and [n], however, present a problem. Preceding a nasal consonant root-internally, they may be the realization of either /m/ or /n/, or of /p/ or /t/ undergoing nasalization. The language does not offer a way to disambiguate this. Thus, the best solution is to state that preceding nasals /p/ and /m/, and /t/ and /n/ become neutralized.

**2.3.5. Consonant-vowel sequences at morpheme boundaries.** Stops become voiced at morpheme and word-boundaries in stop-vowel sequences. This phenomenon takes place only in normal speech.

		NORMAL SPEECH		SLOW SPEECH
185)	a. /etat+ewa/	→ [etadewa]	‘hammock rope’	[e.tat.e.wa]
	b. /məki+eɽi-ɽi/	→ [məgeɽii]	‘the cowlick of that one’	[mæk.e.ɽii]
	c. /wapoto+umiti/	→ [wapodumit]	‘log for making fire’	[wa.pot.u.mit]

In compound-like nouns, the voiceless realization is not an option:

186)	a. /wapoto/	→ [wapot]	‘fire’	
	b. /wapoto+akkonu/	→ [wapodahkon]	‘firewood’	(*wapotahkon)
	c. /i-peti/	→ [ipet]	‘my thigh’	
	d. /peti+emo/	→ [ipedemo]	‘upper thigh’	(*ipetemo)

In some cases, [d] can be substituted by [ɽ] (rhotacism?). Thus, t→d→ɽ:

187)	a. /əw-oti+apəɽəti-he/	→ [əwotapəɽətʃe]	‘in order to get your food’
	b. /i-pi-ti+akono/	→ [ipiɽakon]	‘my wife’s sister’
	c. /wapoto+akkonu/	→ [wapoɽahkon]	‘firewood’

**2.3.6. The phonological status of glides.** Glides seem to have the same syllabic distribution as other consonants, occurring both in onset and in coda positions. The different (morpho)phonological processes, however, treat glides sometimes as a consonantal and sometimes as a non-consonantal segment.

In possession, nouns starting with glides (188) bear the same allomorphs of person marking prefixes as nouns starting with other consonants (189).

188)	a. /jaɾamata/	→ [jaɾamata] ‘chin’	a. /wahi/	→ [waʃi] ‘lower leg’
1	b. /i-jaɾamata-ɾi/	→ [ijaɾamata]	b. /i-wahi-ɾi/	→ [iwaʃi]
2	c. /ə-jaɾamata-ɾi/	→ [əjaɾamata]	c. /ə-wahi-ɾi/	→ [əwaʃi]
3	d. /i-jaɾamata-ɾi /	→ [ijaɾamata]	d. /i-wahi-ɾi/	→ [iwaʃi]
1+2	e. /ku-jaɾamata-ɾi/	→ [kujaɾamata]	e. /ku-wahi-ɾi/	→ [kuwaʃi]
3Reflx	f. /ti-jaɾamata-ɾi/	→ [tijaɾamata]	f. /ti-wahi-ɾi/	→ [tiwaʃi]
189)	a. /pa/	→ [pa] ‘shoulder blade’	a. /omo/	→ [omo] ‘hand’ <sup>60</sup>
1	b. /i-pa/	→ [ipa]	. /j-amo-ɾi/	→ [jamo]
2	c. /ə-pa/	→ [əpa]	. /əw-amo-ɾi/	→ [əwamo]
3	d. /i-pa/	→ [ipa]	. /Ø-amo-ɾi/	→ [amo]
1+2	e. /ku-pa/	→ [kupa]	. /k-omo-ɾi/	→ [komo]
3Reflx	g. /ti-pa/	→ [tipa]	. /t-omo-ɾi /	→ [tomo]

Another indication that glides function as consonants is that glides pattern with /ɾ/ (the only other non-nasal voiced consonant) not with vowels in the process of voicing. In this process, stops are voiced preceding voiced consonants, i.e., preceding /ɾ/, /w/, and

/j/.<sup>61</sup>

190)	(no attested cases)		
/pw/			
/tw/	a. /t-ət-uwə-he/	→ [tədwəi]	‘(He/she) killed himself’
/kw/	b. /tuna+kuwa-wə	→ [tungwaw]	‘in the water’
/pj/	c. /əw-eɾeɾepi/	→ [əweɾeɾep]	‘You got scared’
	d. /əw-eɾeɾepi-ja-he/	→ [əweɾeɾɛbjaj]	‘You will be scared’
/tj/	f. /n-ekɾəti/	→ [negɾət]	
	g. /n-ekɾəti/	→ [negɾəd <sup>3</sup> ja]	‘He will cross’
/kj/	h. /w-uməki/	→ [umək]	‘I came’
	i. /w-uməki-ja-he/	→ [uməgɟaj]	‘I will come’
/pɾ/	j. /ti-pupu-ɾe/	→ [tipubɾe]	‘having foot’
/tɾ/	(cf. consonant dissimilation in section 2.3.2.3.)		
/kɾ/	k. /məkɾəɾə/	→ [məgɾə]	‘that one’

<sup>60</sup> Words starting in vowels present ablaut on their first vowel (cf. section 2.3.8).

<sup>61</sup> There is, however, one environment in which vowels also condition voicing of consonants. The final consonant of words are optionally voiced if preceding a word starting in a vowel (section 2.3.5 for the specifics).

Reduplication is another process that treats at least /j/ like other consonants deleting it from the reduplicant (2.3.7). Unfortunately, no equivalent examples with /w/ are attested:

- 191) a. /w-ekeju-ne/ → [wekewekejne] 'I made bread again and again'  
 b. /w-epajɾa-ma-ja-he/ → [wepawepajɾamej] 'I get drunk again and again'  
 c. /w-enepi-ja-he/ → [wewewenebjai] 'I bring it again and again'

Conversely, dissimilation treats glides differently from other consonants. Though only stops undergo dissimilation, all consonants, including /ɾ/, /m/, n/ trigger dissimilation. Glides, however, never trigger dissimilation (section 2.3.2.3).<sup>62</sup>

- 192) a. /w-ekeju-ja-he/ → [wekejja] 'I will make bread'  
 b. /ihme+aptawə+w-itə-ja-he/ → [ihmeaptawwitəjai] 'If there is one, I will go'  
 c. /hokoɾom+wi-ka/ → [hokoɾomwika] 'I paddled'

An interesting case is that of syllable reduction. Words ending in consonants present an extra vowel when followed by a *CCV* particle ([papak] 'father', [papakomna] 'without a father'), being thus represented phonemically with that vowel (/papako/ 'father'). Many words ending in glides present equal behavior:

- 193) a. /aptawə/ → [aptaw] 'when, if'  
 b. /aptawə-ɾa/ → [aptawəɾa] 'when, if (it is) not'  
 c. /tuna+kuwa-wə/ → [tunagwaw] 'in the water'  
 d. /tuna+kuwa-wə-ɾa/ → [tunagwawəɾa] 'not in the water'  
 e. /aktuppoje/ → [aktuppoje] 'up river'  
 f. /aktuppoje-ɾa/ → [aktuppojeɾa] 'not up river'  
 g. /təkɾeweje/ → [təkɾeweje] 'slippery'  
 h. /təkleweje+psiky/ → [təklewejepɿik] 'really slippery'

The great majority of words ending in glides on the surface, however, behave quite differently. In these cases, coda glides resyllabify as nucleus when followed by

<sup>62</sup> In Kaxuyana (Cariban) glides behave just like other consonants both undergoing and triggering dissimilation (Spike Gildea, PC., Tavares 1996).

*CCV* morphemes (here *psik(i)* ‘little’ and *-mna* ‘without’):  $w \rightarrow u / \_ \_ CCV$  and

$j \rightarrow i / \_ \_ CCV$ . (Examples are presented as they were produced in slow speech)

- 194) a. [kə.məm.təw] ‘we all sank’  
b. [kə.məm.tə.ʉp.fik] ‘we all almost sank’  
c. [pi.ɾəw] ‘arrow’  
d. [pi.ɾə.ʉm.na] ‘with no arrow’  
e. [hag.ɾaw] ‘bird.sp’  
f. [hag.ɾa.ʉm.na] ‘with no *haklau*’
- 195) a. [i.joj] ‘lizard’  
b. [i.jo.ʉm.na] ‘with no lizard’  
c. [o.ɾoj] ‘cashew fruit’  
d. [o.ɾo.ʉm.na] ‘with no cashew fruit’

This process results in onsetless syllables resembling the case of glide deletion in words such as /kumawu/ → [ku.ma.ʉ] ‘papaya’ and /weji/ → [we.i] ‘summer’. They are distinct however in that the latter always present [u] and [i] as syllable nuclei, and as a *V* syllable due to the deletion of onset glide (\*wu/\*ji constraint discussed in section 2.2.3).

Thus, the question is how to represent examples in (194) and (195)? One could speculate that the cases ending in [w] underwent syllable reduction, with the deletion of the last vowel (thus, /wu/ → [w]), and that when followed by a *CCV* particle, the vowel was retained but the \*wu constraint applied (thus /piɾəwu-mna/ → [piɾəʉmna]). On the other hand, the fact that /kumawu/ does not undergo syllable reduction is explained by the process of lexical diffusion which dictates that not all forms undergo a same process at once.

Unfortunately, such analysis is not easily applicable for the examples ending in [j]. They cannot be said to have undergone vowel deletion, since /i/ is found to undergo deletion in very few words and only under a very specific circumstance: in /hi/ syllables

and only when this syllable is followed by a non-consonantal segment (see section 2.2.3).

*/i/ never* deletes at the end of words.

It seems, then, that in order to cover both cases, the best analysis is to consider glides as an ambiguous category that can be construed sometimes as consonants and sometimes as vowel-like segments. As a matter of fact, phonologists have stated that glides have exactly the same feature matrix as their corresponding vowels, */i/* and */u/* (Kenstowicz 1994:37):

According to Kenstowicz the only difference between [i]/[j] and [u]/[w] is the position they occupy in the syllable: vowels occupy syllable nucleus, while glides occupy onset and coda positions.<sup>63</sup> The Wayâna morphophonological alternations between [j]/[i] and [w]/[u] confirm this idea:

V.CVj	→	V.CV.iC.CV
i.joj		i.jo.im.na
[ijoj] ‘lizard’		[ijoimna] ‘without lizard’
CV.CVw	→	CV.CV.uC.CV
pi.rəw		pi.rə.um.na
[piɾəw] ‘arrow’		[piɾəumna] ‘without arrow’

Finally, the reason for both [j] and [w] resyllabify is that they are like a consonant in coda position and a *CCC* cluster is not permitted in the language. Wayâna, thus, provides evidence on the close relationship between glides and their corresponding vowels [i] and [u] (see Kenstowicz 1994:37 for a discussion on a similar pattern in Arabic).

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<sup>63</sup> Once it is in onset position, glides are subject to the properties of this position. Thus, the hardening: [w]~[β] and [j]~[j<sup>3</sup>].

**2.3.7. Reduplication.** Only three languages have been reported as presenting any pattern of reduplication in the Cariban family: Tiriyo (Meira 1999), Aparai (Meira p.c.), and Wayâna (Jackson 1972) for Wayâna. The only detailed description of reduplication processes made to this point about a Cariban language is Meira’s work.

There are two patterns of reduplication in verbs in Wayâna. The external reduplication, which takes place in the beginning of the word, and the internal reduplication, which takes place within the root, similarly to an infix. Reduplication was first reported in Wayâna by Jackson (1972:57-58). The limited data he presents (four examples) do not reflect all the possibilities (only examples of external reduplication are shown). In Tiriyo there are both internal and external reduplication, both occurring differently in Wayâna. (The meaning of reduplication is discussed in more detail in section 5.8.)

**2.3.7.1. Left edge reduplication.** Very productive, this type of reduplication takes place at the leftmost edge of the verbal word. The phonological template of the reduplicant (shown underlined) can be described as the copying of the first two syllables of the verbal word (independently of morphemic boundaries, and the syllable type of the first syllable), with the exclusion of all existing coda consonants from the second syllable.

196)	(C)V(C).CV		→	(C)V.CV	
a.	/w-əh-amo-ja-he/	→	[wəhamojaj]	→	[ <u>wəhawə</u> hamojaj] ‘I cry’
b.	/n-upo-ma/	→	[nupoma]	→	[ <u>nuponu</u> poma] ‘He undressed’
c.	/w-i-panakma-ja-he/	→	[wipanãŋmej]	→	[ <u>wipawipana</u> ŋmej] ‘I listen’
d.	/n-epi-ja/	→	[nepija]	→	[ <u>nepine</u> pija] ‘He/she bathes’
e.	/upi/	→	[upi]	→	[ <u>upiupi</u> ] ‘H/she gave a bath’
f.	/amik-kə/	→	[amihkə]	→	[ <u>amiamih</u> kə] ‘Get it!’
g.	/kuh-epi/	→	[kuhepi]	→	[ <u>kuheku</u> hepi] ‘We ate fruit’
h.	/j-emnamohukta-he/	→	[jēmnamohuktej]	→	[ <u>jēmna</u> jēmnamohuktej] ‘My nose is running’

i. /n-ujka/	→ [nujka]	→ [nujkanujka]	‘He/she defecated’
j. /ni-pta/	→ [niptə]	→ [niptəniptə]	‘He/she went up’

197) (C)V(C).CVC		→ (C)VC.CV	
a. /kun-upka/	→ [kununpka]	→ [kununupka]	‘He beheaded people’ (p→∅)
b. /muṛɛ+eweti/	→ [muṛɛɛwet]	→ [muṛɛɛwɛɛwet]	‘He fed a child’ (t→∅)
c. /j-iniki-ja-he/	→ [jinigjaj]	→ [jiniginigjaj]	‘I will sleep’ (k→∅)
d. /w-əməmə-ja-he/	→ [wəməmɔjaj]	→ [wəməwəmɔmjaj]	‘I go in’ (m→∅)
e. /ti-menka-he/	→ [timenkaj]	→ [timetimenkai]	‘chosen’ (n→∅)
f. /i-kohmami/	→ [ikohmam]	→ [ikoikohmam]	‘I stretch a bow’ (h→∅)
g. /ti-pohnəpi-he/	→ [tipohnəphe]	→ [tipotipohnəphe]	‘think/miss someone’ (h→∅)
h. /w-apəhi-ja-he/	→ [wapəhjaj]	→ [wapəwapəhjaj]	‘I fight’ (h→∅)
i. /w-epajɾa-ma-ja-he/	→ [wepajɾamej]	→ [wepawepajɾamej]	‘I get drunk’ (j→∅)
j. /w-ekeju-ne/	→ [wekejne]	→ [wekewekejne]	‘I made manioc bread’ (j→∅)

In the dialect of at least one speaker from Bona village, all second syllable coda consonants are deleted, as in the examples above, with the exception of /h/:

198) /w-i-pohnəpi/	→ [wipohnəp]	→ [wipohwipohnəp]	‘I think/miss someone’
		[CV.CVh]	
/w-apəhi-ja-he/	→ [wapəhjaj]	→ [wapəhwapəhjaj]	‘I fight’
		[CV.CVh]	

Other cases with /h/ coda in the second syllable were not accepted by the same speaker (maybe for semantic reasons), but produced by him with /h/. I take from this that other examples will have /h/ in his dialect:

199) a. /ikohmami/	‘I spent the night’	→	(*) [ikohikohmam]
b. /n-amati-ta/	‘The tree got branches’	→	(*) [namahnamahta]

The verb /ujka/ ‘defecate’ constitutes an exception: can be reduplicated in two ways. In example (200 a) below, only one syllable is copied, in example (200 b) the first two syllables are copied.

200) /j-ujka-ne/	→	a. [jujujkane]	‘I defecated many times long ago’
	→	b. [jujkajujkane]	‘I defecated many times long ago’

Reduplication involving long vowels shows that the scope of reduplication is the two first syllables of the stem (with the deletion of any coda consonant of the second syllable). A moraic analysis, such as the one done for Tiriyo (Meira, 1999), in which the



bases for reduplication can be stated as the copy of the first two moras of the stem, does not apply to Wayâna. In Tiriyó, stems starting in long vowels have only its first syllable copied (/j-eerana/ → [jɛɛ-jɛɛɾana]). In Wayâna, the two first syllables of the stem are copied independently of vowel length: (Examples (201 c-d) show /w/ deletion resulting in a long vowel (2.5.1). Examples (201 e-g) show /ɾ/ deletion (2.3.1.2)).

- 201) a. /t-iitə-he/ → [tiitəj] → [tiitətiitəj] 'go'  
 b. /t-aata-he/ → [taataj] → [taataataaj] 'fall from a tree (fruit, flower)'  
 c. /tə-w-ət-upo-ma-he/ → [təʔupomaj] → [təʔutətəʔupomaj] 'dress'  
 d. /tə-w-ət-uhmo-he/ → [təʔuhmoi] → [təʔutətəʔuhmoi] 'hit oneself'
- e. /w-ewaɾu-ja-he/ → [wewaajaj] → [wewaawewaajaj] 'I burn it'  
 f. /w-ikiɾi-ne/ → [wikiine] → [wikiikiine] 'I take it from something'  
 g. /w-i-puɾu-ne/ → [wipuune] → [wipuuwipuune] 'I baked it'

**2.3.7.2. Right edge and root internal reduplication.** In addition to the left edge reduplication, there are two other types, both taking place within the root: a) reduplication of the two last syllables of the root (202); and b) reduplication of one of the medial syllables of the root without coda consonants (203).

- 202) a. /w-i-pkəɾə/ → [wipkəɾəkəɾə] 'I cut it in small pieces'  
 b. /w-i-pkəɾə-ja-he/ → [wipkəɾəkəɾəjaj] 'I will cut it in small pieces'  
 c. /w-apkəɾə/ → [wapkəɾəkəɾə] 'I broke it in small pieces'  
 d. /w-apkəɾə-ja-he/ → [wapkəɾəkəɾəjaj] 'I will break it in small pieces'
- 203) a. /w-i-muɾikma/ → [wimuɾiɾiɲma] 'I made it really uneven'  
 b. /wiwipka/ → [wiwiwipka] 'I scratched someone else again and again'  
 c. /wehahaka / → [wehahaka] 'I rubbed myself'<sup>64</sup>  
 d. /wihahaka / → [wiʃafaka] 'I rubbed someone else'

**A summary of reduplication:**

**Left edge:** very productive.

(C)V(C).CV → (C)V(C).CV

1<sup>st</sup> type

<sup>64</sup> The equivalent non-reduplicated forms are unattested.

(C)V(C).CVC → (C)V(C).CV 2<sup>nd</sup> type  
 (C)V(C).CVh → (C)V(C).CVh 3<sup>rd</sup> type

**Root internal: rare.**

a) CV.CV → CV.CV 4<sup>th</sup> type

b) CV(C) → [CV] 5<sup>th</sup> type

Finally, reduplication seems to be a late phonological process. Example (204 b) shows that the copy is done after vowel /ɿ/ deletion takes place, and example (204 d) shows that the copy is done after the rule /h/→[ʃ]/i\_V applies.

- 204) a. /n-ewaɿu/ → [newaɿu] → [newanewaɿu] 'He burned it again and again'  
 b. /n-ewaɿu-ja-he/ → [newaajaj] → [newaanewaajaj] 'He will burn it again and again'  
 c. /w-e-hahaka/ → [wehahaka] 'I rubbed myself'  
 d. /w-i-hahaka/ → [wiʃaʃaka] 'I rubbed someone else'

**2.3.8. Ablaut.** This phenomenon, characteristic of nouns, verbs and postpositions, affects the initial vowel of stems. Meira (1999:261), in his discussion for the same phenomenon in Tiriyó, uses the terms *back grade* for allomorphs starting with /ə/ or /o/ and *front grade* for allomorphs beginning with /e/ or /a/. The back grade forms occur only when inflected by *k-* or *t-* prefixes or, in the case of nouns, in non-possessed forms. The front grade forms occur elsewhere. All forms beginning with /e/ alternate with /ə/. Forms beginning with /a/, however, only alternate with /o/ or /ə/, if either of these are the second vowel of the root. Table 13 summarizes this:

Table 13  
Ablaut

front grade	~	back grade
/e/	~	/ə/
/aCo/	~	/oCo/
/aCə/	~	/əCə/

Examples of the alternation /e/~ə/ are given in (205), of /a~/o/ in (206), and of /a~/ə/ in (207) (for more specific examples see section (4.1.1.2) on nouns, (5.1.1) on verbs, and (6.1.1.3) on postpositions):

205)	a. /əkunu/	→	[əkun]	‘hips’
	b. /j-əkunu-ɾi/	→	[jekunu]	‘my hips’
	c. /əw-əkunu/	→	[əwekun]	‘your hips’
	d. /Ø-əkunu/	→	[əkun]	‘his/her hips’
	e. /k-əkunu-ɾi/	→	[kəkunu]	‘our (dual) hips’
	f. /t-əkunu-ɾi/	→	[təkunu]	‘his own hips’
206)	a. /omo/	→	[omo]	‘hand’
	b. /j-amo-ɾi/	→	[jamo]	‘my hand’
	c. /əw-amo-ɾi/	→	[əwamo]	‘your hand’
	d. /Ø-amo-ɾi/	→	[amo]	‘his/her hand’
	e. /k-omo-ɾi /	→	[komo]	‘our (dual) hand’
	f. /t-omo-ɾi/	→	[tomo]	‘his own hand’
207)	a. /mule+aɾə/	→	[muleaɾə]	‘(He/she/it) took a child’
	b. /w-aɾə/	→	[waɾə]	‘I took (him/her/it)’
	c. /j-aɾə/	→	[jaɾə]	‘(He/she/it) took me’
	d. /k-aɾə/	→	[kaɾə]	‘(He/she/it) took us’
	e. /t-aɾə-he/	→	[təɾəj]	‘taken’

The examples below show some forms starting in /a/ or /ə/ without ablaut:

208)	a.	/j-ahikapami/	→	[jaʃikapam]	‘I got upset’
	b.	/k-ahikapami/	→	[kaʃikapam]	‘We (dual) got upset’
	c.	/t-ahikapami-he/	→	[taʃikapamhe]	‘upset’
	d.	/j-akpiɾami/	→	[jakpiɾam]	‘I became red’
	e.	/k-akpiɾami/	→	[kakpiɾam]	‘We (dual) became red’
	f.	/t-akpiɾami-he/	→	[takpiɾamhe]	‘red’
	g.	/j-akinta/	→	[jakinta]	‘I worked hard’
	h.	/k-akinta/	→	[kakinta]	‘We (dual) worked hard’
	i.	/t-akinta-he/	→	[takintai]	‘having worked hard’
	j.	/n-akɾama /	→	[naklama]	‘He put it away’
	k.	/t-akɾama-he/	→	[takɾamai]	‘put away’
	l.	/j-akowa/	→	[jakowa]	‘(He/she) washed me’
	m.	/k-akowa/	→	[kakowa]	‘(He/she) washed us (dual)’
	n.	/t-akowa-he/	→	[takowaj]	‘washed’
209)	a.	/w-əməmi/	→	[wəməm]	‘I entered’
	b.	/k-əməmi/	→	[kəməm]	‘We (dual) entered’

c. /t-əməmi-he/ → [təməmhe] ‘entered’

**2.4. Prosody.** As far as we can tell, Wayâna’s prosody is characterized by very simple patterns. The most interesting statements that may be made about it are those referring to what Wayâna lacks rather to what it presents. Thus, in the next sections, we argue for the absence of stress, even at a surface level, and for the absence of a phonological word, and we describe Wayâna’s main intonational pattern as well.

**2.4.1. Intonational units and the lack of stress.** Though a more detailed investigation on intonational units is in order, we can say that a non-falling or rising intonation is usually found in questions and in words or group of words not at the end of an utterance, while a falling intonation usually indicates the end of an utterance:

210) *Mene ka?*  
 m-ene-Ø ka  
 2A3O-see.O-RecPst Quest  
 ‘Did you see?’

211) *Mējela aptau, wītējai.*  
 mėje-la wapta-wě w-itě-ja-he  
 NspcDistLoc when-in 1SA-go-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘When (he) is not far, I will go.’

This simple organization is the most basic suprasegmental pattern found in Wayâna, applying even at the word level. This means that Wayâna prosody there exist no properties that systematically isolate more prominent syllables in a word. As a consequence, we state that stress does not exist in the Wayâna words.<sup>65</sup>

Stress is usually defined as a group of properties that make a particular syllable to be perceived as more salient than others in a word. The phonetic correlates of stress are length, pitch, and intensity, with the potential inclusion of vowel quality (cross-linguistically, stressed syllables tend to present full vowels, and unstressed syllables tend to present reduced vowels--see Ladefoged 1993:249). Some languages like English and Spanish present contrastive stress, with the selection of a single prominent syllable in the word: systematically, the greatest length, pitch, and intensity fall on the same syllable. Others, like Tiriyo (Meira 1999) present a rhythmic stress in which syllables in a word are grouped into prosodic feet, with stress taking place in the head of every foot (i.e., every other syllable).<sup>66</sup>

Wayâna seems to be a language of a rarer type. None of the known four phonetic correlates of stress clearly isolate a unique syllable within a word. There are no cases of vowels being systematically reduced in any environment (though onomatopoeic words, still under investigation, may prove to present exceptional cases). As for the other three phonetic correlates, length, pitch, and amplitude, there is a more or less a random distribution of them, as they may not necessarily occur all together on a same syllable. It is easy to find words in which the highest pitch, the greatest amplitude and the greatest

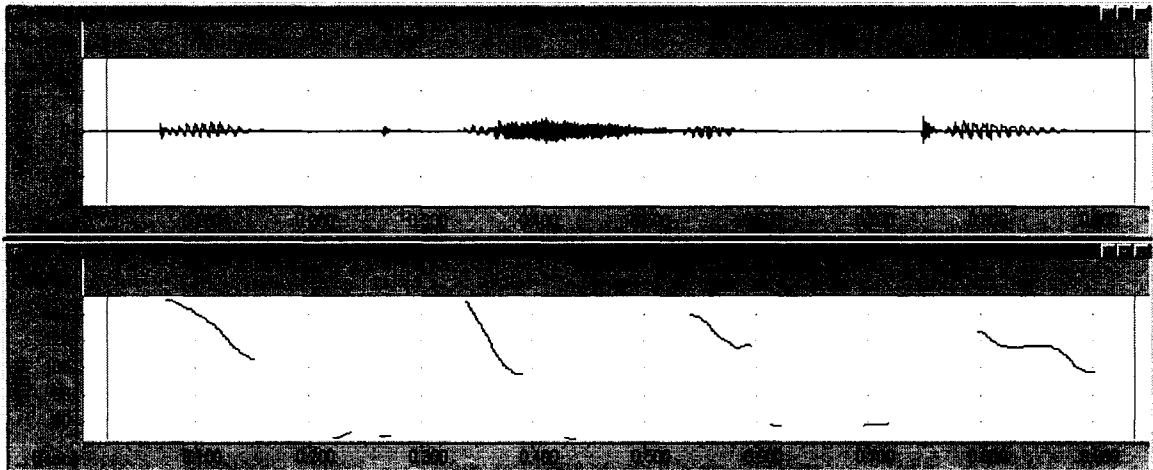
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<sup>65</sup> An investigation on sound symbolic words may reveal stress to operate in that domain (cf. 2.6)

<sup>66</sup> In Tiriyo, from left-to-right, syllables are arranged into iambic feet, with each head of a foot receiving lengthening and to some extent high pitch (cf. Meira 1999:60).

lengthening do not fall over the same vowel. In the graphic in (212), for instance, we see a four syllable word where the vowel of the fourth syllable is considerably the longest. In terms of frequency, however, it is the one that presents that lowest pitch (here the numbers indicate the highest and the lowest frequency of a vowel in the graphic). In terms of amplitude, all vowels present basically the same value. Thus, it is not possible to isolate one syllable as the stressed one: the fourth syllable is the lowest in frequency, but it is the longest.

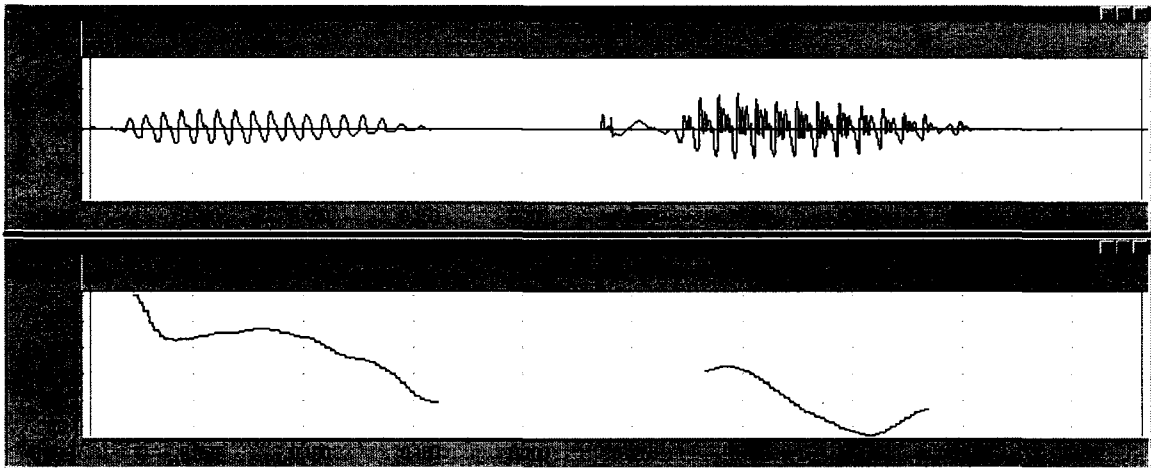
212) akikfita 'reumatism'      Length: 846/563/724/1159.  
 Pitch: 152-111/146-97/140-118/124-98; Amplitude: none really intense, all about the same.



In (213), the first vowel is the longest, but it presents the smallest amplitude, while the second is the shortest, but with the most amplitude. The lowest pitch falls on the second vowel.

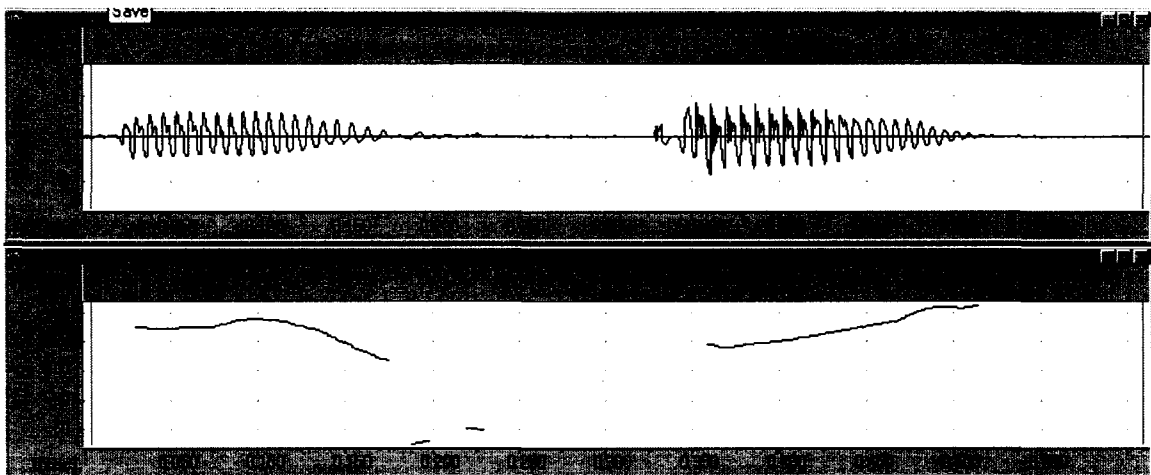
213) umpoj 'cause'

Length: 1351/866; Pitch: 129-125-110/116-100;  
Amplitude: 2>1.



There are cases in which the most prominent pitch, length and amplitude fall on the same vowel: in (214) they fall on the second syllable.

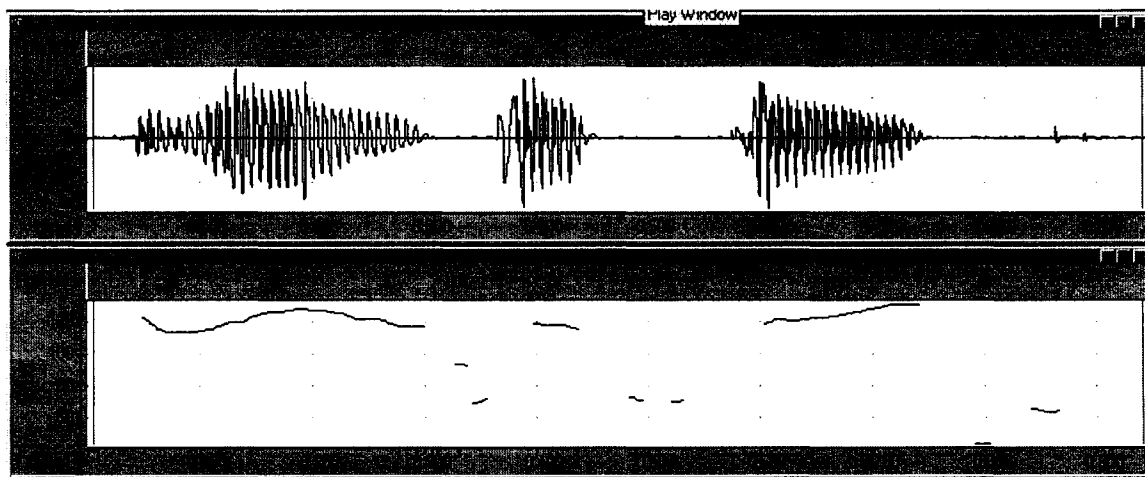
214) imta 'his mouth' Length: 1176/1681; Pitch: 136/144;  
Amplitude: 2>1.



Usually, final syllables ending in a rising pitch, as the one above, tend to be the longest. The example in (215) also presents this pattern. The last syllable ends in a rising

pitch and it presents the longest vowel. Nonetheless, the amplitude is basically equal to that in other syllables, and the pitch is the same as in the first syllable:

215) jempatak 'in front of me' Length: 1380/619/1539. Pitch: 130/120/130.  
Intensity: basically the same in all three syllables.

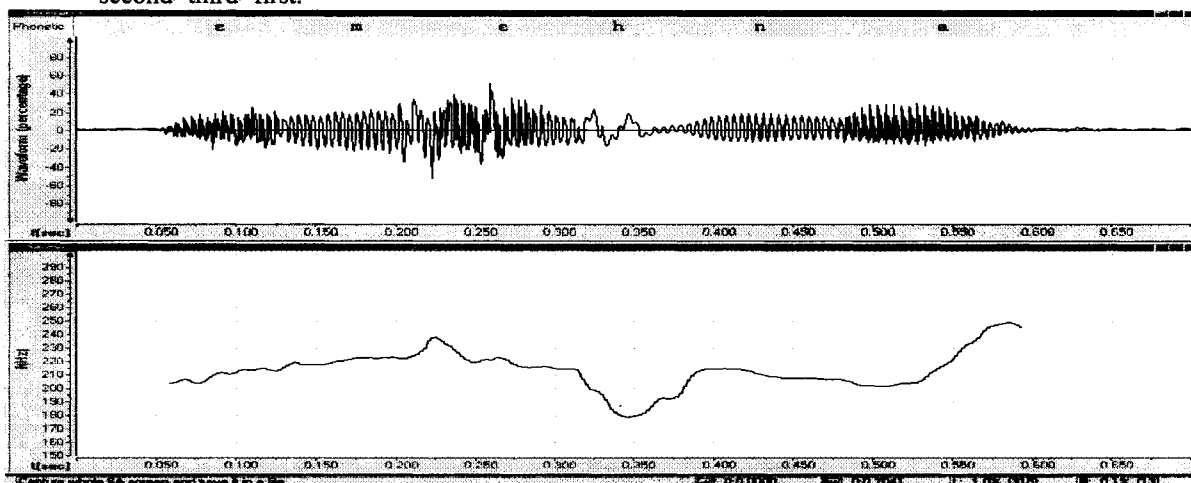


The most systematic pattern in Wayâna supra-segmental phonology seems to be that all utterances end either with a rising pitch (whenever the speaker has not finished his speech) or with a falling pitch (whenever the speaker has concluded his speech or a section of his speech). Thus, the end of a statement, the last item in a list, the repetition of a vocative word, etc., all end in a falling pitch. On the other hand, questions, the non-final forms in a list, clauses that are followed by others in the same sentence, etc., all occur with a steady or rising pitch. This is to say that, in Wayâna, whenever utterances end in a steady or rising pitch it is to be understood that there is more to be said, while utterances ending in a falling pitch indicate that there is not.

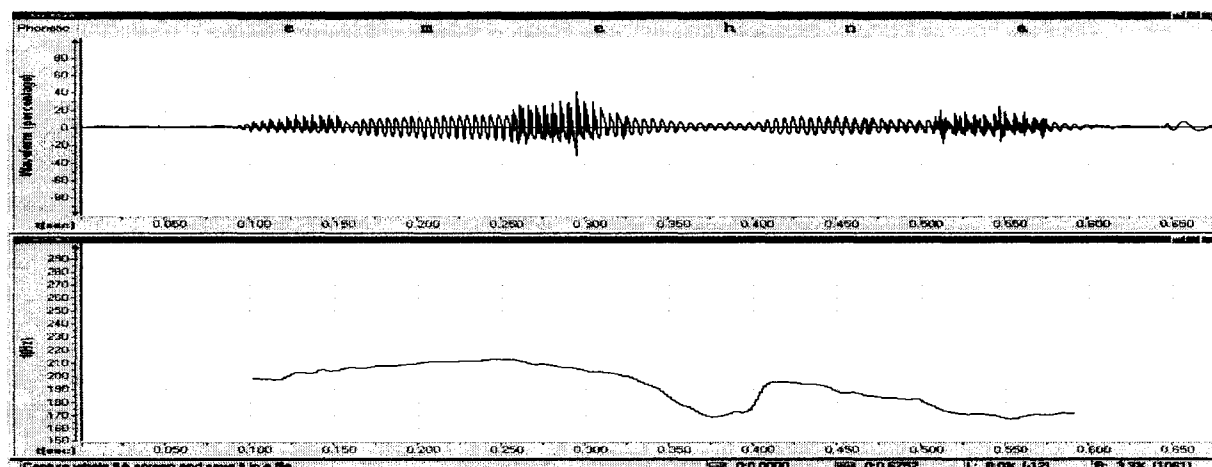


For example, in examples (216) and (217) below, the same word is repeated twice by the speaker. Using the listing intonation, she utters the first example ending with a rising pitch and the second ending with a falling pitch.

216) emehna 'his fist' Length: 703/934/1239; Pitch: 208/216/205-256; Intensity: second>third>first.



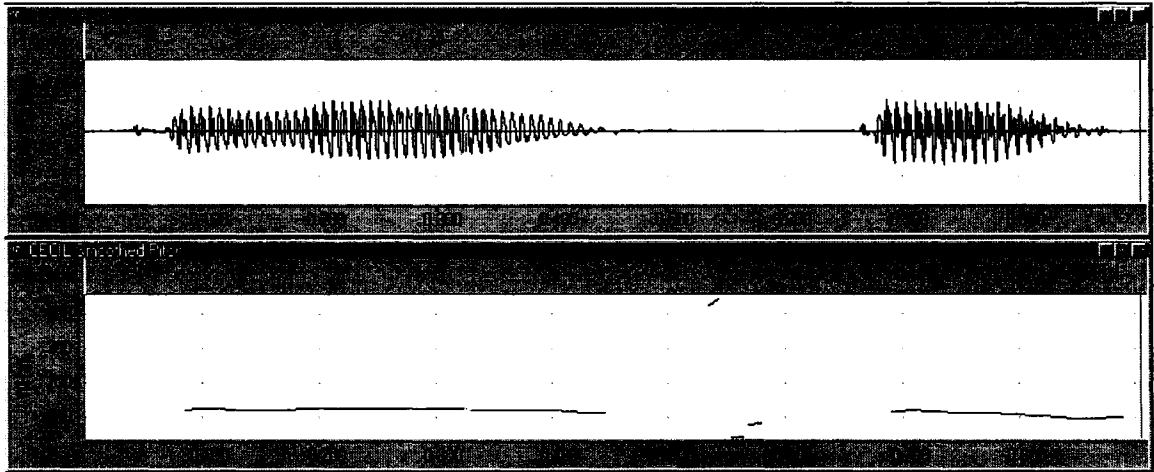
217) emehna 'his fist' Length: 646/729/1021; Pitch: 195-205/209/171-151; Intensity: second>third>first.



Note that in the examples above, the other variables occur independently of pitch. The greatest length and intensity do not correlate with the highest pitch. The greatest variation in terms of pitch occurs in the last syllable, which bears either the highest or the lowest pitch.

It is not always the case, however, that the last syllable bears the lowest or the highest pitch. In (218), the frequency value is virtually the same in all three syllables, but falling in the third syllable.

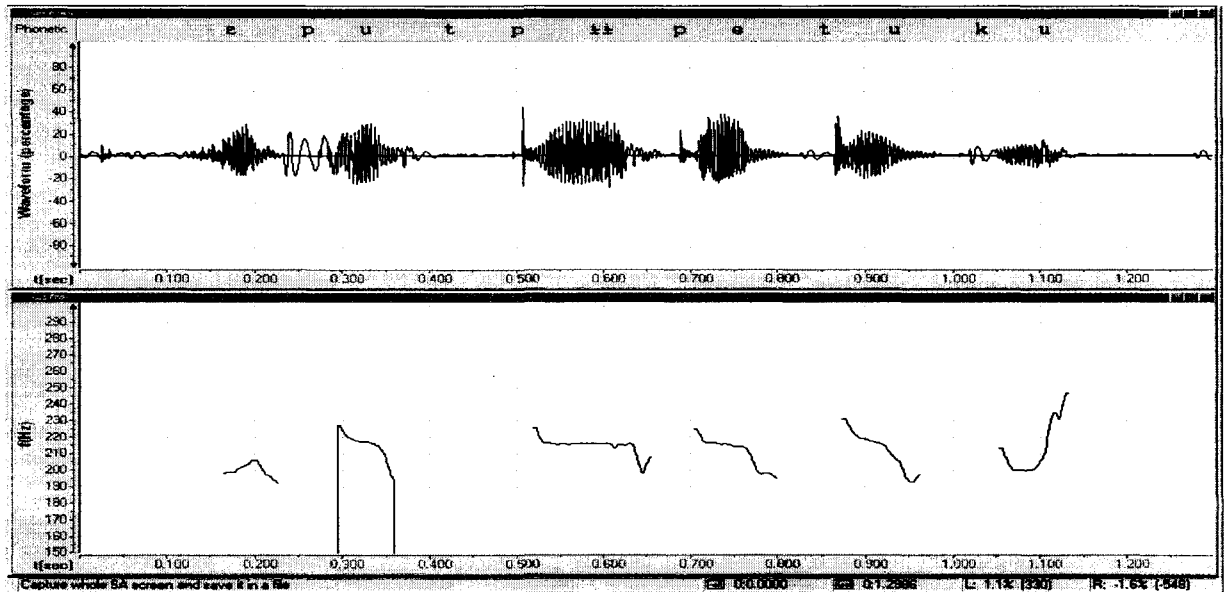
218) *tijomtəj* Length: 1136/1036/1009 (this is not clear because of surrounding glides).  
Pitch: 125/124/120-113. Intensity: third>second>first, clearly energy on third, but the difference is not very salient in the raw wave representation.



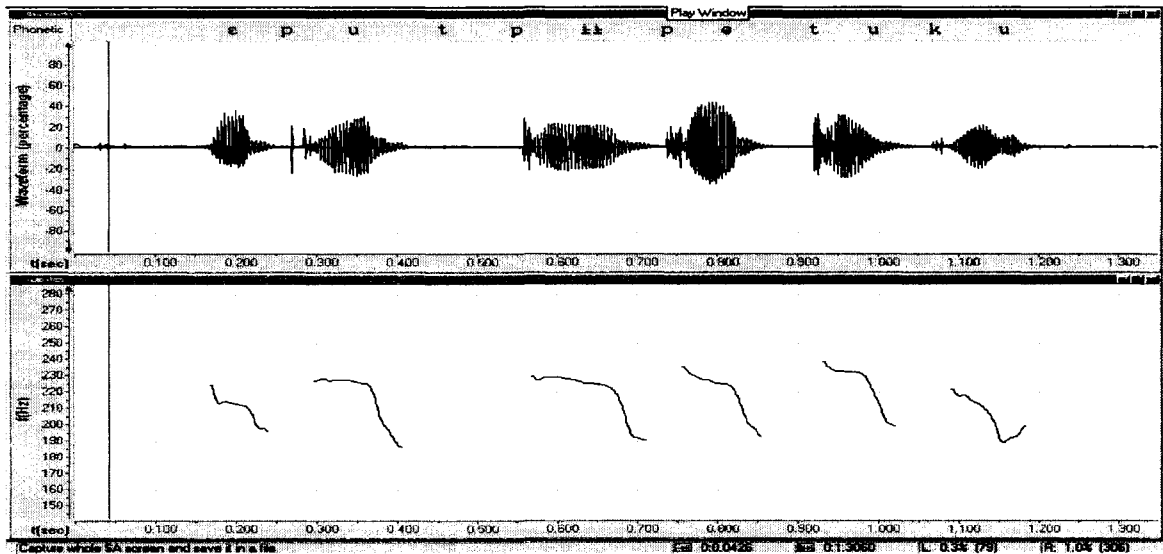
In the example above we see that the third syllable is the one that presents the lowest pitch, it is shortest, but it is the one that presents the most amplitude.

In phrases, the same phenomenon is observed. In the examples below, the phrase *eputpi pətuku* ‘good seed’ ends with a rising pitch the first time it is said and with a falling pitch on the second time. In (219) all vowels present a falling intonation, with the exception of the first vowel of the first word, presenting a rising intonation and the last vowel of the second word, also presenting a rising intonation. The two words behave as a single unity, there are no supra-segmental features pointing to a boundary between the two. The same is observed in example (220).

- 219) eputpiipətuku length: 480/452/912(/ɾ/ deletion)/602/600/685.  
 Pitch: 186-207/225-197/230-216/220-105/246-227/220-198-327.  
 Intensity: third of the first word and first of the second word, rest about the same.



- 220) eputpiipətuku Length: 485/669/1087/621/690/821;  
 Frequency: 233-207/226-2219/228-223/229-213/257-233/234-188.  
 Intensity: highest in the first two syllables of pətuku.



This shows that a phrase and a word have a similar organization in terms of intonation. While English and Tiriyo present prominent stressed syllables, Wayãna does

not seem to do so, as the variation between syllables is very small, and no particular syllable in a word is consistently prominent.

**2.4.2. The grammatical and the phonological word.** While the grammatical word is defined basically in morphological terms, the phonological word is basically defined in prosodic terms. For instance, in Meira's definition for the phonological word in Tiriyo 'is the grammatical word combined with cliticized material' (1999:38). His criteria are based on phonological processes such as stress and syllable reduction taken place in there. This means that the phonological word is a particular domain where some phenomena will take place. In Wayâna, no patterns pointing to the existence of a domain extending beyond the grammatical words have been found. Thus, a grammatical and a phonological word are considered here one and the same.

**2.5. Marginal Cases.** Some phonological changes affect just a small portion of Wayâna phonology or particular morphemes. These are /w/ deletion, metathesis, vowel harmony, a fricative infix, a morpheme with a floating mora, and morphemes with unexpected extra phonological material.

**2.5.1. /w/ deletion.** The deletion of /w/ is a phonological change that is in its initial stages in the language. Again as in the case with fricatives, the change affecting /w/ is working its way across the lexicon in one domain at a time. The change is taking place only in the first syllable (in stems with two syllables or more) or in the second syllable of a stem (in stems with three syllables or more). The lack of examples suggests, it has not

yet reached final syllables. The examples below show that in two domains the deletion is nearly completed: the first person prefix *w-* and the marker of Sa verbs *w-* both alternate with  $\emptyset$ -, with the latter being the most frequent form.

- 221) a. /w-ene/ → [wene] ~ [ene] 'I saw it'  
 b. /w-ekərə-ja-he/ → [wekərəjaj] ~ [ekərəjaj] 'I will give it'  
 c. /w-i-panakma/ → [wipanaŋma] ~ [ipanaŋma] 'I heard it'

/w/ may be lost in the participial form *t-V-(h)e*. All cases the allomorphs *ət-* or *e-* of the detransitivizing suffix (nor /w/ or compensatory vowel length occur with allomorph *əh-*).<sup>67</sup>

- 222) a. /tə-w-ət-uhmo-he/ → [təwətuhmoj] ~ [təətuhmoj] 'fallen'  
 b. /tə-w-ət-apuwa-he/ → [təwətapuwaj] ~ [təətapuwaj] 'open'  
 c. /tə-w-e-pi-he/ → [təwepihe] ~ [təepihe] 'bathe'

The change may affect some roots, as in the case of some nouns losing their initial [w], which is kept when the noun is possessed

- 223) a. /woka/ → [oka] 'fishhook'  
 b. /i-woka-nu/ → [iwokan] 'my fishhook'  
 c. /womi/ → [omi] 'language'  
 d. /i-womi-ŋi/ → [iwomii] 'my language'  
 e. /əwtə/ → [əwtə]~[əətə] 'land'

or of some adverbs (the examples below shows homophonous forms).

- 224) mēwihnē ~ mēwinē 'a lot; very'  
 225) mēwihnē ~ mēwinē 'nearby'

Not all nouns or adverbs undergo /w/ deletion, as the examples below attest:

- 226) a. /wono/ → [wono] 'bead'

<sup>67</sup> There exist at least two cases of S<sub>A</sub> verbs with vowel lengthening in a *t-V-(h)e* 'participle'. These examples cannot be synchronically attributed to /w/ deletion, since the two morphemes do not present /w/ in any of their other forms (see section 4.1.2 for a more detailed discussion):

- /ti-itə-he/ → [tiitəj] 'gone'  
 /ti-ka-he/ → [tikai] ~ [tiikai] 'said'

- b. /wohi/ → [wɔfi] ‘skin fungus’
- c. /wəɾihi/ → [wəɾij] ‘woman’
- d. /wantəɾə/ → [wantə] ‘later; afterwards’
- e. /wijome/ → [wijome] ‘crooked’

**2.5.2. Metathesis.** Some morphemes have two allomorphs which differ in the sequencing of the segments in different dialects:

- 227) a. [apukuita] ‘paddle’ (Speakers from the Paru River)
- b. [akupuita] ‘paddle’ (At least one speaker from Surinam)
  
- 228) a. [kawemhakan] ‘the tall one’ (Speakers from the Paru River)
- b. [kawehmakan] ‘the tall one’ (At least one speaker born in the Jari River and one from Surinam)
  
- 229) a. [mamhaɾi] ‘bird (sp.)’ (Speakers from the Paru River)
- b. [mamhaɾi] ‘bird (sp.)’ (At least one speaker born in the Jari River and one from Surinam)
- c. [jumhet] ‘hair’ (Speakers from the Paru River)
- d. [juhmet] ‘hair’ (At least one speaker born in the Jari River and one from Surinam)

**2.5.3. Vowel harmony.** Only one morpheme, the possessive suffix *-ɾi*, clearly undergoes vowel harmony (see section 2.1.1 for cases of phonetic vowel harmony of the allophones of /o/ and /e/).

- 230) a. /j-eta-ɾi-mna/ → [jeta-ɾi-mna] ‘without my kidney’
- b. /j-apə-ɾi-mna/ → [japəɾimna] ‘without my arm’
- c. /i-wahi-ɾi+phiki/ → [iwaɟiɾipɟik] ‘my little lower leg’
- d. /i-nu-ɾi-mna/ → [inuɾumna] ‘without his tongue’
- e. /i-pupu-ɾi-mna/ → [ipupuɾumna] ‘without his foot’
- f. /i-miwu-ɾi-mna/ → [imiɹumna] ‘without his blood’

The only other indication that vowel harmony has happened somewhere else in the language are cases of nouns taking the devaluative suffix *-tpə/-npə* and a few other roots. In all these cases /ə/ seems to have changed historically into /i/ or /u/:

- 231) a. /pana-npə/ → [pananpə] ‘ear severed from the body’

- b. /i-pana-ʔi-npə-ʔi/ → [ipanaʔinpi] 'his former ear'  
 c. /pupu-tpə/ → [puputpə] 'footprints, former foot'  
 d. /i-pupu-tpə-ʔi/ → [ipuputpi] 'his former foot'

- 232) a. [əʔek] 'wound'  
 b. [əʔekəmna] 'no wound'  
 c. [jeʔekit] 'my wound'  
 d. [jeʔekitimna] 'without my wound'
- e. [jakon+mumkə] 'my sister's son'  
 f. [imumku] 'my son'  
 g. [imumkuʔupʃik] 'my little son'
- h. [əʔinat] 'plate'  
 i. [əʔinatəmna] 'without a plate'  
 j. [jeʔinatu] 'my plate'  
 k. [jeʔinatuʔupʃik] 'my small plate'
- l. [əʔimak] 'baking plate'  
 m. [əʔimakəmna] 'without baking plate'  
 n. [jeʔimaki] 'my baking plate'  
 o. [eʔimakiʔimna] 'without his/her baking plate'

One example looks idiosyncratic:

- 233) a. [wapot] 'fire'  
 b. [wapotəmna] 'without fire'  
 c. [iwaptə] 'his/her fire'  
 d. [iwaptəʔimna] 'without his/her fire'

**2.5.4. The fricative infix -h.** The intensifier infix /-h-/ occurs after the first open syllable of adverbial roots.

- 234) a. [ipək] 'bad' i. [iʃpək] 'very bad'  
 b. [upək] 'long time ago' j. [uʃpək] 'very long time ago'  
 c. [miʃja] 'far' k. [miʃja] 'very far'  
 d. [pəʔtuku] 'well' l. [pəʔhtuku] 'really well'  
 e. [hemaʔə] 'now' m. [həhmaʔə] 'right now'  
 f. [waʔunək] 'evening' n. [waʔhunək] 'really in the evening'  
 g. [kəʔʔe] 'many' o. [kəʔhʔe] 'a lot'  
 h. [jahpine] 'shallow' o. [jahpihne] 'very shallow'

**2.5.5. The emphatic particle *mə*.** The emphatic particle *mə* can be represented as having an extra-mora. It prevents syllable reduction and causes lengthening on words ending in a vowel.<sup>68</sup> This particle is represented phonemically as /<sup>u</sup>mə/.

235)	a./wi-ka-jmə-ja-he+ <sup>u</sup> mə/	→	[wikajməhahemə]	‘I will talk for sure’
	b./məki+nma+ <sup>u</sup> mə/	→	[məkinmaamə]	‘It’s really that one’
	c./məhemə+ <sup>u</sup> mə/	→	[məheməəmə]	‘It’s really that one’
	d./akuwa+pəkə+ <sup>u</sup> mə/	→	[akuwapəkəəmə]	‘It’s really that one’

**2.5.6. Morphemes with unexpected extra phonological material.** Some sequences of nouns present unexpected extra segments. Some cases with the word /itu/ present an extra *w* or *h*, others do not: together with /aʔe/ ‘leaf’ it turns out as [ituhəʔe] ‘leaf’, (lit.: ‘jungle’s leaf’), and with /aki/ ‘breed’ it turns out as [ituwaki] ‘Indian’ (lit.: ‘jungle’s breed’). Other combinations do not present *w* or *h*: [mekuaki] ‘monkey’s breed’, [maʔipaʔe] ‘leaf of malipa tree’. One other example is /aʔe/ ‘leaf’ plus /paʔuʔu/ ‘banana’ which turns out as [paʔuwaʔe] ‘banana leaf’, but no *w* is found in other combinations, [uʔuaʔe] ‘leaf of manioc tree’.

Next, a discussion of sound symbolic words is presented. This word class represents a special domain in the Wayâna lexicon. Thus, it is presented last in this chapter.

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<sup>68</sup> *-mə* has different properties than the negative *-ʔa*, the privative nominalizer *-pɨn/-mɨn* and the dative postposition *ja*. These morphemes prevent syllable reduction but do not cause vowel lengthening (cf. section 2.3.1).



**2.6. Sound symbolic words.** These forms seem to be grammatically nouns with an onomatopoeic origin. Some, however, encode meanings (such as ‘to think’) which are difficult to express in terms of a particular sound (cf. 4.4.4).

Sound symbolic words present some important phonological differences from others belonging to the main lexicon. For instance, the nasal velar [ŋ], which occurs elsewhere only as a realization of /k/ (2.3.2.2), appears in these words without phonological conditioning (examples in 236). [ŋ] never occurs here, however, as syllabic onset or without a conditioning nasal as coda word medially.<sup>69</sup> Note that since all three nasals (/m/, /n/ and /ŋ/) occur word-finally, they present a contrastive distribution.

Furthermore, there are minimal pairs for /ŋ/ and /m/ (example 236 f-g), and /ŋ/ and /n/ (example 236 h-i).<sup>70</sup>

- 236) a. [kutoŋ tikaj] ‘(Someone) drank.’  
 b. [topõŋ tɪkaj] ‘(Someone) droped fishhooks.’  
 c. [toŋ tikaj] ‘(Someone) shot something.’  
 d. [tan tikaj] ‘(Someone) threw something.’  
 e. [totoŋ tikaj] ‘(Someone) swam.’  
 f. [põm tikaj] ‘(Someone) laid down.’  
 g. [põŋ tikaj] ‘It rained.’  
 h. [wen tikaj] ‘The *walami* bird sang.’  
 i. [weŋ tikai] ‘The *wamu* bird sang.’

Concerning fricatives, sound symbolic words represent an interesting exception to the pattern discussed in the previous sections of this chapter for the following reasons:

- a) the postalveolar [ʃ] occurs adjacent to vowels other than [i].

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<sup>69</sup> Jackson (1972:48) states that [ŋ] tends to occur before pause and before k. This pattern is found in our data, with [ŋ] occurring before pause only in sound symbolic word.

- 237) a. [wipʃaj] 'jump'  
 b. [ʃaktikip] 'cut wood'  
 c. [ʃom] 'stand up'  
 d. [ʃegʀaʀaj] 'slide'  
 e. [ʃajʃaj] 'cicada'  
 f. [atʃu] 'sneeze'

b) [ʃ] and [h] freely alternate in the beginning of at least two sound symbolic words (in example 238), (with one speaker from Bona also alternating /h/ with /t/ in example (238 a)). This alternation does not occur in other sound symbolic words as those in example (237 b-e) above and example (239) below.

- 238) a. [ʃokoʀom] ~ [hokoʀom] ~ [tokoʀom] 'to paddle'  
 b. [ʃuʃu] ~ [huhu] 'breast; milk'

- 239) a. [helephelep] 'moving head'  
 b. [hemik] 'disappear'  
 c. [henuk] 'jump'  
 d. [houhouhou] 'bark'

c) the glottal [h] occurs at the end of at least two sound symbolic words (example (238 a-b), a constraint against this exists for all other words in the language (cf. 2.2.1)

- 240) a. [toh] 'to beat up'  
 b. [tuhtuh] 'to walk'

The examples above indicate that fricatives in sound symbolic words pattern in a somewhat unusual way: [ʃ] and [h] present both contrastive distribution and free variation. Thus, though not totally convincing, it seems that the best way to represent sound symbolic words is to say that they present two distinctive fricatives /ʃ/ and /h/, which may be neutralized in some words. Fricatives in sound symbolic words are in an intermediate stage between being or not contrastive.

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<sup>70</sup> Sound symbolic words commonly end in consonants. To this point, it was not possible to know whether there exists or not a context in which the potentially deleted vowels are retained. No suffix or particles have been found following these forms in texts and in elicitation such arrangements have not been accepted.

This analysis creates two different domains in the language: the *main* vocabulary, which encompasses all other word classes, and the *sound symbolic words* vocabulary. The former has a single distinctive fricative /h/ and the latter two, /ʃ/ and /h/.

One special case, however, is that of animals, especially birds and insects, which are named with a sound symbolic word mimicking the sounds they make. Some examples are given below:

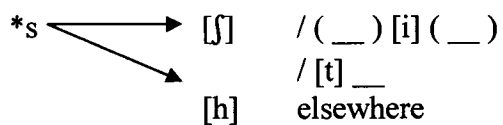
- 241) a. [ʃuwiʃuwi] 'bird (sp.) that sings at night'  
 b. [ʃúwiʃúwi tikaj] 'suwisuwi sang'  
 c. [mutu] 'bird (sp.)'  
 d. [mút<sup>u</sup>mút<sup>u</sup> tikaj] 'mutu sang'  
 e. [ɾiwɾiw] 'insect (sp.)'  
 f. [ɾiwɾiw tikaj] 'ɾiwɾiw sang'  
 g. [kəɾɪnkəɾi] 'insect (sp.)'  
 h. [kəɾɪnkəɾi tikaj] 'kəɾɪnkəɾi sang'  
 i. [ʃiwet] 'insect (sp.)'  
 j. [ʃiwet nika] 'ʃiwet sang'  
 k. [kotkotoɾo] 'insect (sp.)'  
 l. [kotkotoɾo nika] 'kotkotoɾo sang'

These forms operate grammatically as nouns, in an apparently exceptional realization of /h/in that class, since in all other nouns the occurrences of [ʃ] are conditioned by an adjacent alveolar segment (2.1.2.2.2).

In Tavares (1999a), I argue that Wayâna is at the end of a phonological change that turned [s]'s into [h]'s and that sound symbolic words are the last niche of the Wayâna lexicon to be affected by the change. Elsewhere in the language [s]'s turned into [h]'s, except in contexts adjacent to some alveolar segments where they palatalized into [ʃ].

The basic aspects of the change are represented in figure 2:

Figure 1  
The \*s to h Phonological Change



In sound symbolic words this change is still in progress.

Finally, the present study is lacking a discussion on stress patterns in sound symbolic words. Examples such as (241 b and d) above suggest that there may be a fixed position for a most prominent syllable. This investigation, however, was not carried out in the work.

### 3. INTRODUCTION TO MORPHOLOGY.

Morphological processes present the most extensive aspect of the Wayâna grammar. This language possesses a myriad of affixes (prefixes, suffixes, ambifixes, and an infix) forming a system that marks person, TAM distinctions, number, and word class changing processes, valence changing processes, and other kinds of meaning change. Person and detransitivization are marked by prefixes, all the rest by suffixes.

Person is marked on all major speech classes (nouns, verbs, and postpositions), with the exception of adverbs and particles. TAM and valence changing suffixes occur with verbs. Number suffixes occur with nouns, verbs, and postpositions (section 4.1.2, section 5.3, and section 6.1.2.2, respectively). Class change and meaning change are marked by suffixes and ambifixes. Intensity is marked, by the only attested infix, on adverbs (*cf.* section 7.2.2).

The occurrences of these affixes distinguish unambiguously between five speech classes, nouns, verbs, adverbs, postpositions and particles. With the exception of particles, which bear no morphology, each class presents specific morphologic properties. Thus, in order to occur in a different morphological function any given root/stem must bear, with rare exceptions, a class changing morpheme. Thus, class changing process are abundant. They are of four types: nominalizations (nouns can be derived from verbs, adverbs, and postpositions (*cf.* section 4.2.2), verbalization (verbs can be derived from nouns (*cf.* section 5.6.1)), adverbialization (adverbs can be derived from nouns and verbs (*cf.* section 7.2.1)), and postpositionalization (postpositions may be derived from verbs (*cf.* section 5.6.1)).

The following sections discuss some important morphological aspects of Wayâna.

**3.1. Particles versus suffixes.** It is not always straightforward to distinguish between a particle and a suffix. Neither phonological nor morphophonological processes may stand as criteria for establishing a distinction between the two classes in the language. The syllabic shape of a morpheme does not identify its class since both particles and affixes may be of CV, CVC, or CCV syllabic type. For example, the devaluative suffix *-tpë* and the admirative particle *pkë* have the same syllabic shape. In the same way, size cannot be a criterion since both suffixes and particles can be one syllable long, as for example the suffix *-k(ë)* ‘Proximal Imperative’, or several syllables long, as for example the particle *hemele* ‘now; soon’ and the Habitual past suffix *-(j)(ë)mëhneja*. Likewise, stress patterns do not help to classify one form as belonging to one class or another, since stress is not detectable even as a surface phenomenon in the language.

There are, thus, no morphophonological processes occurring with regard to a stem that indicates that adjacent forms are morphologically bound to it. Certain phonological processes, such as assimilation and dissimilation, happen in basically all environments in the language: internal to the root, on a morpheme boundary, and on a word boundary.

Syntactically, however, particles and suffixes behave differently. Particles possess a mobility that is non-existent with suffixes, *i.e.*, suffixes may not be separated from morphophonological words while particles may. In terms of distribution, a given particle may co-occur either with a specific speech class or various speech classes, while suffixes co-occur solely with a specific speech class (in section 3.1 below, however, we see that a few prefixes may occur with more than one speech class).

There are about a hundred particles in Wayâna expressing many different meanings such as evidentiality, negation, quality, number, emotivity, emphasis, *etc.* (*cf.*

appendix C). Below, we show examples of one of them, of the scope particle *psik(i)* ‘small, ‘little’ which follows all major speech classes. In (1) it follows a verb, in (2) a noun, in (3) an adverb, in (4) a postposition, and in (5) it follows another particle:<sup>1</sup>

- 1)      Emna            kunētuku                            psik..  
           emna            kun-ētuku                            phikī  
           1+3ExclPro 3SADistPst-have.a.meal little  
           ‘We ate a little.’
- 2)      Pakolo psik    neha.  
           pakolo phikī n-eha-Ø  
           house    small 3SA-be-RecPst  
           ‘It was a small house.’
- 3)      Tīmīle psik    neha.  
           tīmīle phikī n-eha-Ø  
           bloody small 3SA-be-RecPst  
           ‘There was a little bit of blood.’
- 4)      Mēklēē            uhpolo            psik    lēken.  
           mēklēē            uppo-lo            phikī    lēken  
           DemAnmMed on.top.of-along little    only  
           ‘(He was) a little bit taller than that one.’ (Ēkēi 072)
- 5)      Uwa    hnē        psik    ïu.  
           uwa    tnē        phikī    ïwu  
           Neg    still        little    1Pro  
           ‘I still did not (sleep).’ (Pēne 071)

This particle is useful for testing whether a particular morpheme is morphologically bound or not. Comparing example (6) with (7), we see that the negative morpheme *tapek* may be displaced by *psik(i)*. This is not the case of the possessive *-n(u)* (8-10). Thus, *tapek* is a particle, and *-n(u)* is a suffix.

- 6)      Malija **tapek**.  
           ‘It is not a knife.’
- 7)      Malija psik    **tapek**.  
           ‘It is not a small knife.’

<sup>1</sup> Hereafter, examples are presented mostly in the Wayāna written system used in the translation of the New Testament by Schoen and Schoen (1979). We depart from that system in two aspects: surface forms of morphemes undergoing /t/ deletion are represented as if ending with long vowels (/epeṛiṛi/ → [epeṛi], *epelii* ‘fruit’). Examples of contrastive occurrences of the velar nasal /ŋ/ are represented by **kn** (/taŋ/ → [taŋ], *takn* ‘far away’).

- 8)     ĩmalijan  
      ‘my knife’
- 9)     ĩmalijan psik  
      ‘my small knife’
- 10)    \* Malija psikĩn

Rarely, in elicitation, the devaluative suffix *-tpë* (section 4.2.1.1), the existential suffix *-hpe/~hme* (section 7.2.1.1.2), and with the negative suffix *-mna* (section 7.2.1.1.3), were accepted separated from their stems by *psik* or *ptile*. Such arrangements, however, constitute unreliable data, since they were rejected in many other instances, all the examples produced by the speakers show the forms immediately following nouns, and no such examples occur in texts.

The case of the attributive suffix *-me* is an interesting one. In the great majority of examples in our database, it occurs immediately after nouns where intervening particles were not accepted in elicitation (e.g., \* *malija psik me neha* ‘It was my small knife’). However, in texts, some examples occurred following speech classes other than nouns. In (11) and (12) the attributive follows another particle, in (13) it follows a postposition, and in (14) it follows another particle and an adverb. In (15), it is separated from a pronoun by a particle. Given the fact that some forms cognate to *-me* are postpositions, as is the case in Tiriyó (Meira 1999:426), and given the fact that some pairs of postpositions and adverbs seem to present forms that are parallel in meaning and in form (cf. section 6.1), what we see in the examples below might be an adverbial *me*. This hypothesis, however, was not investigated in our study. Though there exists some ambiguity about the morphological status of *-me*, examples where a particle was placed between a noun and *-me* were never accepted; also, in the very vast majority of examples, it follows a nominal. Thus, we classify it here as a nominal suffix (cf. section 7.2.1.1.1):









**3.3.2. Verbs.** There are two systems of verbal morphology in Wayâna. In the first one, labeled Set I (Gildea 1998), verbs take personal prefixes and suffixes (TAM suffixes, number suffixes. Set I verbs bear three sets of personal prefixes, prefixes marking the S on S<sub>A</sub> verbs, marking the S on S<sub>O</sub> and marking both the A and the O in transitive verbs. Some of these affixes are exemplified here:

- 29) Kēhepematatēn.  
**k-ēh-epe-ma-ta-tēn**  
 1+2SA-Det-friend-GiveVrblz-HortAblat-HortColl  
 ‘Let’s be friends.’
- 30) Wikloimē.  
**w-i-klo-jmē-Ø**  
 1A3O-Them-mix.O-Resumpt-RecPst  
 ‘I mixed it.’
- 31) Mēmēm.  
**m-ēmī-Ø**  
 2SA-enter-RecPst  
 ‘You entered.’
- 32) Kutuwe                      ka?  
 kut-uwa-ja                      ka  
 1+2SO-dance-NPst    Quest  
 ‘Are we going to dance?’

The *t-V-(h)e* set is characterized by the ambifix *t(i)- -(h)e* and by ergative case marking: the S and the O occur unmarked, and the A is marked by *ja* ‘Ergative.’

- |     |                           |           |       |                  |
|-----|---------------------------|-----------|-------|------------------|
|     | A                         |           | O     |                  |
| 33) | Ilimona                   | ja        | ēkēi  | tuhmoi.          |
|     | ilimona                   | <b>ja</b> | ēkēhi | <b>t-upmo-he</b> |
|     | Ilimona                   | Erg       | snake | T-kill.O-Prtc    |
|     | ‘Ilimona killed a snake.’ |           |       |                  |

- |     |                              |                     |                 |  |
|-----|------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|--|
|     |                              |                     | S               |  |
| 34) | Talanme                      | tīlēmēphe           | ijum.           |  |
|     | talanne                      | <b>tī-lēmēpi-he</b> | <b>i-jumī-Ø</b> |  |
|     | maybe                        | T-die-He            | 3-father-Pss    |  |
|     | ‘Maybe his/her father died.’ |                     |                 |  |

Valence changing morphemes (a valence decreasing prefix and several valence increasing suffixes (*cf.* section 5.4.2)) occur in both sets. Some examples are given below:

- 35) Welepjai.  
w-elepī-ja-he  
1A3O-make.O.afraid-NPst-SapAff  
'I make him/her/it afraid.'
- 36) Wēhelepjai.  
w-ēh-elepī-ja-he  
1SA-Det-make.O.afraid-NPst-SapAff  
'I got afraid.'
- 37) Kunutat                      inēlēē.  
kun-utafī                      inēlēlē  
3SODistPst-be.lost 3AnphPro  
'He got lost (a long time ago).'
- 38) Kahulu utatka                      inēlēē.  
kahulu utafī-ka-Ø                      inēlēlē  
beads be.lost-Transvzr-RecPst 3AnphPro  
'She lost beads.'

Verbs also present gerundive forms, which are discussed in section (5.3.5).

**3.3.3. Postpositions.** Similarly to nouns and verbs, postpositions may take pronominal prefixes (with particular allomorphs), the reciprocal prefix *ēh(e)-*, and number, which is expressed by the collective suffix *-he*. In addition, they bear spatial suffixes indicating position, goal, and path of a referent.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>39) tēnawēhe<br/>t-ēna-wē-he<br/>3Refl-in.middle.of.supported-in-PColl<br/>'in their lap'</p> | <p>40) jeuu      jak<br/>j-ewu-lī    ja-kē<br/>1-eye-Pss inside.of-into<br/>'into my eye'</p> |
|--|---|

They also take nominalizing suffixes (discussed in section 4.2.2.2.1).

**3.3.4. Adverbs.** Adverbs do not take any prefixes, and the only suffixes found with adverbs are the nominalizing suffixes *-an(u)*, and its allomorphs (section 4.2.2.2.2), the

privative suffix *-p̄in(i)* (section 4.2.3), and the negative suffix *-la* (section 7.2.1.3).

Adverbs are the only category that takes the intensifying infix *-h-* (section 7.2.2).

- 41) Sin ipokela, kaneta.  
 hinĩ ipoke-la kaneta  
 DemInanProx good-Neg pen  
 ‘This one (is) not good, a pen.’
- 42) Sin ipokan, wĩwĩ.  
 hinĩ ipoke-anu wĩwĩ  
 DemInanProx good-PtNmlz ax  
 ‘This one (is) the good one, an ax.’
- 43) Ihpoke nma kan womii.  
 ipoke-h nma kanu womilĩ-Ø  
 good-AvIntens Intens God word-Pss  
 ‘God’s word is truly wonderful.’

**3.3.5. Particles.** Particles take no morphology. Depending on the position in which they occur in the clause, they may be classified into several groups: first positions particles, those which may occur sentence initially (44), second position particles, those which occur after the first constituent in the clause (45) and scope particles, those without a particular position in the clause occurring after a particular element they modify (46), *etc.*

- 44) Moloině emna kuninik.  
 molojině emna kun-iniki  
 then 1+3ExclPro 1+3SODistPst-sleep  
 ‘Then, we slept (a long time ago).’ (Pěne 067)
- 45) Ulu hek henepta Jamai.  
 ulu hek h-enepĩ-ta jamai  
 manioc only 1+2A3O-bring.O-HortAblat Jamai  
 ‘Lets go get only manioc, Jamai.’ (Kaikui2 003)
- 46) Kunumusimanmela haponu hně lep wai lep.  
 kunumuhi-me-anu-me-la haponu tně lep wahe lep  
 old.woman-Attrb-PtNmlz-Attrb-Neg like still Advrs Ibe Advrs  
 ‘I am still not unfortunately quite like an old woman, unfortunately.’

Particles are not discussed further in this work.

**3.3.6. Ambivalent Roots.** Unlike the overwhelming majority of roots in the language, some root cannot be clearly classified as a member of a particular class. Some roots may

undergo morphological processes that characterize two distinct speech classes. For instance, in the examples below we see three roots that may function either as nouns or as verbs.

- 47) *elemi* ‘sing; song’  
 a. *jelemijai* ‘I sing.’  
 b. *elemiphak* ‘good at music’
- 48) *pimi* ‘tie O; string’  
 a. *Wipymyjai*;  
*w-i-pimī-ja-he*  
 1A3O-Them-tie.O-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘I am going to tie it.’  
 b. *ipimīt*  
*i-pimī-tī*  
 3-string-Pss  
 ‘its string.’
- 49) *awaina* ‘to come into the morning/to down; morning’  
*iniki-la j-awajna-Ø*  
 sleep-Neg 1SO-come.into.the.morning-RecPst  
 ‘I came into the morning without sleeping.’ (Jolokoc 530)
- b. *Emna nipanakmei awaina kuptë.*  
*emna n-i-panakma-ja-he awajna kuptë*  
 1+3ExclPro 1+3A3O-Them-hear.O-NPst-SapAff morning each  
 ‘We hear this every morning.’ (Walema 048)
- 50) *tipi* ‘end; end O’  
 a. *Nitipjai.*  
*n-i-tipi-ja-he*  
 3A30-Them-end.O-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘(He/she) will end it.’  
 b. *Helë wapot ahkon, itip.*  
*helë wapoto akkonu i-tipi-Ø*  
 PrsntvPro fire firewood 3-end-Pss  
 ‘This is the firewood, the end of it.’

Some other roots may function as nouns or postpositions. The form *pata*, for instance, behaves as a noun in that it has an unpossessed form (*ëutë*), it occurs with *t-N-ke* denominal adverbializer, it takes the devaluative suffix *-tipi(li)*, and it does not require a nominalizer in order to occur as a core participant. However, it can also undergo some morphological processes that are characteristic of postpositions, such as

the bearing of spatial suffixes such as *-k(ë)* ‘goal’ (*Jalaki patak* ‘to Jalaki’s village’) and *-w(ë)* ‘in’ (*ëpatau* ‘in your village’), and take the nominalizer *-li(lī)*, in this case bearing some sort of meaning changing morphology (*Jahelai patalī* ‘the Jahelai villagers’). In this regard, it resembles postpositions ending in /ta/ (cf. section 6.2.1.1).

Finally, some very idiosyncratic roots are the numerals *pëkänatpë* ‘one’, *hakëne* ‘two’, *ëheluwau* ‘three’, and *ëhepitihne* ‘four’. Considering the available data, they apparently are not nouns, as they may not take some nominal morphology (examples with the possessive prefixes and the attributive *-me* were not accepted) and do not occupy some of the syntactic positions characteristic of nouns. Examples preceding the particle *tapek* ‘Nominal negation’, which must follow nouns, and examples in which numbers were positioned in the syntactic slot for the possessor or for the O (cf. section 8.1.1 and 8.3.1.2) were not accepted. However, like nouns, numbers occur with demonstrative pronouns (51), as the object of postpositions (52-53), and as the modifier of nominal objects (54-55) (adverbs must be nominalized in such contexts (cf. section 8.1.2)).

51) mëlë            pëkxnatpë  
       mëlë            pëkënatpë  
       DemInanMed one  
       ‘that one’

52) **Ëheluwau** pona            tawainai            inëlëë    okī    pëk.  
       ëheluwaw po-na            t-awajna-he            inëlëë    wokī    pëkë  
       three        on-supported-to    T-come.into.the.morning-He    3AnphPro drink about  
       ‘He went up to three days and three nights on the drink.’ (Walema 106)

53) Moloinë **hakëne** pona    tawainai.  
       molojinë hakëne po-na    t-awajna-he  
       then        two        at-to    T-come.into.the.morning-He  
       ‘Then, he spent two more nights.’ (Walema 105)

54) Pīlasi            **ëheluwau**    wene.  
       pīlahi            ëheluwawë    w-ene-Ø  
       back.carrier three        1A3O-see.O-RecPst  
       ‘I saw two baskets.’ (Pear 007)



- 55) **Pëkënatpë nene.**  
pëkënatpë n-ene-Ø  
one 3A30-see.O-RecPst  
'He/she/it saw only one.'

Clearly, more conclusive investigation is in order here.

In the following chapters, particular classes of words are described more fully in  
turn.

#### 4. NOUNS.

The criteria distinguishing nouns from other speech classes are a) syntactic: nouns occur as subject, as direct object (occupying the O slot in Set I verbs), as object of postpositions, as the possessor in genitive constructions, as vocatives, and under the scope of specific particles; and b) morphological: nouns take affixes for person, number, and specific derivational suffixes. A rough diagram of noun morphology is shown below:

[Personal Prefixes-Noun-Meaning changing suffixes-Possessive Suffixes-Collectives]

**4.1. Inflection.** Nouns are inflected by personal genitive prefixes, possessive suffixes, and collective suffixes.

**4.1.1. Possession.** Wayâna exhibits only one strategy for possessing nouns.<sup>1</sup> As in many Cariban languages (*cf.* Gildea 1998:104 for an overall discussion), the possessor, expressed either by personal prefixes or by a full (pro)noun,<sup>2</sup> immediately precedes the possessed noun.<sup>3</sup> The occurrence of both a full noun and a prefix is not accepted (1 d). All possessed nouns are inflected by possessive suffixes. The structure of possession is depicted in Table 1 (adapted from Meira 1999).

---

<sup>1</sup> Prototypical possession (as in *Jeff's book*) as well as other relations such as part-whole (*the root of the house*) and personal relationships (*Ada's friend*) are all encoded by the same grammatical structure. A relation such as thing-substance (which in languages like Portuguese are encoded by a possessive structure as in *faca de madeira* 'knife of wood' which is parallel to *faca de João* 'John's knife'), is not encoded by possessive morphology in Wayâna.

<sup>2</sup> Only third person pronouns may occur as the possessor, with the exception of *emna* 'first person exclusive' which may be historically derived from a noun (*cf.* section 4.3.1 for a discussion on this form).

<sup>3</sup> A few particles, however, may intervene between a nominal possessor and the possessed noun (*cf.* section 3.1).

Table 1  
Structure of the possessed noun

Person prefix or (Pro)Noun (expressing the possessor)	NOUN STEM	Possessive suffix
---	--------------	-------------------

- 1) a. i-malija-n 'His/her knife'  
 b. Nila malija-n 'Nila's knife'  
 c. emna malija-n 'our (exclusive) knife'  
 d. \*Nila i-malija-n

**4.1.1.1. Possessive prefixes.** Nouns are inflected by 1<sup>st</sup>, 1<sup>st</sup> dual, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person prefixes. The selection of allomorphs of personal prefixes depends on whether the nominal root starts with a vowel or with a consonant (roots starting in /w/ present extra complexity when inflected by third person reflexive prefix). Table 2 summarizes these prefixes.<sup>4</sup>

Table 2  
Nominal personal prefixes

	/ V	/ C	/ w
1	j-	ĩ-	ĩ-
2	ẽw-	ẽ-	ẽ-
1+2	k-, ik-	ku-	ku-
3	Ø-	i-	i-, a-, e (?)
3 Refl.	t-	tĩ-	tĩ- (V-harmony)

Examples of speech act personal prefixes (hereafter *SAP*) are presented below:<sup>5</sup>

- |                                 |                      |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| 2) a. pakolo 'house'            | g. apukuita 'paddle' |
| 1 b. Ƴ-pakolo-n                 | h. j-apukuita-n      |
| 2 c. ẽ-pakolo-n                 | i. ẽw-apukuita-n     |
| 1+2 d. ku-pakolo-n <sup>6</sup> | j. k-apukuita-n      |

<sup>4</sup> In this section the possessive prefixes are shown only on non-derived nouns. However, the occurrence of these prefixes is the same for all nominalizations that take prefixes (see section 4.2.2.1 on nominalization from verbs and section 4.2.2.2.1 for nominalizations from postpositions), with the exception of the allomorphs of third person prefixes for roots starting with /w/ which do not occur with derived nouns.

<sup>5</sup> From this point, all long vowels at the end of words indicate the underlying occurrence of either the possessive suffix *-li* or of a /li/ syllable (cf. section 2.3.1.2 on /r/ deletion).

<sup>6</sup> A few speakers also accept *ki-* as the dual prefix: *ki-mĩuukom* 'the blood of us all', *ki-maulunkom* 'our cotton', but older speakers suggest that this is an influence from Aparai's dual prefix *ky-*.

- |     |                       |                           |
|-----|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 3)  | a. wosi ‘skin fungus’ | g. wēlisi ‘male’s sister’ |
| 1   | b. ɪ-wosii            | h. ɪ-wēlisii              |
| 2   | c. ẽ-wosii            | i. ẽ-wēlisii              |
| 1+2 | d. ku-wosii           | j. ku-wēlisii             |

Two nouns present the idiosyncratic dual prefix *ik-*:

- |           |                                 |                                     |
|-----------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 4)        | a. ulu ‘manioc bread’           | h. otĩ ‘meat’                       |
| 1         | b. j-uu                         | i. j-ot                             |
| 2         | c. ẽw-uu                        | j. ẽw-ot                            |
| 1+2       | d. ik-uu                        | k. ik-ot                            |
| 3         | e. Ø-ulu                        | l. Ø-otĩ                            |
| 3 Refl.f. | t-ulu                           | m. t-otĩ                            |
| Pro+Ng.   | mēklēẽ ulu ‘his (medial) bread’ | n. emna otĩ ‘our (exclusive) bread’ |

The third person personal prefixes are *i-/Ø-* ‘his/hers/its’ and the reflexive *t(i)-* ‘his/hers/its own’.

- |         |                                |                                  |  |
|---------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| 5)      |                                |                                  |  |
| 3       | a. i-pakolo-n ‘his house’      | c. Ø-apukuita-n ‘his paddle’     |  |
| 3 Refl. | b. tĩ-pakolo-n ‘his own house’ | d. t-apukuita-n ‘his own paddle’ |  |

Nouns starting in /w/ take either *i-* or *a-* for the third person prefix. The allomorphs for the third person reflexive prefix are selected according to some sort of vowel harmony: *tẽ-* and *to-* if the first vowel of the root is /ẽ/ or /o/, respectively, and *tĩ-* elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

- |         |                                   |                                |  |
|---------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 6)      |                                   |                                |  |
| 3       | a. a-wosii ‘his skin fungus’      | c. a-wēlisii ‘his sister’      |  |
| 3 Refl. | b. to-wosii ‘his own skin fungus’ | d. tẽ-wēlisii ‘his own sister’ |  |
| 3       | e. i-watkĩ ‘tail’                 | g. i-wewe ‘his wood’           |  |
| 3 Refl. | f. tĩ-watkĩ ‘his own tail’        | h. tĩ-wewe ‘his own wood’      |  |

Two roots starting with /w/ are exceptional: *wasi* ‘lower leg’ and *walehna* ‘back of knee’. They present *e-*, a unique allomorph for the third person prefix (which, like all other allomorphs of the third person prefix, is in complementary distribution with a full nominal possessor, and *tẽ-* also a unique allomorph for the third person reflexive prefix (not resulting from vowel harmony as *tẽ-* presented above):

7)	a. wasi	‘lower.leg’	8)	a. walehna	‘back of knee’
1	b. ɪ-wasii			b. ɪ-walehnaa	
2	c. ẽ-wasii			c. ẽ-walehnaa	
1+2	d. ku-wasii			d. ku-walehnaa	
3	e. e-wasii			e. e-walehnaa	
3 Refl.	f. tẽ-wasii			f. tẽ-walehnaa	
N+N	g. mesa wasii	‘leg of the table’		g. eluwa walehnaa	‘back of knee of a man’

A unique case is that of the noun for ‘arrow’, which occurs with the lengthening of all prefixes. This is accounted for in phonological terms: *p̄ile*, the possessable allomorph, undergoes syllable reduction when possessed by prefixes and becomes *pile*. However, a \*p<sub>ɾ</sub> constraint exists in the language (cf. section 2.3.2.5), and *p* is deleted leaving compensatory lengthening on the preceding vowel which is that of the prefixes. This is the only attested case in the language:

9)	a. p̄il̄eu	‘arrow’
1	b. ɪ̄-le	
2	c. ẽ̄-le	
1+2	d. kuu-le	
3	e. ii-le	
3 Refl.	f. t̄ɪ̄-le	
N+N	g. Anakali p̄ile	‘Anakali’s arrow’

**4.1.1.1.1. The relational prefix \*j-?** There seems to exist a few remnants of an old possessive construction distinct from the type operating in the language today (which has a possessive prefix or full noun immediately preceding the possessed noun). In a few examples, it is possible to detect an extra /j/ between what seems to have been the possessor and the possessed:<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> All other examples in the database take *a-* for the third person prefix: *wo* ‘uncle’, *wotp̄e* ‘aunt’, *(w)ok̄i* ‘beverage’, *wono* ‘bead’, *w̄ip̄ili* ‘sin’, *(w)ohan̄e* ‘suffering’, *(w)omi(li)* ‘language’. The third person possessed form of *w̄iw̄i* ‘ax’ is unknown.

<sup>8</sup> Gildea (1998:113) has reconstructed a \*y- ‘Relator’ prefix adjoining the possessor and the possessed noun for Proto-Cariban.

- |     |                |   |                   |                         |
|-----|----------------|---|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 10) | a. sikalejot   | ‘caterpillar (sp.)’                         | < *sikale+j-ot(ɪ) | ‘food of a sikale’      |
|     | b. sikale      | ‘bird (sp.)’                                |                   |                         |
|     | c. otɪ         | ‘meat food’                                 |                   |                         |
|     | d. okomějot    | ‘wasp (sp.)’                                | < *okomě+j-ot(ɪ)  | ‘food of a wasp’        |
| 11) | a. helijek     | ‘bird (sp.)’                                | < *heli+j-ek(ɪ)   | ‘heli’s associate’      |
|     | b. heli        | ‘ant (sp.)’                                 |                   |                         |
|     | c. ekɪ         | ‘pet; parasite’                             |                   |                         |
|     | d. pĕnejek     | ‘bird (sp.) (flies at the river’s surface)’ | < *pĕne+j-ek(ɪ)   | ‘piranha’s associate’   |
|     | e. pĕne        | ‘piranha’                                   |                   |                         |
|     | f. wapotjek    | ‘bird (sp.)’                                | < *wapot+j-ekɪ    | ‘fire’s associate’      |
|     | g. wapot       | ‘fire’                                      |                   |                         |
|     | h. kulum       | ‘vulture’                                   |                   |                         |
|     | i. kulumjek    | ‘bird sp.’ (frequently used as pet)         | < *kulum+j-ekɪ    | ‘kulum’s associate’     |
| 12) | a. kulumjĕlukĕ | ‘mythological caterpillar-like vulture’     | < *kulum+j-ĕlukĕ  | ‘vulture’s caterpillar’ |
|     | b. kulum       | ‘vulture’                                   |                   |                         |
|     | c. ĕlukĕ       | ‘caterpillar’                               |                   |                         |

The examples shown above seem to refer to a relationship similar to that found with specifically possessed nouns, where there exists some kind of intrinsic relationship between the possessor and the possessed. However, synchronically, although one can isolate what might have been the parts, all the forms are analyzable as roots, and not as genitive phrases, all encoding animal names which are not possessable today.<sup>9</sup>

**4.1.1.1.2. Ablaut.** Some roots present two allomorphs that have different first vowels.

The allomorphs are conditioned by the presence or absence of certain possessive prefixes.

Meira (1999:74), in his discussion for the same phenomenon in Tiriyo, uses the terms

*back grade* for allomorphs starting with /ĕ/ or /o/ and *front grade* for allomorphs

beginning with /e/ or /a/. The *back grade* forms occur whenever roots bear the

morpheme *k-* ‘first person dual’ or *t-* ‘third person reflexive’, or are in their unpossessed

form; the *front grade* forms occur elsewhere (including forms possessed by

<sup>9</sup> One speaker suggested that a look at myths and historical narratives might clarify why some animals came to be named as such. Maybe the animal named *pĕnejek*, for instance, had some important relationship with a mythological *pĕne* ‘piranha’. Unfortunately, no such texts are attested in the present database, and all attempts to obtain such information from speakers were unproductive. In most cases, the composing parts are not transparent for the speakers. In one particular case, a speaker parsed *sikalejot* as *sikale, jot* ‘my meat, the sikale’, and quickly added: ‘But we do not eat Sikale’.

(pro)nouns).<sup>10</sup> Table 3 depicts the three sets of alternating allomorphs (C = consonant); examples are presented in (13) to (15).

Table 3  
Ablaut

front grade	~	back grade
/e/	~	/ě/
/aCo/	~	/oCo/
/aCě/	~	/ěCě/

	ě/e <sup>11</sup>		o/a <sup>12</sup>		ě/a <sup>13</sup>	
13)	a. <i>ětat</i> ‘hammock’	14)	a. <i>omo</i> ‘hand’	15)	a. <i>ěpě</i> ‘arm’	
1	b. <i>j-etat</i>		b. <i>j-amoo</i>		b. <i>j-apěě</i>	
2	c. <i>ěw-etat</i>		c. <i>ěw-amoo</i>		c. <i>ěw-apěě</i>	
1+2	d. <i>k-ětat</i>		d. <i>k-omoo</i>		d. <i>k-ěpěě</i>	
3	e. <i>∅-etat</i>		e. <i>∅-amoo</i>		e. <i>∅-apěě</i>	
3 Refl.	f. <i>t-ětat</i>		f. <i>t-omoo</i>		f. <i>t-ěpěě</i>	
(Pro)N	g. <i>emna etat</i> ‘our hammock’		g. <i>mule amoo</i> ‘child’s hand’		g. <i>mule apěě</i> ‘child’s arm’	

Nouns that are always possessed (*cf.* 4.1.1.3.3) lack, obviously, an unpossessed *back grade* form: (roots in (19) have only a third person possessed form)

	ě/e <sup>14</sup>		o/a <sup>15</sup>		ě/a
17)	‘name’	18)	‘sibling of same sex’	19)	‘dorsal fin’
	a. (* <i>ěhet</i> )		a. (* <i>okon</i> )		a. (* <i>ěpletī</i> )
1	b. <i>j-ehe-t</i>		b. <i>j-akon</i>		
2	c. <i>ěw-ehe-t</i>		c. <i>ěw-akon</i>		
1+2	d. <i>k-ěhe-t</i>		d. <i>k-okon</i>		
3	e. <i>∅-ehe-t</i>		e. <i>∅-akon</i>		b. <i>∅-apletī</i>
3 Refl.f.	f. <i>t-ěhe-t</i>		f. <i>t-okon</i>		c. <i>t-ěpletī</i>

The noun for ‘scissors’ presents an idiosyncratic *front grade* unpossessed form.

	ě/e
20)	a. <i>elasi</i> ‘scissors’ (* <i>ělasi</i> )
1	b. <i>j-elasi-n</i>
2	c. <i>ěw-elasi-n</i>
1+2	d. <i>k-ělasi-n</i>
3	e. <i>∅-elasi-n</i>
3 Refl.g.	f. <i>t-ělasi-n</i>

<sup>10</sup> Ablaut is a widespread morphophonological phenomenon affecting both nouns and verbs. See section 2.3.8 for a discussion on this pattern.

<sup>11</sup> Nouns like *ětat* are: *ěmna* ‘nose’, *ěu* ‘eye’, *ělek* ‘wound’, *ělimak* ‘plate’, *ěhema* ‘path’, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Like *omo* is *opoto* ‘bread holder’.

<sup>13</sup> Nouns like *ěpě* are *ěpějepī* ‘hunger’ and *ěwēm* ‘penis’.

<sup>14</sup> Like *ehet* ‘his name’ is *emsii* ‘his daughter’ (\**ěmsi*), *elemi* ‘song’ (\**ělemi* ‘song’).

<sup>15</sup> Like *akon* is *anon* ‘body paint’.

Ablaut is, thus, restricted to roots beginning with vowels, either /e/ alternating with /ë/ or /a/ alternating with /ë/ or /o/. All other roots present the same first vowel in all environments.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to ablaut, possession presents other morphophonological patterns. Almost all possessable nouns starting with /e/ are related to the body (body-parts, body products or diseases). The few exceptions attested are:

	UNPOSSESSED	POSSESSED (Ø- '3 <sup>rd</sup> ')
21)	a. <i>ehema</i>	b. Ø- <i>ehema</i> 'his/her trail'
	c. <i>ekēp</i>	d. Ø- <i>ekepī</i> 'his/her deceased relative'
	e. <i>elai</i>	f. Ø- <i>elasii</i> 'his/her fear'
	g. <i>elimak</i>	h. Ø- <i>elimakī</i> 'his/her plate'
	i. <i>elinat</i>	j. Ø- <i>elinatuu</i> 'his/her baking plate'
	k. <i>epī</i>	l. Ø- <i>epī</i> 'his/her stair'
	m. <i>etat</i>	n. Ø- <i>etat</i> 'his/her hammock'
	o. <i>ewa</i>	p. Ø- <i>ewaa</i> 'his/her child net'
	q. <i>ēpi</i>	r. Ø- <i>epi-t</i> 'his/her medicine'

Finally, there are no attested cases of roots starting with /i/ or /i/ bearing possessive morphology.

**4.1.1.2. Possessive suffixes.** The possessive suffix presents four allomorphs, *-n(u)*, *-(li)*, *-t(i)*, and *-Ø*. The full form of all suffixes appears in certain conditioning environments, as for instance when followed by a *CCV* particle like *psik* 'small; little':<sup>17</sup>

	<i>-n(u)</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>-(li)</i> <sup>19</sup>	<i>-t(i)</i>	<i>-Ø</i> <sup>20</sup>
22)	a. <i>emeku</i> 'wrist.'	e. <i>epē</i> 'arm'	i. <i>epi</i> 'medicine'	m. <i>eli</i> 'cowlick/top.of.head'
	b. <i>emeku psik</i>	f. <i>epē psik</i>	j. <i>epi psik</i>	n. <i>eli psik</i>
	c. <i>j-emeku-n</i>	g. <i>j-apēē</i>	k. <i>j-epi-t</i>	o. <i>j-eli-Ø</i>
	d. <i>j-emeku-nu psik</i> h.	h. <i>j-apē-li psik</i>	l. <i>j-epi-tī psik</i>	p. <i>j-eli-Ø psik</i>

<sup>16</sup> Examples with no ablaut are: *apukuita* 'paddle', *anapēmii* 'paddle', *oti* 'meat', *akena* 'first', *aki* 'pet', *anekatop* 'beer mixer', *ahmit* 'holder', etc.

<sup>17</sup> This is the case for all forms that undergo syllable reduction with the deletion of their last vowel or final /ɾV/ syllable (cf. section 2.3.1.2). In certain cases, emphatic intonation is enough to stop vowel deletion (see example (170b) below)

<sup>18</sup> Nouns like *emeku* are, to name a few, *holoto* 'lock', *apukuita* 'paddle', *aluwa* 'mirror', *anapamii* 'fan', *apoto* 'bread holder', *hapa* 'machete', *manale* 'sieve', *malija* 'knife', etc.

<sup>19</sup> Nouns like *epē* are *epēlesi*, *ehema* 'path', *ehemu* 'knee', *elamuk* 'sweat', *ele* 'liver', *elinat* 'baking plate', etc.

<sup>20</sup> Other examples are *amole* 'shadow', *ami* 'blanket', *ewam* 'penis', *jeli* 'tooth', *palum* 'son in law', etc.



*-n(u)* is the most productive form of the possessive suffix, being the one extended to borrowed nouns: (Examples below are all borrowings from Portuguese):<sup>21</sup>

- 23) a. hapatu 'shoe' c. kopu 'glass' e. kuje 'spoon'  
 b. ĩ-hapatu-n 'my shoe' d. ĩ-kopu-n 'my glass' f. ĩ-kuje-n 'my spoon'  
 (Port. *sapato*) (Port. *copo*) (Port. *colher*)

The least productive allomorph of the possessive suffix is *-t(i)*, which occurs unambiguously in only three stems (22 i-l) above and (24) (but see (27-30) below).

- 24) a. ěmĩ 'face' d. ělek 'boil'  
 b. Ø-ẽmĩ-t 'his/her face' e. Ø-ẽlekĩ-t 'his/her boil'  
 c. Ø-ẽmĩ-tĩ psik 'his/her small face' f. Ø-ẽlekĩ-tĩ psik 'his/her small boil'

Possessable nouns ending with /tpě/ or /npě/ in the unpossessed forms and forms possessed by a (pro)noun take possessive suffix *-Ø*, along with the change in their endings to /tpĩli/ or /npĩli/. The most obvious source for the endings, the devaluative suffix (with exactly the same allomorphy), is no longer parseable (*cf.* section 4.2.1.1):

- 25) a. epetpě 'payment' b. j-epetpĩ-Ø 'my payment'  
 c. jetpě 'bone' d. j-etpĩ-Ø 'my bone'  
 e. pitpě 'skin; scales; shell' f. ĩ-pitpĩ-Ø 'my skin'  
 g. uputpě 'head' h. j-uputpĩ-Ø 'my head'  
 i. kanpě 'my smoked meat' j. ĩ-kanpĩ-Ø 'my smoked meat'  
 k. eputpĩ-Ø 'its seed'
- 26) a. mule uputpě-Ø 'child's head'  
 b. anakali jetpě-Ø 'Anakali's bone'  
 c. manka putpě-Ø 'mango's seed'

It is not always easy to determine the shape of the allomorph of the possessive suffix. For the nouns starting with vowels and with no ablaut, or without an unpossessed form that would clearly show that the possessed forms bear a possessive suffix (section 4.1.1.3.4), and all inherently possessed nouns, for the few examples where there is

<sup>21</sup> Other examples are: *pola* 'ball' (from *bola*), *mesa* (from *mesa*), *kateila* (from *cadeira*), *kaneta* (from *caneta*), *hapeu* (from *chapéu*), *hadio* (from *rádio*) *fita* (from *fita*), *pila* (from *pilha*), *oliu* (from *óleo*), *lata* (from *lata*), etc. Borrowed nouns, mostly from Portuguese, are incorporated into the language with varying degree of adaptation into the phonological system of the language. Old borrowings have accommodated to the phonological system of the language. New borrowings are so close phonologically to their Portuguese version that it difficult to distinguish them from cases of code switching.

evidence elsewhere in the language indicating that the last syllable of the noun may be the genitive suffix, that syllable is parsed as such (examples (27) to (30), all examples of *-ti*). All other cases are analyzed as bearing *-Ø* ((31) to (33)).

- |     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| 27) | a. ehet<br>Ø- <b>ehe</b> -tī<br>3-name-Pss<br>'his/her name'                | b. weheptējai<br>w- <b>ehe</b> -ptē-ja-he<br>1A3O-name-ModVrblz-NPst-SapAff<br>'I will call his/her name' |
| 28) | a. ipīt<br>ī- <b>pī</b> -tī<br>1-wife-Pss<br>'my wife' (Alawaka 057)        | b. tīpītai<br>tī- <b>pī</b> -ta-he<br>Prtc-wife-PssNIntrVrblz-Prtc<br>'married to a woman'                |
| 29) | a. ikat<br>i- <b>ka</b> -tī<br>3-fat-Pss<br>'his/her/its fat'               | b. ikaphakan<br>i- <b>ka</b> -phakē-anu<br>ModAvlz -fat-ModAvlz-PtNmlz<br>'the fat one'                   |
| 30) | a. jumhet<br>j- <b>umhe</b> -tī<br>1-hair-Pss<br>'My hair'                  | b. umhetpē<br><b>umhe</b> -tpē<br>hair-Dvl<br>'hair severed from the body'                                |
| 31) | anon<br>Ø- <b>anonu</b> -Ø<br>3-body.paint-Pss<br>'his/her body paint'      | 33) iletī<br>i- <b>letī</b> -Ø<br>3-horn-Pss<br>'its horn'  |
| 32) | ipaa<br>i- <b>pālī</b> -Ø<br>3-granddaughter-Pss<br>'his/her granddaughter' |   |

Since inherently possessed nouns lack an unpossessed form, it is not possible to clearly determine the shape of the possessive suffix. For the sake of parallelism with other possessed forms, they are analyzed as taking *-Ø*.

In at least one morphological context, the distinction between the four allomorphs of the possessive suffix is lost. All stems bearing the allomorphs *-tpē/-tpī(li)* or *-npē* of the devaluative suffix are inflected by *-Ø*:<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> It seems that historically, the sequence /li/ in the devaluative suffix was in fact *-li*, with *-tpē* occurring on non-possessed forms and *-tpī-li* on possessed forms (see Gildea, 1998:119). In Wayāna today, both forms

- |     |   |     |  |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| 35) | a. <i>ehema</i><br>'trail; way'   | 36) | a. <i>hapapatu</i><br>'shoe'   |
|     | b. <i>ehemali psik</i><br>'his small trail'   |     | b. <i>ihapatunu ptile</i><br>'his tiny shoe'   |
|     | c. <i>emna ehematpë</i><br><i>emna ehema-tpë-Ø</i><br>1+3ExclPro trail-Dvl-Pss<br>'our former trail' (Pëne 016) |     | c. <i>emna hapatutpë</i><br><i>emna hapatu-tpë-Ø</i><br>1+3ExclPro shoe-Dvl-Pss<br>'our old, useless shoe' |
|     | d. <i>ehematpiï</i><br><i>Ø-ehema-tpiï-Ø</i><br>3-trail-Dvl-Pss<br>'his former trail' (Mopelu 022)              |     | d. <i>ihapatutpiï</i><br><i>i-hapatu-tpiï-Ø</i><br>1-shoe-Dvl-Pss<br>'my old, useless shoe'                |

In nominalized verb forms only *-(li)* and *-Ø* occur, with their distribution conditioned by the nominalizing affixes: *-(li)* occurs after *n-* 'Object Nominalizer' and *-Ø* 'Specific Event', (in the cases where the full allomorph of *-(li)* does not occur, compensatory lengthening may remain (37 a), or not (37 b))<sup>23</sup>

- |     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| 37) | a. <i>tulii epï</i><br><i>tulihi epï-Ø-li</i><br>fruit.sp eat.vegetable-SpecEvntNmlz-Pss<br>'(He was) eating tulii.' (Alawaka 027)                              | <i>pëk</i><br><i>pëkë</i><br>about  |
|     | b. <i>kapu nak</i><br><i>kapu na-kë</i><br>sky in boundless.loc-into<br>'They wanted to go up to the sky.' (Lit.: 'They wanted their going to sky') (Stair 004) | <i>ëhanuku</i><br><i>Ø-ëh-anuku-Ø-li</i><br>3-Det.put.O.up - SpecEvntNmlz-Pss<br><i>he lep tot</i><br><i>he lep toto</i><br>Des Advrs 3Coll |
|     | c. <i>tulii epïli</i><br><i>tulihi epï-Ø-li</i><br>fruit.sp eat.vegetable- SpecEvntNmlz -Pss<br>'when (he was) eating tulii'                                    | <i>htau</i><br><i>tta-wë</i><br>among-in  |

of the devaluative, *-tpë* and *-tpi(li)* may occur with possessed stems. For this reason, nouns inflected with *-tpë/-tpi(li)* are here analyzed as bearing *-Ø*. A few forms with *li-npiï* were attested in elicitation, *ëwatpë* 'old rope', *ëwalnpï* 'string thrown away; old rope', *pananpë* 'ear severed from the body', *ipanalinpï* 'his/her/its former ear', but the reliability of such examples must be investigated. However, if these forms are proven to be correct, they would show the possessive *-li* occurring before the devaluative *-npi(li)*.

<sup>23</sup> Note that syllable reduction is prevented any time a stem is inflected by a /li/ shaped suffix (cf. /i-w-ëh-anuku-topo-Ø/ > *ëhanuktop* 'his going up' vs. /Ø-ëh-anuku-Ø-li+he/ > *ëhanuku he* 'their wanting to go up' (37 b)). The suffix itself may undergo syllable reduction, leaving behind in some cases compensatory lengthening on the last vowel of the preceding syllable (37 a). This is usually the case whenever the suffix precedes some CV(C) morphemes, as *pëkë* 'about', *-kom(o)* 'Collective', *-me* 'Attributive, etc., though in some cases the vowel lengthening disappears leaving behind no traces of the suffix, as when the suffix precedes *he* 'Desiderative' and *-pin(i)* 'Privative Nominalizer'.



Table 4  
The distribution of the allomorphs of the possessive suffix

	-n(u)	-t(i)	-(li)	-Ø
Nominal roots	i-pakolo-n 'his house'	j-epi-t 'my medicine'	ku-tamu-(lu) 'our grandfather'	j-ekī-Ø 'my pet'
Nominalizations			n- 'ObjNmlz, -Ø 'SpecEvtNmlz'	-top(o) 'CircnstNmlz', -tpon(u) 'PstAgtNmlz', -ne 'AgtNmlz', <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All cases of inherently possessed nouns, nouns starting with vowels (without an unpossessed allomorph distinct from 3<sup>rd</sup> person)</li> <li>• Nominalized postpositions.</li> <li>• Nouns ending with /tpīli/.</li> </ul>
Devaluative	-tpē/-tpī(li) 'Dvl'			

**4.1.1.3. Possibility.** The grammar of possession distinguishes three noun classes: i) unpossessable nouns, ii) optionally possessed nouns, and iii) inherently possessed nouns. Since only one grammatical strategy for possession exists in the language (as seen in Table 1 above), each class is defined not by a different grammatical structure, but by how possessable nouns are. This is to say that native speakers easily accept some nouns with possessive morphology (*i-kanawa* 'my canoe'), but not others (*\*ikan* ('my fish')). Class membership is, thus, determined largely by the semantics of the nominal root.

**4.1.1.3.1. Unpossessable nouns.** These nouns do not bear any possessive morphology (possessive prefixes or suffixes). This class includes most elements of the natural world, animals, plants and fruits, items gathered from the forest (wild fruits and honey), places,

pronouns and proper names, kinship vocative terms, labels for human groups, descriptive nouns,<sup>25</sup> and possibly borrowings. Short illustrative lists is given below:

46) *elements/phenomena of nature*

- a. sisi 'sun'
- b. nunuwë 'moon'
- c. tawun 'wind'
- d. talala 'lightning'
- e. aklo 'foam'
- f. eklot 'cloud'
- g. kamnanai 'rainbow'
- h. kapu 'sky'
- i. kopë 'rain'
- k. weju 'light'
- l. ðpĩ 'mountain'

47) *place/locations/public buldings*

- a. ona 'field'
- b. sikola 'school'
- c. tukusipan 'the village hall'
- d. Asiki 'Creek Asiki'
- e. Suwisuwimĩn 'a village's name'
- f. Ajamuwaka 'a village's name'
- g. Bona 'a village's name'

48) *animal names/categories*

- a. pëlëë 'frog'
- b. pëne 'piranha'
- c. kaikui 'jaguar; dog'
- d. kulasii 'chicken'
- e. uluma 'duck'
- f. akuli 'agouti'
- g. tolopõt 'bird'
- h. ka 'fish'
- i. meku 'monkey'
- j. pëinëkë 'wild pig'

49) *plants/fruits/vegetables*

- a. wapu 'palm tree (sp.)'
- b. oloi 'cashew fruit'
- c. pelesina 'orange'
- d. hakula 'potato (sp.), beer'
- e. maja 'mango'
- f. ehnaï 'corn'
- g. kumu 'palm tree (sp.)'
- h. ekuu 'flower'
- i. asikala 'pumpkin'
- j. alesï 'rice'

50) *people's names, human groups or categories, supernatural entities*

- a. Anakali (a man's name)
- b. Pikala (a woman's name)
- c. Alinawale (a man's name)
- d. Pintutu (a woman's name)
- e. kalajuwa 'Brazilian'
- f. palasisi 'French'
- g. kalipono 'Non-Wayâna'
- h. eluwa 'man'
- i. mule 'child'
- j. wëlii 'woman'
- k. jolok 'evil spirit'
- l. ipoo 'mythical river being'
- m. waluhma 'young woman'
- n. kan 'God'

51) *vocative form of kinship terms and pronouns*

- a. papak 'father'
- b. kuni 'grandmother'
- c. kami 'younger relative'
- d. kono 'brother-in-law'
- e. aimo 'younger male relative'
- f. ðu 'I'
- g. ëmëë 'you'
- h. mëk 'that one far away'
- i. mësin 'this one'

<sup>25</sup> Wayâna lacks a coherent category for adjectives. Noun modification is carried out by nominal roots or de-adverbial nominalization. Thus, meanings typically encoded cross-linguistically by a class of adjectives, are in Wayâna encoded by adverbs (*kawë* 'tall; high', *pëtuku(lu)* 'beautiful, well', *apsik* 'small, a little', etc.) or nouns (*pepta* 'big', *sitpili* 'ugly', *ihjan(u)* 'new', *jaime* 'male', etc.) (cf. 7.1.1.1).

- 52) *descriptive nouns*  
 a. jakin ‘bit’  
 b. kēmīi ‘cold’  
 c. sitpīlī ‘ugly, old, bad’  
 d. pepta ‘big’  
 e. hapon ‘alike’  
 f. ihjan ‘new’

53) wanë ‘honey’

It is not clear whether borrowings (mostly from Brazilian Portuguese) are possessable or not. In elicitation, possessed forms of borrowings are accepted and produced, but no examples are found in texts, and in daily language they are not heard.<sup>26</sup> New cultural items tend to be referred to by means of generic terms. For instance, possessed examples of *pola* ‘ball’ were all accepted in elicitation, but while playing volleyball games, when the Brazilians would cry *nossa bola* ‘our ball’ when getting control of the ball, the Wayâna would cry *emna kilīi* ‘our thing’, instead of the possessed form *emna bola-n*. It is difficult to test the reliability of elicited responses including possessed borrowings, since the answer to a requested possessed form comes invariably inflected with *-n(u)*, the most productive allomorph of the possessive suffix:<sup>27</sup>

	Wayâna		Portuguese	Dutch
54)	a. ĩ-kamisa-n	‘my (male’s) clothe; cloth’	< camisa	‘shirt’
	b. ĩ-hapatu-n	‘my sandals; shoes’	< sapato	‘shoes’
	c. ĩ-papila-n	‘my paper; my book’		< ?‘paper’
	d. ĩ-kopu-n	‘my glass’	< copo	‘glass’
	e. ĩ-kuje-n	‘my spoon’	< colher	‘spoon’

Younger speakers, all fluent in Portuguese, are more accepting of possessed forms of borrowings, but tend to recognize that the alternative with a classifying generic term ‘sounds better’ (*cf.* 4.1.1.3.5). In any case, there are apparently three examples of

<sup>26</sup> In several months of fieldwork, we were not able to note any usage of possessed borrowings. However, further research is needed to confirm such claim.

<sup>27</sup> In fact, testing the possessibility of certain forms in elicitation is a very difficult task. In many instances, some speakers accepted and produce (to later reject) even unpossessible forms such as *ka* ‘fish’, *īpī* ‘mountain’ and *kopīn* ‘grass’ (though other nouns like *sisi* ‘sun’, *nunuwë* ‘moon’, *tawun* ‘wind’ were more systematically refused). All such cases were produced with *-n(u)*. Thus, in order to arrive at the different

borrowings that seem to be truly possessable: *kamisa*, *hapatu*, and *pampila* (54 a-c). Siuka (a 28 year old speaker) asserts that these forms are truly possessed because they “feel old” in the language, while other forms, as in (54 d-e), do not.<sup>28</sup> Koehn (1994:46-7) reports a similar pattern for Aparai where old speakers are less likely to use possessed forms of borrowings than young speakers, and depending on the ‘progress of the objects into the culture.’

**4.1.1.3.2. Optionally possessed nouns.** Semantically, optionally possessed nouns are the most diverse class. They refer to man made objects (instruments, utensils, tools, artifacts), to most human body-parts and body products, to a few plants, to a few elements of nature, to a few places, to a human category (*shaman*), and to a few processable items gathered from the forest. Morphologically, they occur with or without possessive morphology, i.e, they occur either in a possessed or in an unpossessed form. The presence or absence of possessive morphology may determine the phonological shape of the roots, which can be further divided into three classes:

(i) roots with two allomorphs due to ablaut (nouns presenting alternations in their first vowel)<sup>29</sup> (see discussion above in section 4.1.1.1.2).

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categories presented here (*unpossessed noun*, *optionally possessed nouns*, *inherently possessed nouns*) it was necessary to consider how systematically possessed forms were accepted or rejected.

<sup>28</sup> See (56.q-r) below for an example of a borrowing falling on the optionally possessed class, with the borrowed noun occurring only as the unpossessed form, and a native noun occurring as the possessed allomorph.

<sup>29</sup> Third person forms of optionally possessed nouns (especially nouns referring to body-parts) are sometimes used in a generic way. In elicitation, for instance, the third person form is the most frequent answer to Portuguese prompts with unpossessed forms (as an example, the first answer for *olho* ‘eye’ is *euu* (possessed by Ø-‘3<sup>rd</sup>’) instead of *ëu* (the unpossessed form)). This may mean that the original unpossessed forms are losing space to forms that are morphologically possessed (the more frequent ones), though in elicitation the unpossessed forms are also easily accepted and produced.



	UNPOSSESSED	POSSESSED	
55)	a. <i>elai</i>	b. <i>j-elasii</i>	'fear'
	c. <i>etat</i>	d. <i>j-etat</i>	'hammock'
	e. <i>elimək</i>	f. <i>j-elimakii</i>	'plate'
	g. <i>epë</i>	h. <i>j-apëë</i>	'arm'
	i. <i>omo</i>	j. <i>j-amoo</i>	'hand'
	k. <i>opoto</i>	l. <i>j-apoto-n</i>	'bread holder'
	m. <i>emeku</i>	n. <i>j-emeku-n</i>	'wrist'

(ii) roots with an unpossessed suppletive allomorph.<sup>30</sup>

	UNPOSSESSED	POSSESSED	
56)	a. <i>kahulu</i>	b. <i>i-wono</i>	'bead'
	c. <i>imë</i>	d. <i>i-tupi</i>	'farm'
	e. <i>eutë</i>	f. <i>i-pataa</i>	'village'
	g. <i>pilëu</i>	h. <i>i-ile</i>	'arrow'
	i. <i>wapot</i>	j. <i>i-waptëë</i>	'fire'
	k. <i>pilaku</i>	l. <i>i-klaku-n</i>	'ankle'
	m. <i>watë</i>	n. <i>i-wet</i>	'feces'
	o. <i>pilolo</i>	p. <i>i-klolo-n</i>	'yard'
	q. <i>alakapuha</i>	r. <i>i-ile</i>	'shotgun'
	s. <i>akawale</i>	t. <i>i-wakimït</i>	'the cover of my waist'

(iii) roots with only one allomorph, i.e., with no root alternations between possessed and unpossessed forms. For the nouns starting with vowels, the only overt distinction between the third person and the unpossessed form is the possessive suffix

(59): (nouns referring to goods gathered from the forest are shown in (58))

	UNPOSSESSED	POSSESSED	
57)	a. <i>mota</i>	b. <i>i-motaa</i>	'shoulder'
	c. <i>mïta</i>	d. <i>i-mïtaa</i>	'mouth'
	e. <i>pimï</i>	f. <i>i-pimïi</i>	'neck'
	g. <i>napi</i>	h. <i>i-napii</i>	'potato (sp.)'
	i. <i>pakolo</i>	j. <i>i-pakolo-n</i>	'house'
	k. <i>tuna</i>	l. <i>i-tunaa</i>	'water' (i.e. the water in a pan)
	m. <i>tëpu</i>	n. <i>i-tëpuu</i>	'stone' (i.e. a stone used as a tool)
	o. <i>patu</i>	p. <i>i-patu-n</i>	'pan'
	q. <i>asii</i>	r. <i>j-asilï-n</i>	'pepper'
	s. <i>paluu</i>	t. <i>i-palulu-n</i>	'banana'
	u. <i>apukuita</i>	v. <i>j-apukuita-n</i>	'paddle'
	w. <i>aluwa</i>	x. <i>j-aluwa-n</i>	'mirror'
	y. <i>anapëmïi</i>	z. <i>j-anapamïsi-n</i>	'fan'
	aa. <i>napëk</i>	ab. <i>ïnapëkëë</i>	'my potato (sp.)'

<sup>30</sup> Though the historical relationship between the possessed and the unpossessed forms of some of these nouns is clear, the two allomorphs cannot be derived by a synchronic rule. Thus, they are analyzed here as a case of suppletion.

	UNPOSSESSED	POSSESSED	
58)	a. palakta	b. i-palakta-n	'rubber sap'
	c. waama	d. i-waama-n	'plant (sp.)'
	e. kulaiwat	f. i-kulaiwatī-n	'sisal'
	g. halihali	h. i-halihali-n	'poisonous liana'
	i. ajawa	j. j-ajawa-n	'dark sap'
	k. malamala	l. i-malamala-n	'seeds used to make artcrafts'
59)	a. apukuita-n		'his paddle'
	b. aluwa-n		'his mirror'
	c. anapēmīsi-n		'his fan'

**4.1.1.3.3. Inherently possessed nouns.** The members of this class denote entities that stand in a stable, intrinsic relationship with another entity. These are kinship terms, some animal body-parts, parts of plants (i.e., nouns denoting part-whole relationships), a few objects with a particular possessor, and, surprisingly, a few human body-parts (as seen above, most nouns denoting human body-parts are optionally possessed).

The inherently possessed noun class has two sub-classes: nouns that are possessed by all persons of the paradigm and nouns that are only possessed by a third person.

**4.1.1.3.3.1. Nouns possessed by all persons.** These refer to kinship terms and a few body parts.

**4.1.1.3.3.1.1. Kinship terms.** With the exception of corresponding vocative forms (shown in (51) above), kinship terms are always possessed (but, see examples in (62) below). In some contexts, however, a third person form may also refer to a unpossessed referent:

60)	a. ijum	b. ijum	tapek
	i-jumī-Ø	i-jumī-Ø	tapek
	1-father-Pss	3-father-Pss	Neg
	'my father'	'He is not his father; he is not a father.'	
		(Lit: 'he is not one's father')	



allomorph). However, a few are obligatorily possessed:<sup>31</sup> (examples are shown with third person prefix)

- 63)
- |    |          |                               |
|----|----------|-------------------------------|
| a. | i-ka-t   | 'his/hers/its body fat'       |
| b. | i-hpo-t  | 'his/hers/its body hair'      |
| c. | i-sit    | 'his/hers/its capillary vein' |
| d. | i-mi-t   | 'his/hers/its vein'           |
| e. | i-pun    | 'hers/his/its flesh'          |
| f. | i-pa     | 'his/hers/its shoulder blade' |
| g. | i-pet    | 'his/hers/its leg/thigh'      |
| h. | i-nuu    | 'his/hers/its tongue'         |
| i. | i-ponĩ   | 'his/hers/its belly button'   |
| j. | i-pehnaa | 'his/hers/its forehead'       |

There is no apparent semantic motivation for the existence of this group. One may be tempted to analyze its members as referring to body-parts that are distributed along the body (as for instance *fat* and *vein*), but nouns like *pa* 'shoulder blade', *potĩ* 'lips', and the optionally possessed *mĩwu* 'blood' and *jetpě* 'bone' make this implausible. It is possible that the explanation lies in their reduced form (almost all monosyllabic), but this is a subject for further investigation.

Another interesting aspect of these nouns is that their third person possessed forms can also be used to refer to an unpossessed referent. One possibility is that their unpossessed forms disappeared, and their possessed forms were reanalyzed with an ambiguous meaning, i.e., with a morphologically possessed third person form referring to both possessed and unpossessed items (*ikat* 'fat; his (body) fat'). The most interesting example is the word for *egg* whose already possessed form can be further possessed by a noun: (/i-pumo/>[ihmo] due to syllable reduction)

- 64)
- |    |                             |                 |
|----|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| a. | ihmo                        | 'its egg; egg'  |
| b. | kulasii pumo ~ kulasii ihmo | 'chicken's egg' |

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<sup>31</sup> See section 4.1.1.3.3.2 for yet another group of nouns denoting body-parts that can be possessed only by a third person.

**4.1.1.3.3.1.3. Other.** There are inherently possessed nouns that do not refer to either body part or kinship terms. Two examples are *womi* ‘language’ and *pata* ‘land/village’.

**4.1.1.3.3.2. Specifically possessed nouns.** Members of a small sub-class of nouns, referred to as ‘specifically possessed nouns’ are always inflected by a third person possessor (referring either to a specific entity or class). In all cases, the possessed noun has an intrinsic relationship with the possessor (part-whole or thing-substance relationships, or even a common association). The nouns that belong to this class denote body-parts, parts of plants, parts of a hammock, parts of a canoe, the nest of a bird, etc. Examples are given in Table 5. (Like other inherently possessed nouns, specifically possessed nouns may refer to an unpossessed item)

Table 5  
Specifically possessed nouns

Specifically Possessed	Possessor
<i>i-malet</i> ‘(its) lower side fin’	<i>paku malet</i> ‘lower fin of a <i>paku</i> (fish sp.)’
<i>i-mkoo</i> ‘(its) gills’	<i>ka miko</i> ‘gills of a fish’
<i>i-watkii</i> ‘(its) tail’	<i>kaikui watkii</i> ‘dog/jaguar’s tail’
<i>i-letii</i> ‘(its) tail; horn’	<i>kunolo letii</i> ‘macaw’s tail’ <i>kapau letii</i> ‘deer’ horn’
<i>ihpot</i> ‘(its) feather; body-hair’	<i>tolopii pupot</i> ‘bird’s feather’
<i>i-hmo</i> ‘(its) eggs’	<i>kulasii pumo</i> ‘the chicken’s egg’
<i>imit</i> ‘(its) root’	<i>wewe mit</i> ‘root of a tree’
<i>i-mun</i> ‘(its) edible root’	<i>ulu mun</i> ‘manioc’s root’
<i>i-min</i> ‘(its) nest’	<i>tolopii min</i> ‘a bird’s nest’
<i>i-mit</i> ‘(its) trunk; stem’	<i>wewe mit</i> ‘stem of a tree’
<i>i-jomit</i> ‘(its) wrapping’	<i>i-pet jomit</i> ‘my leg’s wrapping’
<i>i-kanet</i> ‘(its) string’	<i>j-etat kanet</i> ‘my hammock’s string’
<i>i-jehtalan</i> ‘(its) coals’	<i>wapot jehtalan</i> ‘the fire’s coals’
<i>i-lihlin</i> ‘(its) flame’	<i>wapot lihlin</i> ‘fire’s flame’
<i>i-wena</i> ‘(its) shore’	<i>tuna wena</i> ‘the river’s shore’
<i>i-potii</i> ‘(its) tip; edge’	<i>susu potii</i> ‘tip of breasts; nipple’
<i>i-japoo</i> ‘(its) gums’	<i>i-jee japo</i> ‘my teeth’s gums’

The fact that these nouns are specifically possessed is corroborated elsewhere in the grammar. When taking *-ka* ‘Privative Verbalizer’ the syntactic object of the derived verb must be the notional possessor:

- 65) a. ka tīmaletkai  
 ka t-maletī-ka-he  
 fish T-lower.fin-PrivVrblz-He  
 '(He/She) removed the fish's lower fin.'
- b. \*mule tīmaletkai  
 (He/She took the lower fin from the child; i.e., if he was holding it)
- 66) a. kunolo watkīka  
 kunolo watkī-ka-Ø  
 macaw tail-PrivVrblz-RecPst  
 '(He/She) removed the tail off of a macaw.'
- b. \*eluwa watkīka  
 (He/She took the (bird's) tail from the man; i.e., if he was holding it)
- 67) a. tolopīt tīmīnkai  
 tolopītī tī-mīnī-ka-he  
 bird T-nest-PrivVrblz-He  
 '(He/She) removed the nest from the bird'
- b. \*mule tīmīnkai  
 (He/She took the nest from the child; i.e., if he was holding it.)

Some inherently possessed nouns have developed from polysemous roots. In one meaning the (historically?) same root takes all persons of the paradigm as possessors and in another sense, it takes only a third person possessor. 'Rope' and 'child net' also originated from a polysemous root, but they are optionally possessed nouns (72).

- |     | <u>All persons</u>                               | <u>Third person only</u> |
|-----|--|--------------------------|
| 68) | a. ihpot 'body-hair' .....                       | '(its) feather'          |
|     | b. ĩhpot 'my body hair' .....                    | (*my feather)            |
|     | c. tolopyt pupot 'a bird's feather'              |                          |
| 69) | a. eukuu 'sperm' .....                           | '(its) sap'              |
|     | b. j-eukuu 'my sperm' .....                      | (*my sap)                |
|     | c. palakta euku 'rubber tree sap'                |                          |
| 70) | a. etpii 'lips' .....                            | '(its) edge'             |
|     | b. jetpii 'my lips' .....                        | (*my edge)               |
|     | c. ěutě etpilī htau 'at the edge of the village' |                          |
| 71) | a. imit 'vein' .....                             | '(its) root'             |
|     | b. ĩmit 'my vein' .....                          | (*my root)               |
|     | c. napěk mit 'a potato's root'                   |                          |

- 72) a. ewaa 'child net' ..... '(its) rope'  
 b. j-ewaa 'my child net' ..... (\*my rope)  
 c. ěwa 'child net' ..... 'rope'  
 d. upo ewaa 'a rope to hang clothing'

**4.1.1.3.4. Problematic roots starting with vowels.** Class membership is defined for all nouns on the basis of the possessive morphology they may or may not bear. Thus, unpossessable nouns are those that do not bear any possessive morphology, optionally possessed nouns are those that bear possessive morphology, but also present an unpossessed form, and inherently possessed nouns are those that occur only with possessive morphology.

However, detecting possessive morphology in a stem is not always straightforward. The possessive morphology of nouns starting with a consonant is clear because all the allomorphs of the personal prefixes are overt before consonants (including third person prefix *i-*). Nouns starting with a vowel, however, bear  $\emptyset$ - as the allomorph of the third person prefix, which creates ambiguity between  $\emptyset$ - possessed forms and unpossessed forms. For a sub-set of nouns beginning with a vowel, there exists a clear distinction between third person and unpossessed forms because of ablaut, suppletion or of a clearly segmentable possessive suffix on the third person possessed form. For the rest, no such formal distinctions exist. Thus:

i) Vowel-initial roots that take SAP prefixes, without a distinction between a third person and a potentially unpossessed form, are classified as possessable, but cannot be classified as either optionally possessed or inherently possessed. The non-SAP forms can be translated as either possessed or unpossessed (indicating that third person and unpossessed forms are homophonous, and thus the noun in question must belong to the class of optionally possessed nouns). However, it is equally possible that these forms are

potentially possessed by a third person with a generic meaning, which would characterize the noun in question as inherently possessed.

- 73) a. j-uu 'my manioc bread' b. ulu 'manioc bread; his/her manioc bread'  
 c. j-ot 'my meat food' d. otĩ 'meat food; his/her meat food'  
 e. j-ekĩ 'my pet' f. ekĩ 'pet; his/her pet'  
 g. j-akĩĩ 'my parasite (lice, ect.)' h. akĩĩ 'parasite; his/her/its parasite'  
 i. j-ahmit 'my support (i.e, a bench)' j. ahmit 'support; his/her/its support'  
 k. j-epe 'my friend' l. epe 'friend; his/her friend'

ii) roots that do not take SAP prefixes cannot be classified at all. No criteria can decide on whether they are un-possessable or inherently possessed by Ø- 'third person prefix'.

- 74) a. ale 'leaf' ('its leaf' ?)  
 c. amat 'branch' ('its branch'?)  
 e. epĩ 'tree' ('its tree' ?)  
 d. enĩ 'container' ('its container?')

Some of these nouns can be preceded by specific nouns, with translations given in Portuguese in the form of a possessive phrase ('árvore da laranja', 'galho da árvore', 'árvore da banana', etc.). However, translation alone cannot be trusted since two juxtaposed nouns where one restricts the other is, in fact, a possible feature of the Wayãna grammar (see section 8.1.2).

- 75) a. pelesina ale 'orange leaf (tree)' (orange tree's leaf (??))  
 c. wewe amat 'tree branch' (a tree's branch' (??))  
 e. paluu epĩ 'banana tree' (a banana's tree' (??))  
 f. tolopĩt enĩ 'bird cage' ('a bird's cage' (??))

In looking at verbalizations with *-ka* 'Privative Verbalizer', one notes a pattern that is parallel to that of the specifically possessed roots starting with consonants: the only accepted direct object corresponds to the semantic/notional possessor. (The example in (76 d) shows some lexicalization):

- 76) a. kailen tatenkai  
 kajlen t-atenu-ka-he  
 mosquito.net T-mosquito.net.stick-PrivVrblz-Prtc  
 '(He/She) removed the stick from the mosquito net.'



- b. *kulasii*      *tēnīkai*                      *eja*  
***kulahilī***      ***t-ēnī-ka-he***                      ***e-ja***  
chicken      T-container-PrivVrblz-He      3-Erg  
‘He/She removed the chicken from its cage.’
- c. *wewe*      *tamatkai*  
***wewe***      ***t-amatī-ka-he***  
tree      T-branch-PrivVrblz-He  
‘(He/She) removed the branch from the tree.’
- d. *ulu*      *tumkai*  
***ulu***      ***t-umī-ka-he***  
manioc      T-root-PrivVrblz-He  
‘(She/He) unearthed manioc’
- e. *epī*      *tēpelīkai*                      *eja*  
***epī***      ***t-ēpelīlī-ka-he***                      ***e-ja***  
tree      T-fruit-PrivVrblz-He      3-Erg  
‘He/She removed the fruit from the tree.’
- f. *paluu*      *aleka*  
***palulu***      ***ale-ka-∅***  
banana      leaf-PrivVrblz-RecPst  
‘(He/She removed the leaf from the banana (tree)).’
- g. *ka*      *tēpletīkai*  
***ka***      ***t-ēpletīlī-ka-he***  
fish      T-dorsal.fin-PrivVrblz-He  
‘He/She removed the dorsal fin from the fish.’

It is not clear, however, that this is enough to determine whether these roots are in fact ‘possessed’ when occurring in isolation. A more convincing test would be to have these nouns inflected with the devaluative suffix (*-tpē/-npē* or *-tpīī/-npīī*). Unfortunately, the data resulting from such attempts were inconsistent to the point of being considered unreliable, and thus are not presented here. Future research is needed to clarify the issue.

Thus, for all vowel initial nouns without SAP prefixes (including those presented as unpossessed in section 4.1.1.3.1: elements of nature, animals, plants, etc., which were listed as unpossessable because no ‘possessor’ has been observed for them (though they potentially exist)), the question of their classification in the possessibility scale is open: (a few unpossessable nouns are repeated below):

- 77) a. aklo 'foam'  
 c. eklot 'cloud'  
 e. ona 'field'  
 f. ahmomta 'island'  
 g. ahnep 'peanut'  
 h. onot 'fruit (sp.)'  
 i. oloi 'cashew fruit'  
 j. alesi 'rice'

**4.1.1.3.5. Generic terms.** In many Cariban languages (Tiriyó (Meira 1999), Panare (Carlson and Payne 1989), Aparai (S. Koehn 1994), etc.), nouns that cannot be morphologically possessed may be semantically possessed with the help of an obligatorily possessed generic term. Table 6 shows a list of similar terms in Wayâna.

Table 6  
Generic terms in Wayâna

ot(Ī)	'animal based food'
kaimo	'game'
akīī	'farm animal; parasite; breed'
anon(u)	'body painting'
(w)okī	'beverage'
ekī	'pet'
kīīī	'thing'
muhunu	'bait'
pataa	'place, village'
kanpē	'smoked animal based food'
nepīī	'soft vegetable food'
neme	'juicy fruit/food'
ka-top	'thing'

Such terms have been labeled *genitive classifiers* for Cariban languages due to their function in the possessive system of the language, which is said to be parallel to cross-linguistically genitive classifier systems (Carlson & Payne, 1989; but see a different account for Panare in Derbyshire and Payne 1990:263-264). In these systems, the genitive classifiers iconically occur with alienable possessed elements specifying their function (Craig 2000). While inalienable elements are directly possessed, alienable

elements can be possessed only with the help of classifiers which are themselves directly possessed like inalienable elements. In languages with classifiers, *all* nouns should be ‘possessable’: classifiers “are required with (some subset of) alienably possessed nouns, often with items which would otherwise be unpossessible” (Carlson & Payne 1989:69).

While the Wayâna case *looks* parallel, there are many reasons for not considering examples in Table 6 as classifiers. First, the generic terms are not themselves always possessed. Of the elements in Table 6, only two (*kaimo* ‘game’ and *kilii* ‘thing’) are inherently possessed, while four others are optionally possessed (*(w)oki* ‘beverage, *muhunu* ‘bait’, *pataa* ‘village’ and *kanpë* ‘smoked game food’), and four others are roots starting with a vowel for which possessibility is difficult to determine (*oti* ‘meat food’, *akii* ‘farm animal; parasite; breed’, *anon* ‘body paint’, *eki* ‘pet’). The last three nouns in the table, *nepii* ‘soft vegetable food’, *neme* ‘juicy food/fruit’, and *katop* ‘thing’, are inherently possessed only because they are nominalized verb forms with *n-* ‘Object Nominalizer’ and *-top(o)* ‘Circumstantial Nominalizer’, which derive obligatorily possessed nominal stems (*cf.* section 4.2.2.1).

Second, cross-linguistically, the classifier and the possessed element are under the same intonational contour (Carlson & Payne 1989:12). In the Wayâna cases, there exists an obligatory pause between the generic term and the ‘possessed’ element, which is not the case in canonical genitive clauses:

- 78) a. *ĩ-muhunu, okopi* ‘my bait, *okopi* (fruit.sp)’  
 b. *j-eki, pakila* ‘my pet, wild pig (sp.)’  
 c. *ĩ-woki, hakula* ‘my beverage, *hakula* (beer (kd.))’

Third, both the generic and the ‘possessed’ element may occur separated by other words, and in different orders relative to each other. In (79) and (80) the ‘possessed’ terms occur at the end of the sentence separated from the generic term by other speech

classes, the same being true for the generic term in (81). This is different from genitive clauses where with few exceptions (*cf.* section 3.1) no intervening material is allowed, and the order Possessor-Possessed is rigid. In the cases below, the last element in the sentence seems more like an afterthought.

- 79) . Təkɪ təlɛi, kujali.  
 t-əkɪ-Ø t-əlɛ-he kujali  
 3Refl-pet-Pss T-take.O-He bird.sp  
 ‘(She) took her pet along, a macaw.’ (Sulalapana 095)
- 80) . malonme, jekɪ ɣja təlɛj, kaikusi psik;  
 malonme j-ekɪ-Ø ɣ-ja t-əlɛ -he kajikuhi phikɪ  
 then 1-pet-Pss 1-Erg T-take.O-He dog small  
 ‘Then, I took my pet along, a small dog.’ (Kaikui 028)
- 81) . kaikui kuu tɪkai lɛɛ lep, jekɪ;  
 kajikuhi kuu tɪ -ka -he lɛlɛ lep j-ekɪ-Ø  
 dog growling.snd T-say-He Emph Advrs 1-pet-Pss  
 ‘The dog really growled, my pet.’ (Kaikui 039)

Fourth, it seems that any noun generic enough, any superordinated term, can function as a *generic term*. The optionally possessed *paluu* ‘banana’, for instance, can co-occur with a generic term (82 a), and with a non-possessable item (82 b-d). In both cases, the most specific element qualifies the most generic term:

- 82) a. ɪnepi, palu ‘my food, banana’  
 b. ɪpalulun, satume ‘my banana, satume’  
 c. ɪpalulun, kujali ‘my banana, kujali’  
 d. ɪpalulun, kajan ‘my banana, kajan’

Finally, many unpossessable nouns cannot co-occur with a classifying generic term (*sisi* ‘sun’, *tapala* ‘grasshopper’, *kopɪn* ‘grass’, *aglo* ‘foam’, *hamut* ‘sand’, *ipɪ* ‘mountain’, etc.). (See also Meira 1999, for a somewhat similar analysis for Tiriyó.)

Thus, the Wayâna case looks more like apposition, with the ‘possessed’ noun qualifying the generic rather than the generic term occurring to possess and specify the ‘possessed’ noun’s function. In systems with typical genitive classifiers, their function is

related to the alienable-inalienable distinction that is a common feature of genitive constructions. Such a dichotomy, however, is not relevant in Wayâna's genitive system.

**4.1.1.3.6. A conclusion to possessibility.** Table 7 summarizes the semantic subcategories of nouns belonging to the different genitive noun classes.

Table 7  
Genitive nouns classes

Unpossessable	Optionally possessed	Inherently possessed	
		Forms w/ SAP	3 <sup>rd</sup> Only
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– elements or phenomena of nature;</li> <li>– animals;</li> <li>– plants, fruits, and vegetables;</li> <li>– names, human groups, supernatural entities.</li> <li>– wild, unprocessable goods (fruits, roots, honey).</li> <li>– places, locations, public buildings.</li> <li>– vocative form of kinship terms.</li> <li>– descriptive nouns and pronouns;</li> <li>– borrowings.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– utensils, tools, objects, and artifacts.</li> <li>– body-parts, body products and body fluids.</li> <li>– a few elements/phenomena of nature: wood, water, stone, and fire.</li> <li>– a few fruits/vegetables: pepper, banana, and three edible roots (<i>ulu</i>, <i>napi</i> and <i>napëk</i>).</li> <li>– wild processable goods.</li> <li>– at least three borrowings: <i>kamisa</i> 'cloth', <i>pampila</i> ', and <i>hapatu</i> 'sandals'.</li> <li>– the word for <i>shaman</i>.</li> <li>– the word for <i>farm</i>, the word for <i>village</i>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– kinship terms</li> <li>– a few human body-parts</li> <li>– the words for game, and thing.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– part-whole relationships (parts of a plant, animal body-parts; parts of a hammock; etc.).</li> <li>– intrinsic associations: bird's nest, teeth's gums, hammock's string, fire's flame, fire's coals, river's shore, etc.</li> </ul>

The table above offers a short overview of the complex genitive system of Wayâna. However, it is enough to help one understand that there are two primary features underlying the system.

The first feature is the degree of relationship with a possessor. Items that never have a possessor are treated accordingly, and cannot bear possessive morphology. Items that most commonly have a possessor, but that can exist without one (they can be abandoned, or exchanged, etc.), may occur with or without possessive morphology. Finally, items that are conceived of as always having a possessor occur only with

possessive morphology. The odd class is, thus, that of body-parts, which belong to the optionally possessed class (with only a small residue in the inherently possessed class possibly due to phonological reasons). One possibility is that some forms are inherently relational, and thus cannot occur without the item they relate to. This is the case of kinship terms and all the other terms under the column of inherently possessed nouns. Body-parts are not inherently relational, and thus, may be optionally possessed.

This alone can not account for many of the items in the unpossessable and optionally possessed categories. Most items referring to elements of nature, plants and vegetables, goods gathered from the forest, and borrowings belong to the class of unpossessable nouns. However, a few are exceptional in that they also belong to the optionally possessed class: *wood, water, stone and fire; pepper, banana*, and three potato roots, *ulu, napi* and *napëk*; *rubber sap, aluma* (a plant used for making baskets), *sisal, poisonous liana, malamala seed*; and the borrowings *kamisa, pampila, hapatum*. While some variation is to be expected, this calls for an explanation.

The second feature is degree of incorporation of an item into the cultural/everyday life: all possessable items that refer to elements of nature show an interesting and consistent semantic characteristic. ‘One’s fire’ means the fire where one cooks, ‘one’s water’ means the water one carried from the river in her pan, ‘one’s stone’ means the stone one uses for processing manioc, and ‘one’s wood’ means the wood one processed to make a house or some other object.

As for possessable items referring to goods brought from the forest, they all refer to items that are usable only after being modified or processed: *rubber sap, sisal, poisonous liana* (beaten and made into a pillow-like object before being put into the

water to kill fish), *dark sap* (after heated and made into a paste used to paint handicrafts), *malamala* (a type of seed that is cooked and then painted to be finally used to make handicrafts), and *aluma* (a plant whose barked is sliced and dried, sometimes painted, and finally used to make woven objects).

The possessable vegetables are three edible roots (*napi*, *ulu* and *napëk*), which can all be made into either a beer or a bread (the main base for meals), *pepper* which is usually consumed smoked, and banana which, however, is usually consumed as is.

In the case of possessed borrowings, they all refer to now basic items in the culture, *paper*, *sandals*, and *cloth*, and according to speakers they now ‘feel’ as if part of the language.

What can be abstracted from these ‘exceptional’ examples is that as long as an item can be controlled (especially in the case of elements of nature), made into a basic cultural item (as in the case of plants and goods from the forest, and borrowed items), and used ordinarily, it becomes possessable. This means that it has somehow been incorporated into the culture by the way humans act upon it. Things that come from the outside world may take a long time or may never become part of the culture. Note the suffix *-imë* ‘Extraordinary’ marking unpossessable names for non-wild/foreign edible animals. Some variation will always occur as things are pulled in, as in the case of younger speakers being more accepting of borrowings. In the same way, in such a dynamic system, there will always be some degree of arbitrariness in the placement of an item into one category or another (*kasili* is also an edible root which is commonly used to make beer, but it is unpossessable).





for number and still refer to more than one entity (cf. *hakēne kaikui* ‘two dogs’ where *kaikui* ‘dog’ is unmarked for number). Likewise, it is also possible for a noun referring to only two entities to receive a collective mark if they are the only members of a group (cf. *amotom* ‘his hands’).<sup>32</sup>

A noun may be inflected by one of the eight different allomorphs of the nominal collective suffix, shown in Table 8. No difference in meaning is detected among the different forms. All end with /mo/.

**Table 8**

Collective suffixes on nouns

-tom(o)
-kom(o)
-nom(o)
-anom(o)
-am(o)
-jam(o)
-tonom(o)
-om(o)

Collective suffixes are distributed in a complex manner, with predictable and non-predictable occurrences. Some of the occurrences are conditioned lexically, while others depend on derivational morphology or on certain morphosyntactic environments.

Most non-derived nouns take *-tom(o)*, but a few take *-kom(o)*, *-am(o)*, *-jam(o)*, or *-nom(o)* (with some irregular roots such as *patum(i)*, *palum(i)*, and *peito*, which seem to lose their last syllable altogether when taking the collective (83 g-i)). Proper names take *-tom(o)* with a very specific meaning (83 a).

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<sup>32</sup> It is interesting that besides marking number, collective morphemes have other functions as for instance to indicate distance or respect between the hearer and the speaker: *ēhehe* ‘(She) wants you all’ (son-in-law addressing his mother-in-law in a story (Tamopoale 072)). Some nouns cannot take collective morphemes: *\*iwetepuu tom* (his bellies).

- 83) a. **Mopelutom** ‘Mopelu’s folk’  
 b. **pakolotom** ‘the houses’  
 c. **eluwakom** ‘the men’  
 d. **wēliham** ‘women’  
 e. **ipilam** ‘her brothers’  
 f. **tīpajam** ‘his own grandchildren’  
 g. **īpatunom** ‘my nephew’  
 h. **kupalunom** ‘our sons-in-law’  
 i. **īpēinom** ‘my children’  
 j. **ipalenom** ‘his/her daughter-in-law’  
 k. **kupahenom** ‘his/her niece’  
 l. **jeknom** ‘my pets’

Some pronouns take *-kom(o)* (84), some take *-jam(o)* (85), some take *-am(o)*

(86b), and some take a sequence of two that can be obligatory (86 a, c) or not (85):

- 84) a. **sinkom** (Demonstrative Inanimate Proximal)  
 b. **helēkom** (Presentative)  
 c. **mēlēkom** (Demonstrative Inanimate Medial)  
 d. **mīnkom** (Demonstrative Inanimate Distal)  
 e. **ētikom** (‘What?’)
- 85) a. **ēnikjam ~ ēnikjamkom** (‘Who?’)  
 b. **mēkjam ~ mēkjamkom** (Demonstrative Animate Medial Collective)
- 86) a. **ēmēlamkom** (2<sup>nd</sup> Collective)  
 b. **mēham** (Demonstrative Animate Proximal)  
 c. **kunmēlamkom** (1<sup>st</sup> Collective)

In genitive constructions, the collective suffixes *-tom(o)*, *-am(o)*, *-jam(o)*, or *-nom(o)* modify the possessed noun (87). The collective of the possessor is *-kom(o)* if it is expressed by pronominal prefixes (89). In the cases where both the possessor and the possessed noun are collective, *-kom(o)* occurs following the other collective suffixes (88 and (89)), with the exception of *-tom(o)* which never co-occurs with *-kom(o)* (90). In the absence of a specific collective marker for the possessed noun, there exists an ambiguity between a collective and a non-collective meaning of the possessed noun which can be resolved by the placement of an adverbial such as *kole* ‘many’ (90 b) (cf. Jackson 1972:64-5).

- 87) a. **janapam̄sintom** ‘my paddles’  
 b. **t̄ipilam** ‘her own brothers’  
 c. **t̄ipajam** ‘his/her own grandchildren’  
 d. **t̄ip̄einom** ‘his/her own children’
- 88) a. **kupilamkom** ‘the brothers of us all’  
 b. **t̄ipajamkom** ‘their own grandchildren’  
 c. **kupalunomkom** ‘the sons-in-law of us all’
- 89) a. **kupatunomkom** ‘the nephews of all of us’  
 b. **kup̄einomkom** ‘the children of all of us’  
 c. **kupalenomkom** ‘the daughters-in-law of all of us’  
 d. **kupahenomkom** ‘the nieces of all of us’  
 e. **̄eweknomkom** ‘the pets of all of you’
- 90) a. **kupakolonkom** ‘the house(s) of all of us’  
 b. **kole kupakolonkom** ‘the many houses of all of us’  
 c. \* **kupakolontomkom**

Possessors expressed by a (pro)noun are not collectivized by *-kom(o)* suffixed to the possessed noun, but by their respective collective suffixes.

- 91) a. **w̄eliham pakolon** ‘the women’s house’  
 b. **eluwakom pakolon** ‘the men’s house’  
 c. **ipajam pakolon** ‘his grandchildren’s house’  
 d. **ipatumom pakolon** ‘his nephews’ house’  
 e. **ip̄einom pakolon** ‘his children’s house’  
 f. **kujumkom pakolontom** ‘the houses of our father’

Some of the same collective morphemes occur with nouns derived from verbs, adverbs and postpositions (see section 4.2.2). In the case of nouns derived from adverbs, *-tom(o)* occurs with the only stem derived from an adverb with the nominalizer *-lo* (92); *-am(o)* occurs with stems derived from *t-V-(h)e* adverbs with the nominalizer *-Ø* (93); *-nom(o)* occurs with stems derived from adverbs with the nominalizer *-at(o)* (94 a). The corresponding collective form of nouns with the privative suffix *p̄in(i)/-m̄in(i)* are not clearly parseable (94 b).

- 92) **hemal̄lotom**  
**hemal̄-lo-tomo**  
 today-PtNmlz-Coll  
 ‘the ones of today’
- 93) **t̄ehamo**  
**t-̄e-he-Ø-amō**  
 Prtc-eat.meat-Prtc-PtNmlz-Coll  
 ‘the many things to eat’

- 94) a. **upakatonom**  
 upake-ato-nomo  
 long.ago-PtNmlz-Coll  
 ‘the really ancient ones’
- b. **ulumnom**  
 ulu-mīni-omo?  
 manioc.bread-Priv-Coll  
 ‘the ones without manioc bread’

*-komo(o)* occurs with adverbs nominalized with *-an(u)*, *-lon(u)*, and *-n(u)* (95), and with postpositions nominalized with *-li(lī)*, *-no*, *-non(u)*, and *-n(u)* (96).<sup>33</sup> The nominalized form of *pĕk(ĕ)* ‘about; busy with’ with *-n(u)* and *tuwalĕ* ‘knowing’ with *-on(u)* take either *-komo(o)* or *-tomo(o)* (97 a-d):

- 95) a. **ipokankom** ‘the good ones’  
 b. **mījalonkom** ‘the ones moving that way’  
 c. **mononkom** ‘the ones from there’
- 96) a. **ahmotalīikom** ‘the ones in between them’  
 b. **Apalai ponokomo** ‘the ones from Aparai’  
 c. **ahpononkom** ‘the ones placed over the back of it’  
 d. **opinĕnkom** ‘the ones under it’
- 97) a. **ĕpi pĕkĕntom** ‘the ones busy with medicine’  
 b. **ikaimo pĕkĕnkom** ‘the ones busy with game’  
 c. **ĭtuwalonutom** ‘my knowings’  
 d. **ĭtuwalonukom** ‘his knowings’

Some nominalizers deriving possessable de-verbal nouns take both *-kom(o)* and *-tom(o)* with basically the same function as when occurring with possessable non-derived nouns (where *-kom(o)* collectivizes the prefixal possessor and *-tom(o)* the possessed or unpossessed noun). These nominalizers are *-top(o)* ‘Circumstantial’ (98), *n-* ‘Object Nominalizer’ (99), and *-∅* ‘Specific Event’ (100).<sup>34</sup> Prefixless forms of *-top(o)* take both *-tom(o)* and *-tonom(o)* (101) with no apparent difference in meaning.

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
|     | <i>-tom(o)</i>  | <i>-kom(o)</i>   |
| 98) | a. <b>ĭweitoptom</b><br>ĭ-w-ehi-topo-∅-tomo<br>1-SA-be-CircmstNmlz-Pss-Coll<br>‘my beings; my ways’<br>(Walema 180) | b. <b>kuweitoponpīikom</b><br>ku-w-ehi-topo-npīlī-∅-komo<br>1+2-SA-be-CircmstNmlz-Dvl-Pss-Coll<br>‘our ancient people’ (Jolokod 766)<br>(Lit.: ‘The former being of us all’) |

<sup>33</sup> There are no collective examples of the adverbial nominalizers *-no*, and postpositional nominalizer *-ano* in the database.

<sup>34</sup> There are no collectivized examples with de-verbal nominalizers *-nĕ*, and *-hem(i)*.

- 99) a. **inepīitom**  
i-n-epī-lī-**tomo**  
3-ObjNmlz-eat.soft.food-Pss-Coll  
'his fruits' (Pear 030)
- b. **inepīikom**  
i-n-epī-lī-**komo**  
3-ObjNmlz-eat.soft.food-Pss-Coll  
'their fruit' (Pear 035)
- 100) a. **ikatpīitom**  
i-ka-Ø-tpīlī-Ø-**tomo**  
3-do- SpecEvtNmlz-Dvl-Pss-Coll  
'the things one did'  
(Lit.: 'his former doings') (Jolokod 658)
- b. **kēnatuukom**  
k-ēnatu-Ø-lī-**komo**  
1+2-be.finished- SpecEvtNmlz-Pss-Coll  
'the ending of us all' (Jolokod 632)
- 101) a. **katoptom**  
ka-topo-**tomo**  
say-CircmstNmlz-Coll  
'stories; words' (Walema2 039)
- b. **eitoponpētom**  
ehi-topo-npē-**tomo**  
be-CircmstNmlz-Dvl-Coll  
'ancient people' (Jolokod 725)
- c. **katoptonom**  
ka-topo-**tonomo**  
say-CircmstNmlz-Coll  
'the stories' (Jolokob 399)
- d. **ītētoptonom**  
ītē-topo-npē-**tonomo**  
go-CircmstNmlz-Dvl-Coll  
'the ones that went up' (Jolokob 342)

Nouns derived with *-ne* 'Agent Nominalizer' take *-anom(o)* (possibly with the same function as described above for *-tom(o)*). Unfortunately, no *-ne* forms with a collective possessor are attested.

- 102) a. **juunanom**  
j-ulu-**ne-Ø-anomo**  
1-talk.to.O-AgtNmlz-Pss-Coll  
'the ones that talked to me'  
(Iguana 008)
- b. **pola alimananom**  
pola alima-**ne-Ø-anomo**  
ball throw.O-AgtNmlz-Pss-Coll  
'the ball throwers'  
(Mopelu2 029)

Nouns derived with *-tpon(u)* 'Past Agent' are collectivized with *-komo(o)* in an idiosyncratic way. Though all forms *-tpon(u)* are possessed, *-komo(o)* is found collectivizing the possessed noun instead of the possessor, as is the case for all other occurrences of *-komo(o)* in possessive constructions. To better test this pattern, examples of collective forms of the possessor are needed ('the one who taught all of you' or the 'the one that taught all of them'). Such examples, however, are not found in the present database.

- 103) a. **ēpanakmatponkom** 'those that heard you'  
b. **Ø-enetponkom** 'those that saw him'  
c. **imilikutponkom** 'the writers; the ones who wrote it'

Some other idiosyncrasies are observed in forms with the specific event nominalizer  $-\emptyset$ . In examples (104 a-c) below, *-tomo(o)* occurs unexpectedly modifying the possessor and in free variation with *-komo(o)* (compare with examples (98) above). The reliability of such examples is unquestionable since they all come from texts.

- 104) a. *itětpīitom*  
*i-tě- $\emptyset$ -tpīlī- $\emptyset$ -tomo*  
 3-go-SpecEvtNmlz-Dvl-Pss-Coll  
 ‘the ones that had gone’ (Pěne 127)  
 (‘His goings’ ?)
- b. *ilēmětpīitom*  
*i-lēmě- $\emptyset$ -tpīlī- $\emptyset$ -tomo*  
 3-go-SpecEvtNmlz-Dvl-Pss-Coll  
 ‘the ones that had died’ (Jolok355)  
 (\*His deaths)
- c. *ilēmětpīikom*  
*i-lēmě- $\emptyset$ -tpīlī- $\emptyset$ -komo*  
 3-die-SpecEvtNmlz-Dvl-Pss-Coll  
 ‘the ones that had died’ (Jolok 357)

Finally, some sequences of collectives are found with some non-possessed forms: *-am(o)-tom(o)* (105a-b) and *-nom(o)-kom(o)* (106). This case seems to be similar to that of the pronouns that take a sequence of two collective suffixes which are obligatory in the case of *ěmēlamkom* ‘you all’, and *kunmēlamkom* ‘we all’, but still optional in the collective forms of *ěnik(i)-jam(-kom)* ‘Interrogative animate’ and *měk(i)-jam(-kom)* ‘Distal animate’. In all the examples, the second collective morpheme is optional and has no additional meaning.

- 105) a. *těwěmkamotom*  
*t-ěwěmī-ke- $\emptyset$ -amo-tomo*  
 havingAvlz-penis-havingAvlz-PtNmlz-Coll-Coll  
 ‘the naked ones’  
 (Lit.: ‘Ones with their penis’) (Dialog)
- b. *těhamotom*  
*t-ě-he- $\emptyset$ -amo-tomo*  
 Prtc-eat.meat-Prtc-PtNmlz-Coll-Coll  
 ‘foods; games’ (Walema2 012)
- 106) *ihmatonomkom*  
*ihme-ato-nomo-komo*  
 havingAvlz -PtNmlz-Coll-Coll  
 ‘chiefs (Lit.: ‘ones who have’)’ (Jolokoc 462)

**4.2. Derivation.** This section discusses meaning changing morphology and the morphemes deriving nominal forms from all other major speech classes: verbs, adverbs and postpositions).<sup>35</sup>

**4.2.1. Meaning changing morphology.** Wayâna exhibits only two meaning changing derivational morphemes, *-tpë* ‘Devaluative’ and *-imë* ‘Extraordinary’. Both suffixes have limited scope, unpredictable meaning, and some semantic extensions.

**4.2.1.1. The Devaluative suffix *-tpë/-npë, -tpï(li)/-npï(li)*.** The semantics of the devaluative suffix interacts with the semantics of the nominal root to yield meanings such as ‘old’ or ‘abandoned’ (for objects, tools, utensils, buildings, etc. (107)), ‘rotten’ or ‘spoiled’ (for organic items (108)), ‘severed’ or ‘extracted’ (for body parts (109)), ‘deceased’ or ‘former’ (for kinship terms, human relationships, and names (110)), and no longer true quality (for nouns that may denote a quality (111)).

- 107) a. *kamisatpë* ‘old clothes’; b. *tukusipanutpë* ‘old/abandoned village hall’; c. *hakutpë* ‘old bag’.  
108) a. *wanëtpë* ‘spoiled honey’; b. *ulunpë* ‘rotten manioc bread’; c. *pënetpë* ‘rotten piranha’.<sup>36</sup>  
109) a. *ëpënpë* ‘arm severed from the body’; b. *omotpë* ‘hand severed from the body’; *ëunpë* ‘eye severed from the body’  
110) a. *kalaiwatpë* ‘a deceased Brazilian’; b. *ijumñpïï* ‘one’s deceased father’; c. *ipawanatpïï* ‘one’s ex-lover’; d. *Kililitpë* ‘former Kilili’.  
111) a. *ihjanutpë* ‘formerly new; no longer new’; b. *wëlisitpë* ‘formerly a woman (now a monkey)’; *peptatpë* ‘formerly big; no longer big’.

In nominalized verb forms the devaluative encodes a resultative state or a happening that already took place.

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<sup>35</sup> Nouns are also inflected by class changing morphology such as verbalizers and adverbializers (*-mphak(ë)/-phak(ë), -me, etc.*). In this work, class changing morphology is described in the target category; thus, verbalizers and adverbializers are discussed in the chapters on verb and adverbs, respectively.

<sup>36</sup> At least one speaker did not accept animal names with the devaluative. He suggested that the animal name be followed by *mëtpë* ‘bad smell’: *pëne mëtpë* ‘rotten piranha’.

- 112) a. asii ajutpīi  
 ahilī aju-Ø-tpīlī-Ø  
 pepper dry.O.over.heat-SpcEvntNmlz-Dvl-Pss  
 ‘dried pepper (as a result of someone drying it over heat)’
- b. ēnēhpotpīlī  
 ē-n-enepī-po-tpīlī-Ø  
 2-ObjNmlz-bring.O-Caus-Dvl-Pss  
 ‘the thing that you ordered to be brought’ (Jolokoc 470)
- c. tīnēmēmētoponpīi  
 tī-nēmē-topo-npīlī-Ø  
 3Refl-leave.O-CircmstNmlz-Dvl-Pss  
 ‘his past being left (by someone)’ (Tamo 062)
- d. emna itētoponpē  
 emna itē-topo-npē-Ø  
 1+3ExclPro go-CircnstNmlz-Dvl-Pss  
 ‘our past going’ (Alawaka 002)

Not all nouns can take the devaluative suffix. Nouns that refer to perennial entities (river, forest, wind, sun, moon, etc.), nouns for which it is hard to imagine a change in its nature (*\*kalakulitpē* but *ikalakulitpīi* ‘it was my money’), and pronouns cannot take the devaluative suffix.<sup>37</sup>

Nouns ending in /tpē/ or /npē/ seem to take the devaluative suffix (one example is found in the texts (113 b)), but in elicitation sessions most examples were either judged unacceptable or were subject to variable judgments given at different times. Thus, further research is needed to clarify this matter. For illustration, a few accepted examples are given below: (see more on these forms in section 4.1.1.2 and section 4.4.2).

- 113) a. uputpētpē ~ uputpēnpē ‘head severed from the body’  
 b. tutpētpē ‘old vase’ (Tamopoale 085)  
 c. jetpētpē ‘old bone’  
 d. pitpētpē ‘old skin’  
 e. kanpētpē ‘old smoked meat’  
 f. junutpēnpē ‘no longer big’

<sup>37</sup> Jackson (1972:66) states that the devaluative suffix occurs with pronouns. His examples are *helētpē* ‘formerly this (inanimate)’, *sinītpē* ‘formerly this (animate)’, *iutpē* ‘formerly me, my former sex partner’ and *ēmēlētpē* ‘formerly you, your former sex partner’. Since Jackson’s examples have proved to be highly reliable, it is possible that the non-occurrence of the devaluative suffix with pronouns and the refusal of such forms in elicitation have to do with dialectal differences (Jackson conducted his studies in Surinam) or with a failure to provide adequate context in which such forms are to be accepted.



The devaluative suffix presents four different allomorphs, as presented in Table 9.

Table 9  
The allomorphs of the Devaluative suffix

	Non-nasal	Nasal
Prefixless forms	-tpĕ	-npĕ
Prefixed forms	-tpī(lī)	-npī(lī)

Thus, prefixless forms (unpossessable nouns, unpossessed allomorphs of optionally possessed nouns, and nouns possessed by a (pro)noun) take *-tpĕ* or *-npĕ* ((107) to (111) above and (114 b-c) and (115 b-c) below); all prefixed forms take *-tpī(lī)* or *-npī(lī)* ((114 d) and (115 d)). Note that nouns with ablaut occur in their front grade when possessed by (pro)nouns (115 c). Of all the allomorphs of the possessive suffix only  $\emptyset$  co-occurs with the devaluative.<sup>38</sup> This distribution holds true for all nouns, derived or not (with the exception of nominalizations with *n-* ‘Object Nominalizer’, see below).

- 114) a. *ɣ-pampila-n* ‘My paper, book’  
 b. *pampila-tpĕ* ‘Old, useless paper, book’  
 c. *Nila pampila-tpĕ* ‘Nila’s old, useless, former book’  
 d. *ɣ-pampila-tpī* ‘My old, useless, former book’
- 115) a.  $\emptyset$ -*ehema-lī-mna* ‘Without his/her/its trail’  
 b. *ĕhematpĕ* ‘Old path’  
 c. *ĕkĕi ehema-tpĕ* ‘Snake’s trail (the marks left on the ground)’  
 d.  $\emptyset$ -*ehema-tpī* ‘His/her/its trail’

The distribution of the nasal versus the non-nasal allomorphs of the devaluative suffix is conditioned lexically on roots<sup>39</sup> and stems with the privative suffix *-pīn(i)* (though only two examples are attested in the present corpus (116). A somewhat contrastive distribution exists for nominalized forms: the nasal allomorphs occur only with *-top(o)* ‘Circumstantial Nominalizer’ (117), and the non-nasal allomorphs occur with

<sup>38</sup> It seems that historically /lī/ in *l-tpīli/* was the possessive suffix. In the present stage of Wayāna, however, no strong argument indicates that *l-tpīli/* is a complex form (cf. footnote 22).

<sup>39</sup> Jackson (1972:64) states that nouns ending in /n/ and /t/ take *-npĕ*. Though the same examples are found in the present database (*jetatīnpī* ‘my former hammock’, *ehetīnpī* ‘his former name’, *ipunūnpī* ‘his former

-Ø ‘Specific Event Nominalizer’ (118), and *-m(i)*, *-(a)nu*, *-n(u)*, *-non(u)*, *-ato*, and *-no* ‘Participant Nominalizer’ (119-120).<sup>40</sup>

- |      |    |  |   |
|------|----|--|---|
| 116) | a. | <b>ikaimopīnīnpē</b>                             | ‘one no longer without game’ (Tukusimule 001)     |
|      | b. | <b>uwētēpīnītpē</b>                              | ‘one no longer not able to kill’ (Tukusimule 076) |
| 117) | a. | <b>emna itētoponpē</b>                           | ‘our former going’ (Alawaka 002)                  |
|      | b. | <b>īwētuktōponpīī</b>                            | ‘the place I ate’ (Fishing 017)                   |
| 118) | a. | <b>saktīkīp katpē</b>                            |   |
|      |    | <b>saktīkīp ka-Ø-tpē-Ø</b>                       |   |
|      |    | cut.snd do-SpecEvtNmlz-Pss-Dvl                   |   |
|      |    | ‘the thing (a piece of wood)’ that has been cut’ |   |
|      |    | (Pēne 100)                                       |   |
|      | b. | <b>itētpīī</b>                                   |   |
|      |    | <b>i-tē-Ø-tpīī-Ø</b>                             |   |
|      |    | 3-go-SpecEvtNmlz-Pss-Dvl                         |   |
|      |    | ‘his former going’                               |   |

Nominalized Postpositions are possessable and thus take both *-tpī(li)* and *-tpē*;

nominalized adverbs are non-possessable prefixless forms, and thus take only *-tpē*:

- |      |    |                        |                                    |
|------|----|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 119) | a. | <b>jakēlēnutpīī</b>    | ‘one that used to be with me’      |
|      | b. | <b>Nila akēlēnutpē</b> | ‘one that used to be with Nila’    |
|      | c. | <b>Macapa ponotpē</b>  | ‘one that used to live in Macapa’  |
| 120) | a. | <b>tīpataakemītpē</b>  | ‘one that used to be a chief’      |
|      | b. | <b>upakatōtpē</b>      | ‘old, ragged, useless thing’       |
|      | c. | <b>elamhakanutpē</b>   | ‘one that used not to be afraid’   |
|      | d. | <b>malalonutpē</b>     | ‘one that used to be the same way’ |
|      | e. | <b>tēnonutpē</b>       | ‘one originally from where?’       |
|      | f. | <b>pētukulunutpē</b>   | ‘one that used to be beautiful’    |

The object nominalizer presents an exception to the general pattern of distribution of the devaluative suffix: it takes *-tpī(li)* on prefixed forms and also on forms possessed by a (pro)noun (where *-tpē* would be expected). The object nominalizer has no unpossessed forms.

- |      |    |                           |  |
|------|----|---------------------------|--|
| 121) | a. | <b>kunitom nekalētpīī</b> | ‘the (story) the grandmothers told’ (Iguana 007) |
|      | b. | <b>īnīnēmētpīī</b>        | ‘the thing that I brought’                       |

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flesh’), the only other nouns ending in *t(V)* do not occur with the devaluative suffix, and thus do not test Jackson’s generalization.

<sup>40</sup> There are no examples in the database with the devaluative suffix co-occurring with the following nominalizing suffixes: *-ne* ‘Agent Nominalizer’, *-nē* ‘Generic Event Nominalizer’, *-tpon(u)*, and some of the allomorphs the ‘Participant Nominalizer (*-lī(li)*, *-ano*, *-to*~*-lo*, and *-lon(u)*).

**4.2.1.2. The suffix *-imë* ‘Extraordinary’.** This suffix has been described at least for Tiriyo under the label of ‘augmentative’ because it derives a noun that is larger or more impressive than the original noun (Meira, 1999:163). A different label was chosen for its cognate in Wayãna, because it has been reduced to occurring with only a very few nouns with the meaning of augmentative (the known examples are presented in (122); with all other nouns it has acquired a very specialized meaning. In (123) its occurrence derives a noun referring to a supernatural entity, or a noun referring to a non-native item (124), and in some other cases it has undergone some lexicalization (125). A few nouns end in /imë/ with no clear indication that that is the remnant of the ‘extraordinary’ suffix (126). No nouns taking *-imë* can be possessed.

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| 122) | a. kupita ‘wound’                                    | b. kupitaimë ‘big wound’                              |
|      | c. ëlek ‘boil’                                       | d. ëlekëimë ‘big boil’                                |
|      | e. pupu ‘foot’                                       | f. pupuimë ‘big foot’                                 |
| 123) | a. alawata ‘monkey (sp.)’                            | b. alawataimë ‘a supernatural <i>alawata</i> monkey’; |
|      | c. pakila ‘peccary’                                  | d. pakilaimë ‘supernatural peccary’                   |
|      | e. alimi ‘monkey (sp.)’                              | f. alimiimë ‘a supernatural <i>alimi</i> monkey’      |
| 124) | a. kumata ‘beans’                                    | b. kumataimë ‘commercial Brazilian beans’             |
|      | c. pëinëkë ‘wild pig’                                | d. pëinëkëimë ‘non-wild pig’                          |
|      | e. wanë ‘bee’  | f. wanëimë ‘imported Italian bee’                     |
|      | g. uluma ‘wild duck.’                                | h. ulumaimë ‘non-wild duck’                           |
| 125) | a. ëkëi ‘snake’                                      | b. ëkëjuimë ‘anaconda’ (*big snake)                   |
|      | c. mïu ‘blood’                                       | d. mïuimë ‘menstrual period’ (*a lot of blood’)       |
|      | e. paluu ‘banana’                                    | f. paluluimë ‘banana (sp.)’ (*big banana)             |
|      | g. kanawa ‘canoe’                                    | h. kanawaimë ‘airplane’ (*big canoe)                  |
|      | i. palakta ‘rubber sap’                              | j. palaktaimë ‘ball’ (*a lot of rubber sap’)          |
| 126) | a. kapukapusiimë ‘the name of a supernatural entity’ |   |
|      | b. isoimë ‘monkey (sp.)’                             |   |

**4.2.2. Nominalizers.** Nominal stems can be derived from verbs, adverbs and postpositions by means of several nominalizing morphemes, each with its own particular morphosyntactic properties. They derive two large classes of nouns, those that can be

possessed and those that are never possessed. The members of the possessable class show front grade allomorphs and generally refer to a specific or particular referent or event. The members of the unpossessable class, on the contrary, show back grade allomorphs (for the relevant examples) and refer to a generic referent or event. This is to say that the semantics of the nominalizers can refer to the role or quality of a participant in an event, to the circumstances of an event, or to an event itself.

**4.2.2.1. Deverbal nominalization.** Deverbal nominalization is the richest derivational process in the language, with seven distinct nominalizing suffixes. The nominalizers are presented in Table 10 according to whether they derive a possessed or unpossessed stem and to whether they refer to a participant or to an event. Exceptionally, the semantics of the ‘Circumstantial’ nominalizer *-top(o)*, which has both possessed and unpossessed forms, encompasses a wide range of usages varying from event-like to more participant-like meanings.<sup>41</sup>

Table 10  
Verbal Nominalizers

Participant	Event	
	possessed	unpossessed
-ne ‘AgtNmlz’	-Ø ‘SpEvntNmlz’	-ně ‘GenEvnttNmlz’
n- ‘ObjNmlz’		
-hem(ĭ) ‘PatModNmlz’		
-tpon(u) ‘PstAgtNmlz’		
-top(o) ‘CircnstNmlz’		

**4.2.2.1.1. *n-* ‘Object Nominalizer’ and *-ne* ‘Agent Nominalizer’.** As one can infer from the glosses, these morphemes occur only on transitive verb roots. They stand as the ‘mirror image’ of each other, with *n-* being a prefix deriving nouns that refer to a

<sup>41</sup> The nominalized verb forms referring to an event account for almost all cases of subordinated clauses in the language (cf. section 8.3.2).

participant that is the notional object, and taking personal prefixes (127) that refer to the notional *A*; and with *-ne* being a suffix that refer to a participant that is the notional subject, and taking personal prefixes that refer to the notional *O* (128). As with other nominalizations, prefixes are in complementary distribution with full (pro)nouns. Both suffixes are very productive.

127) a. *moloinë pëinëkë ïnenepïime* *wïïne,*  
*molojinë pëjnëkë ï-n-enepï-lï-me* *w-ïlï-ne*  
 then wild.pig 1-ObjNmlz-bring.O-Pss-Attrb 1A3O-make.O-DistPst  
 ‘Then I made the pig as my thing to bring.’ (Mopelu1 055)

b. *tulakanumhamo* *nipkëlëtpï.*  
*t-ulakanumï-he-Ø-amo* *n-i-pïkëlë-tpïlï-Ø*  
 Prtc-hunt/fish-Prtc-PfNmlz-Coll ObjNmlz-Them-cut.O-Dvl-Pss  
 ‘the thing the hunters cut’ (Pëne 100)

128) a. *jepane*  
*j-epa-ne-Ø*  
 1-teach.O-AgtNmlz-Pss  
 ‘my teacher’ (Walema 019)

b. *wajana epane*  
*wajana epa-ne-Ø*  
 person teach.O-AgtNmlz-Pss  
 ‘the teacher of the Wayâna’ (Walema 133)

**4.2.2.1.2. -Ø ‘Specific Event’ and -në ‘Generic Event’.** Both nominalizers occur with front grade allomorphs, but they display different morphological properties. *-Ø* derives prefixed forms, and *-në* only prefixless forms. The possessor of *-Ø* forms an absolutive category. With transitive verbs, it is possessed by the notional object, and with intransitive verbs, by the notional *S*. In forms with *-Ø*, the participants are clearly specified:

129) *Talanme lomok* *kunehak* *ëti* *pena* *pëk*  
*talanne lomoke* *kun-eha-kë* *ëti* *pena* *pëkë*  
 maybe low 3DistPst-be-DistPst what Hesitative busy.with  
  
*tulii epï* *pëk*  
*tulihi epï-Ø-lï* *pëkë*  
 fruit.sp eat.soft.food-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss busy.with  
 ‘Maybe (it) was low (on the tree), busy with something,... eating *tulii*.’ (Alawaka 027-026)

*-në* occurs only with intransitive (or detransitivized) verbs, referring to events in which the participants are unknown or unimportant.

- 130) a. Tonk kanë ke hek məkjaa emna pək  
 tonk ka-në ke hek məkjalë emna pəkë  
 shoot.snd do-GenEvtNmlz Instr only DemAnmMedColl 1+3ExclPro about
- itëtpiitom tïpanakmai emna ja  
 i-të-Ø-tpiilï-Ø-tomo tï-panakma-he emna ja  
 3-go-SpcEvtNmlz-Dvl-Pss-Coll T-hear.O-He 1+3ExclPro Erg  
 ‘With the **shooting**, we heard those that had gone about us.’ (Pëne 127-182)
- b. Èhepanë pək wai  
 èh-epa-në pəkë wahe  
 Det-teach.O-GenEvtNmlz busy.with 1be  
 ‘I am (busy with) studying.’

Gildea (1998:202-203) shows that a progressive construction derived historically from nominalizations with *-Ø* (for both transitive and intransitive verbs, as in examples (132-133)) and *-në* (for intransitive, as in example (131)) plus the postposition *pək(ë)* ‘busy with’ occurs in several languages in the Cariban family. In Wayâna, however, no definite morphosyntactic evidence shows that these constructions have in fact grammaticalized into a new verb form in the language (see a morphosyntactic description of this construction in section 8.3.1.5). In all such constructions the copula is optional.

- 131) Eleminë pək (wai)  
 eleminë pəkë wahe  
 sing-GenEvtNmlz busy.with 1be  
 ‘I am (occupied with) singing.’
- 132) tuwakom pək  
 t-uwa-Ø-Ø-komo pəkë  
 3Refl-dance-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss-Coll busy.with  
 ‘(They) are (busy with their) dancing.’
- 133) tulii epï pək (knehak)  
 tulii epï-Ø-li pəkë kun-eha-kë  
 fruit.sp eat.soft.food-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss busy.withPts 3DistPst-be -DistPst  
 ‘(He) was (occupied with) eating *tulii*.’

In his fieldwork, Gildea found that “the Wayâna speakers show a marked preference” for the construction with *-në*. When asked to answer to the question *ëti pëk* ‘Occupied with what?’, the speakers would invariably answer with Set I non-past (see below) or with *-në*, and add that the equivalent construction with *-Ø* was not very used.

The data gathered here, and my observation of spontaneous speech, however, contradict Gildea’s findings.<sup>42</sup> The examples shown below, coming from two distinct elicitation sessions with the same consultant (Alinawale Wayâna), present a different pattern. Nominalizations with *-Ø* were most frequently the first answer to the question *ëti pëk?* ((134 a-c) for intransitive stems, and for transitive stems (134 j-k), with occasional Set I non-past (134d) and some *t-V-(h)e* (134 l) answers. Examples with *-në* were all elicited, but were considered equally good (134 e-h). (Examples with with long vowels are inflected with-*Ø*).

134)	a.	tëëhetamikaakom pëk	‘(They are at their) playing.’	(first answer)
	b.	tëtuluukom pëk	‘(They are at their) talking.’	(first answer)
	c.	tuwaaakom pëk	‘(They are at their) dancing.’	(first answer)
	d.	luwe wetëjai	‘I am playing flute.’	(first answer)
	e.	epohnëmnë pëk	‘(He is) thinking.’	(elicited)
	f.	ëhetamikanë pëk tot	‘(They are) playing.’	(elicited)
	g.	ëtuunë pëk tot	‘(They are) talking.’	(elicited)
	h.	uwanë pëk	‘(They are) dancing.’	(elicited)
	i.	luwe etëë pëk wai	‘I am playing flute.’	(elicited)
	j.	domino alimaa pëk	‘(They are) playing dominos.’	(first answer)
	k.	televisao enee pëk	‘(They are) watching TV.’	(first answer)
	l.	tëepohnëphe	‘(He is) thinking.’	(first answer) (about a man who was just seating down thinking with a gazing look)

In my notes recording spontaneous speech, *t-V-(h)e* is frequently used with a ‘progressive’ meaning (135). Non-past is frequently used with a ‘future’ meaning

<sup>42</sup> This may be due to dialectal differences, as Gildea’s data come primarily from Speakers from Bona Village.

(similarly to progressive glosses in English). Unfortunately, no examples with *-në* coming from spontaneous speech were collected.

- 135) a. kape tñhe?  
kape t-ñli-he  
coffee-T-make-He  
‘Making coffee?’  
(Said to me as I was pouring coffee powder into the hot water)
- b. tñtñtñi  
tñtñ-t-ñtñ-he  
Red2-T-go-He  
‘(They are) walking around.’  
(Said about a group of teachers as they were walking around the village)
- c. ñimëjai *Funai pona*  
w-ñtñ-jmë-ja-he funai po-na  
1SA-go-Resumpt-NPst-SapAff Funai at-to  
‘I am going to Funai.’
- 136) a. kaikui ëwëjai  
kaikui ë-wë-ja-he  
jaguar 3A2O-kill.O-NPst-SapAff  
‘The jaguar will eat you.’  
(Said to me jokingly by a woman as I was taking off to a farm.)
- b. anumalë witëimëjai *Jahelai pona*  
anumalë w-ñtñ-jmë-ja-he jahelai po-na  
tomorrow 1SA-go-Resumpt-NPst-SapAff Jahelai at-to  
‘Tomorrow I am going to the Jahelai (village).’  
(Told me by my consultant.)

Only one clear example with the progressive *-në* occurs in texts: (in the example below the speakers uses *ñwi*, the Apalai first person pronoun)

- 137) *ñwi, aa, Renato, ëtuunë pëk.*  
ñwi aa renato ëtulu-në pëkë  
1Pro um! Renato talk-GenEvnNmlz busy.with  
‘I, Renato, (am) speaking.’

**4.2.2.1.3. *-hem(i)* ‘Patient Modifier Nominalizer’.** This suffix has a very limited distribution. It occurs only with factive verbs *i(li)* ‘do; make’ and *kap(i)* ‘to craft’. The noun derived with *-hem(i)* is always preceded by a full noun indicating the substance which the created item is made of.



- 138) b. malija tēpu iihem 'knife made from stone'  
 c. kulumuli iihem malija 'knife made with bamboo'  
 d. luwe amohawin iihem 'flute made with nails (of an armadillo)'  
 e. mauu kaphem 'crafted from cotton'  
 a. ėliwė kaphem 'crafted with clay'

The *-hem(i)* forms can occupy a nominal slot:

- 138b) Malija wew iihem ili inėlėė.  
 malija wewe iili-hemī iili-Ø inėlėlė  
 knife wood make.O-PatModNmlz make.O-RecPst 3AnaphPro  
 'He made a knife made out of wood.'

The possessibility of forms with *-hem(i)* is not clear, since prefixed forms are not accepted. However, the noun preceding can be seen as the possessor of the derived stem, and a corroborating argument for this is the fact that the two nouns cannot be separated by second position particles as is the case in genitive phrases (*\*kulumuli ka iihem*).<sup>43</sup>

**4.2.2.1.4. *-tpon(u)* 'Past Agent'.** This suffix is restricted to transitive roots, with the resulting noun denoting a participant which is the 'agent' of an already past event.<sup>44</sup> The possessor is the notional object.

- 139) jepatpon  
 j-epa-tponu-Ø  
 1-teach.O-PstAgtNmlz-Pss  
 'my former teacher' (Walema 020)
- 140) wewe apėkatponu ja  
 wewe apėka-tponu-Ø ja  
 wood get.O-PstAgtNmlz-Pss Erg  
 'the one that got the wood' (Stair 015)

**4.2.2.1.5. *-top(o)* 'Circumstantial.'**<sup>45</sup> This is a very productive and very frequent suffix. It derives nouns with meanings that can vary from entities to events. This is to say that a

<sup>43</sup> Second position particles can be easily placed between two nouns in noun-noun modification: *ėluwa; ka pėtukulun; mene* 'Did you see the handsome; man;?' (cf. section 8.1.2).

<sup>44</sup> In Jackson's (1972:70) analysis, this suffix comes from "*-tpi* 'former' and *-ne* agentive". I do not adopt his analysis here because there are no occurrences of a nominalizer on an already nominalized stem (*-tpi(li)* only inflects nouns) and the past agent nominalizer ends in /nu/, not in /ne/ as would be the case if it took the agentive *-ne*.



- b. epo emaminumtoponpiĩ,  
 epo Ø-emaminumi-**topo**-Ø-npiĩ  
 finish 3-work-CircmstNmlz-Pss-Dvl  
 ‘His former job (was now) finished.’ (Jolokod 721)
- c. ẽtuutop panakmai emna kuntẽm.  
 Ø-ẽtulu-**topo**-Ø panakma-he emna kun-tẽmi  
 3-talk-CircmstNmlz-Pss hear.O-PurpMot 1+3ExclPro 3DistPst-go  
 ‘In order to listen to the talk, we went.’ (Mopelu2 022)  
 (A political talk carried out by a Brazilian in the celebrations of the *Indian Week*)

The example below shows *-top(o)* with eventive meaning, part of what is essentially a complement clause:

- 143) Ẽwiptẽimẽtop wĩĩjai  
 ẽ-w-iptẽ-jmẽ-**topo**-Ø w-ĩĩ -ja -he  
 2-SA-go.down-Resumpt-CircnstNmlz-Pss 1A3O-make.O-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘I will make you go down.’ (Eagle 071)

*-top(o)* nominalizations can occur unmarked as adverbials (an unusual pattern, since in general only core participants occur unmarked). In this context, they refer to an event with a clear sense of *purpose*:

- 144) luwe tanuptẽi, jolok amẽipatop tẽjahe.  
 luwe t-anuptẽ-he joloko amẽjipa-**topo**-Ø tẽ-ja-he  
 flute T-play.instr-He evil.spirit call.O-CircnstNmlz-Pss 3Refl-Dat-PColl  
 ‘They played the flute, (in order to) call the evil spirit to themselves.’ (Jolokoa 040-41)

In their possessed forms, stems with *-top(o)* are inflected with personal prefixes forming an absolutive category, the notional *S* for intransitive verbs and the notional *O* for transitive verbs (all the examples above). Unpossessed forms exist with *-top(o)*, but are only attested with two roots *ka* ‘say; do’ and *ehi* ‘be’:

- 145) Ẽhepeme eitop man ipok lep,  
 ẽh-epe-me ehi-**topo** mane ipoke lep  
 RecprN-friend-Attrb be-CircnstNmlz 3be good Advrs  
 ‘Being one another’s friend is good, but...’ (Eagle 036)
- 146) katop  
 ka-**topo**  
 say-CircmstNmlz  
 ‘(It is) said.’ (Jolokoc 514)

**4.2.2.2. Nominalization of adverbs and postpositions.** Adverbs and postpositions also become nouns by means of nominalizing suffixes, with adverbs taking two nominalizers and postpositions one. The ‘Participant’ nominalizer, which shows several apparent suppletive allomorphs (see Table 11 below), is taken by both adverbs and postpositions. While some allomorphs of the ‘Participant’ nominalizer occur with both classes (in table in bold), others only occur with one or the other of them. Adverbials take in addition the privative *-p̄in(i)/-m̄in(i)* (4.2.3).

Table 11  
Nominalizers of Adverbs and Postpositions

	‘Participant Nmlz’		‘Privative’
ADVERBS	-m(i)~∅ -ato -an(u) -to~lo -lon(u) -on(u)	<b>-n(u)</b> <b>-no</b>	-p̄in(i) ~ -m̄in(i)
POSTPOSITIONS	-li(l̄r) -an(o) -to	<b>-non(u)</b>	

The meaning of nominalizations with the ‘Participant’ suffix is usually that of a superlative (*malija ipokan* ‘knife the good one, i.e. ‘the best knife’), of what would be a relative clause in English (*ap̄eita ahponon* ‘get the one that is on the back), and, as both of these examples show, of definiteness. Thus, this nominalizer refers to an inherent property or to a permanent characteristic of a referent. Note that the meaning of nouns derived by the ‘Participant’ nominalizer is predictable given the meaning of the original postposition.

The factors conditioning the distribution of the different allomorphs of the ‘Participant’ nominalizer in each speech class are discussed in the next sections.

**4.2.2.2.1. Nominalization of postpositions.** The allomorphs of the ‘Participant’ nominalizer are all conditioned lexically. Container-like postpositions (all ending in /ta/, /na/, /ja/, or /wa/ take *-li(li)* (147) (*cf.* section 6.2.1.1). Postpositions ending in /e/ take *-an(o)* (148a).<sup>46</sup> All other postpositions (with the exception of the ‘away’ postpositions discussed below) take either *-n(u)*, *-no*, *-to* or *-non(u)* (148.b-d).<sup>47</sup>

- 147) a. *alīimna* ‘There is nothing/no one inside.’  
 b. *pakolo talīi* ‘one inside the house’  
 c. *kapu nalīi* ‘one in the sky’  
 d. *sisi hjalīi* ‘one in the sun’ *cf.* *sisi hnak* in Malama 009.  
 e. *tuna kwalīi* ‘one in the water’
- 148) a. *i-sanomna* ‘one who wants/desires it is missing’.  
 b. *ēpi pēkēnumna* ‘one busy with medicine (i.e. ‘nurse’; ‘doctor’) is missing’<sup>48</sup>  
 c. *makapa pono* ‘one from Macapa city’<sup>49</sup>  
 d. *ahponon* ‘one that is over something’<sup>50</sup>  
 e. *i-mnato* ‘one that does not have anything’

Though it is clear from the examples above that nominalizers occur right after the postpositional root, there are some attested cases of nominalized spatial postpositions bearing some of the spatial suffixes (*cf.* section 6.1.2.1). Such examples, however, are of limited scope. No nominalized examples with the goal markers *-k(ē)* ‘into’ and *-na* ‘to’ have been attested or accepted, but one example of the position marker *-w(ē)* ‘in’ and one of the path marker *-ilē* ‘through’ have been found in the corpus, one from coming from a text (149a), and the other coming from elicited data (149 b). Such forms, however, are so

<sup>46</sup> Most morphemes ending in /e/ have this vowel deleted when taking suffixes starting with /a/ (see also the de-adverbial nominalizers *-at(o)* and *-an(u)*, and the collective *-am(o)* in section 2.3.1.1.3): */i-he-ano/->isano*. Other examples of postpositions ending with /e/ are *eile* ‘angry at’, *pole* ‘towards’, *pune* ‘fitting’, and potentially *wake* ‘be aware of’ for which no nominalized examples exist in the database. An exception to this pattern is *ke* ‘instrumental’ which cannot be nominalized.

<sup>47</sup> No nominalized forms of the following postpositions are attested: *kwata* ‘in a port’, *ina* ‘adjacent; belonging’, *opikai* ‘under’, *uwap(o)* ‘ahead of’, *wake* ‘wary of’. No nominalized forms of *walē* ‘Uncertainty’, *wantē* ‘by one’s will’, *umpoj(e)* ‘Cause’, *ke* ‘Instrument; Source’ and *ja* ‘Dative; Agent; Causee’ have been accepted.

<sup>48</sup> Other examples are: *akēlē* ‘(Comitative) with’, *katip(i)* ‘alike’, *kuptēlē* ‘following’, *malē* ‘(Inclusive) with’, *opinē* ‘under’, *pēk(ē)* ‘about’, *pīnwē* ‘caring for’, *(u)walē* ‘knowing of’, and *wala* ‘around’.

<sup>49</sup> The only other attested example is *uno* ‘afraid of’. The nasal allomorph of *po* ‘on’ is also nominalized by *-no*: *lo mono* ‘the one on the ground’.

<sup>50</sup> The only other attested example is *uhpo* ‘on top’.

infrequent that their reliability is questionable. All container-like postpositions are all nominalized with *-li(lī)* (as seen above), except in these two examples where they take *-n(u)*:

- 149) a. *i-lopta-ilě-n* ‘something that comes from within’  
 b. *a-wě-n* ‘one that is inside’

Only one example of the path marker *-lo* ‘along’ is attested (in both texts and elicitation), and this occurs with the non-spatial meaning of *uhpo* ‘on top; better than me’:

- 150) a. *j-uhpo-lo-n* ‘one better than me’

There is, nevertheless, one solid case. For a group of postpositions (the ‘away’ postpositions (*cf.* 6.2.1.3)), the nominalizer occurs after the spatial *-j(e)* ‘away’. The nominalizers that occur with this group of postpositions are *-n(u)* or *-an(u)*:

- 151) a. */Ø-epo-je-anu/* > *epojan* ‘one that is above it’  
 b. */i-mikappo-je-nu/* > *imkahpojen* ‘one that is behind it’  
 c. */Ø-aktuppo-je-nu/* > *aktuhpojen* ‘one from up river, from the north of it’  
 d. */Ø-ameta-je-nu/* > *ametajen* ‘one from down river, from the south of it’

Thus, *-j(e)* ‘away’ is the only spatial morpheme to occur systematically in nominalized forms. As for postpositions bearing the position marker *-Ø* ‘on’, it is not possible to show whether they are nominalizable or not, for obvious reasons.

Nominalized postpositions result in inherently possessed nouns that take either a third person prefix (*i-/e-/Ø-* or the reflexive *t(i)-* (153)) or a full noun as the possessor.

- 152) a. *ěpi* *pěkěnumna* b. *ipěkěnumna*  
*ěpi* *pěkě-nu-Ø-mna* *i-pěkě-nu-Ø-mna*  
 medicine busy.with-PtNmlz-Pss-without 3-busy.with-PtNmlz-Pss-without  
 ‘(The) one busy with medicine is missing’ ‘(The) one busy with it is missing.’

- 153) a. *ilamnalī* b. *t-ěnalī*  
*i-lamna-līlī-Ø* *t-ena-līlī-Ø*  
 3-in.center.of-PtNmlz-Pss 3Refl-in.middle.of.supported-PtNmlz-Pss  
 ‘(the) one among something/someone’ ‘(the) one in his own middle; in his own lap’

- 154) a. itu htaliĩ                                   ‘one in the jungle’  
 b. istaliĩkom                                   ‘one among them’  
 c. iwaliĩptaliĩ                               ‘one that is always behind it’  
 d. ewalan                                       ‘something around it’

Forms bearing SAP prefixes were also accepted, but the few rejected examples call for further investigation:

- 155) juhpolon  
 j-uppo-lo-nu-Ø  
 1-on.top.of-along-PtNmlz-Pss  
 ‘one better (than) me’ (Walema 92)

- 156) ěpunan  
 ě-pune-ano-Ø  
 2-fitting-PtNmlz-Pss  
 ‘one that fits you’

- 157) jeilan  
 j-eile-anuo-Ø  
 1-angry.at-PtNmlz-Pss  
 ‘one who is angry with me’

*talihna* ‘in the open’ is an exception in that it takes *-li(li)* ‘PtNmlz’ but no object (cf. section 6.1.1.1)

**4.2.2.2.2. Nominalization of Adverbs.** Adverbs are nominalized by means of the participant suffix with its several allomorphs (*-an(u)*, *-on(u)*, *-non(u)*, *-n(u)*, *-ato*, *-no*, *-to* ~ *-lo*, *-lon(u)*, and *-m(i)/-Ø*) and by means of the privative suffix *-pĩn(i)/-min(i)* (cf. section 4.2.3). Of all the allomorphs of the ‘Participant’ nominalizer, *-an(u)* is the most frequent, occurring with both derived (by *-me/-pe* ‘Attributive’, with discontinuous *i-phak(ë)/i-mhak(ë)* ‘Modifier Adverbializer’) (158) and almost all non-derived adverbs ending in /e/ (159) (see exception in footnote 53 below). Unlike nouns derived from verbs and postpositions, nouns derived from adverbs do not take personal prefixes.

- 158) a. ikaphakë nma ‘really fat’  
 b. ikaphakan ‘fat one’  
 c. elamhakënu nma ‘really fat one’  
 d. pakolome ‘house-like’  
 e. pakoloman ‘one that is like a house, (i.e., a cave)’  
 f. pakolomanumna ‘there is not one like a house’
- 159) a. ahpe ‘untrue’ . ahpan ‘liar’  
 b. kupime ‘long’ . kupiman ‘long one’  
 d. kole ‘many’ . kolan ‘a lot of something’  
 e. ipoke nma ‘very good’ . ipokan ‘good one’

*-n(u)* occurs with non-derived adverbs (160) and adverbs derived with the deverbial adverbializer *-të* (161) (cf. 7.2.1.2.1); *-ato* (for adverbs ending in /e/), *-to*, *-no*, *-non(u)* and *-on(u)* all occur with non-derived adverbs (162).

- 160) a. pëtukuu ‘beautiful’  
 b. pëtukulun ‘beautiful one’<sup>51</sup>  
 c. pëtukulunu nma ‘very beautiful one’
- 161) tamusimna uutënumna  
 tamuhimna ulu-të-nu-mna  
 old.man-without talk.to-GenModAvlz-PtNmlz-without  
 ‘There is no old man, no story teller’ (Jolokob 395)
- 162) a. kokone ‘yesterday’ b. kokonato ‘One from yesterday’<sup>52</sup>  
 c. ëkëmnë ‘behind’ d. ëkëmnëto ‘One behind’<sup>53</sup>  
 e. kawë ‘tall; high’ f. kawëno ‘tall, high one’<sup>54</sup>  
 g. tuwalë ‘knowingly’ h. tuwalon ‘One that knows’<sup>55</sup>  
 i. të ‘Where?’ j. tënon ‘One from where?’<sup>56</sup>

A few adverbials can take either of the two nominalizers with no apparent difference in meaning. In (163 b) and (163 d), *-to* alternates with *-lo* and *-on(u)* with *-an(u)* (this being the only example in the database in which *-lo* occurs). In (163 f-g), the choice of *-ato* over *-an(u)* triggers a slight difference in meaning:

<sup>51</sup> Other examples are *molo* ‘there (medial)’, *jakwe* ‘sweet; salty’, *wantë(lë)* ‘later; afterwards’, *malë* ‘also; too’, etc.

<sup>52</sup> Other adverbs taking *-ato* are *ihpe/ihme* ‘Existent/having’

<sup>53</sup> Other adverbs taking *-to* are: *hemalë* ‘now; today’ and *pëkëna* ‘sole; alone.’

<sup>54</sup> The only other example is *malalë* ‘same’.

<sup>55</sup> This is the only attested example.

<sup>56</sup> This is the only attested example.



- 163) a. *hemalë* ‘today’  
 b. *ka hemalëlo ~ ka hamalëto* ‘the fish of today’  
 c. *talë* ‘here’  
 d. *talonu hnë ~ talanu hnë* ‘one from here also’  
 e. *ihme* ‘existent; having’  
 f. *ihmato* ‘the owner; the leader’  
 g. *ihman* ‘one who has it’

The four non-proximal adverbs (*cf.* sections 7.1.2.1 and 7.1.2.2) take *-lon(u)*:

- 164) a. *hej* ‘around there somewhere’      b. *hejelon* ‘one somewhere around there’  
 c. *měj* ‘around somewhere way over there’      d. *mějelon* ‘one somewhere way over there’  
 e. *sija* ‘motion in this direction’      f. *sijalon* ‘one moving this way’  
 g. *mīja* ‘motion in that direction’      h. *mījalonu hnë* ‘one moving that way also’

Adverbs derived from nouns with the discontinuous morpheme *t-k(e)* ‘Having’

(and its allomorphs *t-le* and *t-je*), and adverbs derived from verbs with *t-V-(he)*

‘Participle’ take *-m(i)* ((165 a-c) and (166 a-b), respectively), which has the allomorph *-Ø* when the resulting noun is inflected for the collective (167 a-c) and (168 a-b).<sup>57</sup>

- 165) a. *tīkatalikemīmna*      b. *tēpelem*  
*tī-katali-ke-mī-mna*      *t-ēpeli-le-mī*  
 havingAvlz-basket- HavingAvlz -PtNmlz-without      havingAvlz-fruit-havingAvlz-PtNmlz  
 ‘There is no one with a basket.’      ‘fruit’<sup>58</sup>
- c. *tīwatkījem*  
*tī-watkīli-je-mī*  
 havingAvlz-tail-havingAvlz-PtNmlz  
 ‘(an animal) with a tail’
- 166) a. *tulakanumhem*      b. *tēhem*  
*t-ulakanumī-he-mī*      *t-ē-he-mī*  
 Prtc-hunt/fish-Prtc-PtNmlz      Prtc-eat.meat-Prtc-PtNmlz  
 ‘hunter’      ‘food’
- 167) a. *tīkatalikamo*      b. *tēpelamo*  
*tī-katali-ke-Ø-amō*      *t-ēpeli-le-Ø-amō*  
 havingAvlz-basket-havingAvlz-PtNmlz-Coll      havingAvlz-fruit-havingAvlz-PtNmlz-Coll  
 ‘ones with a basket’      ‘ones with fruit’
- c. *tīwatkījamo*  
*tī-watkīli-je-Ø-amō*  
 havingAvlz-tail-havingAvlz-PtNmlz-Coll  
 ‘(animals) with tail’

<sup>57</sup> The properties of the de-verbal adverbializer *t-V-he* are discussed fully in section 7.2.1.2.3.

<sup>58</sup> *tēpelem* is an exceptional case because instead of the expected meaning ‘one with fruit; one having fruit’, the meaning of the stem resulting from nominalization is ‘fruit’, but see the collective form in (167.b below).

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| 168) | a. tulakanumhamo<br>t-ulakanumĩ-he-Ø-amo<br>Prtc-hunt/fish-Prtc-PtNmlz-Coll<br>'hunters' (Pëne 100) | b. tēhamo<br>t-ē-he-Ø-amo<br>Prtc-eat.meat-Prtc-EventNmlz-Coll<br>'all (the different types of) food'<br>(Walema2 009) |
|------|---|--|

Some synchronically non-derived adverbs seem to have once been built with the various ambifixes (*t-ke*, *t-le*, and even *\*t-me* (which does not exist in the language today)) (169 a-j), and with *-me* 'Attributive' (169 k-n). In these cases, the original nominal root is not attested or no longer occurs as a free form (see section 4.4.2 below on nominal formatives). Such adverbs are nominalized similarly to their derived equivalents: *-m(i)* occurs with all except those ending in /e/, which, following the general pattern of the language, take *-an(u)*.

- |      |                                |                              |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 169) | a. talilime 'black'            | b. taliliman 'black one'     |
|      | c. tapulunme 'dark; cloudy'    | d. tapulunman 'dark one'     |
|      | e. t̥ijule 'greenish/ bluish'  | f. t̥ijulem 'blue/green one' |
|      | g. takpile 'reddish'           | h. takpilem 'red one'        |
|      | i. t̥ikoloke 'whitish'         | j. t̥ikolokem 'white one'    |
|      | k. maikame nma 'really bitter' | l. maikaman 'bitter one'     |
|      | m. kupime 'long'               | n. kupiman 'long one'        |

**4.2.3. The suffix *-p̥in(i)/-m̥in(i)* 'Privative'.** The privative suffix is an interesting morpheme. It derives nominal stems from adverbs, but also occurs on nominal and verbal stems. Of its two allomorphs, *-m̥in(i)* is attested only with nominal stems ((174 a, c-e) and (175-176), below), while *-p̥in(i)* occurs with other forms.<sup>59</sup> Examples in (170) show non-derived adverbs inflected with this nominalizer:

- |      |                    |   |
|------|--------------------|---|
| 170) | a. ipok 'good'     | b. ipokep̥inĩ 'one without goodness!'   |
|      | c. ěile 'angry'    | d. ěilep̥in 'one without anger'         |
|      | e. maikam 'bitter' | f. maikamep̥in 'one without bitterness' |
|      | g. uwame 'well'    | h. uwamep̥in 'one constantly sick'      |
|      | i. ahpe 'untrue'   | j. ahpep̥in 'a true one'                |

<sup>59</sup> The 'Privative' suffix is odd phonologically because it is a #CV suffix that blocks syllable reduction, a job carried out almost exclusively by CCV morphemes (section 2.3.1).

Adverbials derived from nouns with *-mel/-pe* ‘Attributive’ and from verbs with *-të*

‘Generic Modifier’ also take *-pîn(i)*. In both cases, the nominal base is prefixless:<sup>60</sup>

- 171) a. *peptamepîn* ‘not biggish’  
 b. *pïipepîn* ‘shameless’  
 c. *ohanëmepîn* ‘needless’  
 d. *sitpîlîmepîn* ‘without ugly/old things’
- 172) a. *panakmatëpîn* b. *ënetëpîn*  
*panakma-të-pîni* *ëne-të-pîni*  
 listen.to.O-GenModAvlz-Priv see.O-GenModAvlz-Priv  
 ‘one that does not listen’ ‘one that does not see’

In the cases where the privative suffix occurs with nouns, for possessible stems, the nominal stem presents a prefix with the same allomorphic pattern as the third person possessive prefix, *i-*, *Ø-* (with additional front grade for nouns with ablaut), *a-* and *e-* (see section 4.1.1.1 on the allomorphy of possessive prefixes). This prefix cannot be replaced by SAP prefixes.

Another interesting aspect of nouns bearing the privative suffix is that two of the overt allomorphs of the possessive suffix, *-n(u)* and *-t(i)*, which obligatory occur with possessed nouns, do not occur. The allomorph, *-(li)*, however, occurs (174d-e). This suffix is indicated in the examples (173 b, d, e) by long vowels.

- 173) a. *i-pampila-n* ‘his/her paper’  
 b. *i-ka-t* ‘his/her/its fat’  
 c. *e-wasii* ‘his/her/its lower leg’  
 d. *a-wëlisii* ‘his sister’  
 e. *Ø-euu* ‘his/her eye’
- 174) a. *i-pampila-mîn* ‘one without paper’  
 b. *i-ka-pîn* ‘one not fat one’  
 c. *a-wëlisi-lî-mîn* ‘one without a sister’  
 d. *e-wasi-lî-mîn* ‘one without lower leg’  
 e. *Ø-eu-lu-mîn* ‘one without eye’

Thus, it seems that in a similar fashion to some adverbializing ambifixes which have been derived historically from forms bearing third person prefixes *i-* or *t-* (see

<sup>60</sup> Though prefixed forms do occur with *-mel/-pe*, there are no attested cases of such forms with *-pîn(i)*.

section 7.3), *t-N-ke* ‘Having’, *i-V-pophak* ‘Satisfactory’, among others, the third person on possessible nouns may be analyzed as the first part and *-m̄in(i)* as the second part of a new ambifix performing the job of meaning changing morphology.

There are no attested cases of *-p̄in(i)/-m̄in(i)* with adverbs derived by means of the discontinuous morphemes *t-k(e)*, *t-le*, *t-je* ‘Having’ or *t-he* ‘Participle’. An explanation for this may be that the meaning of these forms is incompatible semantically with that of the privative. The meaning of the different ambifixes is either ‘to have’ a thing (in the case of those derived from nouns: *t̄ipatuke* ‘having a pan’) or a property (in the case of those derived from verbs: *tuputse* ‘having the property of being full’).

However, the nominalized forms of the discontinuous adverbializers, referring now to an entity, can take *-m̄in(i)*.

- 175) a. *t-ē-he-m̄i-m̄in* ‘one without that which can be eaten’  
 b. *t-ēkalē-he-m̄i-m̄in* ‘one without what was given’  
 c. *t̄i-milik-he-m̄i-m̄in* ‘one without what was written’  
 d. *t̄i-jasilam-he-m̄i-m̄in* ‘one without a dry one’  
 e. *t-akpilam-he-m̄i-m̄in* ‘one without a red one’
- 176) a. *t̄i-pataa-ke-m̄i-m̄in* ‘one without a leader’  
 b. *t̄i-m̄i-le-m̄i-m̄in* ‘one without one that bleeds’  
 c. *t̄i-p̄i-je-m̄i-m̄in* ‘one without one who has a wife’

We witness a similar scenario with verbal stems. For intransitive verbs starting with a consonant, we can clearly see a third person-like prefix (177c). Transitive stems take the third person *ēn-* (178), which occurs only in negated verbal forms (*cf.* forms with the negative suffix *-la* in section 7.2.1.3).

- 177) a. *Ø-ītē-p̄in* ‘one not able to walk’  
 b. *Ø-eliku-p̄in* ‘one that cannot be killed’  
 c. *i-kaimo-p̄in̄i-np̄ē* ‘one without game.’
- 178) a. *ēn-ipohnēp̄i-p̄in* ‘one that does not think it’  
 b. *ēn-ulu-p̄in* ‘one that does not warn one’

In the case of verbs, the privative morpheme (ambifix?) has the function of deriving a nominal form.

Given the fact that nouns with the privative suffix cannot be possessed (the third person prefix-like segments cannot be replaced by *SAP* prefixes) and refer semantically to an attribute of a participant, it falls together with the class of the nominal modifiers (see section 4.1.1.3.1).

**4.2.4. The prefix *ëh(e)*- ‘Reciprocal; Reflexive’.** This prefix occurs with all major speech classes. It is very frequent and productive with verbs and postpositions, less so with adverbs, and very infrequent and non-productive with nouns. It seems to occur only with nouns whose meaning is compatible with it. Examples occurring on nouns indicate reciprocity between two entities (i.e, that two entities have the same role vis-à-vis one another). It presents three phonologically conditioned allomorphs: *ëh-* preceding consonants and *ët-* and *ëhe-* before vowels.

- 179) a. *ëh-epe-me* ‘as each other’s friend’ (Eagle 034)  
 b. *ëhepõt* ‘each other’s wives’ (Eagle 008)  
 c. *ëh-etato* ‘side by side’  
 d. *ëhe-jaton* ‘each other’s associate’  
 e. *ët-akon* ‘each other’s sibling’

In conclusion to this section, Figure 3 presents the relative order of all nominal affixes:

**[PrsPref-Root(-Nmlz)-Pss-Dvl-Coll]  
 Recpr-**

Order of nominal affixes  
 Figure 3

**4.3. Pronouns.** Wayâna presents four classes of pronouns: speech act participant pronouns, anaphoric pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative pronouns.

With the exception of *-kom(o)* ‘collective’, no morphology is found with this word class. Syntactically, pronouns present a distribution that is similar but asymmetric to that of lexical nouns. Pronouns referring to speech act participants and anaphoric pronouns cannot occur as the possessor of genitive constructions (with one exception discussed below), though personal pronouns may co-occur with a possessor for emphatic purposes.

Besides ordinary pronouns, other elements function pronominally in the language. These are *tot(o)*, a collective particle, and *ja* ‘Dative’, a postposition (4.3.2.1).

**4.3.1. Speech act participant pronouns.** The speech act pronouns present first person, second person and dual inclusive ( $1^{st}+2^{nd}$ ) and exclusive ( $1^{st}+3^{rd}$ ) forms. The collective form for first person is derived historically on the dual inclusive pronoun, rather than on the first person pronoun. However, synchronically it refers to a collective group consisting minimally of  $1^{st} + 2^{nd} + 3^{rd}$ .<sup>61</sup> The *SAP* pronouns are shown in Table 12.

Table 12  
Speech act pronouns

	Non-collective	Collective
1 <sup>st</sup>	ïu	kunmëlamkom(o)
2 <sup>nd</sup>	ëmë(lë)	ëmëlamkom(o)

	Dual inclusive
1 <sup>st</sup> +2 <sup>nd</sup>	kunmë
	Exclusive
1 <sup>st</sup> +3 <sup>rd</sup>	emna

<sup>61</sup> *Kunmëlamkom* ‘we all’ is clearly derived, at least historically, from a form with the dual pronoun *kunmë*: \**kunmë-lë-amo-komo*. *Ëmëlamkom* ‘you all’ seems derived from \**ëmë-lë-amo-komo*. Both forms present an idiosyncratic co-occurrence of two collective morphemes *-am(o)* and *-kom(o)* (cf. section 4.1.2 for a discussion of these forms)

180) *tumna manu wai;*  
*ɪwu-mna manu wahe*  
 1Pro-without Irrealis 1be  
 ‘I wouldn’t be here.’ (Ēkēi 026)

181) *moloinē, ɛmēē ken, kaikē;*  
*molojinē ɛmēlē ken kaji-kē*  
 then 2Pro Adivitive say -ProxImp  
 ‘Then, you also say (it).’ (Iguana 038)

The pronominal forms *kunmē* and *emna* include two persons of the paradigm. *kunmē* includes first and second person (thus, including the hearer) and *emna* includes first and third person (thus, excluding the hearer). *Kunmē* refers to only one other participant. *Emna*, on the other hand, may refer to one or to several third person participants.

182) *tuhmoi lēken emna ja mēkjalē ja*  
*t-upmo-he lēken emna ja mēkjalē ja*  
 T-kill.O/hit.O-He only 1+3ExclPro Erg DemAnmMedColl Erg

*ɪpēinomo ja*  
*ɪ-pēj-Ø-nomo ja*  
 1-child-Pss-Coll Erg  
 ‘We, they, my children, killed it only (by hitting it).’ (Alawaka 037)

183) *malonme emna tumēkēmēi Elamakani malē*  
*malonme emna t-umēkī-ēmē-he elamakani malē*  
 then 1+3ExclPro T-come-Resumpt-He Elamakani Includ.with  
 ‘Then, we came back, me with Elamakani.’ (Fishing 007)

184) *kunmē kuhepui*  
*kunmē kuh -epuhi -Ø*  
 1+2Pro 1+2SO-get.fat-RecPst  
 ‘The two of us (you and I) got fat.’

Both, *emna* and *kunmē* can occur as the possessors in genitive constructions, in complementary distribution with personal prefixes (examples with *kunmē* as the possessor were all elicited):

185) a. *emna pakolon.*  
*emna pakolo-nu*  
 1+3ExclPro house-Pss  
 our house

b. \**emna ipakolon*

c. *kunmē umhet.*  
*kunmē umhe-tī*  
 1+2Pro hair-Pss  
 ‘our hair’.

d. \* *kunmë* *kumhet*

Morphosyntactically, *emna* behaves similarly to lexical nouns, triggering co-referential third person prefixes on Set I verbs (compare it in (187) with *kunmë* in (184)). Unlike any other pronoun, *emna*'s co-occurrence with verbs is obligatory; otherwise third person is interpreted (188).<sup>62</sup> Like nouns, *emna* is in complementary distribution with *3A3O* pronominal prefixes in the object slot (186), a possibility that is not clear for *kunmë* given the inconsistent evaluations on the acceptance of such cases by native speakers.

186) *Emna*            *alëimëne*            *tot.*  
*emna*            *alë-jmë-ne*            *toto*  
 1+3ExclPro    take.O-Resumpt-DistPst    3Coll  
 'They took us.' (Mopelu2 028)

187) *mala emna*            *numëkëmë*            *lep ipok lëken*  
*mala emna*            *n -umëkĩ-ëmë-Ø*            *lep ipoke lëken*  
*so*    1+3ExclPro    3SA-come-Resumpt-RecPst    Advrs good only  
 'But, we arrived just well.' (Jolokod 598)

188) *numëkëmë*  
*n-umëkĩ-ëmë-Ø*  
 3SA-come-Resumpt-RecPst  
 '(He) arrived.' (\*We arrived.)

**4.3.2. Third person pronouns.** These are anaphoric pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns can occupy the syntactic slot of the possessor; anaphoric pronouns cannot.

**4.3.2.1. *inëlë(lë)* and the pronoun-like elements *tot(o)* and *eja*.** These elements occur in texts referring to the most important, most salient, best-defined, and best-known third person participant. Though coming from different sources (*tot(o)* behaves morphosyntactically as a particle and *eja* as a postpositional phrase (see section 6.2.4)), both forms function as pronouns. In clauses with a Set I verb, both *tot(o)* and *inëlë(lë)*



occur, their occurrence not being determined by their syntactic role, though *inələ(lə)* does not seem to occur in the O slot. In clauses with a t-V-(h)e verb, these forms occur in specific syntactic positions. This is shown in Table 13.

Table 13  
Distribution of third person anaphoric 'pronouns' in texts

	singular	collective
ABSOLUTIVE	<i>inələ(lə)</i>	<i>inamolo/tot(o)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>eja</i>	<i>ejahe</i>

In texts, all of the forms in Table 13 occur referring almost exclusively to human participants. However, occurrences of at least *inələ(lə)* and *eja* referring to inanimate participants have also been attested (though no occurrences of inanimate *inələ(lə)*'s are found in texts; one occurrence of the inanimate *eja* is attested in a text). Most cases in the database are with the pronoun *inələ(lə)*. The example in (198) comes from an elicitation session with two consultants (the question asked in Portuguese is translated here into English), and the example in (190) comes from a conversation:

- 189) (linguist) – What is the word for 'shelf'?  
 (consultant A) – 'shelf'?  
 (linguist) – Yes, 'shelf'.  
 (consultant A) – *əə, ahmit...Inələə?* 'Um, *ahmit*...Is that it?'  
 (consultant B) – *İhi, inələə.* 'Yes, that is it'

- 190) – *sin ka pa əsandajan ?*  
*hiñi ka pa ə-sandaja-nu*  
 DemInanProx Quest Quest 2-sandals-Pss  
 'Are these your sandals?'

- *inələə*  
*inələlə*  
 3Pro.Anph  
 'It's it/them.'

As stated above, in texts, the only inanimate anaphoric pronoun used is *mələ*, primarily a demonstrative pronoun (see below).

<sup>62</sup> This pronoun resembles Portuguese *a gente* 'us' which comes historically from a third person form ('the

It is interesting that *tot(o)* occurs more frequently to mark the collective absolute than *inamolo*, which is the morphological collective equivalent of *inēlē(lē)*. The low frequency of *inamolo* (and the high frequency of *tot(o)*) indicates that the former may be disappearing.

**4.3.2.2. Demonstrative pronouns.** All forms of demonstrative pronouns are distinguished by three main semantic parameters, *deixis*, *animacy* and *collectivity*. Table 14 below shows that the demonstrative pronouns form a system with three degrees of deixis (proximal, medial and distal; cf. section 7.1.2.1 for a description of the same three degrees of deixis for adverbs), two degrees of animacy (animate and inanimate), and two degrees of collectivity (collective and non-collective).<sup>63</sup> In the collective forms of pronouns, it is easy to identify the shape of some collective suffixes (*-kom(o)* for inanimate pronouns, and *-am(o)* or *-jam(o)* for animate pronouns). Note that some forms seem to present a reflex of, perhaps, an old morpheme *\*mē*.

Table 14  
Demonstrative Pronouns

Animacy	Animate		Inanimate	
	singular	collective	singular	collective
Proximal	mě(s)i, mēhe(lē)	mēhe-am(o), mēha(lē)	sin(ŕ)~mēsín; helē	sin-kom(o) helē-kom(o)
Medial	mēklē(lē)	mēkja(lē)	mēlē	mēlē-kom(o)
Distal	mēk(ŕ)	mēkjam(o)	mīn(ŕ)	mīn(ŕ)-kom(o)

Further research is needed to clarify potential semantic distinctions between the different proximal forms of both the animate and the inanimate pronouns. It is possible,

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people’) and still triggers third person agreement on verbs (*a gente fala* ‘we speak’).

<sup>63</sup> Visibility has been reported as a distinctive feature for pronouns at least for Tiriyo (Meira 1999:156) and Panare (Gildea 1989). Jackson (1972:65) indicates that some pronouns are used for ‘distant or unseen’ referents. Since no indication of ‘visibility’ as a distinctive feature exists for all demonstrative pronouns, ‘visibility’ is best analyzed here as consequence of the ‘distal’ deixis (referents may be so distant that may not be visible)

nevertheless, to detect a few nuances; *helë* is more like a presentative, as in *helë kan womi pampilan* ‘this is the word of God’, while *sin* emphasizes the location ‘this one here’ (as opposed to another). In addition, *helë* may be used to refer to an abstract entity (a story, a happening), while *sin(i)* seems only to refer to concrete objects spatially located. As for the animate forms, no distinctions have been yet detected.

Some referents seem to be construable as either animate or inanimate as indicated by the choice of the demonstrative pronouns. This is the case with stars, for example:<sup>64</sup>

- 191) a. *mëklëë puupuu* ‘That (is) the *Turtle* constellation’  
 b. *mëlë kaikui* ‘That (is) the *Jaguar* constellation’

**4.3.2.3. Interrogative pronouns.** Only two interrogative pronouns are attested in Wayâna:

Table 15  
Interrogative Pronouns

	animated	inanimate
non-collective	ënik(ï)	ëtï
collective	ënikjam(o)	ëtïkom(o)

Both the animate and the inanimate pronouns can be used to elicit the identity of a referent (‘who’/‘what’) or to choose among a limited set (‘which one’)?

- 192) *ëniki htak tütëi hemele*  
*ënikï tta-kë tï-w-ïtë-he hemele*  
 who among-into T-SA-go-He now  
 ‘To which others did they go now?’

- 193) *ëtï alëja pa*  
*ëtï alë-ja pa*  
 what take.O-NPst Quest  
 ‘Which one will (he) take?’

<sup>64</sup> A similar case is found in Tiriyó (Meira 1999:155).

Other pronoun-like morphemes are all nominalized adverbs or combination of adverbs with particles (*tënon(u)* ‘which one?’, *ta phele* ‘how many’, *tala aptau* ‘when?’ (see section 7.1.2).

**4.4. Special cases.** This section presents some irregular nouns and some unusual cases that require a closer look. These are some roots with idiosyncratic allomorphs, nominal formatives, ambivalent roots, compound-like nouns, and sound symbolic words.

**4.4.1. Idiosyncratic roots.** Some roots present some particular phonological alternations in their last vowels:

- 194) a. *ĩ-mumkuu* ‘my son’  
b. *ĩ-mumku-lu psik* ‘my little son’  
c. *j-akon mumkë* ‘my sister’s son’
- 195) a. *wapot* ‘fire’  
b. *wapoto psik* ‘small fire’  
c. *ĩ-waptë-lĩ psik* ‘my small fire’
- 196) a. *ëlinat* ‘plate’  
b. *ëlinatë-mna* ‘without a plate’  
c. *j-elinatuu* ‘my plate’  
d. *j-elinatu-lu-mna* ‘without my plate’
- 197) a. *ëlimak* ‘baking plate’  
b. *ëlimakë psik* ‘small baking plate’  
c. *j-elimakĩ* ‘my baking plate’  
d. *j-elimakĩ-lĩ psik* ‘my small baking plate’

**4.4.2. Nominal formatives.** Some nominal roots only occur accompanied by nominal morphology or particles or another noun, but never in isolation. In some cases, they are easily parseable and have a very specific meaning; in other cases, they are not. Though it is not possible to access the history of each form, for the purposes of facilitating further research, a list of such forms is given below.

a) Forms occurring only with other nouns (198-203), or other morphemes (204-205), but never on their own (shown in bold):

198)	a. kasili	'potato (sp.)'	b. kasili <b>kononto</b>	'juice of kasili potato'
199)	a. wapot	'fire'	b. wapot <b>ahkon</b>	'firewood'
200)	a. <b>ětī</b>	'what?'	b. <b>ėnīk</b>	'who?'
	c. <b>ětī pena</b>	'something'	d. <b>ėnīk pena</b>	'someone'
201)	a. <b>ėpė</b>	'arm'	b. <b>ėpė tumu</b>	'shoulder'
202)	a. uwak	'waist'	b. uwak <b>silili</b>	'intestines'
203)	a. amo	'his hand'	b. omo <b>hawin</b>	'fingernails'
204)	a. <b>kawemna</b>	'without high, tall ones'	b. <b>kawemhak</b>	'tall; high'
205)	a. <b>jumhak</b>	'burning'	b. <b>jumna</b>	'without burning'

b) Forms occurring with what seems to once have been the discontinuous

morphemes: *i-phak(ė)/ i-mhak(ė)*, *t-ke*, *\*t-m(e)* (?):

- 206) a. **asiphak** 'hot'; b. **asimhak** 'fast'; c. **īkīphak** 'hard'; d. **ēmēmhak** 'greedy'; e. **anumhak** 'strong'; f. **akalephak** 'far'; g. **elamhak** 'afraid'.
- 207) a. **talilime** 'black'; b. **tījule** 'green/blue'; c. **takpile** 'red'; d. **tīkoloke** 'white'; e. **tameheke** 'careful'; f. **tīpėke** 'smelly'; g. **tīnme** 'quiet/still'; h. **tapulunme** 'dark'.

d) Nouns ending in what seems to be the devaluative suffix. There seems to exist

a continuum of integration of the devaluative going from nouns for which there is a free form and where the devaluative is clearly added (*pakolo-tpė* 'old, abandoned house'), to forms in which the remnants of the devaluative can still be parsed due to morphemic alternations but with no difference in meaning between the allomorphs, such as

208)	a. <b>a-wotpīī</b>	'his aunt'	b. to-wo-ke la	'without having an aunt'
209)	a. <b>uputpė</b>	'head'	b. <b>tupkai</b>	'to behead'
210)	a. <b>pitpė</b>	'skin'	b. <b>tīpikai</b>	'to skin'

and forms for which the 'devaluative' cannot be synchronically parsed, such as

- 211) a. **tutpė** 'vase'; b. **pītpė** 'tapioca'; c. **pėkėnatpė** 'one'; d. **ikutpė** 'lake'; e. **halihalilapitpė** 'bird.sp'; f. **junutpė** 'biggish'; g. **kuliputpė** 'turtle.sp'; h. **makalaputpė** 'bird.sp'; i. **moholotpė** 'potato.sp, monkey.sp'; j. **watasitpė** 'thin'; k. **ukupitpė** 'caterpillar.sp'; l. **kaikusinpė** 'warriors'; m. **munpė** 'rat'; n. **akwalitpė** 'ghost'.

c) Forms that have several allomorphs, each apparently having more than one

morpheme, but with no difference in meaning:

- 212) a. pëitopit; b. peito ‘children’  
 c. ipëinom ‘my children’  
 d. (\*pëi)

**4.4.3. Compound-like nouns.** Some genitive phrases resemble compounds in that they may refer to an entity which is different from the strict sum of its parts. However, in all cases, the meanings of such forms are still somewhat apparent from their parts. The few existing examples are shown below: (see the cases of the relational \*j, which also comes from possession (4.1.1.1.1):

- 213) a. ituhale ‘leaf’ (itu ‘jungle’ + ale ‘leaf’ = ‘jungle’ leaf’);  
 b. ituwakii ‘Indian’ (itu ‘jungle’ + akii ‘breed’ = ‘jungle’s breed’)  
 c. maipuliawëm ‘wasp (sp.)’ (maipuli ‘tapir’ + awëm ‘penis’ = ‘tapir’s penis’)  
 d. maipuliwet ‘wasp (sp.)’ (maipuli ‘tapir’ + wet ‘feces’ = ‘tapir’s feces’)

In some cases, the composing parts have become obscure due to syllable reduction:

- 214) a. apletii ‘its dorsal fin’ (from apëë ‘his arm’ + letii ‘tail’)  
 215) b. imaletii ‘its lower fin’ (from ma ‘?’ + letii ‘tail’)  
 216) c. juhmit ‘my bandana’ (the cover of my head?) (from upu ‘head’ + mitii ‘cover’)

**4.4.4. Sound symbolic words.** These roots are difficult to classify because they present very limited syntactic distribution, generally occurring with no additional morphology either in isolation or preceding the verbs ka ‘say’ or ëti(li) ‘become’. Semantically, they present a rich range of lexical meanings that go from onomatopoeic imitation to arbitrary reference to non-auditory events. Some examples are presented in Figure 4. (Examples have been arranged somewhat intuitively for illustrative purposes).

Onomatopoeic			Arbitrary		
←----->					
<i>tintin</i>	'metal banging'	<i>tuk</i>	'pull'	<i>tək</i>	'think'
<i>atsu</i>	'sneeze'	<i>helep</i>	'turn head'	<i>emukle</i>	'stop working'
<i>houhouhou</i>	'bark'	<i>som</i>	'stand up'	<i>hemik</i>	'disappear'
<i>iii</i>	'monkey cry'	<i>tuhtu</i>	'walk'	<i>alok</i>	'pierce'
<i>kuhku</i>	'chant of the <i>kuhku</i> bird'	<i>hee</i>	'noise of something moving in the bushes'	<i>hiwilin</i>	'kill'
<i>kutonkkutonk</i>	'drink water'	<i>henuk</i>	'jump'	<i>kama</i>	'to end'
<i>lonklonklon</i>	'play flute'	<i>sak</i>	'cut'	<i>kolo</i>	'sit down'
<i>pisokpisok</i>	'to nurse'	<i>hamham</i>	'stomach-ache'	<i>awən</i>	'to decide'
<i>pilihpulip</i>	'to throb'	<i>hikok</i>	'choke'	<i>hawele</i>	'to dawn'
<i>suksuk</i>	'to suck'	<i>itu</i>	'spit'	<i>kui</i>	'to scream'
<i>toktok</i>	'pulsate; shake'	<i>kalakakak</i>	'snap'	<i>kilim</i>	'be inert'
<i>toponk</i>	'drop in water'	<i>kaweh</i>	'paddle'	<i>kilik</i>	'to move'
		<i>koken</i>	'jaguar's roar'	<i>kilitititit</i>	'to tie'
		<i>kilim</i>	'heart beat'	<i>lok</i>	'to pierce'
		<i>kilititēi</i>	'grit teeth'		

### Sound Symbolic words

Figure 4

Some grammatical properties indicate that sound symbolic words may be classifiable as nouns, though they do not take any nominal inflectional morphology and cannot occur in the slots in which core participants are found. Like nouns, however, they can occur with the de-nominal verbalizers *-ka* and *-ma* (cf. section 5.4.1.2), with the adverbializer *-me*, and there are even examples with postpositions.<sup>65</sup>

217) *malonme tokpilopkaimēi*  
 malonme t-**okpilop-ka**-jmē-he  
 then T-untie.snd-PrivVrblz-Resumpt-He  
 'Then, (he) untied (it).' (Jolokoa 216)

218) *emna kunepolepkaimē*  
 emna kun-e-**polep-ka**-jmē  
 1+3ExclPro 3DistPst-Det-arrive.snd-PrivVrblz-Resumpt  
 'We arrived.' (Pēne 117)

219) a. kolome man 'He is seated.'  
 b. tuhtume wītējai 'I will go running.'  
 c. walawalame la eikē 'Do not salute anybody.'  
 d. kulume neha malija 'knife was in a hole' (kulu 'in a hole')

<sup>65</sup> This is not true for all sound symbolic words. Many constructed examples were rejected by speakers.

220) pitam tĭkai  
 pitam tĭ-ka-he  
 drip T-say-He  
 'It dripped.'

221) wepĭma pakolo pitam nau.  
 w-epĭ-ma-Ø pakolo pitam na-wĕ  
 1A3O-tree-GiveVrbz-RecPst house drip in.boundless.loc-into  
 'I planted on by the side of the house' (i.e., where it drips from the rain).

Sound symbolic words do not take oblique markers when occurring with *ka* 'say; do'. That could be seen as an indication that they are not nouns (which must take oblique markers if not occurring as core participants), but adverbial-like elements or even particles. However, this possibility is discarded here due to the fact that adverbials take derivational morphology (sound symbolic words do not) and that particles cannot occur in isolation (while sound symbolic words frequently do so). Besides, in looking at nouns occurring as the semantic 'object' of *ka*, one notices that they occur unmarked:

222) *lome kalipono mĕnke coberta*  
 lome kalipono mĕn -ka -ja coberta  
 but non.Wayĕna 3SACertnty-say-NPst blanket  
 'But the non-Wayĕna (Brazilians) say *coberta*.' (Jolokoa 009)

Furthermore, some nouns encoding animal names have a reduplicated form and a particular phonological pattern that suggest an onomatopoeic origin (*cf.* example (236) in section 2.6).<sup>66</sup>

Thus, though not prototypical members, sound symbolic words are considered as belonging to the noun class. For the few attested cases, all morphology taken by a sound symbolic form is nominal.

<sup>66</sup> This is pattern has been reported for other languages. In Miwok, for instance, animals are named after sound symbolic words which are descriptive of the sound the animals make (Wash 1999). In Wayĕna, besides animal names, the noun [ʃuʃu]~[huhu] 'nurse, milk, breast' also seems to be onomatopoeic in origin.



## 5. VERBS.

Verbs are easily distinguished from members of other speech classes. They take unique personal prefixes for intransitive and transitive Verbs, TAM morphology, valence increasing, valence decreasing morphology, and they present negated forms. Some of these features are seen in these examples:

- 1) *Wokopojai*  
w-oko-po-ja-he  
1A3O-cut.O-Caus-NPst-SapAff  
'I will make (him/her) cut it.'
- 2) *Ēwinik.*  
ëw-iniki-Ø  
2S<sub>O</sub>-sleep-RecPst  
'You slept.'

Figure 1 shows the order of the affixes:

Person prefx.	Them. prefx.	Det	ROOT	Verbal- izers	Transitiv- izers	Caus.	Tense	Aspect	SAP Aff.
------------------	-----------------	-----	------	------------------	---------------------	-------	-------	--------	-------------

Figure 1  
Order of Affixes on verbs

The root may be a monomorphemic verb or a noun plus a verbalizer. 'Them' stands for a thematic prefix, 'Det.' stands for a detransitivizing prefix, and 'SAP Aff.' is a morpheme marking that the subject is a speech-act participant in an affirmative sentence. With so much grammatical information within the verbal word, verbs readily occur alone as full sentences in the language.

Semantically, verbs express events, processes, states, *etc.* One interesting aspect of Wayâna grammar is that some forms presenting such properties are not verbs. This is the case for sound symbolic words, grammatically nouns, that can express concepts that one would usually express in the verbal category: *tëk* 'think,' *tuhtu* 'walk,' *kilititik* 'tie

up,' *hemik* 'disappear,' *etc.* (*cf.* 4.4.4). Similarly, postpositions may carry meanings usually associated with verbs, such as 'know,' 'fear,' 'desire,' 'be angry at,' *etc.* (*cf.* 6.2.3).

**5.1. Verbal allomorphy.** Most of the verb classes proposed by Jackson (1972:49) for Wayâna are accounted for by the process of syllable reduction (*cf.* described in detail in section 2.3.1). In general, verb stems present long and short allomorphs, depending on the nature of their last segment and whether or not they are followed by particular morphemes:

a) Verb stems ending with the high vowels /i/ and /u/ reduce when followed by CV suffixes or by -Ø 'Recent past' (Examples bear *w-* '1A3O,' *m-* '2A3O,' and *j-* '1S0').

- |    |    |         |                 |   |          |                                  |
|----|----|---------|-----------------|---|----------|----------------------------------|
| 3) | a. | /inĩkĩ/ | 'sleep'         | → | jĩnĩkjai | 'I am going to sleep'            |
|    | b. | /enepĩ/ | 'bring O'       | → | wenepjai | 'I am going to bring it'         |
|    | c. | /elepĩ/ | 'make O afraid' | → | jelep    | 'He/she/it just made me afraid.' |
|    |    |         |                 |   |          |                                  |
| 4) | a. | /ětuku/ | 'have a meal'   | → | wětukjai | 'I am going to have a meal'      |
|    | b. | /ukuku/ | 'try O'         | → | mukukjai | 'You are going to try it'        |
|    | c. | /ėku/   | 'eat bread'     | → | wėkjai   | 'I am going to eat bread'        |

b) Verb stems ending with /li/ or /lu/ reduce leaving compensatory lengthening on the preceding vowel:

- |    |    |        |               |   |            |                      |
|----|----|--------|---------------|---|------------|----------------------|
| 5) | a. | /li/   | 'make O'      | → | wĩĩjajai   | 'I am making it.'    |
|    | b. | /ulu/  | 'talk to'     | → | (w)uujai   | 'I am talking to O'  |
|    | c. | /ikiĩ/ | 'take O from' | → | wikiĩjajai | 'I am taking O from' |

6) Some two-syllable stems ending with /i/ and /u/ do not reduce (/w/ deletes before /u/, *cf.* section 2.2.3):

- |    |     |           |   |            |                        |
|----|-----|-----------|---|------------|------------------------|
| a) | eli | 'drink O' | → | weliĩjai   | 'I am drinking it'     |
|    |     |           | → | weli       | 'I drank it'           |
| b) | upi | 'bathe O' | → | (w)upiĩjai | 'I will bathe him/her' |
|    |     |           | → | (w)upi     | 'I bathed him/her'     |
| c) | iki | 'grate O' | → | wikiĩjai   | 'I will grate it.'     |
|    |     |           | → | wiki       | 'I grated it'          |

The stem *ěku* ‘eat bread’ reduces before CV suffixes, but not in the recent past

(compare (4c) with (7) below):

7) *wěku* ‘I just ate bread’

c) Stems having /h/ as their last consonant undergo /h/ deletion before CV suffixes and -Ø ‘Recent past,’ but not with /jV/ suffixes (*cf.* section 2.3.1.3.2 for a complete discussion):

8) /apěhi/ ‘grab O’ → apěikě ‘Grab it!’  
→ wapěi ‘I just grabbed it.’  
→ wapěhjai ‘I am grabbing it.’

Verb stems ending with the other vowels, /i/, /e/, /ě/, /o/, and /a/, do not reduce, but the suffixes may reduce (*cf.* section 2.3.1.1.1.1 for the reducing suffixes).

**5.1.1. Ablaut.** Some verb stems alternate their first vowel, /e/~/ě/, /a/~/o/, or /a/~/ě/, depending on the morphological context. The first vowel of each pair is labeled here as front grade and the second as back grade. The front grade vowel occurs in the majority of contexts, and the back grade vowel occurs only in the following contexts (*cf.* section 2.3.8 for a complete discussion):

a) In stems inflected by /t/- and /k/- prefixes:

9) a. /ene/~/ěne/ ‘see O’ → wene ‘I saw it’  
→ těnei ‘seen’  
→ kěne ‘He/she/it saw us.’  
b. /apěhi/~/ěpěhi/ ‘grab O’ → wapěi ‘I grabbed it’  
→ těpěihe ‘grabbed’  
→ kěpěi ‘He/she/it grabbed us.’  
c. /anopĩ/~/onopĩ/ ‘paint O’ → wanop ‘I painted it’  
→ tonophe ‘painted’  
→ konop ‘He/she/it painted us.’

b) In stems inflected with the adverbializing morphemes *-tě* and *-tse* (*cf.*

7.2.1.2.1). (There are no attested cases of stems with /ě/~/a/ alternation and *-tse*):

- 10) a. *ënetë* 'able to see.'  
 b. *ënetse* 'specialist in seeing.'
- 11) *ëpëitë* 'able to grab.'
- 12) a. *onoptë* 'able to paint.'  
 b. *onotse* 'specialist in painting.'

Only transitive and intransitive S<sub>O</sub> stems undergo this process. No examples of ablaut with S<sub>A</sub> intransitive verbs are attested.

**5.1.2. Minor patterns.** There are some patterns affecting only some specific verb stems.

Verb stems ending in /a/ present an idiosyncratic allomorph with *-ja*, the non-past suffix:

Va+ja → [e] (Examples with *oko* 'cut' are offered for comparison; cf. also Derbyshire

1985 for a parallel pattern in Hixkariana):

- 13) a. *wika* 'I spoke'  
 b. *wikei* 'I am speaking.'  
 c. (\**wikajai*)
- 14) *wipanakma* 'I heard it.'  
*wipanakmei* 'I am hearing it.'  
 (\**wipanakmajai*)
- 15) a. *woko* 'I cut it.'  
 b. *wokojai* 'I am cutting it.'

Some verbal stems present more than one phonemic allomorph. Examples include the verbal stem *ë/ewakam(i)~wakam(i)*, with the first allomorph occurring depending on the morphological context (*iwakam* 'I sat down,' *ëwakamkë* 'Sit down!,' but *newakam* 'He sat down,' *ewakamila* 'not to sit down,' *tëwakamhe* 'sit,' with /e/ being historically perhaps the third person genitive prefix (cf. 4.1.1.1 for the genitive prefixes and 7.2.1.3 for negative adverbialized forms retaining the third person prefix *e-*) and the verbal stem *lasilam(i)~jasilam(i)* 'S dry' where /l/ and /j/ occur in free variation.

The S<sub>A</sub> intransitive verbs *ka(i)* ‘say; do,’ (*u*)*mëk(i)* ‘come’, and (*i*)*tëk(i)* ‘go’ present a more complex pattern with regard to their potential first vowel, which occurs depending on the morphological context (*cf.* for S<sub>A</sub>). In the case of personal prefixes, a first vowel occurs with *w-* ‘1<sup>st</sup>,’ *m-* ‘2<sup>nd</sup>,’ and *n-* ‘3<sup>rd</sup>,’ but not with *mën-* ‘3<sup>rd</sup> certainty,’ *kun-* ‘3<sup>rd</sup> Distant Past,’ and with the 1+2<sup>nd</sup> prefixes *kut-* and *kup-* (examples are inflected with *-Ø* ‘Recent past’ or *-ja* ‘Non-past’ (a+ja→e, as in *ka~ke* in the examples below) or with the allomorph of the 1+2<sup>nd</sup> prefix *kut-* → *kun* / \_\_nasal (*cf.* 2.3.2.2 for nasal assimilation); /w/→Ø / /u/, as in *umëk* below)<sup>1</sup>:

	<i>w-</i> ‘1 <sup>st</sup> ’	<i>m-</i> ‘2 <sup>nd</sup> ’	<i>n-</i> ‘3 <sup>rd</sup> ’	<i>mën-</i> ‘3 <sup>rd</sup> C’	<i>kun-</i> ‘3 <sup>rd</sup> DP’	1+2 <sup>nd</sup>
16)	a. <b>umëk</b>	b. <b>mumëk</b>	c. <b>numëk</b>	d. <b>mënmëk</b>	e. <b>kunmëk</b>	f. <b>kunmëk</b>
	a. <b>witëm</b>	b. <b>mitëm</b>	c. <b>nitëm</b>	d. <b>mëntëja</b>	e. <b>kuptëm</b>	f. <b>kuntëm</b>
	a. <b>wika</b>	b. <b>mika</b>	c. <b>nika</b>	d. <b>mënke</b>	e. <b>kutke</b>	f. <b>kunka</b>

In other environments, the three verb stems present distinct patterns: negated verb forms (17), *t-V-(h)e* forms (18), Imperative forms (19), and nominalizations (with the circumstantial nominalizer *-top(o)* in the examples in (21) below, but the same pattern is attested for cases with *-Ø* ‘Specific event nominalizer’ and cases with the postpositionalizing suffix *-tihwë* ‘Posteriority’ (6.3). For the purpose of motion suffix, data are provided only for *ka(i)* (20). Vowel lengthening occurs for *ka(i)* and (*i*)*të(mi)* in the *t-V-(h)e* forms and for the prefixes in nominalizations, the third person *i-* in the examples below. (/mëki/→[mëh] is a result of syllable reduction and consonant dissimilation: /kk/→[hk] (2.3.2.3))

17)	a. <b>umëkila</b>	b. <b>itëla</b>	c. <b>kala</b>
18)	a. <b>tumëkhe</b>	b. <b>tütëi</b>	c. <b>tīkai</b>
19)	a. <b>mëhkë</b>	b. <b>itëk</b>	c. <b>kaikë</b>
20)			<b>kahe</b>
21)	a. <b>imëktop</b>	b. <b>iitëtop</b>	c. <b>iikatop</b>

<sup>1</sup> Wayâna presents two sets of intransitive verbs called the SO verbs and the SA verbs. These classes are discussed in the next section.

Teasing apart the forms of the roots and the forms of the prefixes is not a simple task. In the forms of *(u)mëk(i)* ‘come,’ it is clear that for all forms with a prefix where the stem starts with a /u/, the prefixes have a consonantal shape (*w-,m-, n-, t-, etc.*) since prefixes never occur anywhere else with /u/ as a second vowel. Also, in the prefixless forms of *(u)mëk(i)*, as in the imperative and in the negative forms, /u/ occurs as part of the root. For *(i)të(mi)* ‘go’ and *ka(i)* ‘say; do,’ the question is more complex. Prefixes with /i/ as a second vowel exist for roots starting with a consonant (this being the case for the t-V-(h)e forms, *tï-pankma-i* ‘heard’; cf. also 4.1.1.1, 7.2.1.1.2.1). Thus, the important question here is whether these roots start with a vowel or a consonant. Given the scenario above, this is not a clear matter, but since the prefixless forms, the imperative and negative forms, show a distinction between *(i)të(mi)* and *ka(i)*, the first starting with /i/ and the second with a consonant, we consider that *(i)të(mi)* fits the general pattern and takes the same set of prefixes as *(u)mëk(i)*, but *ka(i)* takes the idiosyncratic prefixes *wï-, mï-, and nï-*.

A possibility to be investigated is whether historically *ka(i)* started with /i/, which was deleted except after these prefixes. It is interesting that this stem takes the 1+2<sup>nd</sup> person prefix *kut-*, which occurs elsewhere only with stems starting with the high vowels /i/ or /u/ or with /a/ (see section 5.3.1.1).

The vowel lengthening in the t-V-(h)e forms and in nominalizations may be a historical residue of /w/ (cf. section 5.1.4 below).

**5.1.3. The thematic prefixes *i-* and *t(i)-*.** Verbs stems present two recurrent morphemes that are devoid of meaning, the thematic prefixes *i-*, for all verbs starting with

consonants, and *t(i)-*, for only a few transitive verb forms. Each of these prefixes is restricted to some specific morphosyntactic contexts.

We start by presenting transitive verbal forms that do not present the thematic prefixes: those are forms with the suffix *-të* ‘Generic modifying adverbializer’ and forms in phrases with a pre-verbal noun, e.g. 3A3O S1 verb forms with a pre-verbal O, purpose of motion forms with a nominal O, and verbal nominalization with a nominal possessor, exemplified here with *-Ø* ‘Specific event nominalizer.’<sup>2</sup> The verb *panakma* ‘hear O; listen to O’ represents the most general class. The stems *je* ‘cook O,’ *kap(i)* ‘craft O,’ and *iki* ‘grate O’ all present distinct allomorphic patterns, discussed below.<sup>3</sup>

- |     |                                   |                                 |
|-----|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 22) | a. <b>panakmatë</b>               | ‘able to hear’                  |
|     | b. <b>ikitë</b>                   | ‘able to grate’                 |
|     | c. <b>jetë</b>                    | ‘able to cook’                  |
|     | d. <b>kaptë</b>                   | ‘able to weave’                 |
| 23) | a. kulasi <b>panakma</b>          | ‘He/she/it heard the rooster’   |
|     | b. ulu <b>iki</b>                 | ‘She grated manioc’             |
|     | c. tëhem <b>je</b>                | ‘She cooked food’               |
|     | d. pilasi <b>kap</b>              | ‘He wove a basket’              |
| 24) | a. witem elemitop <b>panakmai</b> | ‘I went to hear the singing’    |
|     | b. witem ulu <b>ikihe</b>         | ‘I went to grate manioc’        |
|     | c. witem tëhem <b>jei</b>         | ‘I went to cook food’           |
|     | d. witem pilasi <b>kaphe</b>      | ‘I went to weave a basket’      |
| 25) | a. lalio <b>panakmalì</b> htau    | ‘in the listening of the radio’ |
|     | b. ulu <b>ikilì</b> htau          | ‘in the grating of the manioc’  |
|     | c. tëhem <b>jelì</b> htau         | ‘in the cooking of the food’    |
|     | d. pilasi <b>kapilì</b> htau      | ‘in the weaving of the basket’  |
| 26) | a. <b>tìpanakmai</b>              | ‘heard’                         |
|     | b. <b>tìkihe</b>                  | ‘grated’                        |
|     | c. <b>tìjei</b>                   | ‘cooked’                        |
|     | d. <b>tìkaphe</b>                 | ‘woven’                         |

<sup>2</sup> This also applies to the suffix *-tse* ‘Specific modifying adverbializer’ (cf. 7.2.1.2.1. for *-të* and *-tse*), to the nominalizers *-top(o)*, *-tpon(u)*, *-ne* ‘Agent nominalizer’ but not to *n-* ‘Object nominalizer’ (see below and cf. 4.2.2.1 for deverbal nominalizers), to the postpositionalizer *-tihwë*, to the t-V-(h)e forms, and to the detransitivized forms, perhaps for semantic reasons, it is not attested for *iki* ‘grate O,’ *je* ‘cook O’ and *kap(i)* ‘weave O’.

<sup>3</sup> Like *iki* ‘grate O’ are *i(li)* ‘make O’ and *iki(li)* ‘take O from’. The verbs *kap(i)* ‘craft O’ and *je* ‘cook O’ are the only attested members of their class.

27) **epanakma** 'hear oneself'

For stems starting in consonants, like *panakma* 'hear O; listen to O' and *je* 'cook O,' an extra morpheme, *i-*, occurs when the stems are inflected with direct prefixes *w-* '1A30,' *m-* '2A30,' and *(ku)h-* '1+2A30,' the third person prefixes *n-*, *mën-*, and *kun-*, with third person negative prefix *ën-*, or the object nominalizer *n-*. This is not the case for *iki* 'grate O' or any root starting with a vowel. The verb *kap(i)* 'weave O' is an interesting case. It seems to start with a consonant, as it patterns with consonants in the examples above and as it presents the thematic *i-* with the third person negative prefix *ën-* (30).<sup>4</sup> However, assuming that it starts with a consonant, we must say that *kap(i)* takes the idiosyncratic prefixes *wi-*, *mi-*, and *ni-* (28p, q, and s), which do not occur with any other transitive stem in the language. We assume this to be a historical accident, as *kap(i)* seems to result from *ka* 'do' plus the verbalizer *-pī* (cf section 5.4.1.2), and as such it presents some of the same idiosyncrasies found with *ka* 'say; do' regarding the personal prefixes.

	<i>w-</i> '1A30'	<i>m-</i> '2A30'	<i>(ku)h-/kut-</i> '1+2A30'	<i>n-</i> '3 <sup>rd</sup> '	<i>mën-</i> '3 <sup>rd</sup> C.'
28)	a. <i>w-i-panakma</i> f. <i>w-i-je</i> k. <i>w-īkī</i> p. <i>wī-kap</i>	b. <i>m-i-panakma</i> g. <i>m-i-je</i> l. <i>m-īkī</i> q. <i>mī-kap</i>	c. <i>s-i-panakma</i> h. <i>s-i-je</i> m. <i>kut-īkī</i> r. <i>kut-kap</i>	d. <i>n-i-panakma</i> i. <i>n-i-je</i> n. <i>n-īkī</i> s. <i>nī-kap</i>	e. <i>mën-i-panakma</i> . j. <i>mën-i-je</i> o. <i>mën-īkī</i> t. <i>mën-kap</i>
29)	a. <i>ën-i-panakma-la</i> b. <i>ën-i-je-la</i> c. <i>ën-īkī-la</i> d. <i>ën-i-kapī-la</i>	'not hearing O' 'not cooking O' 'not grating O' 'not weaving O'			
30)	a. <i>ë-n-i-panakmaa</i> b. <i>ë-n-i-jee</i> c. <i>ë-n-īkī</i> d. <i>?ë-n-i-kap</i>	'what you listen to' 'what you cook' 'what you grate' (what you weave)			

<sup>4</sup> Presumably *kap(i)* 'weave O' also presents the thematic vowel with the object nominalizer, as we speculate in example (30d), but such an example is not attested.



Imperative forms reveal another thematic prefix. With or without a pre-verbal O, the verbs *je*, *iki* and *kap(i)* occur with an extra prefix, *t(i)-*, which is not in paradigmatic or contrastive distribution with any other prefix (compare, however, the imperative examples here with those in section 5.3.5.2 with the purpose of motion morpheme, *-(h)e*, where *t(i)-* is a third person prefix existing only for verbs of this class in alternation with a preverbal O. The verb *panakma* occurs as usual with the thematic prefix *i-*.

- 31)
- |    |                       |                                |
|----|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. | <i>i-panakmak</i>     | ‘able to hear’                 |
| b. | <i>ėje i-panakmak</i> | ‘Listen to your mother!’       |
| c. | <i>t-ikikē</i>        | ‘able to grate’                |
| d. | <i>ulu t-ikikē</i>    | ‘Grate manioc!’                |
| e. | <i>tī-jek</i>         | ‘able to cook’                 |
| f. | <i>akuli tī-jek</i>   | ‘Cook agouti!’                 |
| g. | <i>tī-kapkē</i>       | ‘able to weave’                |
| h. | <i>pamīt tī-kapkē</i> | ‘Weave a <i>pamīt</i> basket!’ |

Other stems presenting the thematic *t(i)-* are *(u)wē* ‘pierce; kill,’ *i(li)* ‘make,’ *(i)ki(li)* ‘take from,’ *ək(u)* ‘eat bread; have sex,’ and *ē* ‘eat meat.’

The occurrences of thematic elements in intransitive verbs are clear. Only *i-* occurs for intransitive stems starting with consonants, and only with third person prefixes. Some of the prefixes presented above occur only with transitive stems, *e.g.*, the third person negative *ən-* and the O nominalizer *n-*. Intransitive stems starting with vowels and *S<sub>A</sub>* stems do not present a thematic prefix.

- 32)
- |    |                       |                                  |
|----|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. | <i>n-i-lēmēp</i>      | ‘He/she/it died’                 |
| b. | <i>mēn-i-lēmēp-ja</i> | ‘He/she/it is going to die’      |
| c. | <i>kun-i-lēmēp</i>    | ‘He/she/it died a long time ago’ |

No thematic element occurs with the following forms: *t-V-(h)e* forms, imperative forms (since *S<sub>O</sub>* verbs take 2<sup>nd</sup> person prefixes), and nominalizations (and forms with postpositionalizing suffix *-tīhwē*) where third person prefixes alternate with a nominal possessor (a parallel pattern to that seen with the transitive stems discussed above):

- 33) a. *tī-lēmēp*-he 'He/she/it died'  
 b. *i-lasilam*-top 'to dry it'  
 c. *upo lasilam*-top 'to dry clothing'  
 d. *ē-sikta*-k 'Urinate!'

Summarizing the occurrences of the thematic prefixes: with the exclusion of the idiosyncratic *kap(i)* 'weave O,' all verbal stems starting with a consonant take the thematic *i-* with *direct* or third person prefixes, *i.e.*, whenever a third person is involved (except for the cases of pre-verbal O's). This is also the case with the third person negative prefix *ēn-* and the object nominalizer *n-*, both implying a third person participant. The thematic prefix *t(i)-*, on the other hand, is less productive, occurring only with a few transitive stems in the imperative forms. The possibility of this prefix being historically related to the third person reflexive prefix readily comes to mind.

**5.1.4. The S<sub>A</sub> prefix *w-*.** This thematic prefix occurs almost exclusively with intransitive S<sub>A</sub> stems (synchronically derived or not), in two contexts, in nominalizations (*-top(o)* in ex. 34 g and *-Ø* in ex. 35) and in t-V-(h)e forms, as in the examples below:

- |     |                      |                  |     |                          |                  |
|-----|----------------------|------------------|-----|--------------------------|------------------|
| 34) | <i>m-ēmēm</i>        | 'You entered'    | 35) | <i>w-ētīlī</i>           | 'I became'       |
|     | <i>tē-w-ēmēm</i> -he | 'entered'        |     | <i>tē-w-ētīlī</i> -he    | 'become'         |
|     | <i>ī-w-ēmēm</i> -top | 'to my entering' |     | <i>ī-w-ētīlī-lī</i> htau | 'in my becoming' |

Exceptions to this pattern exist. Three S<sub>A</sub> stems do not present *w-*: (*u*)*mēk(i)* 'come,' (*i*)*tē(mi)* 'go,' and *ka* 'say; do' (*cf.* section 5.1.2 for a discussion of the allomorphic patterns of these stems). Two S<sub>O</sub> stems (*cf.* section 5.2 for S<sub>O</sub> verbs) occur with *w-*, *iptē* 'go down' and *ekakta* 'come out; be born'. (examples are presented with *-Ø* 'Recent past,' *-ja* 'Non-past,' and *-k(ē)* 'Proximal imperative'):

- |     |                   |                    |                  |                  |
|-----|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 36) | <i>j-iptējai</i>  | 'I will go down'   | <i>ī-w-iptēē</i> | 'My going down.' |
|     | <i>ēw-iptējai</i> | 'You will go down' |                  |                  |
|     | <i>n-iptēja</i>   | 'He will go down'  |                  |                  |
|     | <i>ēw-iptē-k</i>  | 'Get down!'        |                  |                  |
|     | <i>tī-w-iptēi</i> | 'Gone down.'       |                  |                  |

37)	ekakta	'I came out'	ëw-akakta-k	'Come out!'
	ëw-ekakta	'You came out'	të-w-ekakta-i	'Come out'
	n-ekakta	'He/she/it came out'	ĩ-w-ekakta-top	'to my coming out'

One verb occurring with only third person prefixes, *etapam(i)* 'sing,' which can only take an S referring to a bird, takes *w-* in its t-V-(h)e form but, due to the lack of personal prefixes encoding speech act participants (henceforth SAP), cannot be classified as either S<sub>A</sub> or S<sub>O</sub>. Unfortunately, no nominalized forms are attested for this stem.

38)	n-etapam	'It sang'
	të-w-etapamĩ-he	'sang'

Since *w-* occurs almost exclusively and with the great majority of S<sub>A</sub> verbs, we label it as 'S<sub>A</sub>,' a thematic prefix characteristic of this verb class.

**5.2. Morphosyntactic verb classes.** The following morphosyntactic tests distinguish the two main verb classes of transitive and intransitive verbs and a few ambiguous stems:

i) Transitive verb stems. The transitive verbs present two nuclear participants that are marked by prefixes indicating both the A and the O, which can be collectivized if they are SAP participants (see the specifics in section 5.3.1.1 and section 5.3.1.2). They take the specific nominalizers *-ne* 'Agent nominalizer,' *n-* 'Object nominalizer,' and *-tpon(u)* 'Past agent nominalizer.' The A of the t-V-(h)e verbs is marked by the morpheme *ja* 'Ergative.' Examples with verb *enep(i)* 'bring O' are presented below:

39)	a. <i>Menep.</i> m-enepĩ-Ø 2A3O-bring.O-RecPst 'You brought it.'	b. <i>Meneptëu?</i> m-enepĩ-Ø-tëw 2A3O-bring.O-RecPst-SapColl 'You all brought it?'
	c. <i>Ëwenemne.</i> ëw-enepĩ-ne 2-bring.O-AgtNmlz 'The one who brought you'	d. <i>Ënenepĩ.</i> ë-n-enepĩ-lĩ 2-ObjNmlz-bring.O-Pss 'The thing that you brought'

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>e. <i>Enepitpon.</i><br/> O-eneṗi-<b>tponu</b>-Ø<br/> 3-bring.O-PstAgtNmlz-Pss<br/> ‘The one who formerly brought it’</p> | <p>f. <i>Ulu tēnephe Kilili ja.</i><br/> ulu t-ēnepi-he kilili ja<br/> manioc T-bring.O-he Kilili <b>Erg</b><br/> ‘Kilili brought manioc.’</p> |
|--|--|

ii) Intransitive verb stems. The intransitive verbs present only one nuclear participant, marked on the verb by pronominal prefixes. The verb stems are sub-divided into two other classes, each taking a particular set of pronominal prefixes indicating the S: intransitive S<sub>A</sub> verbs (roughly, those in which the personal prefixes resemble those marking the A on transitive verbs) and intransitive S<sub>O</sub> verbs (those in which the personal prefixes resemble the marking of the O on transitive verbs (cf. Table 1, section 5.3.1.1). For both sets, the personal prefixes can be collectivized if encoding a SAP (40 and 41a). Besides taking different sets of personal prefixes, S<sub>A</sub> and S<sub>O</sub> verbs take different thematic elements: *w-* and *i-*, respectively (cf section 5.1.4 and section 5.1.3). Finally, S<sub>O</sub> verbs undergo the following morphological processes that do not apply to S<sub>A</sub> verbs: transitivizing morphology (cf. section 5.4.2.2) and 2<sup>nd</sup> person prefixes on imperative forms (examples 41b) and (41c), respectively).

- 40) a. *mēmēmtēu.*  
**m-ēmēmī-Ø-tēw**  
2S<sub>A</sub>-enter-RecPst-SapColl  
‘You all entered.’
- 41) a. *Ēwelemitēu.*  
**ēw-ēlemi-Ø-tēw**  
2S<sub>O</sub>-sing-RecPst-SapColl  
‘You all sang.’
- b. *Jelemika.*  
j-elemi-**ka**-Ø  
3A1O-sing-Transvzr-RecPst  
‘He prayed over me’
- c. *Ēwinihkē!*  
**ēw-inīkī-kē**  
2S<sub>O</sub>-sleep-ProxImp  
‘Sleep!’

Monomorphemic S<sub>O</sub> verbs are by far more numerous than monomorphemic S<sub>A</sub> verbs, as most members of the S<sub>A</sub> verb class result from the synchronic process of detransitivization (*ene* ‘see O,’ *ëh-ene* ‘see oneself’ (cf. )). All the attested monomorphemic S<sub>A</sub> verbs may turn out to be derived historically from lost transitive verbs. For nearly all cases, the stem-initial segments look suspiciously similar to the allomorphs of the detransitivizing prefix (*e-*, *ët-*, *ëh-* (cf. section 5.4.2.1): *esil/eha/ehe* ‘be’ (cf. ), *emek(u)* ‘come back,’ *epe* ‘flee,’ *ëhum* ‘warm oneself,’ *ëtaj(u)* ‘level down,’ *ëtuk(u)* ‘have a meal,’ *ëtasika* ‘curse,’ and *ëtëmëm(i)~ëmëm(i)* ‘enter.’ For two S<sub>A</sub> stems, the source co-exists, but the detransitivized form has enough change of meaning to have an entry of its own: *ëtï(lï)* ‘become’ and *ëtuhmo* ‘fall,’ from *i(lï)* ‘make O’ and *uhmo* ‘beat O; kill O.’ Three S<sub>A</sub> verbs are the best candidates for the oldest forms of this class, distinguishing themselves from the other members for not taking the S<sub>A</sub> marked *w-* (cf. 5.1.4): *(u)mëk(i)* ‘come,’ *(i)të(mi)* ‘go,’ and *ka(i)* ‘say; do’.

iii) Two verb stems are intransitive by some criteria and transitive by others. The verb *ka(i)* ‘say/do’ is the only intransitive verb to take the causative *-po* and to have unmarked nominals occurring as the semantic O (examples (42)-(43)). The verb *ëhetï* ‘to dream’ can occur with a transitivizer only if it loses the first syllable /ëh/, but *ëtï* cannot occur itself as a transitive stem (examples (44)-(45)).

42) *Wikapo eja.*  
*wï-ka-po-Ø e-ja*  
 1S<sub>A</sub>-say-RecPst 3-Causee  
 ‘I made him speak.’

43) *Lome kalipono mënke ‘kupeta.’*  
*lome kalipono mën-ka-ja kupeta*  
 but non.Wayana 3S<sub>A</sub>Certnty-say-NPst blanket  
 ‘But the non-wayana (Brazilians) say kupeta.’ (Jolokoa 009)

- 44) *Wëheti*  
w-ëh-etĩ-Ø  
1Sa-dream-RecPst  
'I dreamed'
- 45) *Wetinëp*  
w-etĩ-nëp-Ø  
1A3O-dream-Transvzr-RecPst  
'I dreamed it.'

**5.3. Inflection.** In this section, we describe morphemes that are productive, regular, and do not change a verbal root into another speech class. Given the fact that many verbal systems exist in Wayâna, grammatical distinctions such as person, TAM, number, etc., are better described as properties within each specific system. These systems are Set I (5.3.1), Imperative/Hortative (5.3.2), the negative imperative construction (5.3.3) t-V-(h)e (5.3.4), gerundive forms (5.3.5) and the past habitual (5.3.6). Because the copula takes a number of irregular inflections, the copular paradigm is described in a section of its own (5.3.7).

Main verbs are characterized by two distinct sets of inflectional morphology. These have come to be known in the Cariban literature as Set I and t-V-se (Gildea 1998). The factors underlying the choice of one set over another are not well understood (see comments, however, in section 5.3.4). The grammatical properties of each set are discussed below.

**5.3.1. Set I verbs.** As defined in Gildea (1998), and echoed in Meira (1999), the main characteristics of Set I are:

- a) Personal prefixes: A/O and split S (*cf.* section 5.3.1.1).
- b) Inflectional suffixes indicating some combination of TAM and number (*cf.* section 5.3.1.2)
- c) A speech act marking suffix. (*cf.* section 5.3.1.3)

- d) An O slot inside the VP: the formation of a constituent when Agent is 3<sup>rd</sup> person and 3<sup>rd</sup> person object is pre-verbal. (*cf.* section 8.1.1)

The Set I verb forms are prevalent in conversations, and, in texts, it occurs more frequently in personal narratives.

**5.3.1.1. Personal prefixes: Subject and Object focus prefixes, and Split S.** The Wayâna system of person marking on the verb closely resembles those of various Cariban languages (Tiriyo, Carib of Surinam, Aparai, Hixkaryana, Kaxuyana, among others (*cf.* Gildea 1998: for an overview of the family as a whole)) which distinguishes four persons: 1<sup>st</sup> person, 2<sup>nd</sup> person, 1+2<sup>nd</sup> (dual) person, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person (an additional first person exclusive exists, but it is marked in the same way as the third person). The occurrence of the different prefixes is sensitive to the morphosyntactic properties of the verbal stem. Roughly, portmanteau prefixes marking the persons of both the *A* and the *O* occur with transitive stems, and prefixes marking the person of the *S* occur with intransitive stems.

For intransitive stems, two sets of personal prefixes occur. One set, labelled  $S_O$ , takes pronominal prefixes resembling those on transitive verbs when an SAP participant is acted upon by a third person and another, labeled  $S_A$ , takes pronominal prefixes resembling those on transitive verbs marking when an SAP participant acts on a third person. This configuration readily brings to mind Split S systems (Dixon 1979, 1994), but the semantic basis is lacking (*cf.* Meira (1999:245) for a discussion of what he labels the ‘epiphenomenal Split S’).

For transitive stems, the particular form of the prefixes depends on both the person and on the syntactic role of the participant: two different sets of prefixes are used

for SAP participants depending on whether they act on or are acted upon by a third person (respectively *direct* and *inverse* in Gildea's (1988:16) terminology), two different suffixes occur for first and second person when they act on each other (Gildea's *local*), and one prefix occurs when a third person acts on a third person (Gildea's *3A3O*). Table 1 presents these sets: <sup>5</sup>

Table 1  
Personal Prefixes on Verbs

INTRANSITIVE			
	S <sub>A</sub>		S <sub>O</sub>
1S <sub>A</sub>	w-	3S n-/mën-/kun-	ï-/j-
2S <sub>A</sub>	m-		ë-/ëw-
1+2S <sub>A</sub>	h-, k-, kuh-, kut-, kup-		h-, k-, ku-, kuh-, kut-
TRANSITIVE			
	Direct		Inverse
1A3O	w-	3A3O n-/mën-/kun- ~ pre-V O	ï-/j-
2A3O	m-		ë-/ëw-
1+2A3O	(ku)h-/kut-, ku-, k-	Local	ku-, k-
	1A2O	kuw-/ku-/k-	
	2A1O	k-/ku-	

The different allomorphs of each prefix are phonologically conditioned. The first and second person forms *ï-* and *ë-* occur before stems starting a consonant, and *j-* and *ëw-* occur before stems starting with a vowel. The allomorphs of prefixes involving 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons all have, with the exception of the direct *h-*, a /k/, in them:

- a) With 1+2S<sub>O</sub> →
- |             |                |   |
|-------------|----------------|---|
| <i>ku-</i>  | / __ C:        | <i>kut-atalum</i> 'we trembled'                                   |
| <i>kut-</i> | / __ /u/, /i/: | <i>kut-uika</i> 'we defecated,'<br><i>kut-iptë</i> 'we went down' |
| <i>k-</i>   | / __ V, /i/:   | <i>k-ëlemi</i> 'we sang,' <i>kinik</i> 'we slept'                 |

<sup>5</sup> One SA root seems to idiosyncratically take *wi-*, *mi-*, and *ni-* (cf. 5.1.2). The historically derived *kap(i)* 'to craft' also takes the direct version of these prefixes (cf. 5.1.3).



b) With 1+2S <sub>A</sub>	→	<i>kup</i> - with <i>të</i> ‘go’	<i>kup-tëm</i> ‘we went’
		<i>kut-</i> with <i>(u)mëk(i)</i> ‘come,’ <i>ka(i)</i> ‘say; do,’ and <i>a’be’</i> :	<i>kun-mëkja</i> ‘we will come’ (t+m>nm)
			<i>kut-ke</i> ‘we will speak’
			<i>kut-ai</i> ‘we are’
		<i>h-</i> / __ /e/	<i>helama</i> ‘we came back’
		<i>k-</i> / __ /ë/	<i>këtili</i> ‘we became’
c) Local: 1A2O	→	<i>kuw-</i> / __ V	<i>kuw-ene</i> ‘I saw you’
		<i>ku-</i> / __ C	<i>ku-panakma</i> ‘I heard you’
		<i>k-</i> / __ /u/, /i/	<i>k-ili</i> ‘I placed you,’
			<i>k-uwëja</i> ‘I will kill you’
d) Local: 2A1O	→	<i>k-</i> / __ V, /u/, /i/	<i>këne</i> ‘you saw me’
			<i>k-uwëja</i> ‘You will kill me’
			<i>k-ili</i> ‘you placed me’
		<i>ku-</i> / __ C	<i>ku-panakma</i> ‘You heard me’
e) Direct: 1+2A3O	→	<i>(ku)s-</i> / __ C	<i>si-panakma</i> ‘You and I heard 3 <sup>rd</sup> ’
			<i>kus-ipika</i> ‘We skinned it’
		<i>h-</i> / __ V	<i>hene</i> ‘You and I saw 3 <sup>rd</sup> ’
		<i>kut-</i> / __ /u/, /i/	<i>kut-uhmo</i> ‘You and I beat 3 <sup>rd</sup> ’
			<i>kut-ili</i> ‘You and I made it’
f) Inverse: 3A1+2O	→	<i>ku-</i> / __ C	<i>ku-panakma</i> ‘3 <sup>rd</sup> heard you and me’
		<i>k-</i> / __ V, /u/, /i/	<i>k-ëne</i> ‘3 <sup>rd</sup> saw you and me’
			<i>k-uhmo</i> ‘3 <sup>rd</sup> beat you and me’
			<i>k-ili</i> ‘3 <sup>rd</sup> placed you and me’

The third person prefixes occur as follow: *n-* occurs in all tenses, except in the distant past, where only *kun-* occurs. The third person *mën-* occurs only in the non-past forms and forms with habitual past *-(j)(ë)mëhneja* (cf. section 5.3.1.2.4), where it contrasts with *n-* to present different degrees of certainty (see below).

Full paradigms are presented below with the transitive stems *panakma* ‘hear; listen to’ and *ene* ‘see O,’ and with the intransitive stems *ëtuk(u)* ‘eat’ and *elemi* ‘sing.’ The third person prefix on transitive stems is in complementary distribution with a preverbal O (48) (all examples presented here are in the recent past):

46)			
1A3O	a. w-ipanakma	i. w-ene	
2A3O	b. m-ipanakma	j. m-ene	
1+2A3O	c. s-ipanakma	k. h-ene	
1A2O	d. ku-panakma	l. kuw-ene	
2A1O	e. ku-panakma	m. k-ěne	
3A1O	f. ĭ-panakma	n. j-ene	
3A2O	g. ě-panakma	o. ěw-ene	
3A1+2O	h. ku-panakma	p. k-ěne	
47)			
1S <sub>A</sub>	a. w-ětulu	1S <sub>O</sub>	e. j-elemi
2S <sub>A</sub>	b. m-ětulu	2S <sub>O</sub>	f. ěw-elemi
1+2S <sub>A</sub>	c. k-ětulu	1+2S <sub>O</sub>	g. k-ělemi
48)			
3A3O	a. n-ipanakma	e. n-ene	
	b. eluwa panakma	f. eluwa ene	
3S	c. n-ětulu		
	d. n-elemi		

Table 1 makes it obvious that the morphemes marking *SAP* prefixes on the intransitive verbs are the ‘same’ ones occurring with transitive verbs when an *SAP* and a third person participant are involved (i.e., the morphemes within squares with solid lines). This configuration has been subject to various interpretations in many languages of the Cariban family (an Active/Stative system (Gildea 1994, Tavares 1994), an inverse (Gildea 1998), portmanteau prefixes (Hoff 1995), among others), depending on what squares of Table 1 one chooses to focus upon. Taking the system as a whole, we see that it presents a complex configuration that looks more like a mixed system than one that would fit under any of these labels. The only clear distinction between the two classes of prefixes for both transitive and intransitive stems is that involving a first or a second person, and in the case of transitive verbs in contexts involving a third person. Other persons, such as third persons and 1+2 persons, do not present such a binary opposition.

Meira (1999:285) proposes an analysis that recognizes person marking prefixes on transitive verbs as referring to both A and O participants, since for both *direct* and

*inverse* alignments a semantic reference to a third person is obligatory. This is compatible with the fact that intransitive stems take the same set of either O or A oriented prefixes: in intransitive verbs, prefixes mark only the *SAP* participant involved in the event; with transitive verbs, they emphasize those participants while still implying a third person (this is consonant with Jackson's analysis of these prefixes which he calls *Subject focus* and *Object focus* prefixes (1972:50). Thus, the dominance of SAP's is recognized, which makes this analysis compatible with the direct/inverse analysis. Meira then proposes a hierarchy for person marking prefixes on Tiriyo verbs where first and second persons outrank third:

$$1=2 > 3$$

While this analysis holds for Wayana, a further elaboration may be recognized in the system since the first person marker *kuw-* '1A2O' is a unique morpheme (though /k/ seems to be pervasive form whenever both 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person are involved in the event), while all the allomorphs of the '2A1O' are homophonous with those of the inverse. Thus, the following hierarchy is proposed for Wayana: first person outranks second and both outrank third.

$$1 > 2 > 3$$

A difference in the certainty about the event is found in the occurrences of the third person prefix *mën-* versus *n-*. For instance, in one interaction we had with a Wayana speaker, she said the following:

- 49) *Kopë mënumkja.*  
 kopë mën-umëki-ja  
 rain 3Certnty-come-NPst  
 'Rain will come.'

when looking at the sky in a dark, cloudy day when light rain was already falling. The next day, the same speaker said

- 50) *Opalan numëkja*  
 opalanu n-umëkî-ja  
 airplane 3S<sub>A</sub>-come-NPst  
 '(The) airplane will come.'

after we commented that we were expecting an airplane to come into the village that day.

Thus, it seems that *mën-* indicates a higher degree of certainty than *n-*.

**5.3.1.2. Tense-Aspect-Modality-Number suffixes.** Set I verb forms bear morphemes, almost all suffixes, marking TAM and number distinctions, a common feature of this system in Cariban languages (Derbyshire (1999)). In Wayâna, though these morphemes present some heterogeneous semantics, they form a single category in that they all share a co-occurrence with a particular set of personal prefixes and with a collective form based on the collective suffix *-të*. Forms with the permissive/admonitive *-tan(u)* do not take collective suffixes. Collective forms with the permissive *-(h)i/-Ø* do not occur in our database. Table 2 presents these morphemes.

Table 2  
 The Tense-Aspect-Modality-Number suffixes

	Non-collective	Collective
'Non-Past'	-ja	ja-të(h)e ja-tëu
'HabPst'	-(j)(ë)mëhneja	-(j)(ë)mëhneja-të(h)e -(j)(ë)mëhneja-tëu
'RecPst'	-Ø	-Ø-tëu
'DistPst'	-ne	-të-ne
'Permissive'	-(h)i/-Ø	
'Permissive/admonitive'	-tan(u)	

The collective suffix is restricted to Set I verbs and it collectivizes only *SAP* participants (i.e., 2<sup>nd</sup> person and 1+2<sup>nd</sup> person) encoded by personal prefixes (but see

examples below for second person imperative). As usual, the first person singular cannot be collectivized (thus, in *local* pairings only the 2<sup>nd</sup> person is collectivized (*cf.* examples 94-96 below). The different allomorphs of the collective suffix and the order in which they occur in the verbal word are dependent on their co-occurrence with specific morphemes. Table 2 shows that the allomorph *-të* occurs before certain tense and mood suffixes while the other allomorphs occur after:

The word final allomorphs of the collective suffix seem to result historically from the preservation of the reflexes of some tense/evidential/certainty morphology following the collective: *-të(h)e*, *-tëw*, *-tën(u)*, *-tëk(ë)*. The allomorphs co-occurring with the tense suffixes are a clear reflex of the collective forms reconstructed by Gildea (1998:98) for Proto-Carib (the collective suffix is shown in boldface) <sup>6</sup>:

Proto-Carib		Modern Wayâna
* <b>to</b> -ne	‘Distant Past’	<b>-të</b> -ne
* <b>to</b> -wĩ	‘Recent Past’	<b>-tëw</b>
*ja- <b>to</b> -ce	‘Nonpast’	-ja- <b>të(h)e</b>
*ja- <b>to</b> -wĩ	‘Nonpast Uncertain’	-ja- <b>tëw</b>

It is thus not surprising that *-tëu*, the reflex of the collective non-past uncertain, is now restricted to questions and to third persons although the dichotomy certain/uncertain is no longer operating fully in the Wayâna system.

Set I verbs present a two-way distinction between past and non-past tenses: the suffix *-ne* (and its allomorphs) marks the remote past, *-Ø* marks the recent past, and *-ja* marks the non-past tense. All tense suffixes imply to different degrees some aspectual distinctions such as perfectivity and imperfectivity, which are not independently marked

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<sup>6</sup> In Table 2 above the collective *-tëw* is considered as going after the *-Ø* recent past in consonance with the general pattern of allomorphs other than *-të* occurring after the tense suffix. Historically that does not seem to be the case.

on the verb: the non-past suffix presents, among other meanings, the semantics of an imperfective aspect (habitual and continuous), but the past suffixes imply only perfective meaning. The imperfective meaning is provided for the past (also for the non-past where it is in competition with the progressive readings of *-ja*) by an independent progressive construction, the nominalization plus *pëk(ë)* construction (*cf.* section 8.3.1.5). The habitual aspect is marked by two habitual suffixes but only for the distant past (*cf.* section 5.3.1.2.4).

The next section discusses the properties of the tense affixes.

**5.3.1.2.1. *-ja* ‘Non-past.’** The non-past refers to situations holding from the moment of the speech act onwards. It commonly refers to future events (near future (54 and 55) and distant future events (56), but also marks aspectual distinctions such as the imperfective aspect (continuous (51), non-continuous (52), and habitual(53)). It also refers to permanent situations held to be true in the world (57 and 58).<sup>7</sup> (The reduced form of the non-past (examples (55), (56), and (57)) is discussed in section 5.1.2 above.)

- 51) *Ulu wekejai.*  
 ulu w-ekeju-**ja**-he  
 bread 1A3O-make.bread.NPst-SapAff  
 ‘I am making bread.’
- 52) *Ipoo menejai?*  
 ipoli m-ene-**ja**-he  
 river.being 2A3Ø-see.O-NPst-SapAff  
 “Do you see the river being?” (Kaikui2 074 )
- 53) *Ituwakii Pakolon tak hepī witejai.*  
 ituwaki pakolo-nu ta-kë hepī w-ite-**ja**-he  
 indian house-Pss in.permanent.loc-into habitual 1SA-go-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘I always go to the House of the Indians.’

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<sup>7</sup> As the perfective/imperfective distinction is not morphologically instantiated in Wayâna, we see here with the non-past *-ja* that a proposition will be understood as perfective or imperfective depending on the context: example tf5 can be translated as ‘I will make bread’ or as ‘I make breads.’

- 54) *Kaikui ewēja.*  
 kaikuhi ew-**ë-ja**  
 jaguar 3A2O-eat.meat-NPst  
 ‘A jaguar is going to eat you!’  
 (This was said to us, as we were leaving the village on our way to the jungle.)
- 55) *İwenatei pitë.*  
 ĩ-wenata-**ja**-he pitë  
 1S<sub>O</sub>-vomit-NPst-SapAff in.a.minute  
 ‘I am about to vomit.’
- 56) *Akon wei po, wëhepei Estados Unidos po.*  
 akono weji po-Ø w-ëh-epa-**ja**-he estados unidos po-Ø  
 another year on.supported-on 1S<sub>A</sub>-Det-teach.O-NPst-SapAff United States  
 on.supported-on  
 ‘Next year, I will study in the United States.’
- 57) *Lome kalipono mënke ‘kupeta.’*  
 lome kalipono mën-ka-**ja** kupeta  
 but non.Wayana 3Certnty-say-NPst kupeta  
 ‘‘But (the) non-Wayâna (Brazilians) say ‘kupeta.’’’
- 58) *Ahpela kunumusitom ekatau aptau,*  
 appe-la kunumuhi-tomo ekata-wë wapta-wë  
 untrue-Neg old.woman-Coll in.area.nearby-in when-in  
  
*Mënekalëja lep.*  
 mën-ekalë-**ja** lep  
 3Certnty-tell.O-NPst Advrs  
 ‘‘True, when one is nearby the old women, they certainly tell it, in vain.’’

The non-past presents the most complex distribution of the allomorphs of the collective suffix. For verbs other than the copula, *-të(h)e* occurs in affirmatives with both *S<sub>O</sub>* and *S<sub>A</sub>* verbs (examples 59 and 60) and with transitive verbs bearing *direct* or *local* prefixes (examples 61-63), while *-tëu* occurs in affirmatives with *inverse* prefixes (64) and in interrogatives (66). (The same scenario presumably holds also for forms with the habitual past *-(j)(ë)mëhneja*, though we only find in the database collective forms in affirmative sentences (67).)

- 59) *Ĕwelikjatĕi.*  
 ĕw-eliku-ja-**tĕhe**  
 1S<sub>O</sub>-get.killed-NPst-SapColl  
 “You’ll get killed.”
- 60) *Tok mĕketĕi.*  
 tok mĭ-ka-ja-**tĕhe**  
 beat.up.snd 2S<sub>A</sub>-say-NPst-SapColl  
 ‘You are all beating up’
- 61) *Kutukukĕmĕjatĕi* *manu.*  
 kut-ukuku-ĕmĕ-ja-**tĕhe** manu  
 1+2A3O-try.O-Resumpt-NPst-SapColl Irrealis  
 “We would try it again.”
- 62) *Kuwenejatĕi.*  
 kuw-ene-ja-**tĕhe**  
 1A2O-see.O-NPst-SapColl  
 ‘I see you all.’
- 63) *Kĕnejatĕi.*  
 k-ĕne-ja-**tĕhe**  
 2A1O-see.O-NPst-SapColl  
 ‘You all see me.’
- 64) *Ĕuhmojatĕu* *nahek.*  
 ĕw-upmo-ja-**tĕw** nahek  
 3A2O-kill.O-NPst-SapColl just?  
 “(He) is just going to kill you all.”
- 65) *Kan kĕnejatĕu.*  
 kanu k-ĕne-ja-**tĕw**  
 God 3A1+2O-see.O-NPst-SapColl  
 ‘God sees all of us.’
- 66) *Ĕtĭ mĭĭjatĕu?*  
 ĕtĭ m-ĭĭ-ja-**tĕw**  
 what 2A3Ø-make.O-NPst-SapColl  
 “What do you all do?”
- 67) *Tutukĕ henepĕmĕhnejatĕi.*  
 tutukĕ h-enepĭ-ĕmĕtneja-**tĕhe**  
 brazil.nut 1+2A3O-bring.O-HabPst-SapColl  
 ‘A long time ago, we all used to bring Brazil nuts back.’

In sum, the allomorphs of the collective suffix are partially conditioned by the syntactic role of the SAP participants in the non-past tense forms, with *-tĕhe* only occurring with *direct* and *local* forms and *-tĕw* in the *inverse* forms. The other factor conditioning the allomorphs is whether the proposition is affirmative or interrogative,



with *-têhe* occurring with the former and *-tëw* with the latter. No semantic motivation suggests itself as an explanation for this configuration.

**5.3.1.2.2. -Ø ‘Recent Past’.** The recent past marks events that took place in the past twenty-four hours (*cf.* Jackson 1972:53). Thus, it may refer to events that have just happened, events that happened hours ago, and events that happened in the previous day.<sup>8</sup>

- 68) *Nilëmëp.*  
 n -i-lëmëpĩ-Ø  
 3S-Them-die-RecPst  
 ‘He just died (a few minutes ago).’
- 69) *Hemalëlë nma weha inikila.*  
 hemalëlë nma w-eha-Ø iniki-la  
 today Intens 1SA-be-RecPst sleep-Neg  
 ‘Just today, I did not sleep.’
- 70) *Eluwa pepta kaikui uwë kokone.*  
 eluwa pepta kaikuhi uwë-Ø kokone  
 man big jaguar kill.O-RecPs yesterday  
 ‘A man killed a big jaguar yesterday.’
- 71) *Jemsii nijep kokone,*  
 j-emsilĩ-Ø n-i-jepĩ-Ø kokone  
 1-daughter-Pss 3SO-Them-have.fever-RecPst yesterday  
  
*lome hemalë uwame nētīlī.*  
 lome hemalë uwame n-ētīlī-Ø  
 but today healthy 3SA-become-RecPst  
 ‘My daughter had fever yesterday, but today she is healthy.’

In the recent past, the allomorph of the collective suffix is always *-tëu*:

- 72) *Kuwënetëu.*  
 kuw-ene-Ø-tëw  
 1A2O-see.O-RecPst-SapColl  
 ‘I saw all of you.’

<sup>8</sup> Meira (1999:299) reports that for Tiriyó the cognate form for the recent past marks a combination of tense and aspect, the ‘present-perfective’ with a perfect meaning, referring to a situation that ‘just finished’. Though the semantics of a perfect (i.e., ‘the continuing present relevance of a past situation’ (Comrie 1976:52)) could apply to -Ø recent past forms in Wayâna, specially for events that ‘just happened’ and thus with some lasting effects still holding in the present, this has not been found to be a necessary implication, as clearly seen in example 71.

- 73) *Eluwa kēnetēu.*  
 eluwa k-ēne-Ø-tēw  
 man 3A1+2O-see.O-RecPst-SapColl  
 ‘The man saw all of us.’
- 74) *Ēmēlamkom ka kulasi menetēu?*  
 ěmēlamkomo ka kulahi m-ene-Ø-tēw  
 2CollPro Quest chicken 2A3O-see.O-RecPst-SapColl  
 ‘Did you see the chicken?’

**5.3.1.2.3. The Remote Past markers: -ne/kun-.** The remote past affixes occur as follows: for verbs other than the copula ‘be,’ the suffix *-ne* occurs whenever the verb is inflected by an SAP participant (75 and 67) or when the object precedes the verb when a third person A acts on a third person O (77). The portmanteau prefix *kun-*, marking both third person and remote past, occurs elsewhere (78 and 79). As is normally the case, the first person exclusive is marked in the same way as third persons (80, 81, and 82).

- 75) *Menene ipi?*  
 m-ene-ne ipi  
 2A3O-see.O-DistPst mountain  
 ‘Did you see the mountain?’
- 76) *Mĩn toholohem wenene.*  
 mĩnĩ toholohe-mĩ w-ene-ne  
 DemInanDist hollow-PtNmlz 1A3O-see.O-DistPst  
 ‘I saw that distant cave.’
- 77) *Jolok enene Anakali.*  
 joloko ene-ne anakali  
 evil.spirit see.O-DistPst Anakali  
 ‘Anakali saw a Jolok.’
- 78) *Malonme kunmēkēmē tot.*  
 malonme kun-umēki-ēmē toto  
 then 3S<sub>A</sub>DistPst-come-Resumpt 3Coll  
 ‘Then, they came back.’
- 79) *Malonme kunene.*  
 malonme kun-ene  
 then 3A3ODistPst-see.O  
 ‘Then, he saw it (the baskets with the pears)’

- 80) *Moloinë emna ikanawakom enene.*  
 molojinë **emna** i-kanawa-Ø-komo **ene-ne**  
 then 1+3ExclPro 3-canoe-Pss-Coll see.O-DistPst  
 ‘Then, we saw their canoe.’
- 81) *Emna kunmëkëmë,*  
 emna **kun-umëkĩ-ëmë**  
 1+3ExclPro 1+3S<sub>A</sub>DistPst-come-NonCompl  
 ‘We came.’
- 82) *Moloinë emna kuneneimë ehemakom.*  
 molojinë emna **kun-ene-jmë** Ø-ehema-Ø-komo  
 then 1+3ExclPro 1+3A3ODistPst-see-Resumpt 3-trail-Pss-Coll  
 ‘Then, we found their trail.’

In the distant past, the allomorph of the collective suffix is always *-të*. One exceptional example in which a first person exclusive is collectivized with *-tëu* in the distant past, was found in the database (86). In all other attested examples, the collective occurrences of the first person exclusive are not formally marked, with the collective reading coming from the context, as in example (87).

- 83) *Kwenetëne.*  
 kuw-ene-**të**-ne  
 1A2O-see.O-SapColl-DistPst  
 ‘I saw all of you a long time ago.’
- 84) *Kënetëne.*  
 k-ëne-**të**-ne  
 2A1O-see.O-SapColl-DistPst  
 ‘You all saw me a long time ago.’
- 85) *Menetëne?*  
 m-ene-**të**-ne  
 2A3O-see.O-RecPst-SapColl  
 ‘Did you see all of them a long time ago?’

- 86) *Moloinë emna kunepotëu tihule psik.*  
 molojinë emna kun-epoli-tëw tihule phiki  
 then 1+3ExclPro 1+3A3ODistPst-find.O-SapColl a.while? little  
 “Then we all found it... very far”
- 87) *Macapa pona semana do indio po.*  
 macapa po-na semana do indio po-Ø  
 Macapa on.supported-Goal week of Indian on.supported-on
- emna kunëhalë.*  
 emna kun-ëh-alë  
 1+3ExclPro 3S<sub>A</sub>DistPst-Det-take.O
- Dezme wajana kunëhalë tot mija.*  
 dez-me wajana kun-ëh-alë toto mija  
 ten-Attrb people 3S<sub>A</sub>DistPst-Det-take.O 3Coll thither  
 “to Macapa on the Week of Indians, we went. About 10 people went that way.”

**5.3.1.2.4. The Habitual past -(j)(ë)mëhneja.** This suffix takes the same Set I personal prefixes that occur with non-past forms (examples 88-92). It does not co-occur with other TAM affixes, including *kun-*, the third person for distant past forms. Like the non-past, habitual past forms bear *-(h)e* the *SAP* suffix for affirmatives (with the same properties) and the same allomorph for the *SAP* collective suffix for affirmatives (89). In addition, the 3A3O prefixes are in complementary distribution with a pre-verbal object (93).

- 88) *Mëlë psik lëken ipanakmëmehnejai.*  
 mëlë phiki lëken w-i-panakma-jmëtneja-he  
 DemInanMed little only 1A3O-Them-hear.O-HabPst-SapAff  
 “Only this little I used to hear”
- 89) *Upak aptau, kaikui pitpë halëimëhnejatëi katelu ja.*  
 upak apta-wë kaikuhi pitpë-Ø h-alë-jmëtneja-tëhe katelu ja  
 long.ago when/if-in jaguar sking-Pss 1+2A3O-take.O-HabPst-SapColl jaguar.skin.hunter Dat  
 ‘A long time ago, we all used to take jaguar skin to the jaguar skin hunters.’
- 90) *Muleme iwaptau ijepëmehnejai.*  
 mule-me i-wapta-wë i-jepi-ëmëtneja-he  
 child-Attrb 1-when/if-in 1S<sub>O</sub>-have.fever-HabPst-SapAff  
 ‘When I was a child, I used to have fever.’

- 91) *Upak kulumuli ke mēnehemēhneja malijatom*  
 upake kulumuli ke mēn-ehe-**mētneja** malija-tomo  
 long.ago bamboo Instr 3certnty-be-HabPst knife-Coll  
 ‘Long time ago the knives (i.e., the knife-like instruments) used to be with bamboo’
- 92) *Emna nipohnēpēmēhnejai helēkom.*  
 emna n-i-potnēpī-**ēmētneja**-he helē-komo  
 1+3ExclPro 1+3A3O-Them-think.O-HabPst-SapAff PrsntvPro-Coll  
 ‘These things used to be our constant thinking.’
- 93) *Akuli je ilēmēhneja malijame.*  
 akuli je-∅ ilī-**ēmētneja** malija-me  
 agouti tooth-Pss make.O-HabPst knife-Attrb  
 ‘They used to make agouti’s teeth into knives.’

An idiosyncratic form of the copula ‘be,’ *ehe*, occurs with this suffix:

- 94) *Uwamela wehemēhneja.*  
 uwame-la w-**ehe**-mētneja  
 healthy-Neg 1S<sub>A</sub>-be-HabPst  
 ‘I used to be healthy.’

**5.3.1.2.5. The permissive suffix *-(h)il-∅*.** Forms bearing this suffix express a request to the listener to allow what is being requested to happen. They frequently, but not obligatorily, co-occur with the particle *awap* ‘wait!’. The suffix presents two allomorphs that are conditioned by the person of the clause’s subject. Stems bearing third person subjects take a *-∅* suffix, with the same allomorphy of *-∅* recent past (*cf.* section 5.3.1.2.2 above),

- 95) *Awap nītēm!*  
 awap n-itēmī-∅  
 awap 3S<sub>A</sub>-go-Permissive  
 ‘Let him go.’
- 96) *Awap nētulu!*  
 awap n-ēt-ulu-∅  
 awap 3S<sub>A</sub>-Det-talk.to.O-Permissive  
 ‘Let him talk.’
- ‘No. Let it grow.’
- 98) *Awap professorme nesi!*  
 awap professor-me n-ehi-∅

wait teacher-Attrb 3S<sub>A</sub>-be-Permissive  
'Wait, let him be a teacher.'

99) *Awap nepi!*  
awap n-epi-Ø  
wait 3A3O-eat.soft.food-Permissive  
'Wait, let him eat it.'

100) *Awap juwë!*  
awap j-uwë-Ø  
wait 3A1O -pierce.O-Permissive  
'Wait, let him give me an injection!'

101) *Awap ëwë!*  
awap ë-uwë-Ø  
wait 3A2O -pierce.O-Permissive  
'Wait, let him give you an injection!'

stems with first person subject take *-(h)i* with the same allomorphy as the proximal hortatory (cf. 5.3.2.2 above). (Example 106b shows the full allomorph of the permissive suffix.)

102) *Awap iwakamii!*  
awap i-wakamii-hi  
wait 1S<sub>O</sub>-sit.down-Permissive  
'Let me sit down!'

103) *Awap wëtului* *kija!*  
awap w-ët-ulu-hi *kija*  
wait 1S<sub>A</sub>-Det-talk.to.O-Permissive Persuasive  
'Wait, let me talk, will you?'

104) *Awap professorme wesii!*  
awap professor-me w-ehi-hi  
wait teacher-Attrb 1S<sub>A</sub>-be-Permissive  
'Wait, let me be a teacher!'

105) *Wenei!*  
w-ene-hi  
1A3O-see.O-Permissive  
'Let me see it!'

106) a. *Awap kuwenei!*  
awap kuw-ene-hi  
wait 1A2O-see.O-Permissive  
'Let me see you!'

b. <i>Wepisi</i>	<i>hnë.</i>
w-e-pĩ-hi	tnë
1S <sub>A</sub> -Det-bathe.O-Permissive	also
'Let me also take a bath.	

The example (104) above shows that the permissive occurs with the allomorph *e(h)i* of the copula 'be' which is not the same as the copular allomorph for the recent past (*eha*, section 5.3.1.2.2). The other occurrences of *e(h)i* are with the habitual past *-(h)e*, with the purpose of motion suffix *-(h)e*, and in nominalizations (*cf.* section 5.3.7 for the forms of the copula 'be').

Permissive forms do not occur with a second person subject which is probably due to the semantics of these forms, since they encode a request to induce the listener to allow something to happen against his will.

There are no collective forms with the permissive suffix in our database.

**5.3.1.2.6 The permissive/admonitive *-tan(u)*.** Jackson (1972:53) states that 'the future tense is indicated by *-tan*' and that it occurs only with transitive stems and the third person prefix *mën-*. Our data confirm that *mën-* is the only third person prefix to co-occur with *-tan(u)*, although in complementary distribution with a pre-verbal object. However, we have found it to occur also with intransitive verbs. Furthermore, it was not possible to replicate Jackson's examples with a future meaning (perhaps a dialectal difference?). In all examples we collected, *-tan(u)* showed the semantics of either permission or admonition, rather than marking future tense. Forms taking the third person prefix *mën-* had the meaning of either a command to the listener to allow someone else to carry out a task or a statement that a third person is allowed to do so (examples

107-110). Forms with a pre-verbal object may have an admonitive meaning (examples 111-113).<sup>9</sup>

- 107) *Mënëtiitan!*  
 mën-ētīlī-**tanu**  
 3Certnty-work-ImpPerm  
 ‘Let him work!’
- 108) *Ise aptau mēnapēitan.*  
 i-se wapta-wë mën-apēhi-**tanu**  
 3-Des when/if-in 3Certnty-take.O-ImpPerm  
 ‘If wanting, he/she can take it.’
- 109) *Akon wei po mēnehēpatan Estados Unidos po.*  
 akono weji po-Ø mën-ēh-epa-**tanu** estados unidos po-Ø  
 another year on.supported-on 3Certnty-Det-teach.O-ImpPerm United States on.supported-on  
 ‘In the next year he is allowed to study in the United States.’
- 110) *Ēnalēla mēneitan.*  
 ěn-alē-Ø-la mën-ehi-**tanu**  
 3Neg-take.O-Neg 3Certnty-be-ImpPerm  
 ‘He cannot take it (it is not his).’
- 111) *Īkilī enetan.*  
 ĩ-kīlīlī-Ø ene-**tanu**  
 1-thing-Pss see.O-ImpPerm  
 ‘(You’d) better verify my things.’
- 112) *Ka pikēlētān!*  
 ka pikēlē-**tanu**  
 fish cut.O-ImpPerm  
 ‘She’d better cut fish!’
- 113) *Ēwamoo okotan.*  
 ěw-amo-lī oko-**tanu**  
 2-hand-Pss cut.O-ImpPerm  
 ‘Watch out, lest you cut your finger.’

Forms with the permissive/admonitive do not occur with a collective suffix, since the collective suffix only modifies *SAP* participants.

**5.3.1.3. The suffix *-(h)e* ‘SAP affirmative.’** This suffix occurs in affirmative clauses with the suffixes *-ja* ‘Non past’ (and also non-past forms of the copula ‘be’) and the

<sup>9</sup> There are no examples of *-tan(u)* in texts. In a narrative where a speaker talks about his plans for the



suffix *-(j)(ë)mëhneja* ‘Habitual past,’ and only with verbs bearing non-collective *SAP* participants (114 to 119), including 1+3<sup>rd</sup> person exclusive (120 and 121), in the syntactic role of *A*, *S* or *O* (except when *A* is third person (125 and 126)). (Example 117 shows the full allomorph of *-(h)e*)

- 114) *Helë wekalėjai.*  
 helë w-ekalë-ja-**he**  
 PrsntvPro 1A3O-tell.O-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘This I will tell.’
- 115) *Wipanakmaimëhnejai.*  
 w-i-panakma-jmëtnëja-**he**  
 1A3O-Them-listen.to.O-HabPst-SapAff  
 ‘I used to listen to it.’
- 116) *Peptame ipakolon aptau wekalėjai manu.*  
 pepta-me ĩ-pakolo-nu wapta-wë w-ekalë-ja-**he** manu  
 big-Attrb 1-house-Pss if/when-in 1A3O-give.O-NPst-SapAff Irrealis  
 ‘If my house were big, I would give it.’
- 117) *Këlelepjahe nma.*  
 k-ëlepĭ-Red5-ja-**he** nma  
 1A2O-make.O.afraid-Red5-NPst-SapAff Intens  
 ‘You are really scaring me.’
- 118) *Talanme uwamela wëtĭĭjai.*  
 talanme uwame-la w-ëtĭĭ-ja-**he**  
 maybe healthy-Neg 1S<sub>A</sub>-become-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘Maybe I will get sick.’
- 119) *Masike tëmamine kutai.*  
 mahike tëmamine kut-a-**he**  
 With.that have.work 1+2S<sub>A</sub>-be-SapAff  
 ‘With that, we have work (to do).’
- 120) *Emna ninëmėjai.*  
 emna n-i-nëmë-ja-**he**  
 1+3ExclPro 1+3A3O-leave.O-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘We will leave it.’
- 121) *Emna nipohnëpëmëhnejai helëkom.*  
 emna n-i-potnëpĭ-ëmëtnëja-**he** helë-komo  
 1+3ExclPro 3A3Ø-Them-think.O-HabPst-SapAff PrsntvPro-Coll  
 ‘We used to think about these things.’

Third person *S/A* participants do not co-occur with *-(h)e*:

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future, only non-past forms (with *-ja* ‘Non past’) or *t-V-(h)e* forms occurred.

- 122) *Mëklëë hnë mënumëkja.*  
 mëklëlä tnë **mën**-umëki-ja  
 DemAnmMed also 3S<sub>A</sub>Certnty-come-NPst  
 ‘That one will also come.’
- 123) *Josinete ëtîlë sitpîli ewaaja hepî.*  
 josinete ëtîlë hitpîli ewalu-ja hepî  
 Josinete belongings dirty burn.O-NPst Habitual  
 ‘Josinete always burns her garbage.’
- 124) *Upak kulumuli ke mënehemëhneja malijatom.*  
 upake kulumuli ke **mën**-ehe-mëtneja malija-tomo  
 long ago bamboo InstrPts 3S<sub>A</sub>certnty-be-HabPst knife-Coll  
 ‘Long time ago the knives (i.e., the knife-like instruments) used to be with bamboo.’
- 125) *Kaikui nai këja.*  
 kajikuhi naj k-ë-ja  
 jaguar Intens 3A1+2O-eat.meat-NPst  
 ‘The jaguar will eat us.’
- 126) *Uwa, kaikui nai ëwëja.*  
 uwa kajikuhi naj ëw-ë-ja  
 Neg jaguar Intens 3A2O-eat.meat-NPst  
 ‘No, the jaguar will certainly eat you’

The suffix *-(h)e* is incompatible with questions. In fact, its absence on verbs with

SAP A/S participants always produces a question (as in example 127).

- 127) *Maa, jepe, tala kuta?*  
 maa j-epe-Ø **tala** kut-a  
 So 1-friend-Pss how 1+2S<sub>A</sub>-be  
 ‘So, my friend, how will we be?’
- 128) *Talaa pa kasili wüija?*  
 tala **pa** kahili w-ïli-ja  
 how Quest manioc.beer 1A3O-make.O-NPst  
 ‘How do I make kasili (beer)?’
- 129) *Nila, anumalë ka mitëimëja?*  
 nila anumalë **ka** m-îtë-jmë-ja  
 Nila tomorrow Quest 2S<sub>A</sub>-go-Resumpt-NPst  
 ‘Nila, are you going back tomorrow?’
- 130) *Mitëja?*  
 m-îtë-ja  
 2S<sub>A</sub>-go-NPst  
 ‘Are you going?’

The fact that *-(h)e* occurs only with *SAP* participants and in affirmative clauses suggests that it expresses some certainty value. However, *-(h)e* may co-occur with the

particle *manu* ‘Irrealis’ (example 116 above) and with adverbs expressing uncertainty such as *talanme* ‘maybe’ (118). Moreover, it does not contrast paradigmatically with any other morpheme in the language (as is the case for the cognate forms for *-(h)e* in other Cariban languages, such as Carib of Surinam, where the cognate form of *-(h)e* is part of a clear evidential system (Hoff:1986), or Tiriyo, where *-(h)e* marks certainty (Meira 1999:310)). It is more difficult to clearly establish the role of *-(h)e* in Wayâna, since it does not mark evidentiality per-se, (*i.e.*, it does not indicate the source of information or information about the degree of certainty a speaker has about the proposition, though it may have done so historically. It works now more like a redundant marker of *SAP* subjects in affirmative non-past and habitual past clauses.

**5.3.2. The Imperative and hortative Inflections.** The imperative and hortatory forms (the labels are borrowed from Jackson 1972) are each characterized by the occurrences of three distinct suffixes: the proximal suffixes (indicating an order or invitation to the listener to perform close to where the speaker and hearer are), the allative suffixes (an order or invitation to the listener to perform after moving to where the speaker is) and the ablative suffixes (an order or invitation to the listener to perform away from where both the speaker and hearer are—see Jackson, 1972:55-56). Table 3 shows these suffixes:

Table 3  
The Imperative and Hortatory suffixes.

	Proximal		Allative		Ablative	
	Non-Coll	Coll	Non-Coll	Coll	Non-Coll	Coll
Imp	-k(ë)	-të-k(ë)	-kët(ë)	-të-kët(ë)	ta	-ta-tëk(ë)
Hort	-(h)i	-të- (h)i	-net(ë)	-të-net(ë)	ta	-ta-tën(u)

As for the occurrences of the collective with imperative forms, as shown in Table 3, the allomorph *-të* occurs whenever it precedes the proximal imperative, the imperative

allative, the proximal hortatory, or the hortatory allative, and the allomorphs *-tëk(ë)* and *-tën(u)* occur after the imperative ablative and the hortatory ablative, respectively. As with forms bearing tense suffixes, only *SAP* participants are collectivized, even in the absence of personal prefixes, as in the case of the second person imperatives.

The imperative and hortatory forms bear different arrangements of personal prefixes: while the first may take 2<sup>nd</sup> person prefixes, the latter must occur with 1+2<sup>nd</sup> prefixes. No other personal distinctions are marked on these forms. The long and short allomorphs of the imperative and hortatory suffixes are dictated by the principles of syllable reduction (*cf.* section 2.3.1). Table 4 shows the personal prefixes that occur with the imperative and hortatory forms.

Table 4  
Personal prefixes on imperative and hortatory forms

Imperative	
Transitive <i>k-/ku-</i> '2A1O'	Intransitive <i>ë(w)-</i> '2S <sub>O</sub> '
Hortatory	
Transitive <i>(ku)h-/kut-, ku-, k-</i> '1+2A3O'	Intransitive <i>h-, k-, kuh-, kut-</i> '1+2S <sub>A</sub> ' <i>h-, k-, ku-, kuh-, kut-</i> '1+2S <sub>O</sub> '

Besides the imperative suffixes, an independent imperative negative construction is attested.

**5.3.2.1. The imperative suffixes: -k(ë) 'proximal imperative,' -kët(ë) 'imperative allative,' and -ta 'imperative ablative.'** The imperative forms take 2<sup>nd</sup> person prefixes as follows: transitive verbs may take only the local prefix *k-* '2A1O,' and intransitive S<sub>O</sub> verbs take the 2<sup>nd</sup> person prefix. Other situations, 2A3O and 2S<sub>A</sub> for instance, show no

prefix marking. Thematic prefixes occur for the relevant cases (*cf.* section 5.1.3).

Examples of all three suffixes with transitive, S<sub>O</sub>, and S<sub>A</sub> verbs are given below:

- Proximal imperative:
- |      |  |      |  |
|------|--|------|--|
| 131) | <i>Anopkë!</i><br>anopï-kë<br>paint.O-ProxImp<br>'Paint he/she/it!'  | 132) | <i>Ëwelemikë!</i><br>ëw-elemi-kë<br>2S <sub>O</sub> -sing-ProxImp<br>'Sing!' |
| 133) | <i>Konopkë!</i><br>k-onopï-kë<br>2A1O-paint.O-ProxImp<br>'Paint me!' | 134) | <i>Ëmëmëkë!</i><br>ëmëmï-kë<br>enter-ProxImp<br>'Enter'                      |
- Imperative allative:
- |      |   |      |   |
|------|---|------|---|
| 135) | <i>Anopkët!</i><br>anopï-këtë<br>paint.O-ImpAllat<br>'Come and paint he/she/it!'  | 136) | <i>Ëwelemikët!</i><br>ëw-elemi-këtë<br>2S <sub>O</sub> -sing-ImpAllat<br>'Come and sing!' |
| 137) | <i>Konopkët!</i><br>k-onopï-këtë<br>2A1O-paint.O-ImpAllat<br>'Come and paint me!' | 138) | <i>Ëtuhkët!</i><br>ëtuku-këtë<br>have.a.meal-ImpAllat<br>'Come and have a meal'           |
- Imperative ablative:
- |      |   |      |   |
|------|---|------|---|
| 139) | <i>Ipanakmata!</i><br>i-panakma-ta<br>Them-hear.O-ImpAblat<br>'Listen to he/she/it.'            | 140) | <i>Ëwata!</i><br>ëw-uwa-ta<br>2-dance-ImpAblat<br>'Go dance!'                         |
| 141) | <i>Kupanakmata!</i><br>ku-panakma-ta<br>2A1O-hear.O-ImpAblat<br>'Go (there) and listen to me!'  | 142) | <i>Ëtukta!</i><br>ëtuku-ta<br>have.a.meal-ImpAblat<br>'Go have a meal.'               |
| 143) | <i>Alëtëk!</i><br>alë-të-kë<br>take.O-SapColl-ProxImp<br>'You all take it!'                     | 144) | <i>Ëtuktëkët!</i><br>ëtuku-të-këtë<br>have.a.meal-ImpAllat<br>'Come you all and eat!' |
| 145) | <i>Kaitatëk</i><br>kaj-ta-tëkë<br>say-ImpAblat-SapColl<br>'You all go and say (it) to him/her.' |      | <i>eja.</i><br>e-ja<br>2-Allative   |

**5.3.2.2. The hortatory suffixes: -h(i) proximal hortatory, -net(ë) hortatory allative, and -ta(-n(u)) hortatory ablative.** All hortatory suffixes occur with verbs inflected with 1+2<sup>nd</sup> personal prefixes, as in the following examples (no examples of the hortatory allative suffix are found in texts):

- Proximal hortatory
- 146) *Henesi hkuu!*  
h-ene-hi kkulu  
1+2A3O-see.O-ProxHort Intens  
'Let's go see he/she/it!'
- 147) *Kinikii!*  
k-ĩnikĩ-hi  
1+2S<sub>O</sub>-sleep-ProxHort  
'Let's sleep.'
- 148) *Ĕhepeme heitëi!*  
ĕh-epe-me h-ehi-të-hi  
RecprN-friend-Attrb 1+2S<sub>A</sub>-be-SapColl-ProxHort  
'Let us all be friends.'
- Hortatory allative:
- 149) *Hepinet!*  
h-epĩ-netë  
1+2A3O-eat.soft.food-HortAllat  
'Let's come and eat it!'
- 150) *Kutuwatënetë psik.*  
kut-uwa-të-netë phikĩ  
1+2S<sub>O</sub>-dance-SapColl-HortAllat  
'Let us all came and dance a little.'
- Hortatory ablative:
- 151) *Hapëita!*  
h-apëhi-ta!  
1+2A3O-get.O-HortAblat  
'Let's go get it!'
- 152) *Kutuwatatën!*  
kut-uwa-ta-tënu  
1+2S<sub>O</sub>-dance-HortAblat-SapColl  
'Let us all go there and dance!'
- 153) *Hapëitatën!*  
h-apëhi-ta-tënu  
1+2A3O-get.O-HortAblat-SapColl  
'Let us all go and get it!'
- 154) *Këtukta!*  
k-ëtuku-ta  
1+2S<sub>A</sub>-have.a.meal-HortAblat  
'Let's go there and have a meal.'
- 155) *Kutuwatënet!*  
kut-uwa-të-netĩ  
1+2S<sub>O</sub>-dance-SapColl-HortAllat  
'Let us all come dance.'
- 156) *Henetëi!*  
h-ene-të-hi  
1+2A3O-see.O-SapColl-ProxHort  
'Let us all see (it)'
- 157) *Henetatën!*  
h-ene-ta-tënu  
1+2A3O-see.O-HortAblat-SapColl  
'Let's all go see it'

In the non-collective forms, the hortatory ablative is homophonous with the imperative ablative (both occur as *-ta*), but the personal prefixes 1+2<sup>nd</sup> for the hortatory and 2<sup>nd</sup> person prefixes for the imperative disambiguate between the two forms. In the collective, the two forms are further distinguished by the allomorph of the collective morpheme: *-tëk(ë)* for the imperative and *-tën(u)* for the hortatory.

The source of the collective forms with the ablative imperative and hortatory forms seems to be the future *\*-ta* in combination with some other morphology. Gildea's list of Set I TAM affixes for the modern Cariban languages (1989:102) shows languages with future forms. Some are shown below:

	Future	Future+Coll
Carib	<b>-take</b>	-ta-:to-ŋ
Carijona	-ta-e	-ta- <b>kë</b> -i
Tiriyó	-ta	-ta- <b>hki</b>
Wayâna	<b>-tan</b>	-të-tan

Figure 2

#### Cariban future suffixes

This points to a historical development where the future *\*-ta* is extended to other semantic domains while retaining the morphology that followed it historically. Thus, the ablative forms *-ta-tën(u)* for the imperative and *-ta-tëk(ë)* for the hortatory seem to be historically derived from *\*-ta-të-nu* and *\*-ta-të-kë* (with the last elements as cognates of the forms in bold in Figure 2 and the now imperative permissive/admonitive from the future *\*-ta-nu*).

**5.3.3. The negative imperative construction: 1+2-V-Ø+nai.** In this construction, the verb occurs with the same set of prefixes as the hortatory form, 1+2A3O (direct) form for transitive verbs and 1+2S<sub>O</sub> and 1+2S<sub>A</sub> for intransitive verbs, together with the second position particle *nai* ‘Intensifying’. This particle follows the verb unless the O is preverbal, in which case it follows the O (*cf.* Jackson, 1972:56). Though the imperative negative designates a command, it has also an admonitive flavor. The negative imperative construction is homophonous with verbal forms taking 1+2<sup>nd</sup> prefixes in the recent past, whose translations are given later between parenthesis in the examples below:

158) *Īmumuu nai halimanehpo!*  
 ĩ-mumulu-Ø naj h-alima-neppo  
 1-men’s.son-Pss Intens 1+2A3O-throw.O-Caus  
 ‘‘Watch out, do not let my son fall!’’  
 (‘We just let my son fall.’)

159) *Kutuika nai!*  
 kut-ujka naj  
 1+2S<sub>O</sub>-defecate Intens  
 ‘‘Watch out, lest you defecate.’’  
 (We just defecated)

160) *Kunmök nai!*  
 kut-umökĩ naj  
 1+2S<sub>A</sub>-come Intens  
 ‘‘Don’t you come!’’  
 (We just came.)

The admonitive semantics differentiate between the imperative negative and negated verbs plus ‘be’ in the imperative (*ēnenela eikē* ‘do not look!’) which is a simple direct negative command. There are no attested cases of negative imperative forms.

**5.3.4. t-V-(h)e verbs.** The main formal characteristics of t-V-(h)e verbal set are:

- a) The discontinuous morpheme *t-* *-(h)e*.



- b) Ergative case-marking: the *A* is marked by the ergative marking *ja*, and the *S* and the *O* are unmarked.
- c) Free word order.
- d) Lack of conjugation: T-V-(h)e forms do not bear personal prefixes, tense, evidential, or number affixes. They take only derivational aspectual suffixes (*cf.* section 5.4.4)
- e) Number is expressed by pronouns or by the particle *tot(o)* ‘3<sup>rd</sup> person collective.’

The examples below show some of these properties:

- 161)                    [ O                    ]                    [A                    ja]
- Malonme iwokan epuu tēpkēlēi pasina ja.*  
malonme ĭ-woka-nu epulu-Ø tē-pīkēlē-he pahina ja  
then 1-fishhook-Pss pole-Pss T-break.O-He fish.sp. Erg  
‘Then, a pasina (fish) broke the pole of my fishhook.’

- 162)                    [ O ]                    [A-ja]
- Malonme pasina ĭja tēpēlētse huwaa.*  
malonme pahina ĭ-ja t-ēpēlētī-he huwalē  
then fish.kind 1-Erg T-get.fish-He as.such  
‘Then, I got I pasina, as such.’

- 163) [ S ]
- Kopē telen tumēkhe*  
kopē telenu t-umēkī-he  
rain huge T-come-He  
‘A huge rain came.’

- 164) [ S ]
- Tikai iu.*  
tī-ka-he ĭwu  
T-say-He 1Pro  
‘I said.’

The examples show that though T-V-(h)e forms do not bear tense suffixes, they are used in reference to events located in the past (with perfective meaning as in the examples above and progressive meaning as in the one below),

- 165) *Tek tikai inelëë.*  
 tək ti-ka-he inëlëë  
 think.snd T-do-He 3AnphPro  
 ‘She was thinking.’

in the present (with habitual and progressive meaning, examples 166 and 167), and in the future (example 169 and 170):

- 166) *Tëlelephe hepī iu kaikusi ja.*  
 t-ëlepī-le-he hepī iwu kajikuhi ja  
 T-make.O.afraid-Red5-He habitual 1Pro jaguar Erg  
 ‘The jaguar always makes me scared.’

- 167) *Kape tühe.*  
 kape t-üli-he  
 coffee T-make.O-He  
 ‘(You) are making coffee.’  
 (Said to me by one of my consultants when he arrived as I was adding coffee powder to the hot water, as the reply to my statement: ‘I am making coffee, Sapotoli.’)

‘It’s heart is still beating.’  
 (Said about a dying animal.)

- 169) *Moloinë aptau tēepijēmēi.*  
 molojinë wapta-wë tē-ë-e-pi-jēmē-he  
 Then thus-in T-SA-Det-bathe.O-Resumpt-He  
 ‘Then, thus, (I) will bathe again’

- 170) *Tuna pək tütēi, huwaa*  
 tuna pəkē ti-w-ütē-he huwalë  
 water about T-SA-go-He as.such  
 ‘(I) will go get water, as such.’

Since the semantic value of the t-V-(h)e verb shows such great overlap with the semantics of the various Set I inflections, any description of the Wayana language should discuss what might condition the distribution of t-V-(h)e forms in texts and spontaneous speech as compared to the distribution of Set I verbs. The factor conditioning the occurrences of the two verbal sets, Set I and t-V-(h)e, is not a formal one. To this point, we have not been able to find any morphosyntactic test that will consistently yield one form instead of the other. It seems instead that the choice of using one of the two sets is

confined to the realm of pragmatics and to what type of rhetorical nuances each set implies. This is indicated by the distribution of the two sets in texts.

In historical narratives we see a complementary distribution between Set I and t-V-(h)e forms, with t-V-(h)e occurring in almost a 100% of the cases in narrative clauses and with Set I occurring only in reported speech clauses (example 171), or when the narrator is making an aside addressed to the audience. In personal narratives, the distribution of the two sets is more complex. We see basically the same organization as in the historical narrative in some texts (Snake, Monkey, etc.), in others the occurrence of both sets in narrative clauses (Alawaka, Mopelu1, Future, *etc.*, as in example 172), and in still others only Set I (Mopelu2, *etc.*) or t-V-(h)e occurred (Malamala, *etc.*). In sum, the only clear distinction in the distribution of the two sets in texts is a discursive one with only Set I occurring in reported speech and only t-V-(h)e occurring in narrative clauses in historical narratives.<sup>10</sup>

171) *Ēti pa mepija?*  
 ət̪i pa m-ep̪i-ja  
 what Quest **2A30**-eat.soft.food-**NPst**  
 “What do you eat?”

*Tikai ololi ja, kaikui.*  
 t̪i-ka-he ololi ja kajikuhi  
**T-say-He** iguana Dat jaguar  
 “Said Jaguar to Iguana.”

172) *Malonme emna kunēhalē talē inē mija lēē*  
 malonme emna kun-ēh-alē talē jnē mija lēlē  
 then 1+3ExclPro **3DistPst**-Det-take.O NspcProxLoc Source thither Emph

*Ētukula nma tūtēi emna*  
 ət̪uku-la nma t̪i-w-īt̪ē-he emna  
 have.a.meal-Neg Intens **T-SA-go-He** 1+3ExclPro  
 “Then, from here we went thither. We went without having a meal...”

<sup>10</sup> For a more thorough discussion on the occurrences of the two sets, including examples of daily speech, see sectiondiscourse.doc.

Wayâna figures as an unattested type for Dixon's (1994) typology of split ergative systems, which states that grammatical features such as TAM, the semantic properties of the NP's, the status of the verb as main or subordinated, and the semantics of the verb are the triggering features of split ergative systems. In Tiriyo (Meira 1999:333), for instance, the cognate t-V-(h)e form is restricted to the remote past, thus conditioned by tense, fitting Dixon's typology. This is not true in the Wayâna case, where both systems occur independent of tense, with all persons and in main clauses, and with all verb stems. Since grammatical devices cannot tell the two systems apart, what triggers the split must be some pragmatic discursive attributes each set presents. The nature of these properties, however, is not well understood.

**5.3.5. Gerundive forms.** The gerundive forms are two subordinated verbal forms that do not belong morphologically to any of the major speech classes existing in the language. Their co-occurrence with a main verb resembles those of adverbials, but they can take O prefixes and the collective suffix *-he*, which adverbials do not take. In addition, they refer to events in which the S and A arguments are obligatorily marked on the main verb (a nominative pattern). The same gerundive collective suffix, *-he*, occurs with the purpose of motion forms (5.3.5.2) and negated verb forms (5.3.5.1, *cf.* also 6.1.2.2 for the collectivizer *-he* on postpositions).

**5.3.5.1. Negated verb forms.** Negated verb forms are historical developments of former de-verbal adverbializations (*cf.* section 7.2.1.3 for a discussion on the cases of de-verbal adverbialization with the negative suffix *-la*). They occur as adverbs in co-occurrences with a main verb (most commonly the copula 'be'). Intransitive stems take no personal prefixes, the prefix *i-/Ø-* can be analyzed as part of the historical adverbializing ambifix

*i-V-la* ((173) and (175)), and transitive stems take prefixes referring to the underlying O ((177) and (178)). The main verb thus encodes the underlying A or S.

- 173) *Meku ilēmēpīla hně nai.*  
 meku i-lēmēpī-la tně naj  
 monkey i?-die-Neg still Intens  
 ‘The monkey hasn’t died yet.’
- 174) *Kala inělěě.*  
 ka-la inělěě  
 say-Neg 3AnaphPro  
 ‘She did not speak.’
- 175) *Elemila kutatēi.*  
 Ø-elemi-la kut-a-tēhe  
 Ø?-sing-Neg 1+2-be-SapColl  
 ‘We are not going to sing.’
- 176) *Ĕtukula nma tūtēi emna*  
 ĕtuku-la nma tī-w-ītē-he emna  
 have.a.meal-Neg Intens T-S<sub>A</sub>-go-He 1+3ExclPro  
 ‘We went without having a meal,’  
 ‘Have you still not seen these yet?’
- 178) *Mě, jelepīla nma.*  
 mě j-elepī-la nma  
 So 1-make.O.afraid-Neg Intens  
 ‘So, it does not scare me at all.’

Following the general pattern, *-he* collectivizes prefixed participants other than first person singular.

- 179) *Pufalo ěnenelahe wai.*  
 pufalo ěn-ene-la-he wahe  
 bull 3Neg-see.O-Neg-Coll 1be  
 ‘I do not see the bulls.’
- 180) *Konoplahe kunehak Telesa.*  
 k-onopī-la-he kun-eha-kě telesa  
 1+2-paint.O-Neg-Coll 3S<sub>A</sub>DistPst-be-DistPst Thereza  
 ‘Thereza did not paint all of us.’

**5.3.5.2. *-(h)e* ‘Purpose of Motion.’** This suffix occurs most commonly with the verbs of motion, usually *(i)tě(mi)* ‘go and *(u)měk(i)* ‘come,’ to indicate the purpose or source of

motion. It occurs with both transitive and intransitive verbal stems, the former taking O prefixes for 1<sup>st</sup> person, 2<sup>nd</sup> person, 1+2<sup>nd</sup> person, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person (quickly exemplified in (186)), which are collectivized by *-he*, excepting as usual the first person. A small group of transitive verbs take an idiosyncratic third person prefix *t(i)-* in complementary distribution with a preverbal O (186e-h) (*cf.* section 5.1.3). Intransitive verbs starting with consonants present the thematic prefix *i-* (181) (*cf.* section 5.1.3 above) (The nominative pattern of the purpose of motion form is discussed in syntax).

- 181) *Witējai isiktai.*  
 W-ītē-ja-he i-hiku-ta-he  
 1SA-go-Npst-SapAff Them-urine-PssNIntrVrblz-PurpMot  
 ‘I am going (there) to urinate.’
- 182) *Ēti kai umēk?*  
 ēti ka-he w-umēki-Ø  
 what do-PurpMot 1SA-come-RecPst  
 ‘In order to do what did I come here?’
- 183) *Wekilima paluu enephe.*  
 w-e-kilīma-Ø palulu enepi-he  
 1SA-Det-Leave.O-RecPst banana bring.O-MotPurp  
 ‘I left in order to get bananas.’
- 184) *Kama kahe inē tinēmēimēi.*  
 kama ka-he jnē ti-nēmē-jmē-he  
 end.snd do-MotPurp from T-leave-Resumpt-He  
 ‘From having finished (with their activity), they left’
- 185) *Hemalēē inikhe jawainei.*  
 hemalēē iniki-he j-awajna-ja-he  
 today sleep-PurpMot 1SO-go.from.night.to.day-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘Today I will sleep well.’  
 (Lit.: today I will go from night to day to sleep (will sleep all night long).)
- 186) a. *ipanakmai* ‘In order to listen to me.’  
 b. *ēpanakmai* ‘In order to listen to you.’  
 c. *kupanakmai* ‘In order to listen to us.’  
 d. *ipanakamai* ‘In order to listen to him/her/it.’
- e. Ulu ěk-**he** wītējai ‘I am going to eat bread’  
 f. t-ěk-**he** wītējai ‘I am going to eat (bread)’  
 g. malamala kap-**he** wītējai ‘I am going to craft malamala seeds’  
 h. tī-kap-**he** wītējai ‘I am going to craft it’

- 187) *Emna titëi eneimëhehe.*  
 emna t-itë-he Ø-ene-jmë-he-**he**  
 1+3ExclPro T-go-He 3-see.O-Resumpt-PurpMot-Coll  
 ‘We went in order to see them.’
- 188) *Paulu mënumëkja kupananmahehe.*  
 Paulu mën-umëki-ja ku-panakma-he-**he**  
 Paulu 3SAcertnty-come-NPst 1+2-hear.O- PurpMot-Coll  
 ‘Paul will come to hear us all.’

**5.3.6. The habitual past *-(h)e*.** Verb stems bearing this suffix occur as main verbs in their front grade (*Cf.* 5.1.1). In all attested examples, the habitual past forms occur without personal prefixes.<sup>11</sup> The habitual past *-(h)e* marks habitual past events apparently in the same way as the habitual past *-(j)(ë)mëhneja* (above); to this point no semantic distinctions have been found between the two suffixes (*cf.* section 5.3.1.2.4 for the morphosyntactic properties of forms with this suffix).

- 189) *Maa lep nai tan eihe kole*  
 maa lep naj tanë ehi-he kole  
 So Advrs Intens SpcProxLoc be-HabPst many  
 ‘‘There used to be lots of potatoes right here.’’
- 190) *Upak kaikui pitpë alëi iu katelu ja.*  
 upake kaikuhi pitpë-Ø alë-he iwu katelu ja  
 long.ago jaguar skin-Pss take.O 1Pro jaguar.skin.hunter Allative  
 ‘Long ago, I used to take jaguar skin to the jaguar skin hunters.’
- 191) *Upak aptau wajana umëkhe itu polo lëken talëna.*  
 upake apta-wë wajana umëki-**he** itu po-lo lëken talë-na  
 long.ago when/if-in Wayana come-HabPst jungle on-along only NspcProxLoc-to  
 ‘A long time ago the Wayâna used to come here only through the jungle.’
- 192) *Kai kuni.*  
 ka-he kuni  
 say-HabPst grandmother  
 ‘(Grandma used to say.)’

<sup>11</sup> Meira (1999:329) describes the cognate habitual past for Tiriyó as taking O prefixes. Unfortunately, the relevant data does not occur in our database.

The habitual past occurs with the copular allomorph *e(h)i* (also occurring with nominalizations, *-(h)e* ‘purpose of motion,’ and the permissive *-(h)i/-Ø*) (see section 5.3.7):

- 193) *Ēile eihe iu.*  
 ějle ehi-**he** iwu  
 angry be-HabPst 1Pro  
 ‘I used to be angry.’

**5.3.7. The copula ‘be’.** The copula ‘be’ undergoes the same morphological processes as other verbal stem. In table 5, we show the Set I forms of the copula ‘be’ for the non-past, the recent past, and the remote past.

Table 5  
 S1 Forms of the copula ‘be’

	<b>Non-past</b>	<b>Recent Past</b>	<b>Remote Past</b>
<b>1</b>	w-a-he (affirm) wa (questions)	w-eha-Ø	w-eha-ken(e)
<b>2</b>	manahe (affirmative) man (questions)	m-eha-Ø	m-eha-ken(e)
<b>3</b>	man(e) (man(u)?)	n-eha-Ø	kun-eha-k(ě)
<b>1+2</b>	kut-a-(h)e (affirmative) kut-a (questions)	h-eha-Ø (in frida also kuheha)	h-eha-ken(e)
<b>1CII</b>	kut-a-tě(h)e~kut-a-těw (affirmatives) kut-a-těw (questions)	h-eha-těw(ě)-Ø	h-eha-tě-ken(e)
<b>2CII</b>	man-a-těhe man-a-těwě (questions)	m-eha-těw(ě)-Ø	m-eha-tě-ken(e)

In Table 5, we see that the distant past suffix *-ken(e)* occurs with *SAP* prefixes, and *kun-* *-k(ě)* occurs with third person forms and the first person exclusive *emna*.  
 Examples follow.



- 194) *Ītīmēla*                    *wehaken.*  
 ĩtē-jmē-la                    **w-eha-kene**  
 go-Resumpt-Neg 1S<sub>A</sub>-be-DistPst  
 ‘I did not go again.’
- 195) *Tipije*    *mehaken.*  
 tī-pī-je    m-eha-**kene**  
 havingAvlz-wife-havingAvlz 2S<sub>A</sub>-be-DistPst  
 ‘You had a wife.’
- 196) *Alimi*                    *kunehak*                    *molo.*  
 alimi                    **kun-eha-kē**                    molo  
 monkey.sp 3DistPst-be-DistPst SpcMedLoc  
 ‘An alimi monkey was there.’
- 197) *Emna*                    *mēje*                    *emna*                    *kunehak.*  
 emna                    mēje                    **emna**                    **kun-eha-kē**  
 1+3ExclPro NspcDistLoc 1+3ExclPro 3DistPst-be-DistPst  
 ‘Far away there we stayed.’

As for the collective suffix, with the non-past forms of the copula ‘be’ present the most complexity: *-tē(h)e* and *-tēu* occur in free variation in affirmatives with 1+2<sup>nd</sup> forms (198 and 199), and only *-tēu* occurs in questions (200); for 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms *-tē(h)e* occurs in affirmatives (201) and *-tēu* in questions (202). The Collective suffix is always *-tēu* for the Recent Past and *-tē* for the distant past.

- 198) *Talē*                    *kutatēi*                    *helē*                    *pakolo tau.*  
 talē                    kut-a-**tēhe**                    helē                    pakolo ta-wē  
 NspcProxLoc 1+2S<sub>A</sub>-be-SapColl PrsntvPro house in.permanent.loc-in  
 ‘Here we are in this house.’
- 199) *Ma* *totike*    *psik*                    *kutatēu.*  
 maa t-otī-ke    phikī                    kut-a-**tēw**  
 So havingAvlz-meat-havingAvlz small 1+2S<sub>A</sub>-be-SapColl  
 ‘So, we have a little bit of food.’ (alawaka 038)
- 200) *Tohme* *ēhehtau*    *kutatēu?*  
 topme ēhe-tta-wē    kut-a-**tēw**  
 why Recpr-among-in 1+2S<sub>A</sub>-be-SapColl  
 ‘Why are we all mixed?’
- 201) *Īna* *ipok*                    *anumhak*                    *manatēi.*  
 ĩna ipoke anu-mhakē                    mana-**tēhe**  
 yeah good strong-ModAdvlz 2be-SapColl  
 ‘Yeah, good, you are strong.’

- 202) *Tala manatëu?*  
 tala mana-tëw  
 how 2be-SapColl  
 “How have you managed (to do these things)?”

The other attested forms are *e(s)i* with the habitual past suffix *-(h)e* (section 5.3.1.2.4), with the permissive/admonitive suffix *-tan(u)* (section 5.3.1.2.6), with the permissive suffix *-(h)i/-Ø* (section 5.3.1.2.5), with the imperative suffixes (section 5.3.2.1), and with *t-V-(h)e* forms (section 5.3.4). The allomorph *ehe* occurs with the Habitual past *-(j)(ë)mëhneja* (section 5.3.1.2.4).

Examples of the *t-V-(h)e* form of the copula *tëweihe* were accepted in elicitation but never occurred in texts. For all examples, zero copula or one of the S1 forms in from Table 5 are used (203). Cases indicating a change of state or entering a state occurred with the copula *ëti(li)* ‘become’ (204):

- 203) *Alimi kunehak molo.*  
 alimi kun-**eha**-kë molo  
 monkey.sp 3DistPst-be-DistPst SpcMedLoc  
 ‘(An) alimi was there.’ (Alawaka 016)

- 204) *Ëu elamhak tëtëihe.*  
 ëwu elamhakë t-**ëtili**-he  
 1Pro fearful T-become-He  
 ‘I became scared.’

The allomorph of the copula occurring with the purpose of motion is *e(h)i*.

- 205) *Mitëjai ëpatënme eihe.*  
 m-**itë**-jahe ëpa-të-nu-me ehi-**he**  
 2S<sub>A</sub>-go-Npst-SapAff teach.O-GenModAdvlz-PtNmlz-Attrb be-PurpMot  
 ‘You are going (there) to be a teacher.’

**5.4. Derivational Morphemes.** More than the morphemes discussed under the label ‘inflection,’ the morphemes described here prototypically fit the derivational category, i.e., they create new forms that inflectional morphology may attach to. These are, beginning from the most nuclear root/stem, the verbalizers (deriving a stem equivalent to

a verb root, *cf.* 5.4.1), the valence changing morphemes (the detransitivizer, *cf.* 5.4.2.1, and the various transitivizers, *cf.* 5.4.2.2), the causative (5.4.3), and the derivational aspectual suffixes (5.4.4).

**5.4.1. Verbalizers.** With a few exceptions (discussed below) all verbalization is a denominal process. It creates either transitive or intransitive S<sub>O</sub> verbal stems, i.e., stems that fully participate in the morphological processes affecting these classes. No verbalizing suffix occurs with all nouns, as unpossessable nouns (4.1.1.3.1) are left out of verbalization. Most verbalizers have a strong tendency of occurring only with possessible nouns. Others, less productive, occur with only more limited sets of noun stems. Nouns derived from other speech classes, including some cases of nominalized adverbs and nominalized postpositions, are rare but do occur. There are, however, no attested cases of verbalizers with de-verbal noun forms. The suffixes presented in Table 6 below show that the great majority of verbalizers create transitive stems (‘/’ indicates lexically conditioning and ‘~’ free variation).

Table 6  
Verbalizing suffixes

	Transitive Verbalizers	Intransitive Verbalizers
All possessible nouns	- <i>ka</i> ‘PrivVrblz’ - <i>pa</i> / - <i>ma</i> ‘GiveVrblz’ - <i>ptë</i> / - <i>mtë</i> ‘ProvideVrblz’	- <i>ta</i> ‘PssNIntrVrblz’
Sound symbolic words	- <i>ka</i> / - <i>ma</i> ‘SndVrblz’	- <i>lum(i)</i> ‘SndIntrVrblz’
Body-parts	- <i>kma</i> ~ - <i>takma</i> ~ - <i>tama</i> ~ - <i>pakma</i> ‘HitVrblz’ - <i>tukma</i> ~ - <i>hapakma</i> ‘PressVrblz’	
A few nouns only	- <i>p(i)</i> ‘PpNVrblz’ - <i>lë</i> ‘TransVrblz’ - <i>pë</i> ‘TransVrblz’ - <i>nama</i> ‘TransVrblz’ - <i>nëp(i)</i> ‘TransVrblz’	- <i>pam(i)</i> ‘AttrVrblz’ - <i>napam(i)</i> ‘AttrVrblz’ - <i>m(i)</i> ‘AttrVrblz’

Verbalization is closely related to possession. All possessible noun stems occur in their possessed allomorph in verbalized derivations, and the O must be a referent belonging to the class of potential possessors of the noun stem. This is made clear by the cases of specifically possessed nouns such as *ëwa* ‘rope’ and *kanet(i)* ‘hammock string’ (cf. 4.1.1.3.3.2) whose verbalized forms must have as the O a member of the class of their potential possessors. Exceptions to this pattern exist and are treated in the relevant sections.

As for the allomorphs of the possessible verbalized noun, they occur according to a rule as follows:

- a) Only the possessed allomorph of possessible nouns is verbalized (cf. 4.1.1.3 for a discussion on the possessibility of all nouns and their allomorphs).
- b) Though the noun stems occur in their possessed allomorph, the overt allomorphs of the genitive suffixes are usually lost: *-n(u)* is lost in all contexts, *-(li)*

occurs in only one example with one verbalizer (see below), and *-t(i)* sometimes occurs and sometimes does not. The form for the noun ‘hand’ presents an extra final /t/ in all cases.

c) Nouns starting with /w/ are verbalized together with their idiosyncratic third person possessive prefix *a-* but apparently only in the *direct* and *3A3O* cases. The allomorphs of such nouns occur without prefixes in the other arrangements (*inverse* and maybe *local*). Though the existing data is not conclusive, some examples such as the one offered here indicate that this conclusion is correct. Two nouns, *wohanë* ‘suffering’ and *(w)ok(i)* ‘beverage,’ verbalized by the transitive *-mal/-pa* ‘Give verbalizer,’ exemplify this: *ë-wohanë-ma* ‘3A made you suffer,’ *ï-wohanë-ma* ‘3A made me suffer,’ *n-a-wohanë-ma* ‘3A made 3O suffer,’ *n-a-wok-pa* ‘3A gave 3O beverage,’ *m-a-wok-pa* ‘2A gave 3O beverage.’ An obvious conclusion from this is that the nouns were verbalized in their full possessed forms, and the *SAP* prefixes were reanalyzed as the pronominal verbal prefixes (as the forms in bold highlight).

d) Nouns referring to body-parts ending with *tpë* lose the ending.

**5.4.1.1. Intransitive verbalizers.** All intransitive verbalizers create new verbal stems taking *S<sub>O</sub>* morphology (*cf.* parsed examples below). The meaning of the five attested forms *-ta*, *-pam(i)*, *-napam(i)*, *-lum(i)*, and *-m(i)* is that of the S possessing the item encoded by the nominal root, the S entering the state that is characteristic of the nominal root, or as stated by Jackson for *-ta* (1972:71), for S to ‘perform the activity that is usual for X,’ ‘X’ being the nominal root.

The verbalizer *-ta* ‘possessed noun intransitive verbalizer’ is the only productive intransitive verbalizer, but its occurrences are limited to the possessed allomorphs of

possessible nouns which occur without the allomorphs *-n(u)* and *-(li)* of the genitive suffix; some stems retain and some lose the allomorph *-t(i)* (in boldface in the second column). Only one noun ending in what seems to be a fusion with the devaluative *-tpë* and its allomorphs (*cf.* section 4.2.1.1) occurred with *-ta* in the database (examples 207g and h are inherently possessed, and example 207f shows /t/→[ht], a consonant dissimilation rule.

- 206) *İsiktei.*  
 İ-hiku-**ta**-ja-he  
 1So-urine-PssNIntrVrblz-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘I am going to urinate.’
- 207)
- |    |        |               |          |                   |            |                          |
|----|--------|---------------|----------|-------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| a. | pakolo | ‘house’       | ipakolon | ‘his house’       | nipakolota | ‘He/she has a house’     |
| b. | wapot  | ‘fire’        | ijaptëë  | ‘his fire’        | niwaptëta  | ‘He/she has fire’        |
| c. | pilëu  | ‘arrow’       | iile     | ‘his arrow’       | niileta    | ‘He has arrow’           |
| d. | pījai  | ‘shaman’      | iijasii  | ‘his shaman’      | niijaita   | ‘He/she got a shaman’    |
| e. | pīlasi | ‘basket’      | iilasin  | ‘his basket’      | niilasita  | ‘He/she has basket’      |
| f. | ëpi    | ‘medicine’    | epit     | ‘his medicine’    | nepihta    | ‘He/she has medicine’    |
| g. |        |               | ipīt     | ‘his wife’        | nipīta     | ‘He has a wife’          |
| h. |        |               | ikat     | ‘his fat’         | nikata     | ‘He/she got fat’         |
| i. | kanpë  | ‘smoked meat’ | ikanpīi  | ‘his smoked meat’ | nikanpīta  | ‘He/she has smoked meat’ |
| j. | luwe   | ‘flute’       | iluwen   | ‘his flute’       | niluweta   | ‘He played a flute’      |
| h. | siku   | ‘urine’       | isikuu   | ‘his urine’       | nisikta    | ‘He/she/it urinated’     |

The S must be the nominal equivalent of the possessor of the nominal stem, as

exemplified below:

- 208) *Wapot nelisiwëta.*  
 wapoto n-elihiwë-**ta**-Ø  
 fire 3S<sub>O</sub>-smoke-PssIntrVrblz-RecPst  
 ‘There was smoke from the fire.’  
 (Lit.: the fire smoked)

- 209) *Wewe neluwëtpëta.*  
 weew n-eluwëtpë-**ta**-Ø  
 wood 3S<sub>O</sub>-ashes-PssIntrVrblz-RecPst  
 ‘The wood went into ashes.’

Exceptionally, a few non-possessible nouns, including a nominalized adverbial form (with *-anu* (4.2.2.2.2)), one adverbial stem (*\*maika* is historically a noun that fused

with *-me*, the attributive adverbializer), and one postpositional phrase (*he* is a desiderative postposition (6.2.3)) occur with *-ta*:

- 210) a. waluhma ‘young woman’ → waluhmata ‘become a young woman’  
 b. jolok ‘evil spirit’ → jolokta ‘incorporate an evil spirit’  
 c. maikame ‘bitter’ → maikata ‘get bitter’
- 211) jamephak ‘happy’ → jamephakta ‘get happy’
- 212) ahmek ‘with stomach pain’ → ahmekanta ‘become nauseated’
- 213) tuna he ‘wanting water’ → tunaheta ‘desireful of water’

The verbalizer *-pam(i)* ‘Attributive verbalizer’ is attested with only a few nouns, all unpossessible nouns. One case with a semi-frozen de-nominal adverbial stem is also attested (216b).<sup>12</sup> (Cf. 4.1.1.3.1 for other descriptive nouns such as *sitpili* ‘ugly’ and *pepta* ‘big’.)

‘I became ugly.’

- 215) a. pepta ‘big’ → peptapam(i) ‘become big’  
 b. waluhma ‘young woman’ → waluhmapam(i) ‘become a young woman’  
 c. imiata ‘young man’ → imiatapam(i) ‘become a young man’  
 d. asika ‘angry’ → asikapam(i) ‘become angry’
- 216) a. muno-me ‘pregnant’  
 b. timnoke ‘full bellied’ → m(u)nokpam(i) ‘become full bellied’

The three other intransitive verbalizers, *-napam(i)*, *-lum(i)*, and *-m(i)*, also labeled as ‘Attributive verbalizers,’ occur with only one noun each (cf. section 4.4.4 for a discussion of *tatata* ‘tremble’ and other sound symbolic words as nominal roots). The verbalizer *-lum(i)* is the only attested case of an intransitive verbalizer occurring with a sound symbolic word (all other cases take the transitive verbalizers *-ma* and *-ka*, section 5.4.1.2 below):

<sup>12</sup> Jackson (1972:71) reports that forms ending with *-phak(ə)* or *-mhak(ə)* change their endings for the verbalizer *-pam(i)*. The example *ikiphak* ‘lazy’ vs. *ikipam* ‘to become lazy; to become tired’ was the only such form accepted by our speakers. Due to the phonologically unpredictable allomorphy of the two forms

- 217) a. tatata ‘tremble’  
 b. *Ētatalum*.  
 ě-tatata-**lum**ī-∅  
 2S<sub>O</sub>-tremble-AttrbVrblz-RecPst  
 ‘You trembled’
- 218) a. ela(h)i ‘fear’  
 b. *Ēwelainapam*.  
 ěw-elahi-**napam**ī-∅  
 2S<sub>O</sub>-fear-AttrbVrblz-RecPst  
 ‘You got scared.’
- 219) a. imaminum ‘my work’  
 b. *Imaminumjai*.  
 ĩ-maminu-**m**ī-ja-he  
 1S<sub>O</sub>-work-AttrbVrblz-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘I am working.’

**5.4.1.2. Transitive verbalizers.** These processes create verb stems that undergo all the morphological possibilities characteristic of transitive verbs. As described above with regard to intransitive verbalizers, for possessible stems the O corresponds semantically to the possessor.

The privative verbalizer *-ka* indicates that the O is dispossessed of the item indicated by the noun stem (the verbalized examples are shown in the *-∅* ‘Recent Past’ forms in the examples below). Of the allomorphs of the genitive suffix, *-n(u)* and *-(li)* (*cf.* syllable reduction (in example 220d) never happens in the presence of *-(li)*) do not occur in the verbalized forms, and *-t(i)* is preserved with some nouns but not with others (220e-h). Body parts with */tpi/* lose their endings (only nouns with a distinct unpossessed allomorph are presented in the first column):

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(/ikī/ vs. /kī/) and the additional meaning of the form with */pēmī/*, we chose to consider */ikīpamī/* as synchronically non-derived verbal stem (*cf.* additional discussion in 7.1.1.3.3.).



220)	a.	malamala	'seed'	ĩmalamalan	'my seed'	nimalamalaka	'3A de-seeds O'
	b.	ĩmē	'farm'	ĩtupi	'my farm'	nitupika	'3A de-farms O'
	c.	pĩlēu	'arrow'	ĩĩle	'my arrow'	niileka	'3A de-arrows O'
	d.	ēlinat	'baking plate'	jelinatuu	'my b. plate'	nelinatka	'3A de-b. plates O'
	e.			ĩhpot	'my body hair'	nihpoka	'3A shaves O'
	f.			ĩkat	'my fat'	nikatka	'3A de-fats O'
	g.			jot	'my meat'	notka	'3A de-meats O'
	h.			jumhet	'my hair'	numhetka	'3A de-hairs O'
	i.	omo	'hand'	jamoo	'my hand'	amotka	'3A de-hands O'
	j.	putpē		juputpĩĩ	'my head'	nupka	'3A de-heads O'
	k.	pitpē		ĩpitpĩĩ	'his skin scale'	nipika	'3A skins O'

Only nouns belonging to the class of potential possessors of the noun root can

occur as the O:

221)	.	<i>Ka malet</i>		.	<i>Ka maletka.</i>
		ka maletĩ-Ø			ka maletĩ-ka-Ø
		fish lower.side.fin-Pss			fish lower.side.fin-PrivVrblz
		'A fish's lower side fin.'			'He/she/it took the lower side fin from the fish.'
	.	*mule maletka			
		(He/she/it took the (fish's) lower side fin from the child)			
	.	<i>Etat ewaa</i>		.	<i>Etat ewaka.</i>
		Ø-etati-Ø ewa-lĩ			Ø-etati-Ø ewa-ka-Ø
		3-hammock-Pss rope-Pss			3-hammock-Pss rope-PrivVrblz-RecPst
		'Hammock's rope'			'He/she took the rope from the hammock.'
	.	*wēlii ewaka			
		(He/she/it took a rope from the woman)			

Some exceptions to the pattern described above exist, however. Some possessible nouns were not accepted with the verbalizer *-ka*: *epe* 'friend,' *pakolo* 'house,' and *pata* 'village.' This is due perhaps to the fact that to take a friend, a house, or a village from someone is an unusual occurrence. Another exception is the occurrences of a few unpossessed nouns with *-ka*, e.g., *jolok* 'evil spirit,' in *nijolohka* '3A took an evil spirit from O,' is acceptable if spoken by a Christian, according to a native speaker.

The verbalizer *-pa/-ma*, with two lexically conditioned allomorphs, is the best candidate for the semantic opposite of the privative *-ka*. It normally means to 'give N to O,' or to 'provide O with N.' Many examples, however, present some unexpected

semantics (see below). The allomorphy of nouns follows the general pattern (the first column presents examples of nouns with a distinct unpossessed allomorph).

222)	a.	ulu	'manioc bread'	juu	'my manioc bread'	uupa	'give manioc bread to O'
	b.			imalijan	'my knife'	malijapa	'give a knife to O'
	c.			jepiin	'my stair'	epiipa	'give/provide a stair to O'
	d.			jot	'my meat'	opa	'give meat to O'
	e.	kanpë	'smoked meat'	ikanpii	'my smoked meat'	nikanpiipa	'give smoked meat to O'
	f.			jupo	'my clothing'	nupoma	'give clothing to O'
	g.	imë	'farm'	itupi	'my farm'	nitupima	'give farm to O'
	h.			epi	'its plant'	epima	'plant O'

As with the privative *-ka*, for the majority of examples the O belongs to the class of potential possessors for the verbalized noun. For inherently possessed nouns, the O is the semantic possessor of the noun stem:

- 223) . *Wapot ahkoma.*  
 wapoto akkonu-**ma**-Ø  
 fire fire.wood-GiveVrblz-RecPst  
 'He/she placed wood in the fire'
- . \* *Wëlii ahkonma*  
 (He/she gave the woman some firewood)
- 224) . *Pilëu wipotpa.*  
 pilëw w-i-poti-pa-Ø  
 arrow 1A3O-Them-tip-GiveVrblz-RecPst  
 'I put a tip on the arrow.'
- . \* *Eluwa wipotpa*  
 (I gave the man a tip (of an arrow))

There are, however, many cases where forms bearing *-ma* do not relate to possession, *i.e.*, they do not mean that the referent encoded on the nominal stem is given to O as a possession, but rather indicate that it directly affects O. In such cases, the O is not necessarily related semantically to a possessor of the noun stem. The noun *euku*, for instance, has two homophonous forms, one that can only be possessed by a (pro)noun referring to a male animal, when referring to 'sperm,' and another that can only be possessed by a (pro)noun referring to a plant, when referring to 'sap.' In the example

(225) below, the O is *lo* ‘soil, ground’ which cannot be the possessor of either form.

Examples in (226) also show O’s that are more patients than recipients/possessors.

225) *Kopë lo eukuma.*  
 kopë lo ewuku-**ma**-Ø  
 rain soil sap-GiveVrblz-RecPst  
 ‘The rain soaked the soil.’

226) a. enĩ ‘his/her/its box, container’ nenĩ**ma** ‘to box O’  
 b. epetpĩĩ ‘his/hers payment’ nepetpĩ**ma** ‘pay back; punish O’  
 c. napi ‘potato (sp.)’ inapii ‘my potato (sp.)’ nap**ima** ‘add potato to a beverage.’  
 d. tuna ‘water’ itunaa ‘his/her water’ tun**ama** ‘Add water to make O thinner.’

A few non-possessible nouns and some nominalized adverbial forms (with *-on(u)-* and *an(u)* occur with *-ma*: (though *ëhewake* is an adverb and *ewake* cannot occur as a free form, *ewakma* is included in (227) since it is clearly the case that *-ma* inflects this form here):

227) a. ëmĩ ‘nothing’ amĩ**ma** ‘finish all O’  
 b. ëhewake ‘happily’ ewak**ma** ‘make O happy’  
 c. wohanë ‘sufferring’ (a)waohanë**ma** ‘make O suffer’  
 d. tuwalë ‘knowingly’ tuwalon**uma** ‘make O know’  
 e. ahmek ‘bothersome’ ahmekan**ma** ‘bother O’

One unique case of *-ma* with a complex stem occurred in the database:

228) *Jamonmëma.*  
 j-amot-më-**ma**-Ø  
 1SA-hand-bad.smell-GiveVrblz-RecPst  
 ‘I held something smelly’

In Jackson (1972:71) we find that *-ma* can occur with nominalized postpositions. In his words, *-ma* derives verbs meaning to ‘act in the relation denoted by X,’ where X is a nominalized postposition.’ Though we confirmed the accuracy of Jackson’s data, we gathered no more additional examples, and none occurred in the texts. Thus, his examples are repeated here: *të-po-no-ma-i* ‘put onto,’ *t-ëkëlë-n-ma-i* ‘accompany,’ *t-ohpo-yan-ma-i* ‘go above, put above.’

The difference between *-pa/-ma* and the verbalizer *-mtë/-ptë* is not a clear one. The examples suggest that the O of forms with *-mtë/-ptë* is more directly affected by the referent encoded by the noun stem, but *-pa/-ma* also presents such cases (cf. examples 285 and 286 above). In the translations, *-mtë/-ptë* means to ‘bring N to existence in order to benefit O or to affect O’ or to ‘provide O with N,’ this second sense being semantically close to that of *-ma/-pa*. The difference between the two verbalizer seems thus to be that most examples of *-pa/-ma* suggests a transference of possession while examples with *-mtë/-ptë* do not (thus, *pata-mtë* ‘provide O with a farm’ is an acceptable form, since one may benefit from a farm whether or not it is one’s own, but *\*pata-pa/\*pata-ma* are not acceptable forms since nobody gives anybody their farm).

Following the general pattern, the possessed nouns occur in their possessed allomorphs. As for the allomorphs of the genitive suffix, *-(li)* is preserved in certain stems but lost in others (cf. *nipatamtë* in 289 and ex. 290), while *-t(i)* does not occur in the only relevant example attested (*eheptë* in 289). No examples of nouns ending with *-tpë* occurring with this verbalizer are attested.

229)	a.	ëpïi	‘stair’	jepïin	‘my stair’	epïimtë	‘Make O a stair’
	b.	kamisa	‘clothing’	ïkamisan	‘my clothing’	kamisatpë	‘Dress O’
	c.	imë	‘farm’	ïtupi	‘my farm’	tupimtë	‘provide O with farm’
	d.	pilëu	‘arrow’	ïile	‘my arrow’	aleptë	‘make O an arrow’
	e.	pata	‘place’	ïpataa	‘my place’	nipatamtë	‘Place O’
	f.			eni	‘its container’	enïmtë	‘Make O a container’
	g.			jamole	‘my shadow; image; spirit’	amoleptë	‘dream O’
	h.			jehet	‘my name’	eheptë	‘Name O’

Unfortunately, there are not enough examples of specifically possessed nouns to indicate for certain whether the O must be equivalent to the possessor or not. In the example below, a specifically possessed noun co-occurs with an O that is semantically its

possessor. It is not known, however, whether or not a person (which cannot be the possessor of *ëwa* ‘rope’) can occur as the O here:

- 230) *Upo ewalimtë.*  
 upo ewa-li-**mtë**-Ø  
 clothing rope-Pss-ProvideVrblz-RecPst  
 ‘He/she made a rope/string to tie/sow the clothing’

Some non-possessible descriptive nouns are also found with **-mtë/-ptë**:

- 231) a. jetu- ‘hurt’ jetumtë ‘hurt O’  
 b. akena ‘alignment’ akenaptë ‘align O; direct O; organize O’  
 c. pï(s)i ‘shame’ pïsiptë ‘shame O’

The other transitive verbalizers are attested with only a very few nouns. The verbalizer **-p(i)** is attested in three nominalized postpositions: /uno-no-pï/ → *unonop(i)* ‘A fears O,’ /he-ano-pï/ → *hanop(i)* ‘love O’ and /ejle-ano-pï/ → *eilanop(i)* ‘make O angry.’ The following verbalizers are each attested with only one noun stem: **-nëp(i)** with *epi* ‘his/hers/its medicine,’ in *epinëp(i)* ‘medicate/cure O’; **-pë** with *alu* ‘idiot, stupid,’ in *alupë* ‘make O crazy’; **-nama** with *ela(h)i* ‘his/hers/its fear,’ in *elainama* ‘scare O’; **-lë** with *siku* ‘urine,’ in *siku-lë* ‘urinates on O’ (cf. *uika-lë* ‘make O defecate’). For convenience, the last four verbalizers are labeled as ‘Transitive Verbalizers.’

**5.4.1.2.1. Verbalization of sound symbolic words.** Sound symbolic words (cf. section 4.4.4), grammatically nouns, take either of the two lexically conditioned allomorphs of the sound symbolic verbalizer: **-ka /-ma**. The verbalized forms are transitive stems. The forms in table 7 show that the meaning of the verbalized forms is almost always predictable from the meaning of the sound symbolic word, and the verbalizers seem to only allow the sound symbolic word to function as a verb but do not add significantly to the semantics of the stem.

Table 7  
Sound symbolic word plus verbalizer

Sound symblic word		-ka
hemik 'disappear'	hemihka	'Steal O; make O disappear'
tokpilop 'untie'	tokpilopka	'untie O'
sak 'cut'	sahka	'cut O'
pikat 'burning sensation from heat'	pikatka	'cause a burning sensation on O'
wanpilop 'get a scare, surprised'	wanpilopka	'scare O; surprise O'
walawala 'talk; wisper'	walawalaka	'complain to O'
sololo 'drip'	soloka	'pour O'
polep 'go through'	polepka	'go through O'
		<b>-ma</b>
tuk 'pull'	pukma	'pull O'
topokn 'drop in water'	topoknma	'dip O on the water'
tokn 'shoot'	toknma	'arrow O' (*shoot O)
kui 'scream'	kuima	'make O scream' (*scream at O)
tek 'cutucar'	tekma	'cutucar O'
tok 'hit; beat up'	tokma	'hit/beat up O'
sokolom 'paddle'	sokoloma	'stirring liquid'
tokotok 'shake wings'	tokotokma	'make O shake wings'
lok 'pierce'	alokma	'pierce O'
kulu 'place in a hole'	kuluma	'place O in a hole'
pulip 'peel penis'	pulihma	'peel O's penis'
kilim 'move restlessly'	kilima	'move restlessly, hitting O'
polep 'arrive; visit'	polehma	'Go see O; visit O'
tek 'mess with'	tekma	'mess with O'

The following sound symbolic words were not accepted with either *-ka* or *-ma*: *tumhulop* 'jump,' *kama* 'end,' *pokn* 'rain,' *tatata* 'tramble' (cf. *-lum(i)* above), *petop* 'get dark,' *tohtoto* 'cough,' *sukululu* 'mucous running from nose,' *kulup* 'sink,' *woi* 'breath,' *saktikip* 'cut,' *sakupululu* 'fall fruit,' *tenteten* 'throw a stick,' *som* 'stand up,' *nama* 'finish a task,' *suhsu* 'walk noisily,' *helep* 'moving head,' and *pulip* 'peel penis.'

**5.4.1.2.2. Body-part verbalizers.** These morphemes occur only with body-parts, though body-parts can occur with other verbalizers (as the ones described above). All derive transitive stems that, following the general pattern, have the O corresponding semantically to the possessor of the body part; the allomorphy of noun stems also follow the general pattern. The body-part verbalizers are *-kma*, *-takma*, *-tama*, and *-pakma* all

mean ‘hit O’s body-part=N stem,’ all apparently non-contrastive. Examples are given below:

232)	a.	pehna	‘forehead’	pehnakma	‘hit O’s forehead’
	b.	jalamata	‘chin’	jalamatakma	‘hit O’s chin’
	c.	uputpě	‘head’	uptakma	‘hit O’s head’
	d.	pīmī	‘neck’	pīmtakma	‘hit O’s neck’
	e.	malipa	‘lower leg’	malipatakma	‘hit O’s lower leg’
	f.	wasi	‘lower leg’	ewaitakma	‘Hit O’s lower leg’
	g.	pana	‘ear’	panatakma	‘hit O’s ear’
	h.	pupu	‘foot’	puptakma	‘hit O’s foot’
	i.	omo	‘hand’	amohtakma	‘hit O’s hand’
	j.			amotpakma	‘hit O’s hand’
	k.	uputpě	‘head’	uptama	‘hit O’s head’

The verbalizers *-tukma* and *-hapakma* may mean ‘press O’s body-part’ but occur in the database only in the examples below:

233)	a.	omo	‘hand’	
	b.	omohtukma	‘Press O’s hand’	
	c.	omothapakma	‘Press O’s hand’	

**5.4.2. Valence changing morphemes.** Several morphemes may be attached to verb roots in order to lower or increase the valence of verbs. There is only one prefix lowering the valence of verbs, the detransitivizer *ět-* (with allomorphs), but several increasing it, the transitivity markers and the causatives.

**5.4.2.1. The Detransitivizer *ět-*, *ěh-*, *e-*.** Transitive stems are detransitivized, *i.e.*, occur with only one nuclear participant specified, and then are marked as an S<sub>A</sub> intransitive verb, whenever taking this detransitivizing prefix. The allomorphy of the detransitivizer depends on the first segment of the verb stem, as shown in Table 8: (stems starting with /a/ take *ěh-*, except for two stems which take *ět-*, *akět(i)* ‘cut’ and *apkělě* ‘break’)

Table 8

The allomorphs of the detransitivizing prefix

/ ___ Cons	/ ___ /a/, /e/, /j/	/ ___ /a/, /o/, /u/, /i/, /ë/
e-	ëh-	ët-

- 234) a. *kilima* ‘leave O’ → *ekilima* ‘go’  
 b. *lama* ‘turn O’ → *elama* ‘turn oneself; turn around’  
 c. *poka* ‘untie O’ → *epoka* ‘untie oneself.’  
 d. *(u)pī* ‘bathe O’ → *epī* ‘bathe oneself’
- 235) a. *alë* ‘take O’ → *ëhalë* ‘take oneself, go’  
 b. *epa* ‘teach O’ → *ëhepa* ‘teach oneself; learn’  
 c. *jeka* ‘take O’s tooth’ → *ëhjeka* ‘extract/lose one’s own tooth.’
- 236) a. *kilima* ‘leave O’ → *ekilima* ‘go’  
 b. *oko* ‘cut O’ → *ëtoko* ‘cut oneself’  
 c. *ulu* ‘talk to O’ → *ëtulu* ‘talk’  
 d. *ilī* ‘make O’ → *ëtīlī* ‘fix oneself; become; board’  
 e. *ë* ‘eat/bite meat’ → *ëtë* ‘bite oneself.’

Illustrative examples are given below:

- 237) *Ma kutamuu nētulu jepe,*  
*maa ku-tamulu-Ø n-ët-ulu-Ø j-epe-Ø*  
 So 1+2-grandfather-Pss 3S<sub>A</sub>-Det-talk.to.O-RecPst 1-friend-Pss  
 ‘So, our grandfather has talked, my friend.’
- 238) *Moloinë tëhelephe kaikui.*  
*molojinë t-ëh-elepī-he kajikuhi*  
 Then T-Det-make.O.afraid-He jaguar  
 ‘Then, Jaguar got scared.’
- 239) *Mëlë umpoi lëken ëhmelë tëepuuhe*  
*mëlë umpoje lëken ëmelë-h të-w-e-pulu-he*  
 DemInanMed cause only all-AvIntens T-S<sub>A</sub>-Det-sting.O-He  
 ‘Only because of that, all (people) got themselves stung.’

**5.4.2.2. The transitivizers -ka, -nīp(ka), -nēp(ka), -ma, and -lë.** These suffixes occur on S<sub>O</sub> intransitive stems with the property of adding a new nuclear participant to the event described by the verb (S<sub>A</sub> verbs cannot be transitivized). This new participant is the A of the new form, and the old S is the new O (Tavares, 1995). The distribution of these forms appears to be phonologically conditioned to some extent. There existed some



variation in the grammaticality judgements by native speakers regarding the free variation between *-nĭp(i) ~ -nĭpka* and *-nĕp(i) ~ nĕpka*: sometimes only one allomorph was accepted with a certain stem, while sometimes both occurrences were accepted. For most forms, the free variation was the most accepted case.

The transitivizing suffix *-nĭp(i)*, in free variation with *-nĭpka*, occurs with certain verbs and with stems derived with the verbalizer *-ta* (cf. section 5.4.1.1), in examples (240h-i). Most examples are of non-reducing stems.

240)	a.	ahalap(i)	‘to dry up’	→	ahalamnĭp(i)~ahalamnĭpka	‘dry O’
	b.	alilimam(i)	‘be/get black’	→	alilimamnĭp(i)~alilimamnĭpka	‘blacken O’
	c.	apĕna	‘stop’	→	apĕnanĭp(i)~apĕnanĭpka	‘stop O’
	d.	ekakta	‘be born’	→	ekaktanĭp(i)~ekaktanĭpka	‘give birth to O’
	e.	uwa	‘dance’	→	uwanĭp(i)~uwanĭpka	‘Make O dance’
	f.	uwanta	‘grow’	→	uwantanĭp(i)~uwantanĭpka	‘Make O grow’
	g.	awaina	‘go from night to day’	→	awainanĭp(i)~awainanĭpka	‘Make O go from night to day.’
	h.	ekepta	‘get sick’	→	ekeptanĭp~ekeptanĭpka	‘Make O sick’
	i.	kaimota	‘get game’	→	kaimotanĭp~kaimotanĭpka	‘Make O get game’

The occurrences of the transitivizing suffix *-ka* seem more phonologically conditioned, with almost all examples occurring with stems ending with reducing /u/ or /i/:

241)	a.	(w)ĭptĕ	‘go down’	→	(w)ĭptĕka	‘make O go down’
	b.	etomam(i)	‘wake up’	→	etomamka	‘wake O up’
	c.	enat(u)	‘finish; end’	→	enatka	‘finish O’
	d.	lĕmĕp(i)	‘die’	→	lĕmĕpka	‘kill O; make O die.’
	e.	hmomot(i)	‘boil’	→	hmomotka	‘make O boil’
	f.	ukulup(i)	‘dive’	→	ukulupka	‘make O dive’
	g.	utat(i)	‘be/get lost’	→	utatka	‘make O get lost’

The transitivizing suffix *-nĕp(i)*, in free variation with *-nĕpka*, occurs mainly with stems having a bilabial as their last consonant (but cf. *ĕti-nĕp* ‘dream O’); this includes forms with the intransitive verbalizers *-pam(i)* and *-lum(i)*. (examples 242g-h):

242)	a.	(e)wakam(i)	‘sit down’	→	ahalamnĕp(i)~ahalamnĕpka	‘sit O down’
	b.	epam(i)	‘get used.’	→	epamnĕp(i)~epamnĕpka	‘tame O; make O get used to’
	c.	akĭp(i)	‘be hard, stiff’	→	akĭmnĕp(i)~akĭmnĕpka	‘make O hard, stiff’
	d.	jasilam(i)	‘dry up.’	→	jasilamnĕp(i)~jasilamnĕpka	‘dry O’

e.	ëmëm(i)	‘enter’	→	ëmëmnëp(i)~ëmëmnëpka	‘make O enter.’
f.	kenkapam(i)	‘forget’	→	kenkapamnëp(i)~kenkapamnëpka	‘make O forget’
g.	asikapam	‘be/get angry’	→	asikapamnëp(i)~asikapannëpka	‘make O angry.’
h.	tatalum(i)	‘tremble’	→	tatalumnëp(i)~tatalumnëpka	‘make O tremble’

The verbal root *elemi* ‘sing’ can occur with *-ka* and *-nëp(i)*, but with different meanings:

243)	a.	elemi	‘sing’	→	elemika	‘Pray over O’
	b.			→	eleminëp(i)	‘Sing O’

244)	<i>Maipuri</i>	<i>meleminëp.</i>
	majpuli	m-elemi-nëpi-Ø
	tapir	2A3O-sing-Transvzr-RecPst
		‘You sang the ‘Maipuli’ (song).’

The transitivizing suffixes *-lë* and *-ma* occur in only one example each: the S<sub>O</sub> verb *uika* ‘defecate’ (*cf.* *siku-lë* ‘urinate on O’) and the verb *inik(i)*, respectively:

245)	a.	inik(i)	‘sleep’	→	inikma	‘make O sleep’
	b.	uika	‘defecate’	→	uikalë	‘make O defecate’

**5.4.3. The causative *-po*.** The label ‘causative’ is used for *-po* here because the resulting construction is often interpreted as expressing causation and because it is a tradition in the Cariban literature to label cognate forms of this morpheme as such (*cf.* Jackson 1972:57, for Wayâna; Meira 1999:264; Derbyshire, 1985:224, for Hixkaryana, among others). In Wayâna, all transitive stems take the suffix *-po* to indicate the indirectness of A acting on O. The third element, the causee, which is marked by *ja*, is optional and does not influence the pronominal markings on the verb. In its absence, the O is preferentially understood as the one doing the action to himself (by accident or not), or in the case of inanimate O’s, as undergoing an event without an external agent. The interpretation that a ‘causee’ exists is also possible in both cases. This ambiguous interpretation does not exist when the ‘causee’ is overt:

- 246) *Eluwa wewaapo.*  
 eluwa w-ewalu-po-Ø  
 man 1A3O-burn.O-Caus-RecPst  
 ‘I caused the man to get burned.’  
 (I asked him to hold a hot pan)  
 ‘I caused the man to burn himself.’  
 ‘I caused someone (else) to burn the man.’
- 247) *Eluwa wewaapo eja*  
 eluwa w-ewalu-po-Ø e-ja  
 man 1A3O-burn.O-Caus-RecPst 3-Causee  
 ‘I caused him/her to burn the man’  
 (\*I caused the man to burn himself)
- 248) *Pampila wewaapo.*  
 pampila w-ewalu-po-Ø  
 paper 1A3O-burn.O-Caus-RecPst  
 ‘I made the paper burn.’  
 (I placed it close to the fire, and as a result it caught on fire)  
 ‘I caused someone to burn the paper.’
- 249) *Pampila wewaapo eja.*  
 pampila w-ewalu-po-Ø e-ja  
 paper 1A3O-burn.O-Caus-RecPst 3-Causee  
 ‘I caused someone to burn the paper.’  
 (\*I made the paper burn)

Thus, *-po* mitigates the involvement of the A in the event, leaving open two possible ways of interpretation, as seen in the examples above, either the O doing the action to himself or as having it done to him by someone else other than the A. This means that a third participant is implicated, the means by which the event is accomplished, more directly involved in the event than A; this participant may be optionally mentioned.

The causative *-po* is not considered to be a valence increasing morpheme (*cf.* section 5.4.3 below) because the addition of it to the verbal stem does not formally increase the number of participants marked on the verbal word. The ‘causee’ is not a nuclear participant (i.e., it is not pronominally marked on the verb stem), and, as described above, it is optional. In the other two cases of valence changing processes, the detransitivization and the transitivization constructions, the resulting stem is treated as a

new form, obligatorily taking pronominal prefixes that are characteristic to intransitive or to transitive stems. In other words, stems originally taking one participant must be marked for two participants when transitivized, and stems originally taking two participants must be marked for one participant when detransitivized. The effect of the ‘causative’ *-po* on the verb word, thus, is a semantic one: it marks the indirectness with which the A acts on O. This is corroborated by the fact that events marked by *-po* are not necessarily interpreted as actually taking place, an indication of a low degree of control of the A over the event:

- 250) *Mule inikmapo wēlisi ja, lome itēla.*  
 mule inikī-ma-po wēlihi ja lome itē-la  
 child sleep-Transz-Caus woman Causee but go-Neg  
 ‘Someone ordered/told/sent the woman to make the child sleep, **but she didn’t go.**’

Jackson (1972:57) reports that *-po* is in free variation with *-nehpo*. In our data, *-po* was always accepted, while *-nehpo* was mostly rejected. Two examples with *-nehpo* that were more systematically accepted, with the stems *alima* ‘throw’ and *ili* ‘make,’ present interesting semantics:

- 251) a. *Nalimapo.*  
 n-alima-**po**-Ø  
 3A3O-throw.O-Caus-RecPst  
 ‘He/she caused someone to throw O.’  
 ‘He/she caused someone to let O fall.’
- b. *Nalimanehpo.*  
 n-alima-**nehpo**-Ø  
 3A3O-throw.O-Caus-RecPst  
 ‘He/she cause someone to let O fall.’  
 (‘\*He caused someone to throw O.’)
- 252) a. *Niipo*  
 n-ili-**po**-Ø  
 3A3O-make.O-Caus-RecPst  
 ‘He/she caused someone to make O.’  
 ‘He/she caused someone to have sex with O.’
- b. *Niinehpo*  
 n-ili-**nehpo**-Ø  
 3A3O-make.O-Caus-RecPst  
 ‘He/she caused someone to have sex with O.’  
 (‘\*He caused someone to make O.’)

Though no other intransitive stems occur with the morpheme *-po*, the  $S_A$  stem *ka* ‘speak’ takes it (*cf.* section 5.2 for the morphosyntactic properties of *ka* ‘say’). The verbal stem remains intransitive:

253) *Wikapo eja.*  
 wī-ka-po e-ja  
 1Sa-speak-Caus 3-Causee  
 'I caused him to speak.'

In general, intransitive stems do not take the causative *-po*, but they take a homophonous morpheme, the necessitative *-po*, which indicates that an event is about to occur (*cf.* section 5.4.4.4). It is interesting that only the transitive stems take the causative and that only the intransitive take the necessitative. Though their semantics are not the same, it is possible that the causative and the necessitative are historically related to a single morpheme, given their synchronic complementary distribution and the fact that, in an abstract way, both refer to the deferral of an event.

**5.4.4. Derivational aspectual suffixes.** These four morphemes, the completive *-kep(i)*, the perfective *-nma*, the resumptive necessitative *-po*, and the resumptive *-(j)(ë)më*, are all part of a single morphological category occurring in a specific verbal slot, after the applicative suffixes and before the tense suffixes in the case of Set I verbs, and before the second part of the t-V-(h)e ambifix. They do not, however, all carry the semantics of aspect; they are presented in this section under the label of aspect because they have been referred to in the literature by aspectual labels (*cf.* Jackson 1972:57) and because some of the forms do mark aspectual distinctions, although others do not.<sup>13</sup> In addition, all four morphemes are optional in the sense that the verb forms can occur without them with no particular semantic implications (thus, a  $-\emptyset$  suffix cannot be posited in a paradigmatic relation with them).

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<sup>13</sup> Comrie (1976:3) defines aspect as the 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation. Davis (1987:287) defines aspect as one's 'perspective on the periodicity of the event'. Only the completive *-kep(i)*, focusing on the event on its endpoint, fits these definitions. The habitual past markers



- 260) *Ulu wilinma.*  
 ulu w-ili-nma-Ø  
 bread 1A3O-make.O-Prfct-RecPst  
 ‘I just made all the bread.’
- 261) *Tawanmai.*  
 t-awa-nma-he  
 T-dig.O-Prfct-He  
 ‘(We) finish digging (it).’ (plantation 006)
- 262) *Tëpësinmai eja.*  
 t-ëpëhi-nma-he e-ja  
 T-get.O-Prfct-He 3-Erg  
 ‘He/She grabbed all of it.’

**5.4.4.3. The resumptive -(j)(ë)më.** The term ‘resumptive,’ implying the re-taking up of an activity after a pause, does not accurately describe the semantics of -(j)(ë)më. With verbs of motion, it indicates a returning to a place one has been previously (examples 163 and 164), without any implications that the going back had already begun, though this can be the case if one is addressed in the middle of one’s trip (265).

- 263) *Malonme emna tumëkëmëi Elamakani malë.*  
 malonme emna t-umëkë-ëmë-he elamakani malë  
 then 1+3ExclPro T-come-Resumpt-He Elamakani Includ.with  
 “Then, we came back (to the village), (me) with Elamakani.”  
 (After a fishing trip)
- 264) *Ëkëi mule ë, lome nütëimë itu htak.*  
 ëkëhi mule ë-Ø lome n-ütë-jmë-Ø itu tta-kë  
 shake child bite.meat-RecPst but 3SA-go-Resumpt-RecPst jungle among-into  
 ‘The snake bit the child, then it went back to the jungle.’
- 265) *Ïtëimëjai Bona pona.*  
 w-ütë-jmë-ja-he bona po-na  
 1SA-go-Resumpt-NPst-SapAff Bona on-to  
 ‘I am going back to Bona.’  
 (Someone speaking from a canoe on his way to the Bona Village)

With other verbs, it indicates the repetition of a situation, not at the point it was left, but in a completely new instance, a new event with beginning, middle, and end (easily translated with the English word ‘again’) (examples 266-268); it may also refer, as is the case with motion verbs, to the returning of a participant to a place it has been

before (in example (269), to the hands of people). (The various allomorphs of the resumptive *-(j)(ë)më*, all morphophonologically conditioned, are described in section 5.3.1.2.4)

266) *İmnelum weneimėjai Makapa po.*  
 İ-mİnelumİ-Ø w-ene-**jmë**-ja-he makapa po-Ø  
 1-husband-Pss 1A3O-see.O-Resumpt-NPst-SapAff Macapa on.supported-on  
 ‘I will see my husband again in Macapa.’

267) *Ulu wekejëmėjai.*  
 ulu w-ekeju-**ëmë**-ja-he  
 manioc.bread 1A3O-make.bread-Resumpt-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘I will bake bread again.’

268) *Ukuhkëmėjai.*  
 w-ukuku-**jmë**-ja-he  
 1A3O-try.O-Resumpt-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘I will try it (the mask) again.’  
 (After he had tried it once before)

269) *KunanİMëmë, məkjaa pëitopit.*  
 kun-anİMİ-**ëmë** məkjalë pëjitopİtİ  
 3DistPst-pick.O.up-Resumpt DemAnmMedColl kids  
 ‘Those kids picked them (the fruits) back up.’  
 (After they had rolled to the ground from another’s kid’s hands.)

Forms with the resumptive suffix differ from the reduplicated forms (section 5.6 below) in that they refer to one cycle of repetition, while reduplication may refer to many cycles.

**5.4.4.4. The necessitative *-po*.** This suffix presents the semantics of a near future, though it co-occurs with tense suffixes. It refers to an eminent situation whose effects or signals are already felt, as the examples below show. Jackson (1972:57) asserts that *-po* occurs only with verbs designating bodily functions, such as *(i)nik(i)* ‘sleep,’ *sikta* ‘urinate,’ and *uika* ‘defecate.’ While all such verbs in our database take this suffix (270-272), we find *-po* with other intransitive stems as well (273-276):



- 270) *Tohme pa jiniŋpojai komela.*  
 topme pa j-iniŋki-po-ja-he komela  
 Why? Quest 1S<sub>O</sub>-sleep-Necessit-NPst-SapAff ?  
 ‘Why am I about to sleep?’
- 271) *Ėwetomampo.*  
 ėw-etomami-po-Ø  
 2S<sub>O</sub>-wake.up-Necessit-RecPst  
 ‘You almost woke up.’
- 272) *Īwenatapojai.*  
 ĩ-wena-ta-po-ja-he  
 1S<sub>O</sub>-vomit-PssNIntrVrblz-Necessit-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘I am about to vomit.’
- 273) *Ankomhak kunĕtiipo hemele.*  
 ankomhakĕ kun-ĕtiili-po hemele  
 at.mid.day 3DistPst-become-Necessit already  
 ‘(It was) almost noon already.’
- 274) *Wĕhewaapo.*  
 w-ĕh-ewalu-po-Ø  
 1S<sub>A</sub>-Det-burn.O-Necessit-RecPst  
 ‘I almost burned myself.’
- 275) *Ikohmampola ka ne?*  
 ikopmami-po-Ø-la ka ne  
 i?-go.from.nigh.to.day-Necessit-Neg Quest Quest  
 ‘Hasn’t it dawned yet?’
- 276) *Upo nilasilampo.*  
 upo n-i-lahilami-po-Ø  
 cloth 3S<sub>A</sub>-Them-dry-Necessit-RecPst  
 ‘The clothing almost dried.’

**5.5. Noun incorporation?** Noun incorporation has been described for a some Cariban languages. Some similar process may exist in Wayâna, but they occur only marginally. The only appropriate examples are *ipanalokma* ‘He/she/it pierced my ear’ and *jamohlokma* ‘he/she/it pierced my hand, where *-lokma* could be analyzed as a verbalizer (with the noun stems presenting the same allomorphy as with the other verbalizers). However, *alokma* ‘pierced O’ exists as a verb form, perhaps derived from the sound

symbolic word *lok* ‘pierce’ plus the verbalizer *-ma*. This matter needs further investigation.

The only other example of incorporation found in the data is *uhpimi* ‘to tie O’s forehead,’ with *pimi* ‘to tie O’ being a full verb form.

**5.6. Reduplication.** Verbs of both Set I and t-V-(h)e undergo either of the two existing types of reduplication: reduplication at the left edge of the verbal word or reduplication inside the root (*cf.* section 2.3.7). The first type of reduplication indicates continuous repetition of a situation. Depending on the semantics of the verb, the situation necessarily presents a significant pause between the different cycles of it (perhaps durative verbs (277-281)), which can be interpreted in some cases with the non-past tense as habitual (282), or indicating iterativity (perhaps with iterative/punctual verbs (283-284). Some cases of lexicalization were also attested with left-edge reduplication (285).

277) *Jinjīnikjahe* *psik.*  
*jīnī-j-īnīkī-ja-he* *phikī*  
 Red2-1S<sub>O</sub>-sleep-NPst-SapAff a.few  
 ‘I will spend a few days there.’  
 (\*I’m continuously sleeping)

‘It has boiled several times.’

279) *Titētēi.*  
*tītē-t-ītē-he*  
 Red2-T-go-He  
 ‘He/she/it is going, stopping, going, stopping...’  
 (\*Continuously going, without stopping)

280) *Mule nuikanuika.*  
 mule **nujka**-n-ujka-Ø  
 mule Red1-3S<sub>O</sub>-defecate-RecPst  
 ‘A child (with diarrhea) defecated here, stopped, defecated there again, then stopped, then again...’  
 (\*continuously defecating, without stopping).

- 281) *Wəhawəhamo.*  
**wəhə-w-əh-amo-Ø**  
 Red1-2S<sub>A</sub>-Det-cry.O-RecPst  
 ‘I cried and I stopped, I cried and I stopped, I cried...’
- 282) *Wəməwəməjai.*  
**wəmə-w-əmēmi-ja-he**  
 Red1-1S<sub>A</sub>-enter-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘I always enter.’
- 283) *Təētutəētumihe.*                      *puli,*                      *puli,*                      *puli,*  
**təētu-t-w-ət-umi-he**                      *puli*                      *puli*                      *puli*  
 Red1-T-S<sub>A</sub>-Det-massage.O-He    *massage.snd*                      *massage.snd*                      *massage.snd*
- jempatak*                      *huwaa,*  
*j-empata-kə*                      *huwalə*  
 1-in.front.of-into    *as.such*  
 ‘He masturbated himself, massage, massage, massage, he went in front of me, like this.’
- 284) *Mesa uhmouhmo.*  
 mesa **upmo-w-upmo-Ø**  
 table Red1-1A3O-hit.O-RecPst  
 ‘I was hitting the table.’
- 285) *Wapəwapəhjai.*  
**wapə-w-apəhi-ja-he**  
 Red1-1A3O-grab.O-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘I will fight him/her.’

Root internal reduplication is attested with only a few roots. In all attested cases, it denotes some interativity or intensity (examples are repeated from chapter 2, section 2.3.7.2):

- 286) *Wipkələkələ.*  
**w-i-pikələ-kələ-Ø**  
 1A3O-Them-break/cut.O-Red4-RecPst  
 ‘I cut it in small pieces; I made several small incisions on it; I broke it in small pieces.’
- 287) *Wapkələkələ.*  
**w-apkələ-kələ-Ø**  
 1A3O-Them-break.O-Red4-RecPst  
 ‘I broke it in small pieces.’
- 288) *Wiwipka.*  
**w-i-wi-wipka-Ø**  
 1A3O-Them-scratch.O-Red5-RecPst  
 ‘I scratched someone else continuously’

- 289) *Këlelepjahe* *nma.*  
 k-ëlepî-le-ja-he nma  
 1A2O-make.O.afraid-Red5-NPst-SapAff Intens  
 ‘You are really scaring me.’
- 290) *Wimulilikma.*  
 w-i-mulikma-li-Ø  
 1A3O-Them-make.O-Red5-RecPst  
 ‘I made it really uneven.’

As not all verbal stem were accepted with a reduplicated form (*e.g.*, *\*wekewekejai* (I am making and making bread), *\*Ïtãitatalum* (I trembled and trembled)), a more complete description of the scope of reduplication in the Wayâna lexicon is in order.

**6.1.2.2. The collective suffix *-he*.** The collective suffix *-he* occurs with most postpositions (see exceptions below). It behaves in a pattern similar to that of nominal collectives (4.1.2), in that it cannot collectivize the first person singular prefix or full nominal objects, but only 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1+2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person object prefixes. The collective form for first person is constructed on the 1+2 prefix (examples (91) and (94)) plus *-he*. Collective nominal objects take nominal collective suffixes (97-98). (Cf. section 5.3.5 for the occurrences of *-he* on gerundive forms.)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>91) <i>kupëkëhe</i><br/>ku-pëkë-<b>he</b><br/>1+2-busy.with-PColl<br/>'busy with us all'</p> | <p>92) <i>ëmalëhe</i><br/>ë-malë-<b>he</b><br/>2-also-PColl<br/>'also you all'</p>            |
| <p>93) <i>ipëkëhe</i><br/>i-pëkë-<b>he</b><br/>3-busy.with-PColl<br/>'busy with them'</p>       | <p>94) <i>Këpojehe</i><br/>k-ëpo-je-<b>he</b><br/>1+2-above-away-PColl<br/>'above us all'</p> |
| <p>95) <i>epojehe</i><br/>Ø-epo-je-<b>he</b><br/>3-above-away-PColl<br/>'above them all'</p>    |   |

joloko amëjipa-topo-Ø të-ja-**he**  
evil.spirit call-CircmstNmlz-Pss 3Refl-OblAgt-PColl  
'(in order) to call the evil spirit (to come) to themselves.'

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>97) <i>Kunumusitom</i> <i>ekatau.</i><br/>kununuhi-<b>tomo</b> ekata-wë<br/>old.woman-Coll in.area.nearby-in<br/>'nearby the old women'</p> |  |
| <p>98) <i>Sinkom</i> <i>jau</i><br/>hinĩ-<b>komo</b> ja-wë<br/>DemInanProx-Coll inside.of-in<br/>'inside these'</p>                            |  |

The collective suffix also modifies the reciprocal prefix:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>99) <i>Ëtunohe</i> <i>man tot</i><br/>ët-uno-<b>he</b> mane toto<br/>Recpr-afraid.of-PColl 3be 3Coll<br/>'They were all afraid of each other.'</p> |  |
|---|--|

- 100) *ėhekatawėhe*  
 ěhe-ekata-wė-**he**  
 Recpr-in.area.nearby-in-PColl  
 ‘all nearby one another’.

In the relative order of morphemes, *-he* occurs after the spatial suffixes (101-106), but before the negative *-la* (107-108). Unfortunately, no examples of the spatial suffixes followed by both *-he* and the negative *-la* are found in the database.

- 101) *kuloptawėhe*  
 ku-lopta-wė-**he**  
 1+2-deep.inside-in-PColl  
 ‘deep inside of us all’

- 102) *imkahpojehe*  
 i-mikappo-**je-he**  
 3-behind-away-PColl  
 ‘behind them all’

- 103) *ekatakėhe*  
 Ø-ekata-kė-**he**  
 3-in.area.nearby-into-PColl  
 ‘to their side’

- 104) *eponahe*  
 e-po-**na-he**  
 3-on-to-PColl  
 ‘onto all of them’

- 105) *istailėhe*  
 i-tta-jlė-**he**  
 3-among-through-PColl  
 ‘through the middle of them all’

- 106) *kupolohe*  
 ku-po-lo-**he**  
 1+2-on-along-PColl  
 ‘(moving) on over all of us’

- 107) *kupėkėhela*  
 ku-pėkė-**he-la**  
 1+2-busy.with-PColl-Neg  
 ‘not busy with all of us’

- 108) *ėhehela*  
 ě-he-**he-la**  
 2-Des-PColl-Neg  
 ‘not wanting all of you’

Some postpositions may not take the collective suffix. These are postpositions taking only nominal objects (*na* ‘in boundless location,’ *hja/hna* ‘in the sun,’ *ta* ‘in permanent location,’ and *kwata* ‘in a port’), postpositions taking only a third person prefix or a nominal object which occur in the data only with an object referring to a singular location (*lamna* ‘in the center of,’ *ahmota* ‘in the area beside’; in between,’ *k(u)wa* ‘in water,’ *aktuhpo* ‘up river of; north of,’ and *ameta* ‘down the river of; south of’), and, as expected, the objectless postposition *talihna* ‘in the open’. Other

postpositions for which the collective morpheme is not attested are *walë* ‘Uncertainty,’ *ke* ‘Instrumental; Source,’ *wantë* ‘by one’s will,’ *walë* ‘Uncertainty,’ *m(i)ta* ‘in the mouth of’.

**6.2. Formal and semantic classes.** The suffixal morphology, in particular the spatial suffixes, separates postpositions into two different classes: the spatial postpositions, with three formal sub-classes, and the non-spatial postpositions, with three semantic subclasses.<sup>12</sup> The members of each class are shown in Table 7:<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The labels for two non-spatial sub-classes, relational and experiencer, are borrowed from Meira (1999).

<sup>13</sup> Two additional attested forms may turn out to be postpositions, *mna* ‘outside,’ *emta* ‘reciprocal’. The only existing examples do not suffice for their classification: *pakolo mnau* ‘outside the house’; *eile ehentak tot* ‘They are angry with each other,’ *tëkëtse ehentak* ‘They cut one another’.

Table 7  
Classes of Postpositions

SPATIAL POSTPOSITIONS		
Container	Surface	Away
(j)a 'inside of'	po/mo 'on supported'	epo 'above'
Ta 'in permanent loc.'	ahpo 'on back of'	aktuhpo 'north of'
Na 'in boundless loc'	pëk(ë) 'on unsupported'	ameta 'south of'
hja/hna 'in the sun'	opinë 'under'	m(i)kahpo 'behind'
k(u)wa 'in water'	uhpo 'on top of'	
hta 'among'	uwap(o) 'ahead of'	
lopta 'deep inside of'	ë/etap(o) 'on hammock of'	
empata 'in front of'		
ekata 'in (area) nearby'		
ahmota 'in between; in area beside of'		
walipta 'in (area) behind'		
lamna 'in the center of'		
ena 'in the middle of (supported)'		
mita 'hidden in the (area) of'		
kwata 'in a port'		
M(i)ta 'in the mouth of'		
pehna 'in (area of) forehead of'		
pata 'in place of'		
(w)apta 'when/if'		
talihna 'in the open'		

NON-SPATIAL POSTPOSITIONS		
Relational		
opikai 'under'	kuptëlä 'following'	
pole 'towards'	pune 'fitting ; suitable'	
wala 'around'	katip(i) 'like'	
ina 'adjacent; belonging'	kuptë 'each'	
akëlä Comitative 'with'	mna 'without'	
malë Inclusive 'with'		
Experiencer		
eile 'angry at'	he 'Desiderative'	
p'ınwë 'caring for'	uno 'afraid of'	
uwalë 'knowing of'	wake 'wary of; being against'	
Grammatical (non lexical)		
ja 'Dative; Ergative; Causee; etc.'	wantë 'by one's will'	
ke 'Instrument; Source'	walë 'Uncertainty'	
umpoj(e) 'Cause'		

Semantics appears sometimes to not correlate completely with this classification as some forms have complex meanings. The postpositions *ina* 'adjacent; belonging' and *wala* 'around,' for instance, are concept postpositions with a spatial sense though not bearing the morphology typical of spatial postpositions.



**6.2.1. Spatial postpositions.** The great majority of Wayâna’s postpositions belong to this class. As already discussed above, they are formally divided into three sub-classes: i) container postpositions (the trajector is within the landmark; ii) surface postpositions (the trajector is in contact with the surface of the landmark), and iii) away postpositions (the trajector is away from the landmark).

The semantics of the base is the main triggering factor for the occurrence of the different spatial suffixes. The semantics of the root are clearly shown in nominalizations, where the spatial suffixes do not occur and therefore cannot add to the semantics of the root. This test is not relevant for away postpositions since their nominalized forms take the spatial suffix *-j(e)* ‘away’ (see examples (90 a-d\') above).

109)	<i>tuna kwalïï</i>	110)	<i>ona pono</i>
	tuna kuwa-lïlï		ona po-no
	water in.water-PtNmlz		field on.supported-PtNmlz
	‘one <b>in</b> the water’		‘one <b>on</b> the field’

As expected, the semantics of the postpositional root determines the type of object taken by the postposition. The degree of specificity varies, as some postpositions may take the same object, but profiling different parts of it (*pakolo tau* ‘in the house,’ *pakolo pëk* ‘on the (walls) of the house,’ *pakolo po* ‘on (top of) the house’), and some may take only certain objects, as is the case of *kuwa* ‘in water,’ whose object must be a noun referring to ‘water’ or *hja* ‘in the sun’ whose object must be *sisi* ‘sun’. Of course, some degree of conceptualization with regard to the nature of the object exists, as for instance, *itu* ‘jungle’ is seen as a complex object and thus can occur as the object of *hta* ‘among’ (*itu htalïï* ‘one in the jungle (Lit.: ‘one among the jungle’)).

The selection of the morphological form of the object, whether it is a prefix or a (pro)noun, as well as the person of the object, is by and large determined by the

semantics of the postpositional root. These properties are discussed for each postposition in the following sections.

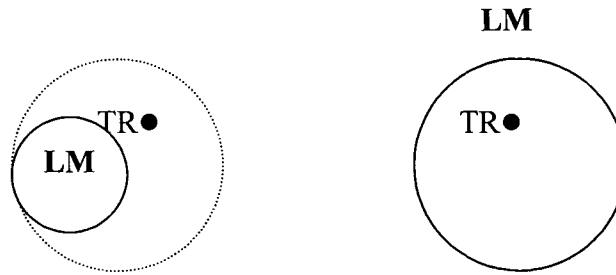
**6.2.1.1. ‘Container’ postpositions.** Besides presenting some phonological similarities, all ending in a sequence of a consonant plus /a/, members of this class of postpositions take spatial suffixes (6.1.2.1) and a unique allomorph of the participant nominalizer (-*li(li)*) (4.2.2.2.1)).

The container postpositions may be placed into two main semantic classes (without formal correlates). The first has members expressing situations in which trajectors are located within a landmark encoded by the postpositional object: *(j)a* ‘inside of,’ *lopta* ‘deep inside of,’ *hta* ‘among,’ *na* ‘in boundless location,’ *hja/hna* ‘in the sun,’ *k(u)wa* ‘in water,’ *m(i)ta* ‘in the mouth of,’ *ta* ‘in a permanent location,’ and , *kwata* ‘in a port’. The second class has members expressing situations in which the trajector is located somewhere within the spatial sphere of the landmark, *i.e.* somewhere ‘in the area’ of the landmark, which may indicate contact with it or not, but not within it: *mita* ‘hidden in the area of,’ *ekata* ‘nearby,’ *empata* ‘in front of,’ *walipta* ‘in the area behind,’ *ahmota* ‘in between; in the area beside,’ *lamna* ‘in the area of a flat surface,’ *pehna* ‘in the area of the forehead of,’ *pata* ‘in the place of,’ *ena* ‘in the middle of (supported); in the lap’.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, in the first class, the trajector is inside the landmark, in the second class it is not. Figure 3 schematizes this:

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<sup>14</sup> The morpheme *(w)apta* ‘when; if’ is not counted here since it refers to a location in time. See section 6.4.1 for a discussion on this form. The postposition *talihna* ‘in the open’ stands in a class of its own since it does not take objects.



Semantic classes of container postpositions

Figure 3

In addition to these two features, each container postposition profiles specific semantics of the objects.

The object of the postposition (*j*)*a* ‘inside of’ refers to a homogeneous, usually three dimensional object, which may or may not have well-defined boundaries. It need not be the case that the trajector is totally surrounded by or immersed in the landmark; it may be only partially so. Thus, in (111) the trajector is only partially inside the container, while in (115) the trajector is more like a incision on the surface of the landmark (in example (51), above, it is a crack in a cup). This postposition is the container postposition occurring with the greatest number of objects, hence its generic gloss. (*a* is an allomorph of the postposition (*j*)*a* (cf. 6.4.1.))

- 111) *Kasa sakola jau.*  
 kasa sakola **ja-wë**  
 box bag inside.of-in  
 ‘The box is inside the bag’
- 112) *Manale jau, ulu.*  
 manale **ja-wë** ulu  
 sieve inside.of-in bread  
 ‘The bread is inside the sieve.’
- 113) *Tiikë taun jak.*  
 t-ili-kë tawunu **ja-kë**  
 Them-make-Imp wind inside.of-into  
 ‘Place it into the wind.’

- 114) *Ulu kopë jau.*  
 ulu kopë ja-wë  
 bread rain inside.of-in  
 ‘(The/a) bread (is) in the rain.’
- 115) *Upak tokoi ëti pena hnë iu luwe ja ipupuu ailë.*  
 upake t-oko-he ëti pena tnë iwu luwe ja i-pupu-lï a-ilë  
 early T-cut.O-He what Hesitative else 1Pro bamboo Erg 1-foot-Pss inside-through.  
 ‘Earlier, something else, bamboo, had cut me on my foot.’

Other postpositions with objects referring to a homogenous landmark take a more restricted class of objects. The postposition *k(u)wa* ‘in water’ takes objects that must refer to water: the word for ‘water’ itself or river names. Other liquids such as different types of beverages are followed by *ja*, discussed above.

- 116) *Mënilëmëpja tuna kwau.*  
 mën-i-lëmëpi-ja tuna kuwa-wë  
 3certnty-Them-die-NPst water in.water-in  
 ‘He is definitely going to die in the water.’ (Ïmë 036)
- 117) *Amat kwalïi, ka.*  
 amatï kuwa-lïli ka  
 river.branch in.water-PtNmlz fish  
 ‘(A) fish (is) a river branch creature.’
- 118) *Palu kwak kuntëm.*  
 palu kuwa-kë kun-tëmi  
 Paru.River in.water-into 3DistPst-go  
 ‘(He/She/it) went into the Palu River.’

The postposition *hja/hna* ‘in the sun’ takes only ‘sun’ as its object, to our knowledge. The different allomorphs may reflect a dialectal variation, as *hja* is the most frequent form in the database.

- 119) *Malonme jamï tïitëk, sisi*  
 malonme j-amï-Ø t-ïli-të-kë hihi  
 then 1-blanket-Pss Them-place.O-SapColl-ProxImp sun
- hjak, pëitopïi.*  
 hja-kë pëjitopïti  
 in.sun-into children  
 ‘Then, place my blanket in the sun, my children.’ (Jolokod 650)

- 120) *Tikaptohme,* *sisi hnak* *tiihe.*  
 ti-kapi-topo-me hihi tna-kë t-ili-he  
 Them-hand.craft-CircmstNmlz-Attrb sun in.sun-into T-make.O-He  
 ‘In order to handcraft, (we) put (it) into the sun.’ (Malamala 009).

The only objects attested with the postposition *na* ‘in boundless location’ are *kapu* ‘sky,’ *ëmuni* ‘darkness,’ *tupi* ‘farm’ and *pita* ‘the place under the eaves of a house’. It is not clear precisely what feature of the object this postposition profiles. Given the data, the most likely possibility is that it refers to objects encoding a location without clear boundaries.

- 121) *Kapu nak* *ëhanakuu* *he lep tot.*  
 kapu na-kë Ø-ëh-anaku-Ø-li he lep toto  
 sky in.boundless.loc-into 3-put.up.above-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss Des Advrs 3Coll  
 ‘They wanted to go up to the sky.’ (Stair 004)

- 122) *Ëmuni nau* *wëtiijai.*  
 ëmuni na-wë w-ëtili-ja-he  
 darkness in.boundless.loc-in 1SA-become-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘I will be in the darkness.’

- 123) *Ïtupi nau,* *kasili.*  
 i-tupi-Ø na-wë kahili  
 1-farm-Pss in.boundless.loc-in manioc.sp  
 ‘In my far, (there is) kasili (a species of manioc).’

- 124) *Pakolo pita* *nau.*  
 pakolo pita-Ø na-wë  
 house place.under.eaves.of.house-Pss in.boundless.loc-in  
 ‘(It is) in (the) the place under the eaves of a house.’

The postposition *ta* ‘in permanent location’ takes an object that is typically a permanent location, usually created by humans: houses and buildings, a pathway, a baby carrier net, the edge of a river, *etc.*

- 125) *Ma emna tumëkëmei* *pakolo tak.*  
 maa emna t-umëki-ëmë-he pakolo ta-kë  
 So 1+3ExclPro T-come-Resumpt-He house in.permanent.loc-into  
 ‘Well, we came back to (the) house.’ (Ïmë 041)

- 126) *Wipanakmane* *imumkuu* *hospital tau* *iwaptau.*  
 w-i-panakma-ne i-mumuku-li hospital ta-wë iwapta-wë  
 1A3O-3-listen-DistPst 1-woman’s.son-Pss hospital in.permanent.loc-in 1-when-in  
 ‘I heard my son when I (was) at the hospital.’ (Alvina 046)

- 127) *Emna tuməkəmēi, monna ehema tak.*  
 emna t-umeky-ēmē-he mono-na ehema ta-kē  
 1+3ExclPro T-come-Resumpt-He SpcDistLoc-To trail in.permanent.loc-into  
 ‘We came back there far to the path.’ (Ekēi, 084)
- 128) *Mule man ewa tau.*  
 mule mane ewa ta-wē  
 child 3be net in.permanent.loc-in  
 ‘(The/a) child is in the baby carrier net.’
- 129) *Tuna etpii tau, mēklē mēnētanimja.*  
 tuna etpili-Ø ta-wē mēklēlē mēn-ēt-anīmī-ja  
 water edge-Pss in.permanent.loc-in DemAnmMed 3certnty-Det-take-NPst  
 ‘At the edge of the water, he is taking himself (out of the water). (Kaikui2 075)

With a very restricted distribution, *kwata* ‘in a port’ takes only *tuna* ‘water’ as its object. It indicates a location used by a particular family as the port for the anchoring of canoes and for the carrying out of house chores.

- 130) *Malonme tuməkəmēi iu tuna kwatak.*  
 malonme t-umēkī-ēmē-he iwu tuna kwata-kē  
 then T-come-Non-compl-He 1Pro water in.port-into  
 ‘Then, I came back to the port.’ (İmē 019)
- 131) *Sapotoli man tuna kwatau.*  
 sapotoli mane tuna kwata-wē  
 Sapotoli 3be water in.port-in  
 ‘Sapotoli is in (the) port.’

The postposition *m(i)ta* ‘in the mouth of,’ as indicated in its gloss, takes only objects referring to an entity with a mouth.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> It is not known whether or not roots denoting body parts other than *mīta* ‘mouth; in the mouth’ and *pehna* ‘forehead; in the area of forehead’ (see below) may take both nominal and spatial postpositional morphology. These forms are considered as postpositions because they present all morphological properties of a container postposition including the nominalizer *-li(li)*. In Hixkaryana (Derbyshire, 1985:210) this is the case for most body part items, though *-li* is considered as the possessive suffix in the postpositional cases. In Wayāna this is clearly not the case, since the possessive *-li* and the nominalizer *-li(li)* are phonemically and semantically distinct:

<i>ipehnaa</i>	<i>ipehnalī</i>
i-petna- <b>li</b>	i-petna- <b>li</b> li
3-forehead-Pss	3-in.area.of.forehead.of-PtNmlz
‘his/her/its forehead’	‘his mask; his bandana ( <i>i.e.</i> , object in the area of one’s forehead)’
<i>imtaa</i>	<i>imtalī</i>
i-mīta- <b>li</b>	i-mīta- <b>li</b> li
3-mouth-Pss	3-in.mouth-PtNmlz

- 132) *Eluwa mītau, tamī.*  
 eluwa mīta-wë tamī  
 man in.mouth.of cigarette  
 ‘(Th/a) cigarette (is) in (the/a) man’s mouth.’ (Figure. 39)
- 133) *Imtau, kaikui otī.*  
 i-mīta-wë kaikuhi otī  
 i-in.mouth.of-in dog meat  
 ‘(The) dog’s meat is in his mouth.’ .

The postposition *lopta* ‘deep inside of’ takes many of the same objects taken by the postpositions discussed above (objects, locations, humans, *etc.*). The object’s referent must, however, be able to function as a container in which an entity is deeply located, made invisible by being totally surrounded by it (‘sieve,’ ‘house,’ ‘cup,’ ‘hammock’ or ‘sun’ for instance, cannot occur as the object of *lopta*).

- 134) *Eluwa nītēm tuna loptailë.*  
 eluwa n-ītēm-Ø tuna lopta-jlë  
 man 3SA-go-RecPst water deep.inside-through  
 ‘The man went deep inside the water’
- 135) *Haku loptau.*  
 haku lopta-wë  
 sack deep.inside-in  
 ‘(It’s) deep inside the bag.’
- 136) *Tawake tēētīihe iu iloptau.*  
 tawake tē-w-ētīlī-he iwu i-lopta-wë  
 happy T-SA-become-He IPro 1-deep.inside-in  
 ‘I got very happy deep inside of me.’ (Alawaka 040)
- 137) *Wajana omii loptailë.*  
 wajana womilī-Ø lopta-ilë  
 Wayâna language-Pss deep.inside-through  
 ‘deep inside through the language of the Wayâna.’

Complex objects, composed of many parts or of a group of individuals, are followed by the postposition *hta* ‘among’. Forms bearing personal prefixes, with the exception of the first person prefix, occur collectivized (147). Nouns referring to objects made of several parts occur only in their non-collectivized form in the database (138-

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‘his/her/its mouth’

‘what is in one’s mouth’

143); other nouns may be collectivized or not (144-146), with the precise conditioning factors being unknown. It interesting that some referents are conceptualized as having several components (such as *itu* ‘jungle,’ *wapot* ‘fire,’ *ewalu* ‘dark,’ etc.)

- 138) *Wapot ahkonu htau, ëkëi.*  
 wapot akkonu tta-wë ëkahi  
 wapoto firewood among-in snake  
 ‘(The/a) snake (was) in the firewood.’
- 139) *Ai, alika opinë, mëklëë ëkëi, tan*  
 ai alika opinë-Ø mëklëë ëkëhi tanë  
 Then worm.sp under-on DemAnmMed snake SpcProxLoc
- huwaa ëti pena malaliya psiki htau.*  
 huwalë ëti pena malaliya phiki tta-wë  
 as.such what Hesitative tree.sp small among-in  
 ‘Then, under the worm (*i.e.*, under the nuts that contain the alika worm), that snake (was), right here, among the (leaves of the) malalia (tree).’ (Ëkëi 022)
- 140) *Wajapi htau wehaken.*  
 wajapi tta-wë w-eha-kene  
 Wajapi among-in 1SA-be-DistPst  
 ‘I was among the Wajapi (people).’
- 141) *Malonme mëleanumalë mëkjaa ipëinom*  
 malonme mëleanumalë mëkjalë i-pëj-Ø-nomo  
 then the.next.day DemAnmMedColl 1-child-Pss-Coll
- kuntëm itu htak ulakanumhe.*  
 kun-tëmï itu tta-kë ulakanumï-he  
 3DistPst-go jungle among-into hunt/fish-PurpMot  
 ‘Then, on the next day, my children went to the jungle to hunt.’ (Alawaka 006)
- 142) *Munët wapoto htau neha.*  
 munëtë wapoto tta-wë n-eha-Ø  
 scorpion fire among-in 3SA-be-RecPst  
 ‘(A) scorpion was in (the) fire.’
- 143) *Tëhalëi tot ewalunu htak elamna.*  
 t-ëh-alë-he toto ewalunu tta-kë ela-mna  
 T-Det-take-He 3Coll dark among-into fear-without  
 ‘They went into the dark without fear.’ (Jolokoa 043)
- 144) *Kaikuitomo htau, kunumusi kunehak.*  
 kaikuhi-tomo tta-wë kunumuhi kun-eha-kë  
 dog-Coll among-in old.woman 3DistPst-be-DistPst  
 ‘The old lady was among the dogs.’



- 145) *Ītək nai wēlihamo htak!*  
 ĩtəkē naj wēlihi-amo tta-kē  
 go-Imp Intens woman-coll among-into  
 ‘Go to (be) among the women!’
- 146) *Wewe man ĩpi htau.*  
 wewe mane ĩpi tta-wē  
 tree 3be mountain among-in  
 ‘(The) tree is among the mountain(s).’
- 147) *Kalipono kuhtawēhe kunehak.*  
 kalipono ku-tta-wē-he kun-cha-kē  
 enemy 1+2-among-in-PColl 3DistPst-be-DistPst  
 ‘The enemy was among us.’

The postposition *hta* also marks eventive de-verbal nominalizations with the suffix  $-\emptyset$  ‘Specific event,’ most frequently, and also with *-nē* ‘Generic Event’ in reference to time.

- 148) *Ta mike pa ewotelepili htau?*  
 ta mī-ka-ja pa ēw-otī- $\emptyset$ elepī- $\emptyset$ -lī tta-wē  
 what 2SA-do-NPst Quest 2 -meat-Pss make.afraid-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss at-in  
 ‘What do you do **when** scaring your meat (*i.e.*, your game) away?’ (Iguana 028, 029).
- 149) *Malonme, imē ukali htau, tītēi*  
 malonme imē uka- $\emptyset$ -lī tta-wē tī-w-ītē-he  
 then farm set.O.on.fire-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss at-in T-SA-go-He

*Sulalapana imē lamnak.*  
 sulalapana imē lamna-kē  
 sulalapana farm in.center.of-into  
 ‘Then, **at the moment** the farm was set on fire, Sulalapana went to the middle of the farm’ (Sulalapana 088).

- 150) *Malonme, tēwelamai Tih kanē htau imnenot.*  
 malonme tē-w-e-lama-he tih ka-nē tta-wē i-mynenotī- $\emptyset$   
 then T-SA-Det-turn.O-He alone do-GenEvntNmlz at-in 3-mother.in.law-Pss  
 ‘The, (he) came back **at** his mother-in-law being alone’ (Sulalapana 038).

The postposition *ena* marks a relation in which a referent is in the middle of another and supported by it, being away from the ground. In all clear cases, it takes human objects and is translated as ‘in one’s lap’. In one other example from the database, when occurring with *ipi* ‘mountain,’ *ena* seems to have fused together with the reciprocal prefix while maintaining (as far as one can tell) the reciprocal meaning. In an interesting

way, it takes ‘mountain’ as the postpositional object, instead of the reciprocal prefix, a configuration that is not attested anywhere else. One other interesting example is (153), used to refer to two people sharing a hammock, in this case with the reciprocal as the object (thus, *ətat(i)* ‘hammock’ is another potential object for *ena*).

- 151) *Malonme, tēnepēmēi tēnau eja.*  
malonme t-ēnepī-ēmē-he t-ēna-wë e-ja  
then T-bring-Resumpt-He 3Refl-in.middle.of.supported-in 3-Erg  
‘Then, (he) brought (her) in his own lap.’ (Snake 100)
- 152) *Wewe man ipi ēhenau.*  
wewe mane ipi ēh-ena-wë  
tree 3be mountain Recpr-in.the.middle.of.supported-in  
‘Trees are (all) on the side of the mountain’.
- 153) *Ēhenau man tot.*  
ēh-ena-wë mane toto  
Recpr-in.middle.of.supported-in 3be 3Coll  
‘They are side by side in the middle of (it)’

The postposition *walipta* ‘in the area behind’ designates a location in the space at the back of an object, either in contact with it (154) or not (155).<sup>16</sup> The referent located in this area (a person, an object, a geographic location, *etc.*) may be visible or not. All occurrences of this postposition in the database come from elicitation.

- 154) *Epīi pakolo waliptau.*  
epīj pakolo walipta-wë  
stair house in.area.behind-in  
‘(The) stair is behind the house.’ (The stair is leaning on the wall of the house) (Figure 58)
- 155) *Mēsīn wīwī iwaliptau.*  
mēhini wīwī i-walipta-wë  
DemInanProx ax 1- in.area.behind-in  
‘Here (is the) ax, behind me.’ (The ax is on the ground.)
- 156) *Īpi waliptau tuna pētukuu pepta.*  
ipi walipta-wë tuna pētukulu pepta  
mountain in.area.behind.-in water beautiful big  
‘Behind (the) mountain, (the) water (is) beautiful, a big one.’

<sup>16</sup> The variant *walikta* has been attested in the speech of Renato, a Wayāna speaker living in Suwisuwimīn.

- 157) *Pakolo waliptau, epī.*  
 pakolo **walipta-wë** epī  
 house in.area.behind-in tree  
 ‘(The) tree (is) behind (the) house’
- 158) *Iwaliktau man pakolo weju.*  
 i-**walikta-wë** mane pakolo weju  
 3-in.area.behind-in 3be house light  
 ‘(The) light (bulb) is behind it.’ (Figure 50)

The postposition *mita* ‘hidden in the area of’ signifies that there is an invisible referent located in the area contiguous to the object. In other words, it does not express where in the sphere of object the referent is located (under, behind, beside, *etc.*), but that it is hidden somewhere in that area. One curious exception to this is shown in examples with *wapot* ‘fire,’ showing a visible referent (162).<sup>17</sup>

- 159) *Īmitau nētonam.*  
 ĩ-**mita-wë** n-ēt-onamī-Ø  
 1-hidden.in.area.of-in 3S<sub>A</sub>-Det-bury-RecPst  
 ‘(He/she/it) hid itself (behind) me’  
 (Lit.: He/She burried him/herself hidden in me)
- 160) *Pampila mitau.*  
 pampila **mita-wë**  
 paper hidden.in.area.of-in  
 ‘(It is) hidden in (the) paper’
- 161) *Apukuita kanawa mitau.*  
 apukujita kanawa **mita-wë**  
 paddle canoe hidden.in.area.of-in  
 ‘(The) paddle (is) hidden behind (the) canoe.’
- 162) *Eluwa wapot mitau.*  
 eluwa wapoto **mita-wë**  
 man fire by?-in  
 ‘The man is by the fire.’  
 (Figure 38)

The location of referents anywhere close to the object (which can refer to people, things, places, *etc.*) without the specification of front, back, *etc.* is expressed by *ekata* ‘in an area nearby’.

- 163) *Putopotoli lampata ekatau.*  
 putopotoli lampata **ekata-wë**  
 nail light.bulb in.area.nearby-in  
 ‘(The) hook is nearby the lamp.’ (Figure 50)
- 164) *Malonme, kawë inë nai toma tēētuhmoi apsikila Siluluhma ekatak.*  
 malonme kawë jnë naj toma tē-w-ētupmo-he aphikī-la hilulupma **ekata-kë**  
 then high Source Intens Verit T-SA-fall-He small-Neg Silulupma in.area.nearby-into  
 ‘Then, from high above , it fell, real big, nearby Siluluhma.’ (Kaikui2 015)
- 165) *Numëkëmë nai jekatak.*  
 n-umëkī-ëmë-Ø naj j-**ekata-kë**  
 3SA-come-Resmpt-RecPst Intens I-in.area.nearby-into  
 ‘(He/She) came close to me.’
- 166) *Ēutë ekatau iu.*  
 ēwtë **ekata-wë** iwu  
 village in.area.nearby-in IPro  
 ‘I (was) nearby (the) village.’
- 167) *Ekatalilitom.*  
 Ø-**ekata**-līlī-tomo  
 3-in.area.nearby-PtNmlz-Coll  
 ‘one’s neighbors’

The postposition *empata* ‘in front of’ is used for expressing the placement of a referent in front of an object. In all the existing examples *empata* takes animate objects:

18

- 168) *Mësin hapa pëtukuu jempatak.*  
 mëhinī hapa pëtukulu j-**empata-kë**  
 DemInanProx machete beautiful 1-front.of-into  
 ‘This machete (placed) in front of me is good.’
- 169) *Som nika Anakali empatau.*  
 som nī-ka-Ø anakali **empata-wë**  
 stand.up.snd 3SA-do-RecPst Anakali in.front.of-in  
 ‘He/She stood up in front of Anakali.’
- 170) *Meku empatau.*  
 meku **empata-wë**  
 monkey empata-into  
 ‘in front of the monkey’

<sup>17</sup> Two other consultants used *ekata* ‘in nearby’ to describe Figure 38.

<sup>18</sup> This postposition is derived historically from *emī* ‘face’ (cf. section 6.4.4). Thus, it is possible that this postposition only follows objects with a face.

The postposition *lamna* ‘in the center of’ expresses the location of a referent at a central position in relation to the object. Though this postposition seems historically derived from *lami* ‘belly’ plus *na* ‘in boundless location,’ it may take objects other than those possessed of a surface.<sup>19</sup> With nouns encoding places or surfaces (*imë* ‘farm,’ *pista* ‘airstrip,’ *itu* ‘jungle,’ *tuna* ‘water,’ *etc.*), it means that a referent is located in the center of the object (171-174). With other nouns, it is translated as ‘in between,’ which is still compatible with the gloss ‘in the center of’ (examples 175-178).

- 171) *Inələë tütēi imë lamnak.*  
 inələë tī-w-ītē-he imë lamna-kë  
 3AnaphPro T-S<sub>A</sub>-go-He farm in.center.of-into  
 ‘She went to (the) center of (the) farm.’ (Sulalapana 079)
- 172) *Mëk pista lamnau.*  
 mëkī pista lamna-wë  
 DemAnmDist airstrip in.center.of-in  
 ‘That one, in (the) center of (the) airstrip.’
- 173) *Upakatonom upak itu lamnau lëken.*  
 upake-ato-nomo upake itu lamna-wë lëken  
 long.ago-PtNmlz-Coll long.ago jungle in.center.of-in only  
 ‘Long ago, (the) ancient people (lived) in (the) center of (the) jungle.’ (Jolokod 744)
- 174) *Mule man tuna lamnau.*  
 mule mane tuna lamna-wë  
 child 3b3 water in.center.of-in  
 ‘(The) child is in the middle of (the) river (floating/swimming on the surface).’
- 175) *Josinetsi etat neha kailentom lamnau.*  
 johinetsi etatī-Ø n-eha-Ø kajilentomo lamna-wë  
 Josinete hammock-Pss 3S<sub>A</sub>-be-RecPst mosquito.net-Coll in.center.of-in  
 ‘Josinete’s hammock was between (two) mosquito nets.’
- 176) *Pakolo man ipi lamnau.*  
 pakolo mane ipi lamna-wë  
 house 3be mountain in.center.of-in  
 ‘(The) house (is) located in between (two) mountains.’

<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, there are no attested cases of *lami* ‘belly’ as the object of a postposition. Thus, it is not possible to know how the phrase ‘in the area of the belly’ would be expressed. One possibility is that the root for ‘belly’ takes spatial morphemes, as is the case for *pehna* ‘forehead’ and *m(i)ta* ‘mouth’.

- 177) *Josinetsitom lamnau.*  
 josineti-tomo **lamna-wë**  
 Johineti-Coll in.center-in  
 ‘in between (two) of Josinete’s people’
- 178) *Ēlewee mēk wewe lamnau.*  
 ēleweļi mēki wewe **lamna-wë**  
 fly DemAnmDist wood in.center.of-in  
 ‘(A) fly is in (the) corner between (two) sticks.’

Though a container postposition, *pehna* indicates the location of a referent in the area of the forehead, where one would find a bandana, for instance. For obvious reasons, this postposition only takes objects encoding referents with a forehead (people, and presumably animals).

- 179) *Tipehnaĵ* *tĭpĭmihe eja jolok pitpë.*  
 tĭ-petna-kë tĭ-pĭmi-he e-ja joloko pitpë-Ø  
 3Refl-in.area.of.forehead.of-into T-tie.O-He 3-Erg evil.spirit skin-Pss  
 ‘He tied (the) evils spirit’s skin to (the) area of his forehead.’
- 180) *Pakolo apulu ja tĭkiuhe ipehnalĭi.*  
 pakolo apulu-Ø ja t-ĭkiŭi-he i-petna-lĭli  
 house cover-Pss Erg T-take.O.from-He 3-in.area.of.forehead.of-PtNmIz  
 ‘(The) door of (the) house took off (the) thing on his forehead.’ (Jolokod 673)

The characteristic location of a referent (people or things) is expressed by the postposition *pata* ‘in the place of’.

- 181) *Moloinë emna kunekilima Jalaki patak.*  
 Moloinë emna kun-e-kiŭi-ma jalaki **pata-kë**  
 then 1+3ExclPro 3DistPst-Det-leave.O Jalaki in.place.of-into  
 ‘Then, we left to Jalaki’s village.’
- 182) *Maa, moloinë, umëkëmëne Tëpu pona, ipatak.*  
 maa molojinë w-umëki-ëmë-ne tëpu po-na ĭ-pata-kë  
 so then 1SA-come-Resumpt-DistPst Tëpu on.supported-to 1-in.place.of-into  
 ‘So, then, I came to Tëpu, my land.’
- 183) *Molona tilëmëi ipatak.*  
 molo-na t-ĭli-ëmë-he i-pata-kë  
 SpcMedLoc-to T-put-Resumpt-He 3-in.place.of-into  
 ‘He put (it, the mask) again there, to its place.’

The meaning of the postposition *ahmota* is not clear, as the existing examples show various translations as ‘in the area beside,’ ‘in between,’ ‘inside,’ and ‘among’.

There are no examples of this postposition in the texts, and only a few examples are attested in elicitation. Some of the existing examples are given here: (SAP prefixed examples were rejected by speakers):

184) *Pakolo ahmotau, epī.*  
 pakolo **apmota-wē** epī  
 house inside-in tree  
 ‘(The) tree (grew) inside (the) house.’

185) *Ētahmotau*  
 ēt-**ahmota-wē**  
 Recpr-in.area.beside.of-in  
 ‘one beside (the) other’

186) *Kanawatom ahmotau.*  
 kanawa-tomo **apmota-wē**  
 canoe-PtNmlz in.between-in  
 ‘in between (the) canoes’

187) *Min ahmotalī.*  
 mīnī **apmota-līlī**  
 DemInanDist among-PtNmlz  
 ‘that one in the middle’

The postposition *talihna* is exceptional in that it takes no objects. However, it takes some of the morphology specific to postpositions, such as the spatial morphemes and the nominalizer *-līlī*, as well as the negative suffix *-la*. It refers to the open space, the outside environment. Thus, it expresses a situation where a referent is completely exposed and in an extended usage, where someone has nothing to hide. Example (188) was used to describe a man who was becoming visible again after taking off an attire that had made him invisible.

188) *Talihnau ka jepe?*  
**talītna-wē** ka j-epe-Ø  
 in.the.open-in Quest 1-friend-Pss  
 ‘‘(Am I) exposed, my friend?’’  
 (Lit.: ‘Am I in the open, my friend?’)  
 (Jolokoa 104)

- 189) *Talih nau man pasitu mēnke tot ipēk.*  
*talitna-wē mane pahitu mēn-ka-ja toto i-pēkē*  
 in.the.open-in 3be pastor 3Certnty-say-NPst 3Coll 1-about  
 ‘(The) pastor is in the open,’ they say about me.’ (Walema2 068, 069)  
 (I.e., the pastor is now a transparent being, he has nothing to hide.)
- 190) *Talih nawēla nma, ēhenela.*  
*talitna-wē-la nma Ø-ēh-ene-Ø-la*  
 in.the.open-in-Neg Intens NegAvlz-Det-see-NegAvlz-Neg  
 ‘(It is) not in the open, (it is) not visible.’ (Walema2 126)

**6.2.1.2. ‘Surface’ postpositions.** This class of postpositions has seven members: *po/mo* ‘on (supported),’ *ahpo* ‘on the back of,’ *uhpo* ‘on top of,’ *uwap(o)* ‘ahead of,’ *ē/etap(o)* ‘on the hammock of,’ *opinē* ‘under,’ and *pēk(ē)* ‘on (unsupported)’. Their main characteristic is the possibility of their taking the spatial suffixes *-Ø* ‘on,’ *-na* ‘to’ and *-lo* ‘along,’ though not all spatial postpositions show all the morphological possibilities (see below). The surface postpositions are nominalized with various allomorphs of the participant nominalizer (4.2.2.2.1).

The postposition *po* ‘on (supported),’ with allomorph *mo* (203), conveys the idea that a referent is supported and located on the surface of another referent, encoded by the postpositional object. The object can be thus refer to almost anything that can support a referent.

a) The object can refer to a three-dimensional object: *epii* ‘stair,’ *hapē eli* ‘machete’s tooth,’ *apulu* ‘door,’ etc. Example (191) shows the most common situation that this postposition refers to, which is the placement of a referent on a horizontal surface. Examples (194) and (195) show that *po* may also be used to refer to a situation in which a referent is located on a vertical surface. In all examples, a referent is being



supported against gravity's pull by the referent encoded by the postpositional object

(compare with *pëk(ë)* 'on (unsupported) below').<sup>20</sup>

- 191) *Kopu mesa po.*  
 kopu mesa **po-Ø**  
 cup table on.supported-on  
 '(The) cup (is) on (the) table.'
- 192) *Ijala epiin polo iwëhanuktopkom.*  
 i-jala Ø-epij-nu **po-lo** i-w-ëh-anuku-topo-Ø-komo  
 3-floor 3-stair-Pss on.supported -along 3-SA-Det.put.up.above-CircmstNmlz-Pss-Coll  
 'Their going up (was) by the stair of the floor, their going.' (Jolokob 341)
- 193) *Malonme kukuniptë inëlëë pisikleta po inë.*  
 malonme Red6?-kun-iptë inëlëë pihikleta **po-Ø** jnë  
 then Red6?-3DistPst-go.down 3AnphPro bicycle on.supported-on from  
 'Then, he came down from the bicycle.' (Pear 016)
- 194) *Tëpüpai ejahe kumaka po.*  
 t-ëpij-pa-he e-ja-he kumaka **po-Ø**  
 T-stair-GiveVrblz-He 3-Erg-PColl tree.sp on.supported-on  
 'They placed (a) ladder on (the) kumaka (tree).'
- 195) *Esikata pakolo apulu po.*  
 ehikata pakolo apulu-Ø **po-Ø**  
 stair house cover-Pss on.supported-on  
 '(The) ladder is (leaning) on (the) door.' (Figure 58)

b) The object can also refer to geographic locations and sites (both physical (196-198) and metaphorical (199)) designated by both common and proper names, and nominalizations with *-top(o)* 'Circumstantial nominalizer' or with *-anu* 'Participant nominalizer':

- 196) *Sikola pëk ütë Alimina pona.*  
 hikola pëkë ütë-kë alimina **po-na**  
 school busy.with go-Imp Alimina on.supported-to  
 'Go to Alimina get busy with school.' (Walema 044)
- 197) *Mon mëi ëti pena amat etato po.*  
 mono mëhi ëti pena amafï etato **po-Ø**  
 SpcDistLoc NspDisLoc what Hesitative river.branch side on.supported-on  
 "Over there somewhere (she is), at that one, the side of the river branch." (Tamopoale 073)

<sup>20</sup> It has been reported for at least one other language of the Cariban family (Meira, 1999:388, for Tiriyo) that the difference between the cognate forms *po* and *pëk(ë)* is whether a referent is located on a horizontal or vertical surface. In Wayãna the primary difference is whether that referent is supported or not (see below).

- 198) *Tütēi nukē pona lēken.*  
 tī-w-ītē-he nukē **po-na** lēken  
 T-S<sub>A</sub>-go-He ant.hill on.supported-to only  
 ‘(He) went only onto (the place of) ant hills.’ (Tukusimule 010)
- 199) *Witējai Josineti pona.*  
 w-ītē-ja-he josineti **po-na**  
 1S<sub>A</sub>-go-NPst-SapAff Josineti on.supported-to  
 ‘I am going to Josinete(’s house).’
- 200) *Lome oki pona lēken tumēkēmēi iu.*  
 lome wokī **po-na** lēken t-umēkī-ēmē-he iwu  
 but beverage on.supported-to only T-come-Resumpt-He 1Pro  
 ‘I came straight to the drink.’ (*i.e.* ‘I went back to drinking.’) (Walema 100)
- 201) *Ulu euhkatop pona tīnkī epuu pona*  
 ulu ewuku-ka-topo-Ø **po-na** tīnkīhi epulu-Ø po-na  
 manioc sap-PrivVbrblz-CircmstNmlz-Pss on.supported -to manioc.juicer pole-Pss on-to  
  
*tēwakamēmēi.*  
 t-ēwakamī-ēmē-he  
 T-sit.down-Resumpt-He  
 ‘To the place for taking juice from manioc, to the tīnkī pole, she sat down again.’  
 (Jolokoa 212)
- 202) *Uhpak wenene kaikui wapuhpan po.*  
 Upake-h w-ene-ne kaikuihi wapu-ppe-anu **po-Ø**  
 long.ago-AvIntens 1A3O-see-DistPst jaguar palm.tree.sp-ExistentAvlz-PtNmlz on.supported-on  
 ‘Long ago, I saw (a) jaguar, at the place where there is wapu (fruit).’ (Sapotolī 037)
- 203) *Wawa lo mo.*  
 w-awa-Ø lo **mo-Ø**  
 1A3O-dig.O-RecPst ground on.supported -on  
 ‘I dug on the ground.’

c) The object may also be a time word, in reference to any specific point in time (months, hours, years, seasons, *etc.*). In these uses, *po* follows both nouns and time adverbials (raising the question of whether or not with adverbials, the always prefixless *po* is an adverbial correspondent of the postposition. It is interesting that with verbs expressing motion from a source, as *umēk(i)* ‘come,’ *po* is followed by the particle *jnē* ‘from,’ in a way similar to that of the spatial uses (206):

- 204) *Makapa pona, 'Semana do Indio' po, emna kunëhalë.*  
 makapa po-na semana do Indio po-Ø emna kun-ëh-alë  
 Macapa on.supported-to week of Indian on.supported-on 1+3ExclPro 3DistPst-Det-take.O  
 'To Macapa, on (the) 'Week of Indians,' we went.' (Mopelu2 003)
- 205) *Hemalëë pona, hemalëë, doze jali man, iweinatop.*  
 hemalëë-h po-na hemalëë doze jali maneï-wejina-topo-Ø  
 now-AvIntens on.supported-to now twelveyear 3be 1-to.complete.years-CircmstNmlz-Pss  
 'All the way until now, now it's been 12 years,' (Walema2 056)
- 206) *Moloinë emna kuntëm, ije malë, seis ola po inë.*  
 moloinë emna kun-tëmï i-je malë seis ola po-Ø jnë  
 then 1+3ExclPro 3DistPst-go 3-mother Inclus.with six hour on.supported-on from  
 'Then, we left with his mother at six o'clock.' (Mopelu1 018)

d) Finally, the object may refer to a body part: the postposition *po* marks body parts when referring to a location where an event takes place. In cases where a more specific location of a referent in relationship to the body part is profiled, other locative postpositions occur (as a ring that may be *omoo jau* 'inside one's hand,' *omoo pëk* 'on one's hand (i.e., on one's finger),' *amoo po* 'on one's hand (i.e., on the back of the hand), etc.: (example (209) is repeated from example (62) above)

- 207) *Ëwewasii jetumhakan pona ka ëwewalu?*  
 ëw-ewahi-li jetu-mhakë-anu po-na ka ëw-ewalu-Ø  
 2-lower.leg-Pss hurt-ModAdvlz-PtNmlz on.supported-to Quest 3A2O-burn-RecPst  
 'Did (he/she) burn you on your hurt leg?'
- 208) *Emit po inë, emit tipikai.*  
 Ø-emï-tï po-Ø jnë Ø-emï-tï tï-pi-ka-he  
 3-face-Pss on.supported-on from e-face-Pss T-skin-PrivVrblz-He  
 'From its face, (they) skinned its face.' (Jolokoa 075)
- 209) *Moloinë, kuntëimë tipupuu polo asimna.*  
 molojinëkun-të-jmë-Ø tï-pupu-li po-lo ahi-mna  
 then 3DistPst-go-Resumpt-RecPst 3Refl-foot-Pss on.supported-along fast-without  
 'Then, (he) went by foot, slowly' (Pear 031)

The postposition *ahpo* 'on the back of' has only two classes of objects found in the database: humans and buildings. With human objects, it locates a referent on the object's back, and with buildings, the referent is located on their roof. This suggests that *ahpo* must also take objects other than humans and buildings, as long as they can be

perceived as having a ‘back,’ as this postposition is clearly derived from *apī* ‘back’ and *po* ‘on (supported)’ (cf. 6.4.4):

- 210) *Jahpo alimi walējai.*  
 j-**appo**-Ø alimi w-alě-ja-he  
 1-on.back.of-on monkey.sp 1A3O-take.O-NonPst-SapAff  
 ‘I’ll take the alimi (monkey) on my back.’
- 211) *Malonme emna tuměkēmēi tuna kwatak*  
 malonme emna t-uměkī-ēmě-he tuna kwata-kě  
 then 1+3ExclPro T-come-Resumpt-He water in.port-into
- imumkulu psik malě jenau katali jahpo.*  
 ĩ-mumuku-lĩ phikĩ malě j-ena-wě katali j-**appo**-Ø  
 1-woman’s.son little Inlus.with 1-in.middle.of.supported-in basket.kd 1-on.back.of-on  
 ‘Then, we came to the port, with my little son in my lap, the basket on my back.’ (Kaikui 044)
- 212) *Eluwa man pakolo ahpo.*  
 eluwa mane pakolo **appo**-Ø  
 man 3be house on.back.of-on  
 (The/a) man (is) on the house’s top (i.e., on the roof)’
- The postposition *uhpo* ‘on top of’ takes objects referring to entities with a ‘top’: a human being (213), a mountain (60 above), a stump (55 above), a stone (214), etc. In combination with *-lo* ‘along,’ this postposition can be used metaphorically to mean ‘better than; more than’ (215-216):
- 213) *Hapeu man eluwa uhpo.*  
 hapew mane eluwa **uppo**-Ø  
 hat 3b man on.top.of-on  
 ‘(The/a) hat is on top of (the/a) man’ (i.e., ‘On his head’).
- 214) *Těpu uhpo, epĩ.*  
 těpu **uppo**-Ø epĩ  
 stone on.top.of-on tree  
 ‘(There is a) tree on the top of the stone.’
- 215) *Mělě uhpolo nma hemele tělěi.*  
 mělě **uppo**-lo nma hemele t-ělě-he  
 DemInanMed on.top.of-along Intens now T-take.O-He  
 ‘A lot more than that (they) took now’ (Jolokod 576).
- 216) *Tanme ěuhpolo psik.*  
 tanme ěw-**uppo**-lo phikĩ  
 maybe 2-on.top.of-along little  
 ‘Maybe (I will be) better than you’ (Iguana 068).

The postpositions *uwap(o)* ‘ahead of’ describes a relation where a referent precedes another in space. This form has been found only with human objects. (The full allomorph of *uwap(o)* occurs when this postposition is inflected by the collective suffix *-he* and the negative suffix *-la*):

- 217) *Uwap*                    *neha.*  
 Ø-**uwapo**                n-eha-Ø  
 3-ahead.of                3SA-be-RecPst  
 ‘He/She/it was in ahead of him.’
- 218) *Witėjai*                *ėwapohe.*  
 w-itė-ja-he                ė-**uwapo**-Ø-he  
 1SA-go-NPst-SapAff        2-ahead.of-on-Coll  
 ‘I will go ahead of you.’
- 219) *Juapola*                *neha.*  
 j-**uwapo**-Ø-la        n-eha-Ø  
 1-ahead.of-on        3SA-be-RecPst  
 ‘(It) was not ahead of me.’

The postposition *ėtap(o)/etap(o)* indicates that a referent is located inside of a hammock. As this form is obviously derived historically from the noun *e/ėtat(i)* ‘hammock’ (cf. 6.4.4), an optionally possessed noun, it presents an objectless form corresponding to that of the unpossessed nominal allomorph, and when there is an object, it refers to the owner of the hammock:

- 220) *Mėlė*                    *ėtap*                    *eikė!*  
 mėlė                    **ėtapo**-Ø                ehi-kė  
 DemInanMed on.hammock.of-on    be-Imp  
 ‘Be in that hammock!’
- 221) *Jetamna*                *hek manai!*  
 j-**etapo**-na                hek manahe  
 1-on.hammock.of-to only 2be  
 ‘Damn, (avoid) being in my hammock!’
- 222) *Tėtapohe*                                    *kunehak*                *tot.*  
 t-**ėtapo**-Ø-he                                    kun-eha-kė                toto  
 3Ref-on.hammock.of-on-PColl    3DistPst-be-DistPst    3Coll  
 ‘They were in their own hammocks.’

The postposition *pək(ë)* marks a situation in which a referent is attached to an object without support against the pull of gravity (compare with *po* ‘on (supported)’ above). Thus, usually, but not always, the referent in question is located on a vertical surface.

- 223) *Pampila wewe pək.*  
 pampila wewe **pəkë-Ø**  
 paper tree on.unsupported.on  
 ‘(The) paper (is) on the tree trunk.’
- 224) *Ipuhtop man iklakun pək.*  
 i-puti-topo-Ø mane i-klaku-nu **pəkë-Ø**  
 i-nail.O-CircmstNmlz-Pss 3be 3-ankle-Pss on.unsupported-on  
 ‘The band-aid is on his ankle.’ (Figure 35)
- 225) *Anon upo pək.*  
 anonu upo **pəkë-on**  
 paint cloth on.unsupported-on  
 ‘(The) paint (is) on the cloth.’ (*i.e.*, letters on a shirt) (Figure 68)
- 226) *Upo man tahmit pək.*  
 upo manet-ahmiti-Ø **pəkë-Ø**  
 clothing 3be 3Refl-support-Pss on.unsupported-on  
 ‘(The) clothing was (hanging) on its support (*i.e.*, on a rope).’ (Figure 37)
- 227) *Sakola pək ewaa.*  
 sakola **pəkë-Ø** Ø-ewa-li  
 bag on.unsupported-on 3-rope-Pss  
 ‘(A) rope is on (the) bag’ (*i.e.*, a bag has its handles hanging down) (Figure 66)

The figure below offers a comparison between *pək(ë)* ‘on (unsupported)’ (white circles) and *po* ‘on (supported)’ (dark circles):

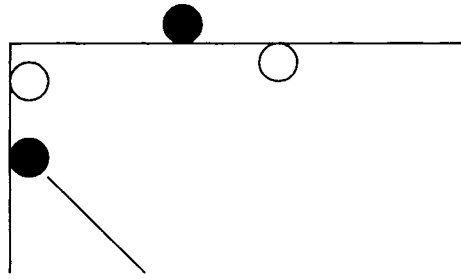


Figure 4

The postposition *pək(ë)* also has other non-spatial meanings. It marks a referent one is involved with (228)), a referent that will be brought with allative verbs (230), and events in nominalized subordinated clauses with *-Ø* ‘Specific Event’ and *-në* ‘Generic Event’ (examples (229) and (231), respectively) (*cf.* section 4.2.2.1.2 for a discussion of these morphemes):

228) *Ulu pək kunehak ipëinom kajama psik.*  
 ulu **pəkë** kun-eha-kë ÿ-pëj-Ø-nomo kajama phiki  
 manioc busy.with 3DistPst-be-DistPst 1-child-Pss-Coll manioc.flower little  
 ‘My children were busy with a little bit of manioc flower.’ (Alawaka 012)

229) *Tëhepai emna emna kaimotaa pək.*  
 t-ëh-epa-he emna emna kajimo-ta-Ø-li **pəkë**  
 T-Det-teach-He 1+3ExclPro 1+3ExclPro game-PssNIntrVrblz-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss about  
 ‘We learned about our killing.’ (Jolokod 624-625)

230) *Ëë, uwa, paluu pək pitë emna nitëjai.*  
 ëë uwa palulu **pəkë** pitë emna n-itë-ja-he  
 oh! Neg banana about a.minute 1+3ExclPro 3SA-go-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘Oh, no. We’ll go in a minute to get bananas. (Kaikui 010)

231) *Uwanë pək wai.*  
 uwa-në **pəkë** wahe  
 dance-GenEvntNmlz about 1be  
 ‘I am dancing.’ (Lit. ‘I am about dancing.’)

The postposition *opinë* ‘under; below’ indicates a situation in which a referent is located under another. This may refer either to a situation in which the referents are in

contact with one another (232) or to a situation in which they are not in contact (233-234).

232) *Hupu mēlē kamisa opinē.*  
 hupu mēlē kamiha opinē-Ø  
 spoon DemInanMed cloth under-on  
 '(The) spoon (is) under that cloth.' (Figure 24)

233) *Pola kololo opinē.*  
 pola kololo opinē-Ø  
 ball chair under-on  
 '(The) ball (is) under (the) chair'. (Figure 16)

234) *Eklot man kapu opinē.*  
 eklotī mane kapu opinē-Ø  
 cloud 3be sky under-on  
 '(The) cloud is under (the) sky.'

**6.2.1.3. 'Away' postpositions.** This is the least numerous class of spatial postpositions, with only four members: *epo* 'above,' *m(i)kahpo* 'behind' , *aktuhpo* 'up river of; north of' and *ameta* 'down the river of; south of'. They are characterized morphologically by the position marker *-j(e)* 'away,' the goal markers *-na* 'to' (taken by the first three) and *-k(ē)* 'into' (taken by the forth one), and no occurrences of path markers (*cf.* 6.1.2.1.2).<sup>21</sup>

Semantically, all postpositions belonging to this group profile a relationship in which one referent is located away from another.

The postposition depicting a relation where one referent is above the other without contact is *epo* 'above'. There are no examples of this postposition in the collected texts; the following examples are elicited responses:

235) *Lampata mesa epoi.*  
 lampata mesa epo-je  
 light.bulb table above-away  
 '(The) lamp bulb (is) above (the) table.' (Figure 13)

<sup>21</sup> They are nominalized with *-n(u)* or *-an(u)*, but unlike other postpositions the nominalizer occurs after the position marker, instead of replacing it (see section 4.2.2.2.1.).



236) *Pakolo epoi, wewe.*  
 pakolo **epo-je** wewe  
 house above-away tree  
 ‘(The) tree (top) (stays) above the house.’  
 (Figure 49)

237) *Īpī epoi mutom.*  
 ĩpī **epo-je** mutom  
 mountain above-away cloud  
 ‘(The) cloud (is) above (the)  
 mountain.’

238) *jepoi jala.*  
 j-**epo-je** jala  
 1-above-away floor  
 ‘(The) floor (stood) above me’

The postposition *m(i)kahpo* ‘behind’ signifies that a referent is located somewhere behind and away from the object (*i.e.*, not in contact with the object). No examples of *m(i)kahpo* are found in texts, and only a few are found in elicited data. A semantic distinction between *m(i)kahpo* and *walipta* ‘in the area behind’ (see above) is that the first expresses a relation in which a referent cannot be in contact with another, while the second does not. *Cf.* example (154) above showing a situation where a referent is located on the surface of the object of *walipta*. No examples of this postposition are found in the collected texts; all examples come from elicited data.

239) *Pakolo mikahpoi.*  
 pakolo **mĭkappo-je**  
 house behind-away  
 ‘(He/she/it) (is) behind (the) house’

240) *Pola kaikui mikahpoi neha.*  
 pola kaikuhi **mĭkappo-je** n-eha-Ø  
 ball dog behind-away 3S<sub>A</sub>-be-RecPst  
 ‘(The) ball was behind (the) dog.’

241) *mkahpoi neha.*  
 ĩ-**mĭkappo-je** n-eha-Ø  
 1-behind-away 3S<sub>A</sub>-be-RecPst  
 ‘(He/she/it) was behind me.’

- 242) *Pola alima kanawa mikahpona.*  
 pola alima-Ø kanawa **mika**ppo-na  
 ball throw.O-RecPst canoe behind-to  
 ‘(He/She) threw (the) ball away to (a place)  
 behind the canoe.’

The two other away postpositions are *ameta* ‘down river of; south of’ and *aktuhpo* ‘up river of; north of’. They occur almost exclusively without a preceding nominal, since they occur most frequently in reference to the place where the speaker is. Examples with a nominal object are attested for *aktuhpoi* but not for *ameta*, although presumably that would also be possible.

- 243) *Witējai aktuhpona.*  
 w-ītē-ja-he Ø-**akt**uppo-na  
 1SA-go-NPst 3-up.river.of-to  
 ‘I will go up river.’

- 244) *Emna tītēi ametak, Sapotoli pēk.*  
 emna t-w-ītē-he Ø-**ameta**-kē sapotoli pēkē  
 1+3ExclPro T-SA-go-He 3-down.river.of-into Sapotoli about  
 ‘We went down the river to get Sapotoli.’

- 245) *Tohme ametai meha?*  
 topme Ø-**ameta**-je m-eha-Ø  
 why? 3-down.river.of-away 2SA-be-RecPst  
 ‘Why were you down the river?’

- 246) *Ajamuwaka aktuhpoi.*  
 ajamuwaka **akt**uppo-je  
 Ajamuwaka north.of-away  
 ‘North of the Ajamuwaka (village).’

As for goal markers, the away postpositions ending in /po/ take *-na*, while *ameta* takes *-k(ë)*. It seems the case that the first group is derived historically from *po/mo* ‘on (supported),’ while *ameta* is derived from *ta* ‘in permanent location,’ and thus they take *-k(ë)* and *-na*, like those postpositions, as a historical vestige.

**6.2.1.4. A conclusion on spatial postpositions.** Much research needs to be carried out on the semantics of the spatial postpositions. In this endeavor it is fundamental to

investigate to the full extent what kind of objects each postposition can take.

Nevertheless, an attempt was made here to lay out what each form may mean, and it is possible to present some findings.

One of the most interesting aspects of Wayâna spatial postpositions is the information each postposition carries on the nature of its object. In the case of container postpositions, a sub-class meaning ‘in’ specifies a particular feature of the object (*kuwa* ‘in water,’ *hja* ‘in the sun,’ *ta* ‘in permanent location,’ *etc.*). Another interesting aspect is the construal of nouns as homogeneous or as complex. The nouns for ‘jungle,’ ‘bush,’ and ‘fire,’ among others, occur with a postposition whose object refers to an entity made of several parts (*hta* ‘among’), while nouns for ‘rain,’ ‘wind,’ ‘sky,’ ‘house,’ *etc.* occur each with a postposition whose object refers to objects constituted homogeneously.

Some nouns may refer to entities which can be construed in slightly different ways, a location or a container, and thus occur with more than one of the ‘in’ postpositions. For instance, the noun *kapu* ‘sky’ can occur with *na* ‘in boundless location’ and *ja* ‘inside of a 3D container’. In the first case it refers to the open sky we see, in the second to a place we don’t see (where God lives, for instance). The noun *amat(i)* ‘river branch’ may refer to the water or to the location where it is, thus taking *kuwa* ‘in water’ and *po/mo* ‘on; at,’ respectively. This may also explain why nouns such as *ehma* ‘path’ and *itu* ‘jungle’ may occur with container postposition others than the expected *ta* ‘in permanent location’ and *hta* ‘among’ (for example, in *ehema ailë* ‘along the path,’ *itu polo* ‘along the jungle’).

Other spatial postpositions may take the same nominal objects as long as the objects are semantically compatible with the postpositions. In these cases, each

postposition profiles a different part of the object (*pakolo tau* ‘in the house,’ *pakolo pëk* ‘on the (walls) of the house,’ *pakolo ahpo* ‘on the roof of the house,’ and so on.).

**6.2.2. Relational Postpositions.** Postpositions belonging to this class do not take any spatial suffixes, though some have a spatial meaning, and do not take objects referring to experiencers (see section 6.2.3 below) or have a grammatical meaning (see section 6.2.4 below). There are 11 relational postpositions: *opikai* ‘under,’ *pole* ‘towards,’ *wala* ‘around,’ *ina* ‘adjacent; belonging,’ *kuptëlë* ‘following,’ *pune* ‘fitting; suitable,’ *katip(i)* ‘like,’ *kuptë* ‘each,’ *mna* ‘without,’ the Inclusive *malë* ‘with,’ and the Comitative *akëlë* ‘with’.

The postposition *opikai* ‘under’ occurs rarely in the data, with no examples in texts, and with only a few examples in elicited data. It takes personal prefixes and the collective *-he*, but unlike other postpositions, it does not seem to take the negative suffix *-la*, as negated forms have not been accepted by speakers in elicitation. In all the existing examples, *opikai* marks the location of a referent as below another and possibly in a non-contact relationship. It is also possible that *opikai* marks the position of an invisible referent, as this can also be the reading in all the attested examples:

- 247) *Kuje tiihe ëlimak opikai.*  
kuje t-ïli-he ëlimakë **opikaj**  
spoon T-place.O-He plate under  
‘(He/She) placed the spoon under the plate.’
- 248) *Topikai nili kalakuli.*  
**t-opikaj** n-ïli-Ø kalakuli  
3Refl-under 3A3O-place.O-RecPst money  
‘(He/She) place (the) money under himself/herself.’
- 249) *Jala opikai mupë neha.*  
jala **opikaj** mupë n-eha-Ø  
floor under rat 3S<sub>A</sub>-be-RecPst  
‘(The/a) rat was under (the/a) floor’

- 250) *Min opikai ka mitēne.*  
 mīnī **opikaika** m-ītē-ne  
 DemInanDist under Quest 2S<sub>A</sub>-go-DistPst  
 ‘Have you been in that (cave)?’
- 251) *Oha opikai nīli asii.*  
 oha **opikaj** n-īlī-Ø ahilī  
 clay.pan under 3A3O-place.O-RecPst pepper  
 ‘(He/She) placed pepper under (the/a) clay pan.’

The postposition *pole* occurs only with verbs of motion marking the location that the moving object is approaching:

- 252) *Emna kunepolepkaimē* *ētē pole hle.*  
 emna kun-e-polep-ka-jmē *ēwtē pole tle*  
 1+3ExclPro 3DistPst-Det-go.through.snd-SndVrblz-Resumpt village towards Authentic  
 ‘We went right towards the village.’
- 253) *Kapau tūtēi emna pole.*  
 kapaw tī-w-ītē-he emna **pole**  
 deer T-S<sub>A</sub>-go-He 1+3ExclPro towards  
 ‘A deer came towards us.’ (Pēne 124)
- 254) *Pakolo pole numēk ēkēi.*  
 pakolo **pole** n-umēkī-Ø ēkehi  
 house towards 3S<sub>A</sub>-come-RecPst snake  
 ‘(The/a) snake came towards the house’

The partial or total encircling of an object by another referent with no contact between the two is expressed by *wala* ‘around’. It takes objects that refer to people, objects, or geographic locations.

- 255) *Ikutpē wala tūtēi iu.*  
 ikutpē **wala** t-ītē-he iwu  
 lake around T-go-He 1Pro  
 ‘I went around (the) lake’
- 256) *Īwala neha wewe.*  
 ī-**wala** n-eha-Ø wewe  
 I-around 3S<sub>A</sub>-be-RecPst wood  
 ‘(The) wood was (scattered) all around me.’
- 257) *Lampata wala man takahaktom.*  
 lampata **wala** mane takahakē-tomo  
 lamp.bulb around 2be spider-Coll  
 ‘(The) spider (and other insects) were around the lamp bulb.’ (Figure 52)

The postposition *ina* has two senses, a spatial and a non-spatial one, ‘adjacent’ and ‘belonging’. Only inflected forms of this postposition are attested.

- 258) *iina*  
*i-jna*  
 1-adjacent/belonging  
 ‘close to me; belonging to me’
- 259) *ëina*  
*ë-jna*  
 2-adjacent/belonging  
 ‘close to you; belonging to you’
- 260) *iina*  
*i-jna*  
 3-adjacent/belonging  
 ‘close to him; belonging to him’
- 261) *kuinahe*  
*ku-jna-he*  
 1+2-adjacent/belonging-PColl  
 ‘close to us; belonging to all of us’

The postposition *kuptëlë* means ‘following’. It co-occurs with verbs of motion only and is only attested taking human objects.

- 262) *Malonme Pëneimë kuntëm ikuptëlë.*  
 malonme pënejmë kun-tëmï i-kuptëlë  
 then Pëneimë 3DistPst-go 1-folowing  
 ‘Then Piranha went following me.’ (Pëne 007)
- 263) *Ulu talëi ikuptëlë.*  
 ulu t-alë-he i-kuptëlë  
 manioc.bread T-take-He 3-folowing  
 ‘(She/he) took manioc bread following him.’
- 264) *Mule kuptëlë kaikui nitëm.*  
 mule kuptëlë kaikuhi n-itëmï-Ø  
 child following dog 3S<sub>A</sub>-go-RecPst  
 ‘(The/a) dog went following (the/a) child.’

The postposition *pune* ‘fitting; suitable’ indicates that the referent encoded by the postpositional object is appropriate or adaptable to some other referent. The object taken by *pune* may refer to people, objects, places, and time.

- 265) *Pakolo psik tiihe emna ja emna niktöp pune lëken.*  
 pakolo phiki t-ili-he emna ja emna niki-topo **pune** lëken  
 house small T-make-He 1+3ExclPro Erg 1+3ExclPro sleep-CircmstNmlz fitting only  
 ‘We made a little house suitable as the place of our sleeping.’ (Pëne 062)
- 266) *Jupo pune man.*  
 j-upo-Ø **pune** mane  
 1-clothe-Pss fitting 3be  
 ‘It fits as my clothing.’
- 267) *Imumkuu talë tēhamoi mēwihñë*  
 i-mumuku-li talë tē-w-ēh-amo-he mēwitñë  
 1-womans.son-Pss NspcProxLoc T-S<sub>A</sub>-Det-cry-He a.lot  
  
*cinco dia pune ispunak.*  
 cinco dia **pune** ipunak-h  
 five day fitting very.much-Intens  
 ‘My son cried so much here for whole five days.’ (Alvina 035)
- 268) *Ipune wījai.*  
 i-**pune** w-ili-ja-he  
 1-fitting 1A3O-make-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘I’ll make it to fit me.’
- The postposition *katip(i)* ‘like’ indicates similarity or resemblance. It refers to both physical and psychological attributes. It takes almost any referent as its object, including people, objects, places, and abstract entities (as stories, happenings, *etc.*).
- 269) *Mule hnë katip mēhamojai.*  
 mule tnë **katipī** m-ēh-amo-ja-he  
 child still like 2S<sub>A</sub>-Det-cry-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘You are crying still like a child.’
- 270) *Ipoke nma mamak katip.*  
 ipoke nma mamako **katipī**  
 good Intens mother like  
 ‘(She) is nice like my mother.’
- 271) *Kulum katip neha.*  
 kulumī **katipī** n-eha-Ø  
 vulture like 3S<sub>A</sub>-be-RecPst  
 ‘It was like a vulture (*i.e.*, it looked like one).’
- 272) *Peptame tuna tēētiihe hemele ikupë katip.*  
 pepta-me tuna tē-w-ētīli-he hemele ikupë **katipī**  
 big-Attrb water T-S<sub>A</sub>-become-He already lake like  
 (The) water was huge already, like a lake. (Pëne 102)

273) *Masike mēlē katīp lēken emna tēētukhe,*  
 mahike mēlē **katīp** lēken emna tē-w-ētuku-he  
 With.that DemInanMed like only 1+3ExclPro T-S<sub>A</sub>-have.a.meal.He

*tīmnoke huwaa, huwaa lēken.*  
 tī-muno-ke huwalē huwalē lēken  
 NAdvlz-full.belly-having as.such as.such only  
 ‘Then, just like that, we ate, with full belly, as such. (Fishing 014)

The involvement without exception of the individual members of a set is expressed by *kuptē* ‘each’. This postposition occurs in the collective form when inflected by personal prefixes (6.1.1.1); thus it must follow objects composed of several members. Nominal objects may be in the collective form or the non-collective form. Given the data, it seems that a set whose members are all identifiable takes the collective (a group of people, a set of objects, *etc.*) and a set whose members are not all identifiable (‘years,’ ‘mornings’) does not.

274) *Papako ja alakapuhatom tēlēi, ikuptēhe.*  
 papako ja alakapuha-tomo t-ēlē-he i-**kuptē**-he  
 father Erg shotgun-Coll T-take.O-He 3-each-PColl  
 ‘Father took the shotguns, each one of them.’

275) *Malonme takenaptēi ejahe ēhmelē etatkom kuptē...*  
 malonme t-akena-ptē-he e-ja-he ēmelē-h Ø-etatī-komo **kuptē**  
 then T-alignment-ProvideVrblz-He 3-Erg-PColl all-AvIntens 3-hammock-Coll each  
 ‘Then, they aligned (them) all, each one of their hammocks...’ (Jolokob 359)

276) *Emna nipanakmei awaina kuptē.*  
 emna n-i-panakma-ja-he awajna **kuptē**  
 1+3ExclPro 3A3O-Them-hear.O-NPst-SapAff early.morning every  
 ‘We hear (this) every morning.’ (Walema 048)

277) *Wei kuptē wītējai Suwisuwimīn pona.*  
 weji **kuptē** w-ītē-ja-he suwisuwimīnī po-na  
 year each 1S<sub>A</sub>-go-NPst-Edv Suwisuwimīnī on.supported-to  
 ‘Each year I go to Suwisuwimīn.’

The postposition *mna* ‘without’ expresses the non-existence or absence of a referent. It takes all of the personal prefixes but does not occur with a nominal object. The reason for that is that whenever it follows a noun or a pronoun, *-mna* presents the properties of an adverbializing suffix (7.2.1.1.1.3) and is thus not analyzed as a



postposition in these contexts. The postposition *mna* is nominalized with *-to*; the adverbializing suffix cannot be nominalized.

- 278) *Imnahe neha.*  
 i-**mna**-he n-eha-Ø  
 3-without-PColl 3S<sub>A</sub>-be-RecPst  
 ‘They weren’t there.’
- 279) *Ĕmna neha.*  
 ě-**mna** n-eha-Ø  
 2-without 3S<sub>A</sub>-be-RecPst  
 ‘You weren’t there’
- 280) *Īmna neha.*  
 ĩ-**mna** n-eha-Ø  
 1-without 3S<sub>A</sub>-be-RecPst  
 ‘I wasn’t there.’
- 281) *Mëklëë nai man imnato.*  
 mëklëlë naj mane i-**mna**-to  
 DemAnmMed Intens 3be 3-without-PtNmlz  
 ‘That one is the one without any of it.’

The postpositions *malë* and *akëlä* frequently seem to be synonymous, with the meaning of ‘with’ as in the examples below:

- 282) *Nitëm tokon malë.*  
 n-ĭtëmĭ-Ø t-okono-Ø **malë**  
 3S<sub>A</sub>-go-RecPst 3Refl-sibling.of.same.sex-Pss with  
 ‘(He/She) went **with** his/her own brother/sister.’
- 283) *Tokon akëlä nitëm.*  
 t-okono-Ø **akëlä** n-ĭtëmĭ-Ø  
 3Refl-sibling.of.same.sex-Pss with 3S<sub>A</sub>-go-RecPst  
 ‘(He/She) went **with** his/her own brother/sister.’
- 284) *Talë nila malë mesa po.*  
 talë nila **malë** mesa po-Ø  
 NspcProxLoc Nila with table on.supported-on  
 ‘(I am) here **with** Nila at the table.’ (Alvina 003)
- 285) *Emna kaimo emna akëlä.*  
 emna kajimo-Ø emna **akëlä**  
 1+3ExclPro game-Pss 1+3ExclPro with  
 ‘Our game (was) **with** us.’ (Pëne 068)

In judging the semantic difference between examples (282) and (283), one speaker says that in the first example the two referents are going together to do the same thing, while in the second example the referent followed by *akëlë* is only going along for the ride. The examples of *malë* below, glossed as ‘together with,’ confirm this:

286) *Moloinë, ëlësiwë malë tēhanukhe* *Sulalapana.*  
 molojinë ëlëhiwë **malë** tē-w-ëh-anuku-he sulalapana  
 then smoke with T-SA-Det-put.up.above-He sulalapana  
 Then, Sulalapana went up **together with** the smoke. (Sulalapana 099)

287) *Kopë telen pokn tīkai tawun malë.*  
 kopë telen pokn tī-ka-he tawunu **malë**  
 rain huge rain.snd T-do-He wind with  
 ‘(The) rain went heavily together with **together with** the wind.’ (Pëne 065)

288) *Anakali Xamore malë ka nelemi.*  
 anakali Xamore **malë** ka n-elemi-Ø  
 Anakali Xamore also Quest 3SO-sing-RecPst  
 ‘Did Anakali sing **together with** Xamole?’

tī-ka-he inamolo tī-mīnelumī-Ø **malë** kunumuhi-tomo  
 T-say-He 3ProColl 3Refl-husband-Pss with old.woman-Coll  
 They said (it), **together with** their husbands, the old women. (Jolokod 651)

Though the existing data do not suffice to establish a clear distinction between the two postpositions, some additional differences between them are observed. First, *akëlë* occurs only with intransitive verbs in the database; and almost all of its occurrences are with *(i)të(mi)* ‘go’ and *e(s)i* ‘be,’ and only with a comitative meaning, thus its gloss ‘with’.<sup>22</sup> The postposition *malë*, on the other hand, has a broader distribution, occurring with many transitive and intransitive verbs.

In the case of transitive verbs, the participant marked with *malë* participates in the event equally with the participant expressed by the direct object of the verbs. The whole

<sup>22</sup> This may also be the case for other Cariban languages. The examples given in the sections discussing the cognate forms of *akëlë* in Tiriyó (Meira, 1999: 411) and Hixkaryana (Derbyshire, 1985: 18), are all glossed as comitative ‘with’ and occur either with an intransitive verb of motion or with ‘be’.

clause refers to a single event; thus, *malë* has a meaning more like that of the English glosses ‘and also; together with’.

ololi w-ekalë-ja-he kajikui **malë**  
 iguana 1A3O-tell-NPst-SapAff jaguar with  
 ‘I will tell (about) Iguana **and also** (about) Kaikui’. (Iguana 001)

291) *Eluwa wene kunumusi malë.*  
 eluwa w-ene-Ø kunumuhi malë  
 man 1A3O-see-RecPst old.woman with  
 ‘I saw the man **and also** the old woman’

292) *Jetat malë nahek animkë.*  
 j-etatī-Ø malë nahek anīm-kë  
 1-hammock-Pss with just anīm-kë  
 ‘Just get it **together with** my hammock’

Thus, the semantic difference between *akëlë* and *malë* is that the participant marked by *malë* partakes in the event in the same way as one of the nuclear participants, either the S in the case of intransitives or the O in the case of transitive verbs. The possibility that *malë* can also mark a participant that partakes in the event like a transitive A has not been tested. In any case, *malë* is the closest Wayâna form to the English ‘and’ (‘John **and** Mary went,’ ‘I saw John **and** Mary). The postposition *akële*, on the other hand, merely marks accompaniment, not equal participation in the event.<sup>23</sup>

Both postpositions occur rarely with personal prefixes. In texts, the postposition *akëlë* occurs only with a third person prefix or a nominal object, though examples with SAP prefixes are attested in elicited data. All the inflected examples for the postposition *malë* come from elicited data.

**6.2.3. Experiencer postpositions.** The main characteristic of postpositions of this class is the existence of a participant with the semantic role of an experiencer, which is usually

encoded by the subject of the clause. In all cases, the object of the postposition is the semantic stimulus. The experiences conveyed by the members of this class are those such as fear, anger, love, jealousy, *etc.* Experiencer postpositions occur almost exclusively with the copular verbs *e(s)i* ‘be’ and *ētīli* ‘become’ (with the exception of *uno* ‘be afraid of,’ discussed below). The six attested experiencer postpositions are *eile* ‘angry at,’ *pīnwē* ‘caring for, jealous of,’ *uwalē* ‘knowing of,’ *uno* ‘afraid of,’ *wake* ‘wary of; being against,’ and the desiderative *he* ‘wanting, loving, desiring’. A few present an equivalent adverbial form (see below).

The postposition *eile* means ‘angry at’. Its equivalent adverbial form is *ēile* ‘angrily, bravely, fiercely’ (7.1.1.3.1).

293) *Talala man jeile.*  
 talala mane j-**eile**  
 let.be 3be 1-angry.at  
 ‘Let him be angry at me’

294) *Ēweile tēētīihe inēlēē.*  
 ēw-**eile** tē-w-ētīlī-he inēlēlē  
 2-angry.at T-S<sub>A</sub>-become-He 3AnaphPro  
 ‘He/She got angry at him/her/it’

The postposition *pīnwē* ‘caring for; jealous of’ expresses feelings of possessiveness and emotional attachment towards the object.

295) *Ēmmelum pīnwē lēken!*  
 ē-mīnelumī-Ø **pīnwē** lēken  
 2-husband-Pss caring.for only  
 ‘You care too much for your husband!’ (Kaikui 018)

296) *Ēpīnwē man Kan.*  
 ē-**pīnwē** mane kanu  
 2-caring.for 3be God  
 ‘God cares for you. (Walema 130)’

297) *Īnepū pīnwē hela wai.*  
 ĩ-n-epū-lī **pīnwē** he-la wahe

<sup>23</sup> Meira (1999: 468) states that *malē* and *akēlē* are sometimes synonymous, but does not offer the specifics: ‘...malē is used to indicate inclusion, corresponding quite well to the English ‘too, also’. It can have a comitative meaning, which comes quite close to *akēlē* ‘with’.’ In Tiriyó, *malē* is a particle.

1-ObjNmlz-eat.soft.food-Pss caring.for Des-Neg 1be  
 'I do not want to be greedy with my food.' (Walema2 137)

The postposition *uwalë* 'knowing of' indicates knowledge or familiarity about the object. The adverbial correspondent to this postposition is *tuwalë* 'knowingly' (7.1.1.3.2).

298) *Ehet uwalë wai.*  
 Ø-ehe-tī uwalë wahe  
 3-name-Pss knowing.of 1be  
 'I know his name'

299) *Ēnik uwalëla.*  
 ěnikī uwalë-la  
 who knowing.of-Neg  
 '(I do) not know who.' (Jolokoc 446)

300) *Emna kaimotaa uwalë.*  
 emna kajimo-ta-Ø-lī uwalë  
 1+3ExclPro game-PssNIntrVrbz-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss knowing.of  
 'We know how to get game.' (Jolokod 622)

The postposition *uno* 'afraid of' is the only experiencer postposition that occurs with verbs other than the copular verbs. The form *tuno* 'fearful' is the adverbial counterpart of this postposition (7.1.1.3.2).

301) *Malonme emna tēwepei kopīni htak alimi uno.*  
 malonme emna tē-w-epe-he kopīnī tta-kë alimi **uno**  
 then 1+3ExclPro T-SA-flee-He bush among-into monkey.sp afraid.of  
 Then, we fled to the bushes, scared of the monkey. (Monkey 006)

302) *Elamhak mēwihñë tatata tikai emna alimi uno huwaa.*  
 ela-mhakë mēwitñë tatata tī-ka-he emna alimi **uno** huwalë  
 fear-ModAdvlz very tremble.snd T-do-He 1+3ExclPro monkey.sp afraid.of as.such  
 'Very scared, we trembled a lot, scared of the monkey(2). (Monkey 023)

303) *Kaikui uno kunehak.*  
 kaikuhi **uno** kun-eha-kë  
 jaguar afraid.of 3DistPst-be-DistPst  
 'He/She was afraid of (the/a) jaguar.'

304) *Elamhakë nma tētihe iu jolok uno.*  
 elamhakë nma tē-w-ētīlī-he iwu joloko **uno**  
 fearfull Intens T-SA-become-He 1Pro evil.spirit afraid.of  
 'I got really scared, scared of (the) evil spirit.'

The postposition *wake* ‘wary of; being against’ expresses antagonism toward the object. This postposition is very infrequent, with no examples in texts.

- 305) *Īwake lē nai eikē.*  
*ī-wake lē naj ehi-kē*  
 1-wary.of Emph Intens be-Imp  
 ‘Beware of me!’
- 306) *Ēhewake nai man tot.*  
*ēh-ewake naj mane toto*  
 Recpr-being.against Intens 3be 3Coll  
 ‘They are all against each other.’
- 307) *Ewakehela nai wai.*  
*e-wake-he-la naj wahe*  
 3-wary.of-PColl-Neg Intens 1be  
 ‘I am not distressed with them’

The desiderative postposition *he* express feelings such as affection, desire and necessity toward the object. The allomorph *se* occurs when prefixed with third person *i-*:

- 308) *Tilijo womi he hkuu wai, lome Wajana womi he hnē.*  
*tīlĭjo womi he kkulu wahe lome wajana womi he hnē*  
 Tiliyó language Des Intens 1be but Wayana language Des also  
 ‘I really like the Tiriyó language, but I also like the Wayāna language.’
- 309) *Ēwēē he hle neha.*  
*ē-uwē-Ø-lĭ he tle n-eha-Ø*  
 2-kill-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss Des Authentic 3SA-be-RecPst  
 ‘It truly wanted to kill you.’ (Kaikui 089.)
- 310) *Masike tĭnepĭtom hela.*  
*mahike tĭ-n-epĭ-lĭ-tomo he-la*  
 With.that 3Refl-ObjNmlz-eat.soft.food-Pss-Coll Des-Neg  
 ‘With that, (she) (does) not want her food.’ (Maria 007)
- 311) *Ēwemsiikom nai neha ēhe.*  
*ēw-emhi-lĭ-komo naj n-eha-Ø ē-he*  
 2-daughter-Pss-Coll Intens 3SA-be-RecPst 2-PColl  
 ‘Your daughter wanted you.’ (Tamopoale 070)
- 312) *Īhĭ ise wai.*  
*īhĭ i-he wahe*  
 yes 3-Des 1be  
 ‘Yes, I want it.’

**6.2.4. Functional postpositions.** The functional postpositions are those presenting a grammatical meaning. There are five of these postpositions, *ja* marking the agent and some other roles, *ke* marking an instrument or source, *umpoj(e)* marking the cause of an event, *wantë* marking volition, and *walë* marking uncertainty. No nominalized forms of the functional postpositions are attested or have been accepted in elicitation.

The postposition *ja* takes objects encoding sentient beings, usually humans. It marks the agent of a transitive clause in both main *t-V-(h)e* clauses and non-finite subordinate clauses, both nominalized clauses (314) and adverbialized clauses (315), where the agent is glossed as ‘oblique agent’:

- 313) *Pija mumkë tēpēihe epe ja.*  
 pija mumukë-Ø t-ēpēhi-he Ø-epe-Ø **ja**  
 eagle animal.offspring T-grab.O-He 3-friend-Pss **Erg**  
 ‘His friend grabbed (the) eagles chick.’ (Eagle 030)

- 314) *Lome wai apsik lēken tuwalē*  
 lome wahe aphikē lēken tuwalē  
 but 1be little only knowingly
- juutoponpīi kunitomo ja.*  
 j-ulu-topo-npīi-Ø kuni-tomo **ja**  
 1-talk.to-CircmstNmlz-Dvl-Pss grandmother-Coll **OblAgt**  
 ‘I am knowledgeable of (the) story my grandmas told me’. (Sulalapana 003)

- 315) *Sisi ja tahalamnaniphe aptau, tukukhe ejahe.*  
 hihī **ja** t-ahalapī-nīpī-he wapta-wē t-ukuku-he e-ja-he  
 sun **OblAgt** T-dry-Caus-He when-in T-try-He 3-Erg-PColl  
 ‘When it (was) sun dried, they tried (it)’ (Jolokoa 086)

It also marks dative participants (recipients and experiencers), shown in examples (316) to (318), and causees, shown in example (319).

- 316) *Masike, eti ekalēja kan ēja?*  
 mahike eti ekalē-ja kanu ē-**ja**  
 With.that what give-NPst God 2-**Dat**  
 ‘With that, what is God going to give to you?’ (Walema 155)

- 317) *Tykai ololi ja, kaikui.*  
 tī-ka-he ololi **ja** kajikuhi  
 T-say-He iguana **Dat** jaguar  
 ‘Said Jaguar to Iguana.’ (Iguana 020)

- 318) *Malë ihpoke nma kunehak ija.*  
 malë ipoke-h nma kun-eha-kë i-**ja**  
 Also good-AvIntens Intens 3DistPst-be-DistPst 1-**Dat**

*sitpilime iweitop.*  
 hitpili-me i-w-ehi-topo-Ø  
 ugly-Attrb 1-SA-be-CircmstNmlz-Pss  
 ‘Also, my being ugly was very good to me’ (Walema 013)

- 319) *Mauu walëpo Pipinë ja.*  
 mawulu w-alë-po-Ø pipinë **ja**  
 cotton 1A3O-take-Caus-RecPst Pipinë **Causee**  
 ‘I made Pipinë take cotton.’

The fourth function of the postposition *ja* is to mark an animate goal. In this spatial sense, *ja* resembles spatial postpositions taking directional suffixes (*patu ja-k* ‘into the pan,’ Apalai *po-na* ‘to the Aparai village, etc.’). The main distinction between the two cases is that the endpoint of motion in the cases with *ja* is not a location but a particular animate being (either a person or an animal).

- 320) *Malonme, emna tütëi ijumï ja.*  
 malonme emna tï-w-ïtë-he i-jumï-Ø **ja**  
 then 1+3ExclPro T-SA-go-He 3-father-Pss **Allative**  
 ‘Then, we went to her father.’ (Kaikui2 081)

- 321) *Ëhmelë tolopüt tumëkhe lep eja.*  
 ëmelë-h tolopiti t-umëki-he lep e-**ja**  
 all-AvIntens bird T-come-He Advrs 3-**Allative**  
 ‘All birds came to him, however.’ (Eagle 057)

- 322) *Malonme tütëi kulumï ja.*  
 malonme tï-w-ïtë-he kulumï **ja**  
 then T-SA-go-He bird.sp **Allative**  
 ‘Then (he/she) went to (the) vultures.’ (Vulture 063)

The postposition marking instrumental participants is *ke*. It does not take any of the expected postpositional morphology (personal prefixes, the collective suffix *-he*, or a nominalizer), except for the negative suffix *-la* (325). The only test that favors classifying *-ke* as a postposition is the possibility for forming a phrase with a preceding



nominal. That differentiates it from a nominal particle or an adverb.<sup>24</sup> As in many Cariban languages (Aparai (Koehn and Koehn 1995:31; Tiriyo (Meira 1999:382), and Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985:18), *ke* marks instruments (323-324) and the cause/source of an event or state encoded in the main verb (326-331).

- 323) *Kapau tuwēi eja alakapuha ke.*  
kapaw t-uwē-he e-ja alakapuha **ke**  
deer T-kill-He 3-Erg shot.gun **Instr**  
‘He killed (the/a) deer with (the/a) shotgun.’
- 324) *Tēhjoptēi kupeta ke.*  
t-ēh-jo-ptē-he kupeta **ke**  
T-Det-cover-ProvideVrbz-He kupeta **Instr**  
‘I covered myself with a blanket.’
- 325) *Ēti kela, tēlephe kaikui.*  
ēti **ke**-la t-ēlepy-he kajikui  
what **Instr**-Neg T-make.afraid-He jaguar  
‘(They) scared the jaguar without (using) a thing.’ (Kaikui 105)
- 326) *Malonme Siluhma tēwētuhmoi wewe telen pona,*  
malonme hilulupma tē-w-ētupmo-he wewe telenu po-na  
then Silulupma T-SA-fall-He wood huge on.supported-to
- alimi unonopī ke.*  
alimi uno-no-pī-Ø-lī **ke**  
monkey.sp afraid.of-PtNmlz-PpNVrbz-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss **Source**  
‘Then, Siluhma fell over a huge log from being afraid of the monkey(2).’ (Monkey 024)
- 327) *Jamoo jetumhak tokolom katop ke.*  
j-amo-lī jetu-mhakē tokolom ka-topo **ke**  
1-hand-Pss hurt-ModAdvlz paddling.snd do-CircmstNmlz **Source**  
‘My hand hurt from the paddling. (Alawaka 061, 062)
- 328) *Talanme tilēkhem ke tilomohe.*  
talanme tī-lēk-he-mī **ke** tī-lomo-he  
maybe Prtc-be.sick-Prtc-PtNmlz **Source** T-die-He  
‘Maybe from sickness they died...’ (Jolokod 730)
- 329) *Kēmī ken wai kopē ke.*  
kēmīj ken wahe kopē **ke**  
cold else 1be rain **Source**  
‘I am cold from the rain.’

<sup>24</sup> Though *ke* need not have an immediately preceding noun, it does not behave like a particle. Particles are not class changing and thus alone are not enough to mark an oblique noun with an adverbial function, as is the case of nouns followed by *ke*.

- 330) *Inələë asiphak tētiīhe jemna ke.*  
 inələë ahi-phakë tē-w-ētīli-he jemna **ke**  
 3AnaphPro hot-ModAvlz T-SA-become-He fever **Source**  
 ‘He became hot from the fever.’
- 331) *Okī jetun ke tēhnameptēi inələë.*  
 wokī jetun **ke** tē-w-ēh-name-ptē-he inələë  
 beverage strong **Source** T-SA-Det-drink.O-ProvideVrblz-He 3AnaphPro  
 ‘He got drunk from (the) strong beverage.’ (Walema 112)

It also marks the participant which figures as the means for the achievement of the event/state encoded in the main verb (332 to 334) or by an adverb (335-336).

- 332) *Jekīta kulumjek ke.*  
 j-ekī-ta kulumjekī **ke**  
 1SO-pet-GetVerbalizer bird.sp Instr  
 ‘I got a pet, a kulumjek (bird).’  
 (Lit. I pet-got **by means of** kulum)
- 333) *Tēwalimtēi ejahe mauu ke.*  
 t-ēwa-li-mtē-he e-ja-he mawulu **ke**  
 T-rope-Pss-ProvideVrblz-He 3-Erg-PColl cotton Instr  
 ‘They rope provided (3O) **by means of** cotton.’ (Jolokoa 084)
- 334) *Okī wīli napi ke.*  
 wokī w-īli-Ø napi **ke**  
 beverage 1A3O-make.O-RecPst potato Instr  
 ‘I made beverage **by means of** (the/a) napi (potato).’
- 335) *Tumēkhe emna ja wewe ke tēmjahe.*  
 t-umēkī-he emna ja wewe **ke** tēmjahe  
 T-come-He 1+3EēclPro Dat wood Instr having.in.hand  
 ‘He came to us, with a piece of wood in hand. (Monkey 038)  
 (Lit.: ‘having in hand **by means of** a piece of wood.’)
- 336) *kahneiluke tēkikem kuntēm ekatak ailē.*  
 katnejlu **ke** t-ēkī-ke-mī kun-tēmī Ø-ekata-kē ajilē  
 goat Instr havingAvlz-pet-havingAvlz-PtNmlz 3DistPst-go 3-in.area.nearby-into right  
 ‘... with a goat as his pet, he went nearby them.’ (Pear 009)  
 (Lit.: ‘Pet-having **by means of** a goat’)

Source, reason, or cause of an event are also marked by the postposition *umpoj(e)* ‘Cause’. Differently from *ke* ‘Instrumental,’ which in all cases marks an element that is immediately or intrinsically involved in the event/state it relates to, *umpoj(e)* takes personal prefixes, and the element that it marks as the trigger of an event is removed, occurring previously to the event itself.

- 337) *Lome, mëklëë umpoi lëken, uwëtëpiniṭpë umpoi*  
 lome mëklëḷë **umpoje** lëken uwë-të-pini-ṭpë **umpoje**  
 but DemAnmMed Cause only kill-GenModAvlz-PrivNmlz-Dvl Cause
- lëken, huwaa mënëtüja.*  
 lëken huwalë mën-ëtüḷi-ja  
 only as.such 3certnty-become-NPst  
 ‘Only because of that one, only because of the one who was formerly not able to kill, (it) is now as such.’ (Tukusimule 076)

- 338) *Mëje tami tëlījēmēi ija,*  
 mëje tami t-ëḷi-jēmë-he ĩ-ja  
 away.distal cigaret T-ingest.fluid-Resumpt-He 1-Erg

.....

*Masike mëlë umpoi ütënutpë*  
 mahike mëlë **umpoje** ili-të-nu-ṭpë  
 With.that DemInanMed Cause make-GenModAvlz-nuPtNmlz-Dvl

*jakëlep mala kunehak.*  
 j-akëlepma-Ø-la kun-eha-kë  
 1-help.O-NegAvlz-Neg 3DistPst-be-DistPst  
 ‘Around there, I smoke cigarettes. (...) So, because of that, the former maker (*i.e.*, God) did not help me.’ (Walema2 044,046)

- 339) *Jumpoi tütëi.*  
 j-**umpoje** ti-w-ütë-he  
 1-Cause T-SA-go-He  
 ‘(He/She) went because of me.’

The postposition *wantë* ‘by one’s will’ indicates the volitionality of a participant as the cause of an event that is normally unfortunate. It occurs frequently accompanied by the particle *panëk* ‘because’.

- 340) *Ëhewantë panëk ulaphak tëwesii jau.*  
 ëhe-**wantë** panëk ulaphakë të-w-ehi-Ø-ḷi ja-wë  
 Recpr-by.one's.will because disgusted 3Refl-SA-be-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss inside-in  
 ‘By his own fault, (he was) disgusted inside of his own being.’ (Sulalpana 076)

- 341) *Ïwantë neha.*  
 ĩ-**wantë** n-eha-Ø  
 1-by.one's.will 3SA-be-RecPst  
 ‘It was by my own fault.’

- 342) *Tiwantë tütëi.*  
 ti-**wantë** ti-w-të-he  
 3Refl-by.one's.will T-SA-go-He  
 ‘(He/She) walked by his/her own will.’

The postposition *walë* ‘Uncertainty’ has been attested only in its inflected form. No nominalized forms have been accepted, and no examples bearing the collective marker *-he* or the negative suffix *-la* are attested. This makes it more difficult to classify *walë* as a postposition (Jackson (1972:74) lists *iwalë* as a particle), but its SAP prefixed examples and the fact that it occurs in the periphery of the sentence without any additional marking (thus, it is not a noun) argue in favor of its classification as a postposition. The third person form, *iwalë*, and the SAP forms are used in the same fashion, signifying the uncertainty of the proposition as a whole. The third person form *iwalë*, however, does not mean that a third person holds a judgement (‘he/she thinks’), as is the case with examples bearing SAP prefixes (examples 346-349), but directly specifies the status of the proposition (‘perhaps, maybe’) in the judgement of the speaker. It appears, thus, to be evolving into a discourse particle.

343) *Kalipono henatke iwalë.*  
kalipono h-enatu-ka-ja **i-walë**  
non.Wayana 1+2A3O-be.finished-kaTransvzr-NPst 3-Uncertainty  
We will finish non-Wayana people up, maybe. (Jolokob 292)

344) *Ēkēi ene iwalë eluwa.*  
ēkēhi ene-Ø **i-walë** eluwa  
snake see-RecPst 3-Uncertainty man  
‘Maybe (the/a) man saw (the/a) snake.’

345) *Ēlemijai iwalë.*  
ē-lemi-ja-he **i-walë**  
2-sing-Npst-SapAff 3-Uncertainty  
‘Perhaps you will sing’

346) *Uwamela iwalë.*  
uwame-la **i-walë**  
healthy-Neg 1-Uncertainty  
‘He is sick, I think’

347) *Witējai iwalë.*  
w-itē-ja-he **i-walë**  
1SA-go-NPst-SapAff 1-Uncertainty  
‘I’ll go, I think’

- 348) Mītējai                      ėwalė.  
 m-ītė-ja-he                    ė-walė  
 2SA-go-NPst-SapAff    2-Uncertainty  
 ‘Do you perhaps think you will go?’
- 349) Ėlemijai                      ėwalė.  
 ė-lemi-ja-he                    ė-walė  
 2SO-sing-NPst-SapAff    2-Uncertainty  
 ‘You will sing, you think?’

**6.3. The de-verbal postpositionalizer *-tĭhwė* ‘Posteriority’.** This suffix occurs on verbal stems, and as in most of the de-verbal nominalizations, the category of the absolutive is the one encoded as the postpositional object. All *-tĭhwė* forms take personal prefixes, with the third person prefix in complementary distribution with nominal objects, and are collectivized by *-he*, the postpositional collective (*cf.* Jackson, 1972:70, where it is listed as a nominalizer):

- 350) *Ipoo*                      *enetĭhwė*                    *uwėjai*.  
 ipolĭ                            ene-**tĭhwė**                    w-uwė-ja-he  
 mythical.river.being    see-Posteriority    1A3O-kill-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘After seeing (an) *ipoo*, I’ll kill it.’
- 351) *Mėlė*                      *ėutĭhwė,*                      *helep*                      *kunka*.  
 mėlė                            ėwu-**tĭhwė**                      helep                      kun-ka  
 DemInanMed take.away.from-Posteriority    moving.head.snd    3DistPst-do  
 ‘Then, when (she) took his hat away, (he) gave a head shake.’ (Pear 024, 025)
- 352) *Mamak lamaptĭhwė*                      *tĭmnelumtai*.  
 mamako lamapĭ-**tĭhwė**                      tĭ-mĭnelumĭ-ta-he  
 mother die-Posteriority    T-husband-PssNIntrVrblz-He  
 ‘After mother died, (I) got married.’
- 353) *Tĭtėtĭhwėhe,*                      *wėliham*                      *tėpai*                      *ejahe*.  
 tĭ-w-ītė-**tĭhwė**-he                      wėlĭhi-amo                      t-ėpa-he                      e-ja-he  
 3Refl-SA-go-Posteriority-PColl    woman-Coll    T-teach.O-He    3-Erg-PColl  
 ‘After they came, they taught (the) women.’

When a third person prefixal object is coreferential with the sentence’s subject, contrary to the norm that dictates a reflexive prefix, both the reflexive (354-355) and the non-reflexive prefixes (356) are attested, though it is most common for the third person

reflexive form to occur (at least in elicited examples). The reasons for the non-obligatory occurrence of the third person reflexive prefix in such contexts are not well understood:

- 354) *Molo tumosiptētīhwē, pili tēētīhe.*  
 molo t-umohiptē-tīhwē pili tē-w-ētīli-he  
 SpcMedLoc **3Refl**-leave.O-Posterity standing.snd T-S<sub>A</sub>-become-He  
 ‘There after (being) left, (she) stood up there.’ (Jolokoa, 203, 204)
- 355) *Tuwantatīhwē Opolana man opalan pēkēnme he.*  
 t-uwanta-tīhwē opolana mane opalanu pēkē-nu-me he  
**3Refl**-grow-Posterity Opolana 3be airplane busy.with-PtNmlz-Attrb Des  
 ‘After growing, Opolana wants to be like an airplane pilot.’
- 356) *Masike epīinkatīhwē, molo tēētīhe inēlēē mihen,*  
 mahike Ø-epij-nu-ka-tīhwē molo tē-w-ētīli-he inēlēlē myhen  
 With.that **3**-stair-Pss-PrivVrbLz-Posterity SpcMedLoc T-S<sub>A</sub>-become-He 3AnphPro poor  
*kumaka amat po.*  
 kumaka amatī po-Ø  
 tree.sp branch on.supported-on  
 ‘With that, after (one) depriving (him) of (the) stair, there he stayed poor (one), on the branch of (the) kumaka (tree). (Eagle 037, 038)

## 6.4. Miscellaneous.

**6.4.1. Irregular roots.** A few irregular postpositions are found. The first of these is *(j)a* ‘inside of’ with its various allomorphs: /a/ when inflected by prefixes (other than *k-* and *t-*) and with a full nominal object plus *-ilē* ‘through,’ /ja/ when taking a full nominal object (minus *-ilē*), and /ē/ when inflected by *k-* ‘1+2’ and *t-* ‘3<sup>rd</sup> reflexive’.<sup>25</sup>

- 357) *(j)a* ‘inside’
- |       |    |             |                       |
|-------|----|-------------|-----------------------|
| 1     | a. | j-a-wē      |                       |
| 2     | b. | ēw-a-wē     |                       |
| 1+2   | c. | k-ē-wē      |                       |
| 3     | d. | Ø-a-wē      |                       |
| 3Refl | e. | t-ē-wē      |                       |
| N     | f. | katali ja-u | ‘in the basket’       |
|       | .  | katali ja-k | ‘to the basket’       |
|       | g. | kopē a-ilē  | ‘through the rain’    |
|       | h. | Ø-a-lī      | ‘one inside of it’    |
|       | i. | ēt-a-ilē    | ‘(come) out together’ |

<sup>25</sup> The forms with *k-* and *t-* resemble those of nouns starting with /w/ and having /ē/ as their second vowel. See section 4.1.1.1 for a comparison.

Some forms show a defective paradigm. The postposition *talihna* ‘in the open’ is listed as a postposition because it takes morphology unique to postpositions (such as the spatial suffixes *-w(ë)*, *-k(ë)*, and the nominalizing suffix *-li(li)*), but it does not, however, take objects.

The postposition *ë/etap(o)* ‘on the hammock of’ takes spatial suffixes (*-na*, *-ilë*), the collective *-he*, and all personal prefixes, but it does not take any nominal objects. It is the only postposition to occur in an objectless ablaut form (*ëtat(i)* ‘on a hammock’). This postposition is clearly derived from the root for ‘hammock’ which has both a possessed (*etap(i)*) and an unpossessed form (*ëtat(i)*). The noun must have historically fused with *po* ‘on (supported)’ resulting in a new postposition, as the deletion of /t/ in ‘hammock’ and the deletion of /o/ in the postposition cannot be accounted for synchronically.

The morpheme *mna* ‘without’ is a form taking postpositional morphology such as the collective *-he* and the nominalizer *-to* and prefixes, but it takes no nominal objects. The equivalent form with a nominal object has developed into a de-nominal adverbializing suffix (*cf.* 7.2.1.1.1.3).

The case of *(w)apta* ‘when/if,’ is a more complicated one. Besides the personal prefixes and the collective *-he*, the only postpositional morphology it takes are *-w(ë)* ‘in’ and the nominalizing suffix *-li(li)*. The parseability of *-w(ë)*, however, is not clear since *(w)apta* takes no other spatial suffixes, and the only suffix occurring in the same slot is the nominalizing suffix *-li(li)*. In addition, in the present database, *(w)apta* does not occur with third person prefixes. The expected *iwaptau* or *tëwaptau* do not occur.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> This scenario seems different in the Wayâna spoken in Surinam. A quick glance at the gospel of Luke (Schoen & Schoen, 1979) reveals that forms such as *iwaptao* and *tëwaptao* with the third person non-coreferential and with the third person coreferential suffixes are still in use in that dialect. However, *aptau* forms referring to third persons in both coreferential and non-coreferential contexts are also found.

- 358) /wapta/ 'when; if'  
 1 a. **i**-wapta-u 'when I; if I'  
 2 b. **ẽ**-wapta-u 'when you; if you'  
 1+2 c. **ku**-wapta-u 'when us; if us'  
 3 d. **\*i**-wapta-u (when he/she/it; if he/she/it')  
 3Refl e. **\*tẽ**-waptau ('when 3<sup>rd</sup> self; if 3<sup>rd</sup> self')  
 N? f. ulu aptau 'when (it is) bread; if (it is) bread' (Maria 009)

In texts, of the 73 occurrences of (w)apta only 7 are prefixed ((363) below), and the most frequent prefixless form may be related to both third person and SAP participants (360-361)). The factors triggering the different forms are not well understood.

- 359) *Kalipono pẽk tẽmamine kuwaptau*  
 kalipono pẽkẽ tẽmamine ku-**wapta**-wẽ  
 enemy busy.with have.work 1+w-S<sub>A</sub>-if-in  
 'If we get busy working on the enemy...' (Jolokob 288)

- 360) *pasitume eitop tumosiptẽi aptau,*  
 pahitu-me ehi-topo t-umohiptẽ-he **wapta**-wẽ  
 pastor-Attrb be-CircmstNmlz Prtc-leave.O-Prtc when/if-in  
  
*ipokela eitop lẽken wapẽhjai malalẽ.*  
 ipoke-la ehi-topo lẽken w-apẽhi-ja-he malalẽ  
 good-Neg be-CircmstNmlz only 1A3O-get/grab-NPst-SapAff same  
 'If (I) leave being a pastor, I will only get to be bad, likely. (Walema2 179, 180)

- 361) *Tonophe, talilimamhe aptau...*  
 t-onopĩ-he t-alilimam-he **wapta**-wẽ  
 T-paint.O-He Prtc-be.black-Prtc when-in  
 '(We) painted (it), when (it) (was/got) black...' (Malamala 11, 12)

It appears, thus, that the inflected forms are falling into disuse, and the prefixless form is being used with all persons. In the example shown in (358 f), we have an instance of a noun followed by the prefixless form, in an apparent object-postposition sequence. However, a look at the distribution of (w)apta reveals that it may also occur immediately after speech classes other than nouns, including adverbs and other postpositions. It appears, thus, that (w)apta is functioning as a particle, which is free to follow any speech class (with the lone exception of main verbs).



In fact, in the cases where *aptau* is glossed as consequential ‘thus; therefore,’ it is restricted to the sentence initial position, and it does not take any morphology at all:

- 362) *Malonme, aptau pēmīti tikahpok!*  
 malonme **aptawē** pēmīti tī-kapī-po-kē  
 then therefore basket(kd.) Them-hand.craft.O-Caus-ProxImp  
 ‘Then, thus make him craft a basket.’ (Vulture 018)

What we see here is a continuum from the more prototypically postpositional forms of (*w*)*apta*, *i.e.* the prefixed forms, to the prefixless forms which behave more like grammatical particles.

**6.4.2. The infix -h- ‘Intensifier’.** This infix occurs typically with adverbs (7.2.2). One example in the database, however, suggests that it might also occur with postpositions:

- 363) *mēlē uhwala*  
 mēlē wala-h  
 DemInanMed around-AvIntens  
 ‘All around it’ (Pēne 107)

This analysis obviously needs further investigation, as the very position of the infix in this example is suspicious. In all other adverbial examples, it comes after the first vowel of the root (/ipoke-h/>[ihpok]). In this example, however, it occurs after a /u/ which is not part of the root as the forms *iwala* ‘around me,’ *ewala* ‘around him/her/it,’ and *ēētē wala* ‘around the village’ show.

**6.4.3. Verbalized postpositional phrases?** The only fully attested derivational process affecting postpositions is nominalization (4.2.2.2.1). One isolated example found in the database, however, seems to indicate that some postpositional phrases may be subject to verbalization. Example (364) seems to be formed with the desiderative postpositions *he* plus what appears to be the verbalizer *-ta*. However, arguing against this hypothesis is

the fact that *-ta* is a highly productive nominal suffix and that no other similar example is attested in the database. (The example below is parsed for the sake of clarity)

- 364) *itunaheta*  
 i-tuna-**he-ta**  
 1SO-water-Des-PssNIntrVrblz  
 ‘I want water’

**6.4.4. Historical Complexity.** Though Wayâna presents an abundance of derivational processes (verbs from nouns, nouns from verbs, postpositions and adverbs, adverbs from nouns, *etc.*), there are no morphological mechanisms deriving postpositions from any other of the speech classes, with the only exception being the de-verbal postpositionalizing suffix *-tîhwë* ‘Posteriority’. The few cases of postpositions that present some sign of being historically derived look like a result of fusion of a postposition with its nominal object. All the attested examples are presented below with their potential historical sources.

- |      |                |                    |   |                |           |   |             |                     |
|------|----------------|--------------------|---|----------------|-----------|---|-------------|---------------------|
| 365) | <i>ahpo</i>    | ‘on the back of’   | < | <i>apî</i>     | ‘back’    | + | <i>po</i>   | ‘on’                |
| 366) | <i>uhpo</i>    | ‘on top of’        | < | <i>upu</i>     | ‘head’    | + | <i>po</i>   | ‘on’                |
| 367) | <i>empata</i>  | ‘in front of’      | < | <i>emî</i>     | ‘face’    | + | <i>pata</i> | ‘land, place’       |
| 368) | <i>etap(o)</i> | ‘on hammock of’    | < | <i>etat(i)</i> | ‘hammock’ | + | <i>po</i>   | ‘on’                |
| 369) | <i>lamna</i>   | ‘in the center of’ | < | <i>lami</i>    | ‘belly’   | + | <i>na</i>   | ‘in boundless obj.’ |

The morphophonological irregularities argue for the existence a synchronically monomorphemic form since all the noun sources presented here end elsewhere with a vowel on the surface (except for *ëtat(i)* ‘hammock’), and since postpositions do not cause syllable reduction, the type of syllable reduction witnessed here (in bold in the noun source) is not accounted for synchronically. Furthermore, in the process of creating new postpositions, the nominal possessors became the objects of the new postposition forms. However, with syllable reduction obscuring the noun source, nouns other than the possessor of the noun source can occur as the object of the new postposition. This

indicates that the meaning of the new form is more generic than that of the noun source. For instance, *ipī* ‘mountain’ can be the object of *uhpo* ‘on top,’ a postposition derived historically from *upu* ‘head’ plus *po* ‘on,’ but it cannot be the possessor of either *upu* or *upu(tpē)* the two synchronic allomorphs for ‘head’ (*\*ipī upu* or *\*ipī uputpē*).

## 7. ADVERBS.

The Wayâna adverbs encode semantic features common to adverbs, as time and location, but also features that would be more common to the class of adjectives (which Wayâna lacks) such as sizes, shapes, and qualities. Formally, adverbs are distinct from other word classes in that, they fail to take the morphology that is specific to those classes, while at the same time taking a few morphemes specific to their own. For instance, adverbs do not take any personal prefixes or number (verbs, nouns and postpositions do), but take specific nominalizing morphology (and this makes them distinct from particles which do not take any morphology). The criteria for the classification of adverbs are:

- a) morphological: they take *-la* ‘Negative’, two nominalizing suffixes *-an(u)* ‘Participant Nominalizer’ and *-pin(i)* ‘Privative Nominalizer’ (see section 4.2.2.2 for a detailed discussion on these morphemes and their various allomorphs), and most take *-h-* ‘Adverbial Intensifier’.
- b) syntactic: they present a free distribution in the sentence, with one restriction: they cannot occur in any of the nominal slots (the *3A3O* pre-verbal position in Set I verbs, the slot for the genitive possessor, the slot for the object of postpositions (see section 8.1).

Both a) and b) also apply to postpositions, but postpositions can take specific allomorphs of the ‘Participant Nominalizer’ (*-li(li)*), and so forth (4.2.2.2), and they do not take *-pin(i)*. Postpositions are a clearly separate word class since they take personal prefixes and numbering suffixes that adverbs do not (section 6.1).

Given the adjectival English gloss of some adverbs (*pëtukuu* ‘beautiful’, *tekme* ‘heavy’, *ipok* ‘good’, *etc.*), the question of whether this class is not one of adjectives that may also function adverbially (as in the English case of ‘a *good* woman’ vs. ‘she works *good*’) arises. The answer to this relies on the fact that no adverb may occur in any of the nominal slots unless nominalized. The examples below show that only a nominalized form can occur in the 3A3O preverbal object slot.

- 1) *Wēlii ene ipok*  
*wēlihi ene-Ø ipoke*  
 woman see.O-RecPst well  
 ‘He/she/it saw the woman well’
- 2) \**wēlii ipok ene*
- 3) *Wēlii ipokan ene*  
*wēlihi ipoke-anu ene-Ø*  
 woman good-PtNmlz see.O-RecPst  
 ‘He/she/it saw the good woman’

Thus, this form class is a peripheral one, syntactically modifying the predicate, as is normally the case for adverbs, and never occurring within nominal slots, as would be the case for adjectives.

One of the most interesting characteristics of adverbs is that they seem all, with a very few exceptions, ‘derived’. Even synchronically monomorphemic adverbs show clearly recurrent segmental sequences that indicate their historical complexity. For this reason, it is virtually impossible to analyze Wayâna adverbs without touching on their history. Thus, this chapter first presents a discussion on the apparent historical internal complexity of synchronically monomorphemic adverbs, then a discussion of the semantic classes these adverbs fall into, and finally the description of derivational adverbial(izing) morphology.

### 7.1. Non-derived Adverbs.

**7.1.1. Formal classes.** Non-derived adverbs can be classified into two large formal classes, one with adverbs that present what seem to be remnants of some old morphology that no longer operates in the language, and one with forms that present phonological sequences that are similar to some synchronic morphology, but that cannot be parsed since the stems that seem to ‘inflect’ are frozen, non-transparent forms. Borrowing terms from Meira (1999), who reports a similar phenomenon for Tiriyo adverbs, the former are called *primitive* adverbs and the latter *non-primitive* adverbs.<sup>1</sup>

**7.1.1.1. Primitive Adverbs.** These adverbs can be grouped into several formal classes according to their endings. Adverbs that do not present any of the recurrent endings are listed under the label ‘other’, as shown in Table 1.

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<sup>1</sup> Primitive and non-primitive adverbs are grouped solely on the basis of phonological similarities. Future historical research will determine the legitimacy of such groups, i.e., whether or not some segmental sequences can be reconstructed as morphemes.

Table 1  
Classes of Primitive Adverbs

Adverbs ending with /Ce/ or /Cë/			Adverbs starting with /t/ and/or ending with /Ce/ or /lë/		
/kë/	walunak(ë) ulalak(ë)	'evening' 'soft; malleable'	/t_	Tala tan(ë) tuno të tïkena ta	'how' 'here (specific)' 'fearful' 'where' 'together' 'what'
/lë/	ailë anumalë hemalë mïnanumalë mëlëanumalë huwa(lë) malalë mïja(lë) wantë(lë) malë	'truthful' 'tomorrow' 'today; now' 'day after tomorrow' 'on the next day' 'as such' 'same' 'thither' 'later; afterwards' 'also; too'	/t-lë/	taptëlë tuwalë tïwëlë talë	'round' 'knowingly' 'different' 'here (Nspc)'
/në/	ëkëmnë më(w)ihnë më(w)ihnë	'behind' 'nearby' 'a lot'	/t-me/	talilime tuntulam(e) tïnme tekme tïtpëpuume	'black' 'head down' 'quiet; still' 'heavy' 'brown skinned'
/he/	hekehe jeklawe	'happy' 'clean'	/t-he/	tïpïnahe	'abandoned'
/ne/	jahpine kokone mïnkokone	'thin; shallow' 'yesterday' 'day before yesterday'	/t-ne/	tëmamine tëmene tïpine	'with work' 'stealing' 'dearly'
			<b>Other</b>		
/ke/	ëhewake ipok(e) lomok(e) upak(e) ahmek(e?) ehahke	'happy'; 'good'; 'low; short'; 'long ago'; 'bothersome; nauseating' 'cracked'.		apsik(ï) pëwëi pëkëna jakwe kawë pëtuku(lu) imna molo mon(o) mïja sija poptë pïtëna kupepsik(ï)	'small; little' 'alone' 'alone' 'sweet; salty' 'high; tall' 'beautiful; well' 'without' 'there (medial)' 'there (distal)' 'thither' 'hither' 'more or less' 'at hunt' 'short'
/le/	ejale kole ulale ëile pëtule	'close'; 'many; a lot'; 'disgusted'; 'angry; fierce'; 'beautiful'.			
/je/	ahpoj(e) hej(e) mëj(e)	'much' 'undefined med. loc.' 'undefined dist. loc.'			

The data in Table 1 show the many recurrent segmental sequences among primitive adverbs.<sup>2</sup> Though no specific semantic content correlates with them, it is inferrable that some of these sequences must have been morphemes, especially those that may be compared to synchronic morphology (some of today's adverbializers end with *-ke*, *-je* or *-le*). As for the adverbs presented under the label 'Other', they do not present such sequences and thus could be said to be 'truly' primitive. However, for many adverbs, some indications exist that suggest that they may also have been complex historically (see 7.1.1.3).

**7.1.1.2 Non-primitive adverbs.** These adverbs show phonological sequences that are similar to those of various synchronic adverbializing morphemes (discussed in section 7.2.1). Some end with /me/ and like *-me* 'Attributive Adverbializer' take the allomorph *-an(u)* of the 'Participant' nominalizer. Some start with /t/ and end with /ke/, /le/, or /je/, and like the discontinuous adverbializers *t-ke*, *t-le*, and *t-je*, they take allomorph *-m(i)* of the 'Participant' nominalizer (see section 4.2.2.2). Some end with /phakë/ / /mhakë/ and like the discontinuous adverbializer *i-phak(ë)/i-mhak(ë)* take *-an(u)*. These are considered monomorphemic because what may have been the root or stem do not occur elsewhere in the language (*amolime* 'next time', but *\*amoli*). Table 2 lists these adverbs.

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<sup>2</sup> The final vowels of *ahmek* 'bothersome; nauseating' and *pëwëi* 'alone' are not known. The reason for listing *ahmek* under adverbs ending with /ke/ is that it takes *-anu*, an allomorph of a nominalizer commonly occurring with stems ending with /e/. As for *pëwëi*, there is no evidence for determining its last underlying segment. Surface forms ending with [j] present endings of various phonological shapes: [hej] ← /heje/ 'undefined medial location', [epij] ← /epij/ 'stair', and [kajkuj] ← /kaikuhi/.





**7.1.1.3.1. \_/Ce/ adverbs.** Evidence of historic complexity exists only for a few /Ce/ adverbs: *kokone* ‘yesterday’ seems to have been an adverbialization of *koko* ‘night’ (with adverbializer \*-ne?), and *lomoke* ‘short; low’ may have been built upon *lo mo* ‘on the ground’ (with adverbializer \*-ke?).

There are also cases of two different adverbs (apparently with the same meaning) that look as if they have been built with the same root: *ulale* ‘disgusted’ alternates with *ulaphak(ë)* ‘disgusted’, and *pëtule* alternates with *pëtuku(lu)* ‘beautiful; well’. Though the morpheme *-phak(ë)* exists marginally in the language today, no evidence for the morpheme \*-le (or \*ku(lu)) is found. Another similar case is that of *ëhewake* ‘happy’ versus *tawake* ‘happy’ (which can be compared with verbal root *ewakta* ‘laugh; be happy’ and *ewakma* ‘attract love from O’) where /ëh/ seems to be the remains of *ëh(e)-*, the still operative ‘Reciprocal’, and /t/ a reflex of an old \*t- adverbializer (thus, *tawake* seems to be a form displaying \*t- rather than \*-ke). It seems that \*ula, \*pëtu, and \*e/awake were nominal elements since the best candidates for modern reflexes of \*-le, \*-ke and \*-t (*t-N-le* and *t-N-ke*) are denominal adverbializers, and *ëh(e)-* and *-ta* ‘Possessive Verbalizer’ and *-ma* ‘Give Verbalizer’ all inflect nouns.

A more complex case is that of adverbs *ipok(e)* ‘good’, *poptë* ‘more or less’ (adverb), and *ipophak(ë)* ‘lucky, good at hunting’. They are all formed with /po/ which clearly meant ‘good’ and, it seems with \*-ke, \*-ptë (unattested), and *-phak(ë)*. /po/ is also found morphemes that belong to different speech classes such as *ipopptë* ‘bad one; violent one’ (noun), *i-V-pophak(ë)* ‘Satisfactory’ and *i-V-pola* ‘Defective’ (ambifixes), and *pola* ‘not good’ (particle), the last two obviously taking the negative *-la*. It is not possible to

determine solely on the basis of internal reconstruction the speech class that \**po* may have belonged to.

Finally, the adverbs *ëile* ‘fierce; angry’ and *ahpoj(e)* ‘much’ have postpositional equivalents, *eile* ‘angry at’ and *ahpo* ‘over’. For *ëile* vs. *eile*, it is not possible to determine which may have been the basic form, whether the adverb or the postposition (or even something else), but for *ahpoj(e)* vs. *ahpo*, it seems that the postposition was built upon *api* ‘back’ plus the postposition *po* ‘on’ (/apĩ+po/ → [ahpo] easily accounted for by syllable reduction rules, and the adverb with the adding of \*-*je* (?) or -*j(e)* ‘away’, a suffix that occurs with both adverbs and postpositions (7.2.3).

A similar case is that of the locative adverbs *hej(e)* ‘undefined medial location’ and *měj(e)* ‘undefined distal location’, which can be compared to the motion adverbs *mija* ‘motion to speaker’ and *sija* ‘motion away from speaker’, and to the inanimate pronouns *sin(i)* ‘this (proximal)’ and *min(i)* ‘that (distal)’. The diagram below illustrates that *heje* and *mėje* may have been both internally complex. The syllable /*he*/ may have had the meaning of ‘proximal’ (cf. /*hi*/ in *sija* and *sin(i)*), and /*mě*/ the meaning of ‘distal’ (cf. /*mĩ*/ in *mija* and *min(i)*). The final syllable /*je*/ is comparable to the adverbial (and postpositional) suffix -*j(e)* (7.2.3) which indicates that the location is away from where the speaker is, and this would be compatible with the sense of an ‘undefined’ location that both adverbs convey. As an indication that the two are related, *hej(e)* can occur as the answer to a question with -*j(e)*:

- 4) - *těi*                    *meha*  
       *tě-je*                *m-eha-Ø*  
       where-away    2S<sub>A</sub>-be-RecPst  
       ‘Where **away** were you?’

- 5) - *hei weha*  
**heje** w-eha-Ø  
 NspcMedLoc 1SA-be-RecPst  
 ‘I was **around there**’
- 6) - *Tëi mumək? wikane eja.*  
 tëë-**je** m-uməkī-Ø wī-ka-ne e-ja  
 where?-away 2SA-come-RecPst 1SA-say-DistPst 3-Dat
- *Hei, kunka inələë.*  
**heje** kun -ka inələë  
 NspcMedLoc 3DistPst-say 3Pro.Anph  
 ‘Where **away** did you come?’ I said to him. ‘Somewhere **around there**’, he said.’  
 (Pëne 013, 014, 015)

A similar remark can be made for the motion adverbs: /ja/ is comparable to the dative postposition *ja* ‘to; by’ which frequently occurs with verbs of motion (*alək mule ja* ‘take it *to* the child’).

	proximal/medial	distal
undefined location	<i>heje</i>	<i>mëje</i>
motion	<i>sija</i>	<i>mija</i>
Pronoun	<i>sīn(ī)</i>	<i>mīn(ī)</i>

**7.1.1.3.2. /t/\_ and /t\_ Ce/ adverbs.** Among these are two adverbs with pospositional equivalents, *tuwalë* ‘knowingly’ (vs. *uwalë* ‘know’) and *tuno* ‘fearful’ (vs. *uno* ‘fear’), in which /t/\_ may have been an old \**t-* adverbializer. This may also be the case for *takpile* ‘red’ (*akpilam(i)* ‘be, become red’), and *tëmamine* ‘with work’, for which the source, *maminu* ‘work’, still exists.

Some adverbs more clearly show reflexes of a discontinuous morpheme. For instance, *tīmulihule* ‘long-waisted’ seems to be formed with \**muli* ‘waist(?)’ plus \**hu* ‘long (?)’, and with adverbializer \**t-N-le* (compare to *imulikuhpe* ‘short waisted’ and *tumhehule* ‘long-haired’, and /*umhe/* ‘hair’). Also, *tīpīnahe* ‘abandoned’, seems to be formed with \**t-N-he*. Cf. adverbs *tīpīne* ‘dearly’ and *pīnapophak(ë)* ‘cute’.

A few adverbs are almost parseable, but the shape of the supposed root is idiosyncratic and not accounted for morphophonologically. Examples of such adverbs are *timile* ‘bloody’ (cf. *mīu* ‘blood’), *tikoloke* ‘white’ (*ewu ekolokit* ‘white part of the eye’, *ekololi* ‘(white) bread crumbs’, *koloka* ‘clean it off’, and *akoloka* ‘clear brush’).

Finally, *tëwantëpanëk* ‘by oneself’ seems to be formed with the postposition *wantë* ‘one’s will’ and the intensifying particle *panëk*, and possibly *\*t-*. The adverb is nominalized with *-an(u)* (*tëwantëpanëkan* ‘one (who does it) by himself’), but the particle may not be nominalized (*\*panëkan*).

**7.1.1.3.3. Other possibly complex adverbs.** These are adverbs without the recurrent segmental sequences, but with some indication that they may be complex historically. The locatives *molo* ‘there (medial)’ and *mon(o)* ‘there (distal)’ seem suspiciously similar to the postposition *mo* ‘on’ (*lo mo* ‘on the ground’) and to the inanimate demonstrative pronouns with the same deictic value; *molo* resembles the medial pronoun *mëlë*, and *mon(o)* resembles the distal pronoun *min(i)*.

The adverb *kawë* ‘tall, high’ seems to have had a nominal correspondent (cf. *kawemhak(ë)* ‘tall’ and *kawemna* ‘not tall; short’, with de-nominal adverbializers *-mhak(ë)* and *-mna*). *kawe* does not occur anywhere else in the languages. It does not, for instance, occur as either a possessed or a free form. A parallel case is that of *ikïphak(ë)* ‘lazy,’ which may be compared to *i-kï-pëm* ‘I was lazy’ (with verbalizer *-pam(i)*). No other form with *\*(i)kï* (lazy) is found, however.

The adverb *kupepsik(i)* ‘short’ seems to be composed of *\*kupV* ‘long (?)’ (cf. *kupime* ‘long’, *\*kupV* plus the morpheme *\*-me*) and *psik(i)*. An obvious candidate as the source for the second element is the particle *psik* meaning *little* or *small*. Synchronically,

however, while no nominalizing suffixes may follow *psik*, this adverb may be nominalized with *-an(u)*: *kupepsikan(u)* ‘the short one’. Thus, *psik* cannot be synchronically parsed in this form.

The adverb *ihme~ihpe* ‘existent; having’ has a suffixal correspondent, the denominal adverbializer *-hme/-hpe*. Both the adverb and the suffix are nominalized with *-an(u)*:

- 7)      a. *ihme~ihpe* ‘There is; there exists’      b. *ihman*      ‘one that has (it)’  
           c. *wapu-hpe* ‘There is *wapu*’              d. *wapu-hpan*. ‘one that has *wapu* (palm tree (sp.))’

The relative distribution of *ihme* and *hme* is somewhat analogous to that of nominal and postpositional phrases where third person prefixes are in complementary distribution with nominal possessors or objects (*i-pëk* ‘about **it**’, *ulu pëk* ‘about **bread**’). Though no synchronic function can be assigned to /i/ in *ihme*, it is conceivable that *ihme* may have been something like a postposition (not a noun because it can be nominalized; not an adverb because adverbs do not take prefixes), with its third person prefix alternating with a (pro)noun. With all other forms of its paradigm lost, except for the third person, it became a suffix when following a noun and fell into the category of adverbs in its third person prefixed form.

Some forms belonging to other speech classes corroborate this idea. The postposition *mna* ‘without’ is inflected with all personal prefixes (though SAP forms are extremely rare), but when taking a (pro)noun as its object, it shows evidence that it is on its way to grammaticalizing into a suffix (7.2.1.1.1.3). With the disappearance of SAP forms, *mna* will be exactly parallel to (*i*)*hme*. The particle *itapek* ‘negation of identity’

occurs in isolation while *tapek* ‘Nominal negation’ occur when a noun precedes. These may correspond to an even older form that does not take any morphology today.<sup>4</sup>

The adverbs *mīnkokone* ‘day before yesterday’, *mīnanumalē* ‘day after tomorrow’, and *mēlēanumalē* ‘the next day’ seem to be built with inanimate demonstrative pronouns *mīn(i)* and *mēlē* plus either the adverbs *kokone* ‘yesterday’ or *anumalē* ‘tomorrow’. However, no other cases of a demonstrative pronoun modifying an adverb are acceptable synchronically.

**7.1.2. Semantic classes.** Monomorphemic adverbs are grouped semantically in Table 3 (as an elaboration on Jackson’s semantic classification for ‘modifiers’ (1972, pp. 61)):<sup>5</sup>

Table 3  
Semantic classification of monomorphemic adverbs

<b>Time</b>	<i>kokone</i>	‘yesterday’	<i>wantē(lē)</i>	‘later; afterwards’
	<i>hemalē</i>	‘now; today’	<i>upak(e)</i>	‘long ago’
	<i>anumalē</i>	‘tomorrow’	<i>amolime</i>	‘next time’
	<i>walunak</i>	‘evening’	<i>tīhule</i>	‘a while’
	<i>ankomhak(ē)</i>	‘mid day’		
<b>Sizes, shapes, dimensions</b>	<i>apsik(e)</i>	‘small; little’	<i>taptēlē</i>	‘round’
	<i>jāhpine</i>	‘thin; shallow’	<i>kupime</i>	‘long’
	<i>lomok(e)</i>	‘short; low’	<i>wijome</i>	‘crooked’
	<i>kawē</i>	‘high; tall’	<i>tupke</i>	‘deep; full’
<b>Weights, measures, quantities</b>	<i>kole</i>	‘many; a lot’	<i>mē(w)ihnē</i>	‘a lot’
	<i>tekme</i>	‘heavy’	<i>ahpoj(e)</i>	‘much’
	<i>kupepsik</i>	‘short (not long)’	<i>poptē</i>	‘more or less’
	<i>howoime</i>	‘light weight’		

<sup>4</sup> The adverb *apsik(i)* and the particle *psik* may turn out to result from the same process, but there are no indications that /a/ here could be a third person prefix. The third person prefix does have an *a-* allomorph, but it occurs only with roots beginning with /w/.

<sup>5</sup> Jackson’s ‘modifiers’ correspond by and large to the category of adverbs in this work, though many of his examples correspond to either derived adverbs or roots belonging to other speech classes (*pepta* ‘big’ is a noun and *katip(i)* ‘like’ is a postposition). In his semantic classification of modifiers Jackson divided adverbs according to time/seasons, qualities, sizes and shapes, and weights and measures.





The most interesting features motivating the semantic sub-classification of this speech class are deixis, the degree of definition of a location, and direction of motion.

The next two sections elaborate on these features.

**7.1.2.1. Deixis and the degree of definition of a location.** In the same way as pronouns (4.3.2.2), a group of adverbs presents a three way deictic distinction: proximal, medial and distal. The group is also organized according to whether the adverbs refer to well defined or to loosely defined locations.<sup>6</sup> These adverbs are shown in Table 4 (inanimate pronouns are added for illustrative purposes):

Table 4  
Locative and deictic adverbs

		Proximal	Medial	Distal
Adverbs	well defined location	tan(ě)	molo	mon(o)
	loosely defined location	talě	hěj(e)	měj(e)
Inanimate Pronouns		sin	mělē	mīn

The adverb *tan(ě)* refers to a precise location, one that can be pointed to and is very close to the speaker's body, (8) and (9), and under the speaker's visual field (10), a location in the speaker's body (11), or a location within the speaker's reach (12):

8) *Tan wai kolome katela po*  
**taně** wahe kolo-me katela po  
 SpcProxLoc 1be sit.down.snd-Attrb chair on  
 'I am **here** seated on a chair'

9) \**tan wai macapa po*  
 (I'm here in Macapa (city))

10) *hu, ipoo taně psik kunehak;*  
 hu ipoli **taně** phikī kun-eha-kě  
 hu! mythical.river.being here(spc) little 3S<sub>A</sub>DistPst-be-DistPst  
 'Uh, the *ipoo* was just right **here** (where I am pointing)' (Kaikui2 079)

<sup>6</sup> Jackson (1972:68) uses the label 'definite place' versus 'general area, indefinite' for *tan(ě)* as opposed to *talě* and for *molo* as opposed to *hej(e)*. I chose not to use these labels, because, as discussed below, *talě* refers to a definite place, one always accessible to both the speaker and the hearer.

- 11) tan wai jetumhak jetaa pëk  
**tanë** wahe jetu-mhakë j-eta-li pëkë  
 here(spc) 1be hurt-ModAdvlz 1-kidney-Pss about  
 ‘I am hurting **here**, by my kidney’
- 12) ai, alika opinë, mëklëë ëkëi tan  
 ai alika opinë mëklëë ëkëhi **tanë**  
 Then worm.sp under DemAnmMed snake SpcProxLoc

huwaa ëti pena malalija psiki htau  
 huwalë ëti pena malalija phiki tta -wë  
 as.such what Hesitative tree.sp small among-in  
 ‘Then, under the worm (i.e., under the nuts that contain the *alika* worm), the snake was, right there (lit. ‘**here**’) among the (leaves of the) malalia (tree)’ (when it bit mother’s hand).  
 (Snake 022)

Example (12) above shows an interesting aspect of Wayâna deictic adverbs which is the primacy of a deictic center other than the present location of the speaker. In this story, the speaker is telling about an event that happened in another location, but since the location she is referring to was close to her, she still needs to use *tan(ë)* ‘here’. She would have failed if she had used *molo* ‘there’ (see below), because it would mean that that location was somewhat distant from her.

An extended use of *tan(ë)* is that of functioning together with a hand gesture to indicate measurement (how tall or how much):

- 13) *tanë* *psik inëlëë* *pepta me* *psik;*  
**tanë** phiki inëlëë pepta me phiki  
 SpcProxLoc little 3Pro.Anph big Attrb little  
 ‘He was about this tall, a little big’ (Lit.: ‘a little here he (was)...’) (Kaikui 043)  
 (with speaker gesturing towards the point of her body the child’s stature reached)

- 14) *tumkahe* *psik emna* *ja*  
 t-umĩ-ka-he phiki emna ja  
 T-root-PrivVrblz-He little 1+3ExclPro Erg

*tanë* *psik*  
**tanë** phiki  
 SpcProxLoc little  
 ‘We unearthed (it) about this much’ (Lit.: ‘We unearthed here little’) (Kaikui2 014)

Of all the deictic adverbs, *tan(ë)* is the only one not to occur with *-na* ‘Goal’ and the particle *inë* ‘source’. In fact, there are virtually no examples of it with verbs

involving motion from one place to another. Almost all of its occurrences are with copular verbs. There are, however, two exceptional examples in texts that suggest that *tan(ë)* can be used as a source landmark with verbs of motion (15) and (16). However, due to the scarcity of the data, and to the common problem of reliability with translations (In the examples below, I suggest a second possibility of translation), this matter requires further investigation.

- 15) *malonme tan iu witëne akename*  
 malonme **tanë** iwu w -itë-ne akena -me  
 then here(spc) 1Pro 1SA-go-DistPst first-Attrb  
 ‘So, (from) here I myself went (ahead) first’ (Pëne 005)  
 (‘So, here I (was); I had gone (there) previously’)

- 16) *moloinë tan emna*  
 molojinë **tanë** emna  
 then here(spc) I+3ExclPro

*kunelamaimë lep.*  
 kun-e-lama-jmë lep  
 3SA-DistPst-Det-turn.O-Resumpt Advrs  
 ‘Then, (from) there (lit. ‘here’) we came back.’ (Pëne 031)  
 (‘Then, here we (were). We came back’)

With the same deictic value, but contrasting with *tan(ë)*, is *talë*. This adverb indicates a broader area where the speaker (and the hearer) is located: a house (17), somewhere in the forest (18), a village (20) or city (19), *etc.*

- 17) *seis diame aptau umëkëmëne*  
 seis dia-me aptawë w-umëki-ëmë-ne  
 six day-Attrb when 1SA-come-Resumpt-DistPst

*talëna helë pakolo tak,*  
**talë-na** helë pakolo ta-kë  
 NspcProxLoc-to Prsntv house in.permanent.loc-into

*ëhepinëptop tak,*  
 ëh-epi-nëp-topo-Ø ta-kë  
 Det-medicine-Transvzr-CircmstNmlz-Pss in.permanent.loc-into

*ituw akii pakolon tak;*  
 itu akili-Ø pakolo-nu ta-kë  
 jungle breed-Pss house-Pss in.permanent.loc-into  
 ‘Within six days, I came **here** to the place of the medicine (i.e. the clinic),  
 to the House of the Indians’ (Alvina 055)

- 18) *talë pitë tihpokai alawata*  
**talë** pitë tī-pupo-ka-he alawata  
 NspcProxLoc a.minute T-body.hair-PrivVrblz-He monkey.sp  
 “(Stop) **here** a minute, (in order to) shave the alawata monkey” (Alawaka 047)  
 (Somewhere in the jungle, in one of his trips, the speaker is ordering his family to stop in order to shave a monkey they are bringing along)

- 19) *duas ola aptau talë kunehak emna*  
 duas ola aptawë **talë** kun -cha-kë emna  
 two hour when here(global) 3DistPst-be-DistPst 1+3ExclPro

*macapa po, aeroporto po;*  
 macapa po aeroporto po  
 Macapa at airport at  
 ‘In two hours we arrived here in Macapa, in the airport’ (Alvina 021)

- 20) *malonme talë inë witëimëjai*  
 malonme **talë** jnë w-ÿtë-jmë-ja-he  
 then NspcProxLoc Source 1SA-go-Resumpt-NPst-SapAff

*aptau, ipatak;*  
 aptawë i-pata-Ø-kë  
 therefore 1-village-Pss-into  
 ‘Then, from here, I will go therefore, to my village’ (Futuro 001)

The two examples below show how *talë* contrasts with *tan(ë)*. In (21) the speaker is telling the hearer not to move from the specific place where he is, while in (22) a mother is telling her daughter not to leave the village alone to go to the farm because of the danger of jaguars.

- 21) *pīpe aptau tan eikë*  
 pīhi-pe apatawë **tanë** ehi-kë  
 shyness-Attrb if SpcProxLocbe-ProxImp  
 ‘If you are shy, stay right here (where you are)’  
 (i.e, do not come to the front of the audience)

- 22) *malonme, aptau talë eikë*  
 malonme aptawë **talë** ehi-kë  
 then therefore NspcProxLoc be -ProxImp  
 ‘Then, therefore, stay here (in the village, where we are, instead of going to the farm)’  
 (Kaikui 020)

The co-occurrences of *tan(ë)* ‘specific proximal location’ and *talë* ‘non-specific proximal location’ with demonstrative pronouns further exemplifies the differences between the two. When a proximate demonstrative pronoun occurs with *tan(ë)*, that indicates that someone is close to the speaker at the moment of the speech act (23).

When one occurs with *talë*, however, besides the indication that someone is close to the speaker, one gets the indication that this is customarily the case (26). With medial and distal demonstratives, there is a sharper contrast. *tan(ë)* may occur with them only when the clause refers to the past tense (24) and (25); *talë*, on the other hand, may occur with the demonstratives in the present tense, again with the meaning of an enduring location (27) and (28).<sup>7</sup>

- |     |  |     |   |
|-----|--|-----|---|
| 23) | <i>tan</i> <i>mëi</i><br><b>tanë</b> <b>mëhe</b><br>SpCProxLoc DemAnmProx<br>'This one (is) here (with me)'  | 24) | <i>tan</i> <i>mëklë</i><br><b>tanë</b> <b>mëklë</b><br>SpCProxLoc DemAnmMed<br>'That one (was) here (close to me)'<br>(*That one is here) |
| 25) | <i>tan</i> <i>mëk</i><br><b>tanë</b> <b>mëki</b><br>SpCProxLoc DemAnimDist<br>'That one far away (was) here (close to me)'<br>(*That one far away is here)   |     |   |
| 26) | <i>talë</i> <i>mëi</i><br><b>talë</b> <b>mëhe</b><br>NspCProxLoc DemAnmProx<br>'This one (is) here (always by my side)'  | 27) | <i>talë</i> <i>mëklëë</i><br><b>talë</b> <b>mëklëë</b><br>NspCProxLoc DemAnmMed<br>'That one (is always) here' (in the village)           |
| 28) | <i>mëk</i> <i>talë</i><br><b>mëki</b> <b>talë</b><br>DemAnmDist NspCProxLoc<br>'That one far away (is) here'<br>(According to the speaker's judgement this refer to a person that is always inside his home) |     |   |
| 29) | <i>talë</i> <i>ka</i> <i>pa</i> <i>man</i><br><b>talë</b> <b>ka</b> <b>pa</b> <b>mane</b><br>NspCProxLoc Quest Quest 2be<br>'Are you ( <b>living</b> ) here?'  |     |   |

The translation in (29) above corroborates with the idea that *talë* refers to a non well-defined location. If a person *lives* in a place, she will be moving around in there, and not necessarily be in a unique place. However, though *talë* does not refer to a well defined location as does *tan(ë)*, it still conveys the sense a stable, enduring one, as

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<sup>7</sup> The distal demonstrative pronoun *mëk(i)* refers to a distant or to an unseen referent. The fact that this pronoun can refer to an unseen participant allows for the interpretation in (28) that the person in question is always inside his or her home.

indicated by the examples above. The conclusion to this is that *tan(ë)* refers to temporary location and *talë* to a more permanent one.

The medial deictic adverbial pair is *molo* for a well-defined location and *hej(e)* for a loosely defined location. The distance conveyed by *molo* is highly construable. It may refer to any location from a few meters away from the deictic center, as a room inside of a house, or a dozen meters away, as another group of houses, for instance.

- 30) *molo*            *man* *perpetua funai po*  
**molo**            mane perpetua funai po  
 SpcMedLoc 3be Perpetua Funai at  
 ‘Perpetua is there at the Funai (building)’  
 (The speaker is in Marieta’s house, about sixty meters away)

The mediacy of *molo* puts the object within some sort of familiar boundary: a well-defined reachable distance, even if away from the village where the speaker is. In the example below, one friend is telling another that he has seen an eagle’s chick (on a tree which is the location where the story develops). Even though the chick is in the jungle, it is still within walking distance and in a precise location:

- 31) *Pija mumkë*            *man* *molo.*  
 pija mumukë            mane **molo**  
 eagle animal.offspring 3be SpcMedLoc
- Masike kékime*            *hapëita*  
 mahike k-ëkī-Ø-me            h-apëhi-ta  
 With.that 1+2-pet-Pss-Attrb 1+2A3O-get/grab-ImpAblat  
 ‘An eagle’s offspring is **there**. With that, let’s go get it as our pet.’ (Eagle 014, 015)

It is interesting, however, that medial *molo*, instead of the expected distal *mon(o)*, is used to refer to a distal place where the speaker was located at a past time:

- 32) *molo*            *apalai*    *po* *wehaken;*  
**molo**            apalaj    po w-eha-ken  
 SpcMedLoc Aparai    at 1S<sub>A</sub>-be-DistPst  
 ‘**There**, in Aparai (village) I was’ (Alvina 013)  
 (Speaker is in Macapa city)

- 33) *molo tipalumke wehaken*  
*molo tti-palumī-ke w-eha-ken*  
 SpcMedLoc Having-son.in.law-Having 1SA-be-DistPst  
 ‘There, I had a son-in-law’ (Walema 099)

In fact, *molo* is by far the most frequent deictic adverb found in narratives, and it can refer to almost any location at which an event has taken place. This is the case even for mythical narratives from whose location the speaker is greatly removed. In the excerpt below, from a story about two men who manage to become invisible, we hear the voice of the narrator explaining the fact that, though one of men had become invisible, he was still there, in the same place he was before:

- 34) *ehenela tētīihe. molo lep inēlēē lep,*  
*eh-ene-la tē-w-ētīlī -he molo lep inēlēlē lep*  
 Det-see.O- Neg T-SA-become-He SpcMedLoc Advrs 3Pro.Anph Advrs
- lome ehenela esike,*  
*lome eh-ene-la ehike*  
 but Det-see.O-Neg because  
 ‘(He) became invisible. But, he was **there**, contrary to the odds,  
 but (it was (i.e., it looked as if he wasn’t there)) because he was invisible’  
 (Jolokoa 095, 096, 097)

This shows that, in the narrative of past events, the use of the medial *molo* is the only option. The choice of the distal *mon(o)* over *molo* would imply that the speaker was far away from where he was supposed to be at the time the events she or he is narrating took place. Further, in mythical narratives, it would give a non-immediate feel, as if the events were not vividly happening right there, on the stage. In this case, *molo* still refers to a well defined location in the sense that that is where the action happens. It still contrasts with both *mon(o)* and *hej(e)* (see below).

This is not to say, however, that *mon(o)* cannot be used in past personal narratives or in mythical narratives. It is well used to encode a far away location in the narrative. In example (35), for instance, the speaker is telling the story of when he and a friend got lost in the jungle, and how they slept in a very far away place. In example (36), in

another piece of the story about the men who could become invisible, one of the characters is looking from the distance to what his invisible friend is doing to a boy. In both cases, the story teller uses *mon(o)* to convey the idea of a large distance.

35) *ee mon ähtë le emna kuninik*  
 ee **mono** ättë le emna kun-inikĩ  
 Excl SpcDistLoc Where Intens 1+3ExclPro 3S<sub>o</sub>DistPst-sleep  
 'Ee, **there far**, where really (was it?), we slept' (Pëne 059)

36) *epe ja tenei, tē upakhapak akēlephak taakanē lēken som lēken,*  
 Ø-epe-Ø ja t-ēne-he tē upakhapak akēlephakē taakanē lēken som lēken  
 3-friend-Pss Erg T-see.O-He tē? ? far taakanē?only stand.up.snd only

*ēhewa nma tēētanimhe, kilim kahe inēlēē,*  
 ēhewa nma tē-w-ēt-animĩ-he kilim tĩ -ka-he inēlēlē  
 by.oneself Intens T-S<sub>A</sub>-Det-take-He inert.snd T-do-He 3Pro.Anph

*mon tumelekai,*  
**mono** tu-meleka-he  
 SpcDistLoc T-touch-He

'His friend watched it. Far away, (the boy) just stood up. He went away just by himself. He stood inert. **There far**, (he, the invisible man) touched (him, the boy).'  
 (Jolokoa 245, 246, 247, 248, 249)

The fact that both *molo* and *mon(o)* can both be used in narratives shows that in narratives about the past, the deictic center shifts from where the speaker is located at the time of the telling to the world of the narrative. Locations are medial or distal depending on the construal of each location in that world, not whether they are medially or distal from where the speaker currently is when she is telling the story (in the example above *mon(o)* is used to convey a great distance between one participant and another).

In contexts of motion, *molo* takes *-na* 'goal'. There are, unfortunately, no clear examples of *molo* with *inē* 'source', since */molo-inē/* ('from there') has developed into *moloinë* 'then', a discourse marker:

37) *tēlēi iu, molona;*  
 t-ēlē-he iwu **molo-na**  
 T-take-He 1Pro SpcMedLoc-to  
 '(He) took me there (lit.: 'to **there**') (Sapot 010)



38) *tikai moloinë ololi*  
 tĩ-ka-he molojině ololi  
 T-say-He then iguana  
 ‘Said, **then**, Iguana’ (Iguana 064)

39) *moloinë tuměkhe pija*  
 molojině t-uměkĩ-he pija  
 Then T-come-He eagle  
 ‘**Then**, came Eagle.’ (Eagle 066)  
 (?Eagle came from there.)

The deictic medial adverb contrasting with *molo* is *hej(e)*. It indicates a non-precise location away, but not far, from where the speech act and the action take place. Example (40) exemplifies this. After seeing a jaguar in her farm, a woman goes back to the village and tells her husband that he must come to see it. She uses *hej(e)* to refer to the whereabouts of the jaguar, which is away from where they are and *somewhere* there in the trees. Similarly, in (41) a man tells his wife that he knows a place in the jungle (where he will eventually go to) where there is a tapir cub. The idea here is that both the jaguar and the tapir cub may be in a location where one can get to, but it is a non-well defined one, since both the jaguar and the tapir can move from place to place. Thus, like *talě*, *hej(e)* encodes a location where the object may be moving around.

40) - *těě pa ne kaikui;*  
 těě pa ne kajikuhi  
 where? Quest ? jaguar

- *měk toma enekět hei hně hapon nai man wewe po;*  
 měkĩ toma Ø-ene-kětĩ heje tně haponu naj mane wewe po  
 DemAnmDist Verit 3-see.O-InImp NspcMedLoc still like Intens 3be wood on

- “Where is the jaguar?”

- “Come to truly see that one. He is still **somewhere there** in the tree(s)’ (Kaikui 086, 087, 088)

41) *ěnik pena man hei ihpe.*  
 ěnikĩ pena mane heje ippe  
 who Hesitative 3be NspcMedLoc Exist

*Maipuli mumkě wenene.*  
 majpuli mumukě-Ø w-ene-ne  
 tapir animal.offspring-Pss 1A3O-see.O-DistPst

‘‘Someone exists **there somewhere**. I saw a tapir cub’ (Tamopoale 040, 041)



one character is invisible and the other visible. The visible one is the one talking and calling for his friend, but he gets no answer. The character that is visible and talking, and therefore ‘on stage’ is referred to by a nominalized *hej(e)*. Since the location of the invisible character is farther away and non well-defined, it must be encoded with the distal *měj(e)*:

but DemAnmMed Erg T-see.O-He  
 NspcDistLoc-PtNmlz friend Erg  
 .....  
*lome mëklëë ënenela*  
*lome mëklëë ën-ene-la*  
 thus DemAnmMed 3Neg-see.O-Neg

*hejelon talihnalī,*  
**heje**-lonu talitna-līlī  
 NspcMedLoc-PtNmlz in.the.open-PtNmlz

‘But, that one, the distant friend , could see. [...] But that one did not see him, the one that was around there in the open.’ (Jolokoa 126; 129)

It is interesting that while *hej(e)* takes *inë* ‘source’, (44) and (45), there are no example of it with *-na* ‘goal’. The explanation for this seems to lie in the fact that *hej(e)* is not a specific enough location to function as a goal.<sup>8</sup> All examples taking *-na* in the database mark a definite location, frequently a named one (*amat pona* ‘onto the branch of the river).

44) *nētuhmo nai heje inë kawë inë*  
 n-ëtupmo-Ø naj heje **jñë** kawë jñë  
 3S<sub>A</sub>-fall-RecPstIntens NspcMedLoc Source high Source  
 ‘It fell **from** somewhere around there, from above’ (Kaikui2 032)

45) *malonme, hei inë tēkētse pēwëina*  
 malonme heje jñë t-ëkētī-he pēwējna

<sup>8</sup> Such an asymmetry may exist in English. It seems more comfortable to use an imprecise location as a source than it is to use it as goal:  
 He came from *around* there.  
 ? He went *around* there.

then NspcMedLoc Source T-cut-He left  
 ‘Then, (She) cut (it) **from** there to there, (with) the left (hand)’  
 (i.e., she cut the snake across its body) (Snake 049)

The distal pair of deictic adverbs is *mon(o)* and *měj(e)*. In each of the three examples below, the speaker conveys the idea that the place he is talking about is a particular one: a location where he slept (46), the location of a river branch (47), the spot where a river being has appeared (48).

46) *ee mon ähtë le emna kuninik*  
*ee **mono** ättë le emna kun-ĩnikĩ*  
 Excl SpcDistLoc Where Intens 1+3ExclPro 1+3S<sub>O</sub>DistPst-sleep  
 ‘Ee, **there far**, where really?, we slept.’ (Pěne 059)

47) *mělë wena lëken emna kunmëkëmë*  
*mělë wena-Ø lëken emna kun-umëkĩ-ëmë*  
 DemInanMed river.shore-Pss only 1+3ExclPro 1+3S<sub>A</sub>DistPst-come-Resumpt

*hummm mon man*  
*hummm **mono** mane*  
 hummm SpcDistLoc 3be  
 ‘Only (on) that shore (of the Kulieuku river), we came. It is very **far**.’ (Pěne 090)

48) *papa ipoo toma mëk mon*  
*papa ipolĩ toma mëkĩ **mono***  
 father mythical.river.being Verit DemAnmDist SpcDistLoc  
 ‘Father, river being (is) trully **there far**’ (Kaikui2 082)  
 (After seeing an *ipoo* down the river, back in the village she says this)

*mon(o)* takes *-na* ‘goal’, but no examples with *inë* ‘source’ are found in the database. Further research is needed to determine whether this is due to an incompatibility between *mon(o)* and *-inë* or simply to the coincidental absence of such examples. Example (50) shows the dialectal variant *monna* ([mona]):

49) *tĩitëi monona lëken*  
*tĩ-w-ĩtë-he **mono-na** lëken*  
 T-S<sub>A</sub>-go-He SpcDistLoc-to only  
 ‘(It) went only **to far** over **there**’ (Sapot 024)

50) *emna tumëkëmëi monna ëhema tak;*  
*emna t-umëkĩ-ëmë-he **mono-na** ëhema ta-kë*  
 1+3ExclPro T-come-Resumpt-He SpcDistLoc-to trail in.permanent.loc-into  
 ‘We came back there far to the path’ (Snake 084)

The other member of the distal pair, *mėje* encodes, as expected, a fuzzy, non-clearly delimited location. In the passage below, one of two men lost in the jungle, not having any idea where they are, asks his friends if he thinks they are too far away (from the village).

51) *ma heke tikai iu. tēja nma pa toma kuptėja.*  
 maa heke ti-ka-he iwu tē-na nma pa toma kup -tē-ja  
 So only T-say-He 1Pro Where-to Intens Quest Verit 1+2SO-go-NPst

*mėje nma ka toma ne tikai iu,*  
**mėje** nma ka toma ne ti-ka-he iwu  
 NspcDistLoc Intens Quest Verit ? T-say-He 1Pro

*lome amat ėninomtala emna kulieuku*  
 lome amatī ėn-i-nomta-la emna kulijewuku  
 but branch 3Neg-Them-leave.O-Neg 1+3ExclPro kulijewuku

*ėninomtala*  
 ėn-i-nomta-la  
 3Neg-Them-leave.O-Neg

“Only”, I said. “Where (do we) go?” “(Are we) very far away?” I said.  
 But, we (did) not live on the branch, we (did) not live on the shore of the Kuliewuku.  
 (Pėne 087, 088, 089)

In a pattern parallel to that of medial *hej(e)*, *mėj(e)* occurs with *inė* ‘source’, but no examples with *-na* ‘goal’ are found in the database.

52) *mėje lėė inė*  
 mėje lėlė jnė  
 NspcDistLoc Emph Source  
 ‘Really far away’

An exceptional combination is *mon(o)* plus *mėj(e)* (always in this order). It is possible that this combination refers to a location that is clear and identifiable (a farm, a place in the jungle with a name, a specific branch of a river) but here one may wander around. Thus, it is a combination of the well defined location plus the loosely defined location features. This is, however, a tentative account, and this matter must be further investigated. All the examples found in texts are given below.

- 53) *malonme, emna            tëëtanimhe,            mon*  
malonme emna            të-w-ët-animī-he    **mono**  
then            1+3ExclPro T-SA-Det-take-He SpcDistLoc
- mëi,            jakëtëma po, muhunu amikhe,            alika            amikhe;*  
**mëje**            jakëtëma po muhunu amik-he            alika            amik-he  
NspcDistLoc Jakëtëma at bait            get-PurpMot worm.sp            get -PurpMot  
‘Then, there far at Jakëtëma we went (around) in order to get bait, alika’ (Snake 021)
- 54) *lome, elamhak            iu            ametai            esiike;*  
lome ela-mhakë            iwu            Ø-ameta-je            ehiike  
but            fear-ModAdvlz1Pro 3-to.down.river-away because
- mon            mëi.*  
**mono            mëje**  
SpcDistLoc NspcDistLoc  
‘But, I was afraid because (I was) down the river. (I was) somewhere far over there.’  
(Kaikui 035, 036)  
(The speaker was in a farm)
- 55) *mon            mëi,            ëtī            pena            amat            etato po.*  
**mono            mëje            ëtī            pena            amatī            etato-Ø po**  
SpcDistLoc NspcDistLoc what            Hesitative branch            side-Pss on  
‘There a little far (she is).. what... , at the side of the river branch’ (Tamopoale 073)
- 56) *mon            mëje            psik.*  
**mono            mëje            phikī**  
SpcDistLoc NspcDistLoc little  
‘‘There a little far (she is)’’ (Tamopoale 083)
- 57) *emna            kunëhepolëmë            mon            mëje            psik*  
emna            kun-ëh-epolī-ëmë            **mono            mëje            phikī**  
1+3ExclPro 1+3SA DistPst-Det-find.O-Resumpt SpcDistLoc NspcDistLoc little  
‘We found ourselves somewhere very far away’ (Pëne 012)

In conclusion, it is clear that the three degrees of deixis contrast with one another.

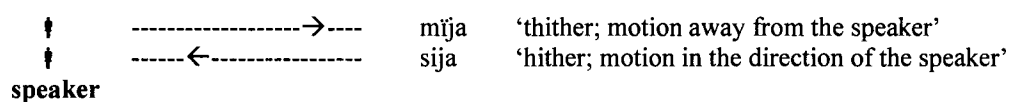
They, obviously, do not refer to a precise distance (except for *tan(ë)* which must be a location within the speaker’s reach), but rather to how the speaker conceptualizes a location. The medial *molo*, for instance, may refer to the location of a referent a few meters away from the speaker or to some location that is away from the village where he is. It may contrast with the distal *mon(o)* in that the location it encodes is within walking distance, as opposed to something far away for which one needs to take a canoe, or where nobody has ever been.

The location of a village, however, can be encoded by *molo* but not by *heje* or *mėje* because it too stable and everyone knows where it is. However, it will be referred to with *talë*, because it is imprecise as a proximate location. In contrast, the loosely defined locative adverbs yield the sense of one *wandering around*, due to the fact that one's exact location is not known.

In the well-defined locative adverbs, there exists a sense of stability. Participants are put, or can move in and out of the location, but not *within* it. The exception is *tan(ë)*, which seems to refer to too restricted a location to allow for motion to and from. As a consequence, it does not occur with either-*na* 'Goal' or *inë* 'Source'. As for the other deictic adverbs, they all take *inë* (this needs to be confirmed for *mon(o)*), but they do not all take *-na*. This the case of adverbs *hej(e)* and *měj(e)*, which seem too vague to stand as a goal location.

Finally, the primary organizing deictic center is the speaker. This is unchangeable for the proximal adverbs *tan(ë)* and *talë*, which are always used with reference to the speaker's location. For the medial and distal, the deictic center will remain the speaker's location in the present time (and in reported speech). In past narratives, it will shift from the location of the speaker, and will depend on the narrator's construal: medial or distal locations may be construed in relationship to the location of one character relation *vis-à-vis* another.

**7.1.2.2. Motion and direction.** The two adverbs encoding motion and direction are *sija* and *mija*, as shown in the diagram below:



The examples below exemplify this:

- 58) pola sija alimak rubi                      59) pola mija alimak rubi  
 pola hija alima-kë rubi                      pola **mija** alima-kë rubi  
 ball **hither**throw-ProxImp                      Rubi ball thither throw-ProxImp                      Rubi  
 ‘Throw the ball **towards here**, Rupi’                      ‘Throw the ball **that way**, Rupi’
- 60) enepkë sija                                      61) mija alëk  
 Ø-enepi-kë **hija**                                      mija Ø-alë-kë  
 3-bring-ProxImp                                      hither 3-bring-ProxImp                                      thither 3-take-ProxImp  
 ‘Bring it **towards here**’                                      ‘Take it **that way**’
- 62) \* mija enepkë                                      63) \*alëk sija

In narratives, the deictic center for *mija* and *sija* is not necessarily the speaker, but the place where the referent was supposed to be (a path (64), a village (65-66), a canoe (67), *etc.*), or a place where the main events of that narrative take place. This last one is illustrated in examples (68), where two women flee away from a place where a monkey tried to attack them, and example (69) where a man leads a woman away from where she had been working.

- 64) *emna kunëtakupjaka hemele mija tiitëi.*  
 emna kun-ët-akupjaka hemele **mija** ti-w-îtë-he  
 1+3ExclPro 1+3S<sub>A</sub>DistPst-Det-split now thither T-SA-go-He  
 ‘We went away (from the path). We went **thither**.’ (Pëne 106)
- 65) *malonme, ëkëmnë tiitëi emna hemele mija*  
 malonme ëkëmnë ti-w-îtë-he emna hemele **mija**  
 then later T-S<sub>A</sub>-go-He 1+3ExclPro soon thither
- napi umkai;*  
 napi umi-ka-he  
 potato root-PrivVrblz-PurpMot  
 ‘Then, latter we went **thither** (from the village) in order to unroot potatoes’ (Ïmë 018)
- 66) *moloinë, emna kunmëkëmë sija,*  
 molojinë emna kun -umëki-ëmë **hija**  
 Then 1+3ExclPro 3DistPst-come-Resumpt hither  
 ‘Then, we came this way’ (Alawaka 013)  
 (The speaker is telling about one of his trip back to the village where he is now).



- 67) *molojinë emna kunelamaimë sija*  
 molojinë emna kun-e-lama-jmë **hija**  
 Then 1+3ExclPro 1+3S<sub>A</sub>DistPst-Det-turn.O-Resumpt hither
- lëlë le kanawa jak,*  
 lëlë le **kanawa** ja-kë  
 Emph Intens canoe container.like-into  
 ‘Then, we came back to the canoe.’ (Mopelu1 025)  
 (the canoe which they took in order to get to the jungle and look for their lost son)
- 68) *emna tēwepei mija imë pona*  
 emna tē-w-epe-he **mija** imë po-na  
 1+3ExclPro T-S<sub>A</sub>-flee-Hehither farm on-to
- ihjan pona*  
 ihjanu po-na  
 newInan on-to  
 ‘We fled **thither** to a plantation, to a new plantation.’ (Monkey 012)  
 (from where the monkey tried to attack us)
- 69) *mija etpilī stak tumosiptēi inëlë,*  
**mija** Ø-etpilī-Ø tta-kë t-umohiptē-he inëlëlë  
 thither 3-edge-Pss among-into T-leave.O-He 3Pro.Anph  
 ‘**Thither**, to the edge (of the village), (he) left her’ (Jolokoa 201)  
 (from the middle of the village where she was working)
- 70) *malonme, sija tumëkhe inëlë kaikui enei*  
 malonme **hija** t-umëkī-he inëlëlë kajikui ene-he  
 then hither T-come-He 3Pro.Anph jaguar see.O-PurpMot  
 ‘Then, he came hither to see the jaguar’ (Kaikui2 094)

To a large extent, *mija* and *sija* are conditioned by verbs encoding ‘come’ or ‘go’.

In texts, *mija* occurs 100% with verbs of (or in contexts involving) motion, all indicating motion away from the deictic center. *sija*, however, presents a more complex distribution. Though it occurs in its great majority with *umëk(i)* ‘come’ and other similar verbs encoding motion towards the deictic center, it also occurs with copular verbs (but still with a sense of motion (72-73), and, unexpectedly, it occurs in two examples in the database, with *(i)të* ‘go’ (74-75).

- 71) *moloinë emna kunelamaimë sija*  
 molojinë emna kun-e-lama-jmë **hija**  
 Then 1+3ExclPro 1+3S<sub>A</sub>DistPst-Det.turn.O-Resumpt hither  
*lëlä le kanawa jak,*  
*lëlä le kanawa ja-kë*  
 Emph Intens canoe container.like-into  
 ‘Then, we came back hither to the canoe.’ (Mopelu1 025)
- 72) *uhpak huwaa tēētūhe emna*  
 upake-h huwalë tē -w-ētīī-he emna  
 long.ago-AvIntens as.such T-S<sub>A</sub>-become-He 1+3ExclPro  
*sija,*  
**hija**  
 hither  
 ‘(It has been a) long time we have been (moving) hither.’ (Pëne 045)
- 73) *tala aptau kalipono sija nike*  
 tala aptawë kalipono **hija** nī-ka-ja  
 how when non.Wayâna hither 3S<sub>A</sub>-do-NPst  
 ‘When are the non-Wâyana people doing (business) hither?’  
 (i.e., approaching here) (Jolokob 299)
- 74) *uwa, wītējai sija asiki kum*  
 uwa w-ītë-ja -he **hija** ahiki kumī  
 Neg 1S<sub>A</sub>-go-NPst-SapAff hither Ahiki mouth.(of.river)  
*tak*  
*ta-kë*  
 in.permanent.loc-into  
 ‘No, I will go there to the Asiki mouth’ (Kaikui2 005)
- 75) *asimhak, sija tūtēi*  
 ahi-mhakë **hija** tī-w-ītë-he  
 fast-ModAdvlz hither T-S<sub>A</sub>-go-He  
 ‘It (the venom) went fast hither’ (Snake 057)

As for *mija*, the only peculiar usages are those of metaphorical extensions in which it refers to a great length in time. This is compatible with the semantics of *mija* since it encodes an open ended goal.

- 76) *ukukjahe hnë mija,*  
 w-ukuku-ja-he tnë mija  
 1A3O-try-NPst-SapAff still thither  
 ‘I will try **until the end**’ (Walema2 131)
- 77) *mihja wipohnëmne,*  
 mija-h w-i-potnëpi-ne  
 thither-AvIntens 1A3O-Them-think.O-DistPst  
 ‘**For a long time**, I thought about it.’ (Walema 143)

Although neither *mija* or *sija* encodes an end point for motion, they are compatible with the overt expression of a goal. By themselves, however, they cannot function as goals, and thus they do not take *-na* ‘Goal’.

78) *emna tēwepei mija imē pona*  
*emna tē-w-epe-he mija imē po-na*  
 1+3ExclPro T-SA-flee-He thither farm on-to

*ihjan pona,*  
*ihjanu po-na*  
 newInan on-to  
 ‘We fled **thither** to a **plantation**, to a new one.’ (Monkey 012)

79) *mija, etpili stak tumosiptēi inēlēē*  
*mija Ø-etpili-Ø tta-kē t-umohiptē-he inēlēē*  
 thither 3-edge-Pss among-into T-leave.O-He 3Pro.Anph  
 ‘**Thither**, to the **edge** (of the village), (he) left her’ (Jolokoa 201)

80) *kopē tamuū ailē emna*  
*kopē tamulu ajilē emna*  
 rain mighty right 1+3ExclPro

*tēwemekēmēi sija pakolo tak*  
*tē -w-emek-ēmē-he hija pakolo ta-kē*  
 T-SA-come.back-Resumpt-He hither house in.permanent.loc-into

*walunak*  
*walunakē*  
*evening*  
 ‘Then we came back through a heavy rain, **hither**, to our **home**, in the evening.’ (Fishing 010)

81) \**mijana*

82) \**sijana*

This section focused on non-derived adverbs. We turn now to the various processes by which new adverbs are derived and to various morphemes that adverbs take.

**7.2. Derivation.** This section discusses both adverbial meaning changing morphology and adverbializing morphology. With the exception of four morphemes, *-la* ‘Negative’, *-h-* ‘Adverb Intensifier’, *-na* ‘Goal’, and *-j(e)* ‘away’, all other morphemes are class changing morphology: five are de-nominal adverbializers (three suffixes and two

ambifixes (7.2.1.1)), and five are de-verbal adverbializers (two suffixes and three ambifixes (7.2.1.2)). No adverbializers are attested for form classes other than nouns and verbs.<sup>9</sup>

**7.2.1. Adverbializers.** Most adverbializers in Wayâna are discontinuous morphemes. These morphemes present a first part prefixed to the stem, and resembling some synchronic third person prefix allomorphy, and a second part of various shapes, but most frequently a syllable with a consonant plus /e/.<sup>10</sup> However, several adverbializing suffixes also exist.

#### **7.2.1.1. De-nominal adverbializers.**

**7.2.1.1.1 Suffixes.** The three adverbializing suffixes are *-me* ‘Attributive’ and *-mna* ‘without’, and *-hpe* ‘Existential adverbializer’. All go on nominal stems independently of the degree of possessibility of the noun (i.e., they occur on both possessed and non-possessed stems) and on both derived and non-derived forms.

**7.2.1.1.1.1. *-me/-pe* ‘Attributive’.** All nouns attested in the data take this suffix. Its two allomorphs are lexically determined, with *-me* being by far the most frequent one. Of all the adverbializing morphemes, this is the one that presents the most generic meaning. In some cases, it is possible to detect a sense of ‘like’ or ‘as’, as in examples in (83 a-b), which could be said about any object shaped like a hammock, but in many cases, especially those of descriptive nouns (as *pepta* ‘big’), the adding of the attributive does

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<sup>9</sup> Adverbial nominalization is discussed in section 4.2.2.2.2.

<sup>10</sup> Discontinuous adverbializers are common in the languages of the Cariban family. For a discussion see Gildea 1998:140.

not seem to add any meaning (84-88), and it seems to function solely to put an item into the periphery, as an adverb.<sup>11</sup>

- 83) a. *ëtanme neha*  
*ëtafi-me n-eha-Ø*  
 hammock-Attrb 3S<sub>A</sub>-be-RecPst  
 ‘It was hammock-like; as a hammock’
- b. *jetanme neha*  
*j-etafi-Ø-me n-eha-Ø*  
 1-hammock-Pss-Attrb 3S<sub>A</sub>-be-RecPst  
 ‘I was my hammock-like; as my hammock’
- c. *kapaume*  
*kapaw-me*  
 deer(sp.)-Attrb  
 ‘brownish’ (i.e., deer-like, as a deer)’
- 84) *peptame tuna tëëtiïhe hemele ikutpë katip,*  
*pepta-me tuna të-w-ëtiï-he hemele ikutpë katipï*  
 big-Attrb water T-S<sub>A</sub>-become-He already lake alike  
 ‘(The) water was huge already, like a lake.’ (Pëne 102)
- 85) *paluu peptame neha*  
*palulu pepta-me n-eha-Ø*  
 banana big-Attrb 3S<sub>A</sub>-be-RecPst  
 ‘(The) bananas were big’
- 86) *paluu pepta ñalëë;*  
*palulu pepta ñ-n-alë-ï*  
 banana big 1-ObjNmlz-take-Pss  
 ‘The one I brought (were) big bananas’  
 (Kaikui 045)
- 87) *pïsi*  
*pïhi*  
 shame  
 ‘Shame’
- 88) *witëm pïipe*  
*w-ïtëmi-Ø pïhi-pe*  
 1S<sub>A</sub>-go-RecPst shame-Attrb  
 ‘I went (with) shame’

The attributive suffix inflects any noun stem, independently of its degree of possessibility, of whether it is inflected with SAP or third person participants (including the reflexive *t-*), or of whether it is derived or non-derived. Examples (83 a-c) above show *-me* occurring with both unpossessable and optionally possessed nouns, and example (89) below shows it with an inherently possessed noun. In examples (90 to 92), it occurs with nouns inflected with SAP prefixes, and in examples (93 to 95) with third person forms. In examples (96-97), it occurs with derived nouns:

- 89) *ipitme esiike*  
*i-pi-ti-me ehiike*  
 3-wife-Pss-Attrb because  
 ‘because she is his wife’

<sup>11</sup> Glossing this morpheme as ‘Attributive’ is now a tradition within the Cariban family (*cf.* Gildea

- 90) *wantëë ipakolonme*  
 wantëlä i-pakolo-nu-me  
 later/afterwards 1-house-Pss-Attrb  
 ‘Later (it will serve) as my house’
- 91) *Isela... Isela ka man ewekime?*  
 i-he-la i-he-la ka mane ew-ekĩ-Ø-me  
 3-Des-Neg 3-Des-Neg Quest 3be 2-pet-Pss-Attrb  
 ‘Don’t you want it... Don’t you want it for your pet’ (Tamopoale 042)
- 92) *Masike kékime hapëita*  
 mahike k-ëkĩ-Ø-me h-apëhi -ta  
 With.that 1+2-pet-Pss-Attrb 1+2A3O-get/grab-ImpAblat  
 ‘With that, let’s go get it as our pet’ (Eagle 015)
- 93) *Moloinë totime tiihe*  
 molojinët-otĩ-Ø-me t-ĩli-he  
 Then 3Refl-meat-Pss-Attrb T-make-He  
 ‘Then, (he) prepared (it) as his own meal’ (Tamopoale 066)
- 94) *ise neha tipatunme*  
 i-he n-eha-Ø tĩ-patu-nu-me  
 3-Des 3SA-be-RecPst 3Refl-pan-Pss-Attrb  
 ‘She wanted it as her pan’
- 95) *Pasi psik lëken ikaimome*  
 pahi phikĩ lëken i-kajimo-Ø-me  
 rodent(sp.) small only 3-game-Pss-Attrb  
 ‘Only (a) small agouti (was) his game’ (Tukusimule 012)
- 96) *masike helë katip wikei nila nipanakmaame*  
 mahike helë katipĩ wĩ-ka-ja-he nila n-i-panakma-lĩ-me  
 With.that PrsntvPro alike 1SA-say-NPst-SapAff Nila ObjNmlz-Them-listen.to.O-Pss-Attrb  
 ‘With that, like this I said (the story), as the thing that Nila listened to’  
 (With that, as such I said, as Nila’s listening (stuff)).’ (Alvina 064)
- 97) *poptë tēhemme*  
 poptë t-ë-he-mĩ-me  
 more.or.less Prtc-eat.meat-Prtc-PtNmlz-Attrb  
 ‘(It is) good to eat’

In combination with the circumstantial nominalizer *-top(o)*, the attributive has the meaning of ‘purpose’. This is not surprising, since purpose is already one of the semantic features of *-top(o)* (cf. 4.2.2.1.5). One interesting peculiarity of this sequence, is that, contrary to what is normally expected from grammaticalization principles, which state

that suffixes tend to become integrated into the stems, /-topo-me/ has been turned into a free form, an interrogative particle (99).

- 98) *sisi hnak*            *tiihe*            *ilasilamtohme*  
 hihi tna-kë            t-ili-he            i-lahilamī-**topo-Ø-me**  
 sun in.sun.-into T-make-He 3-dry-CircmstNmlz-Pss-Attrb  
 '(They) placed (it) into the sun **in order** for it to dry' (Malamala 009)
- 99) **tohme**    nītēm  
 topme    n-ītēmī-Ø  
 why    3S<sub>A</sub>-go-RecPst  
 'Why did he go?'

7.2.1.1.1.2. **-hpe/-hme** 'Existential adverbializer'. The existential adverbializer is very rare in texts, occurring in only two examples (100-101). Both allomorphs of this morpheme are frequent in elicited examples, with their distribution lexically conditioned. As already clear from its gloss, this suffix indicates that the referent encoded by the nominal stem exists. In some cases, it is translated with the sense of 'having' (102-105).<sup>12</sup>

- 100) *upak*            *kunehak*            *tamusihme*  
 upake    kun-eha-kë            tamuhi-**pme**  
 long.ago 3S<sub>A</sub>DistPst-be-DistPst old.man-ExistentAvlz  
 'A long time ago there were old men.' (Jolokod 728)
- 101) *mīuhpe*            *esiike,*  
 mīwu-**ppe**            ehiike  
 blood-ExistentAvlz because  
 'because there was blood (on it)' (Jolokoc 419)
- 102) *kumuhpe*            *manai*  
 kumu-**ppe**            mana-he  
 palm.tree(sp.)-ExistentAvlz 2be-SapAff  
 'You have *kumu* (fruit)' (Lit.: '*kumu*-existing you are')
- 103) *tēhemihpe*            *wai*  
 t-ē-he-mī-**ppe**            wahe  
 Prtc-eat.meat-Prtc-PtNmlz-ExistentAvlz 1be  
 'I have meat' (Lit.: 'meat-existing I am')

<sup>12</sup> This suffix has a corresponding free form, *ihpe/ihme* 'Existent; having'. It takes allomorph *-an(u)* of the 'Participant Nominalizer'.





- 111) *Ise neha tipatunme.*  
 i-he n-eha-Ø ti-patu-nu-me  
 3-Des 3SA-be-RecPst 3Refl-pan-Pss-Attrb  
 ‘She wanted it as her pan’

Although having the same form as a third person possessive prefix, the prefix *i-* does not code the third person possessor in these examples. The co-occurrence of a non-meaningful (?) *i-* with *-hpe/-hme* suggests that this combination may be on its way to becoming an adverbializing discontinuous morpheme, like many others in the language, with its prefixed part resembling a third person prefix. Unfortunately, this claim cannot be tested due to the limited data on forms other than unpossessed ones. There are, for instance, as yet no data with SAP prefixes or with third person reflexive prefix *t-* which may prove stems with *-hpe/-hme* to be truly possessed.

In addition, there are no examples in which a possessable noun takes an overt allomorph of the genitive suffix. Such examples are relevant for determining the status of third person-like prefixes in adverbialized noun stems. In all cases of discontinuous adverbializing morphemes, a third person-like prefix does not refer to a third person anymore, the nominal stem occurs in its possessed allomorph form, but no overt allomorphs of genitive suffixes occur (see section 7.2.1.1.2 on adverbializing ambifixes).

The fact that the great majority of examples in the database occur with unpossessed nominal stems represents a clear tendency for the existential suffix to occur with such forms. Because the examples such as the ones in above are not exhaustive, it is obvious that the occurrences of this suffix with possessed forms need to be further investigated.

Finally, this suffix co-occurs only with copular verbs. There are no attested co-occurrences of it with lexical verbs.

7.2.1.1.1.3. **-mna** ‘without’. Like the attributive *-me/-pe*, *-mna* can occur with all noun classes, including both possessed and unpossessed stems.<sup>13</sup> Examples below show that unpossessable nominal roots, *i.e.*, animal names, vocative terms, pronouns (112 a-d), as well as the unpossessed allomorph of optionally possessed nouns (112 e) occur with *-mna*. The meaning of *-mna* is apparently the same as that of the English *without*, and thus, depending on the context, it may indicate a non-existent entity (112 a, c, e), an absent one (112 d), or a no longer existing one (112 b).

- 112) a. *kaikusimna man*  
       *kajikuhi-mna mane*  
       jaguar-without 3be  
       ‘There is no jaguar’ (Kaikui 026)
- b. *mamakomna wai*  
       *mamako-mna wahe*  
       mother-without 1be  
       ‘I do not have a mom (i.e., she has died)’
- c. *iumna manu wai*  
       *iwu-mna manu wahe*  
       1Pro-without Irrealis 1be  
       ‘I wouldn’t be here (Snake 026)
- d. *kunimna*  
       *kuni-mna*  
       grandmother-without  
       ‘Grandma is not here’
- e. *Lome, imēmna*  
       *lome imē-mna*  
       but farm-without  
       ‘But (there was) no farm’ (Sulalapanā 025)

With possessable nouns *-mna* behaves similarly to *-hpe/-hme* in that it triggers idiosyncratic possessive morphology on nouns. Fortunately, abundant data are available for *-mna*, and one can have a clear picture of its complex distribution.

Nouns taking *-mna* may bear SAP prefixes (114 a-b), but in all such examples, the prefix is non-coreferential with the subject.<sup>14</sup> In co-referential contexts, such occurrences are dubious. Besides not being found at all in texts, such SAP inflected stems are

<sup>13</sup> A distinction between the attributive and *-mna* is that the attributive has a wider distribution in relation to different verb types. It co-occurs with both lexical and copular verbs while *-mna* is restricted to copular verbs.

<sup>14</sup> Again, as with stems with the existential *-hpe/-hme*, there is a great tendency of *-mna* to occur with copular verbs, but co-occurrences with lexical verbs are also attested. In any case, all examples of *-mna* inflected stems bearing SAP prefixes co-occur with copula verbs.

inconsistently accepted in elicitation, being more frequently rejected than not (114 c-d, 115 c-d). Similarly, examples with the third person reflexive *t(i)-*, a prefix that is obligatorily co-referential with the sentences subject, were not accepted (114 e, 115 e).<sup>15</sup> Instead, one finds that performing this semantic function are forms inflected with third person *i-* and its allomorphs (114 b) and (115 b). In other words, in cases where the nominal prefix would be co-referential with the subject of the sentence, stems take idiosyncratically the non-reflexive third person *i-*.

The *i-* inflected forms have also a non co-referential meaning, but that is not preferential (114 b, 115 b).<sup>16</sup> In sum, *i-* stems are the preferred ones in contexts where the nominal prefix would be coreferential with the subject of the sentence. This is the most frequent arrangement and almost always the first answer to elicitation prompts.

- 113) a. *ëpatunumna wai*  
           *ë-patu-nu-mna wahe*  
           2-pan-Pss-without 1be  
           ‘I do not have your pan’
- b. *ëkalakulinumna wai*  
           *ë-kalakuli-nu-mna wahe*  
           2-money-Pss-without 1be  
           ‘I do not have your money’
- 114) a. *patumna wai*  
           *patu-mna wahe*  
           pan-without 1be  
           ‘I do not have a pan’
- b. *ipatumumna wai*  
           *i-patu-nu-mna wahe*  
           3-pan-Pss-without 1be  
           ‘I do not have a pan/her pan’

<sup>15</sup> The third person reflexive prefix is obligatory when the possessed noun is co-referential with third person subject. In the cases of non-coreferentiality, *i-* occurs:

<i>nitëm</i>	<i>tïpakolon</i>	<i>tak</i>
n-ïtëmï-Ø	tï-pakolo-nu	ta-kë
3SA-go-RecPst	3Refl-house-Pss	Sp.c.loc-into
‘He <sub>i</sub> went to his <sub>i</sub> house’		
<i>nitëm</i>	<i>ipakolon</i>	<i>tak</i>
n-ïtëmï-Ø	i-pakolo-nu	ta-kë
3SA-go-RecPst	3-house-Pss	Sp.c.loc-into
‘He <sub>i</sub> went to his <sub>i</sub> house’ (*‘He <sub>i</sub> went to his <sub>i</sub> house’)		

<sup>16</sup> There are no examples of non-coreferential *i-* with third person subject (*?i-kalakuli-mna neha* ‘he<sub>i</sub> did not have his<sub>i</sub> money’), but based on the examples with SAP subjects, this is presumably also true.

- c. *?īpatunumna wai*  
(‘I do not have my pan’)
- d. *?ēpatunumna manai*  
(‘You do not have your pan’)
- e. *\*tīpatunumna man*
- 115) a. *kalakulimna weha*  
kalakuli-**mna** w-eha-Ø  
money-without 1SA-be-RecPst  
‘I did not have money’
- b. *ikalakulimumna weha*  
i-kalakuli-**nu-mna** w-eha-Ø  
3-money-Pss-without 1SA-be-RecPst  
‘I did not have money/his money’
- c. *?īkalakulimumna wai*  
(‘I do not have my money’)
- d. *?ēkalakulimumna manai*  
(‘You do not have your money’)
- e. *\*tīkalakulimumna man*
- 116) a. *ēumna kunehak*  
ēwu-**mna** kun-eha-kē  
eye-without 3S<sub>A</sub>DistPst-be-DistPst  
‘He/She/it did not have eyes’
- b. *eulumna man*  
Ø-ewu-**lī-mna** mane  
3-eye-Pss-without 3br  
‘He/She/it does not have eyes’
- 117) a. *ēpimna wai*  
ēpi-**mna** wahe  
medicine-without 1be  
‘I do not have medicine’
- b. *epitimumna wai*  
Ø-epi-**tī-mna** wahe  
3-medicine-Pss-without 1be  
‘I do not have medicine/his medicine’
- 118) a. *kahulumna wai*  
kahulu-**mna** wahe  
bead-without 1be  
‘I do not have beads’
- b. *awonomna wai*  
a-wono-Ø-**mna** wahe  
3-bead-Pss-without 1be  
‘I do not have beads/her beads’

It seems that for optionally possessed nouns, *i-* stems are in competition with unpossessed forms in co-referential contexts, with the former seeming more automatic. The choice of one over the other, however, apparently shows no distinction in meaning ((116-118) above). Obviously, such a competition does not exist for inherently possessed nouns, which only occur possessed:

- 119) *ijumimna wai*  
i-jumī-Ø-**mna** wahe  
3-father-Pss-without 1be  
‘I am without a father (i.e., he has died)’

Possessed de-verbal nominalizations occurring with *-mna* pattern similarly to noun roots. In all such cases, however, *-lī* is the only overt allomorph of the genitive



while the postposition takes a nominalizer and a collective suffix (*imnato* ‘one without it’, *imnahe* ‘without **them**’), the suffix does not. In addition, note that in example (112 c) *-mna* inflects a SAP pronoun, an ungrammatical pattern for postpositions. Finally, *-mna* looks like the semantic counterpart of *-hpe/-hme* which is a clear case adverbializer and one with similar morphosyntactic properties.

**7.2.1.1.2. Ambifixes.** The adverbializing ambifixes are characterized by having a first part prefixed to the nominal root, a third person like form (with the same allomorphy as the third person reflexive prefix or the non-reflexive third person prefix) and a second part of various phonological shape suffixed to the nominal root. These morphemes are *t-N-ke* ‘Having’ and *i-N-phak(ë)* ‘Modifier’ (with their respective allomorphs).

**7.2.1.1.2.1. *t-N-k(e)/t-N-le/t-N-je* ‘having’.** This ambifix occurs only with underived possessable nouns. No examples with a nominalization have yet been found. Where there is a distinction, as with optionally possessed nouns with suppletive allomorphs (125-127), it is clear that only possessed allomorphs occur with this ambifix. It is interesting, however, that there are no traces of the genitive suffixes in such examples (128-133).

125)	a. pīlēu	‘arrow’	b. iile	‘his arrow’	c. tīleke	‘having an arrow’
126)	a. ĩmĕ	‘farm’	b. itupi	‘his farm’	c. tītupike	‘having a farm’
127)	a. pitpĕ	‘scales’	b. ipitpī	‘its scale’	c. tīpitpīje	‘having scales’
128)	a. tumeli	‘clay bowl’	b. itumelin	‘his bowl’	c. tītumelik	‘having a bowl’
129)	a. hapatu	‘shoe’	b. ihapatun	‘his shoe’	c. tīhapatuk	‘having a shoe’
130)	a. pana	‘ear’	b. ipanaa	‘his ear’	c. tīpanake	‘having ear(s)’
131)	a. ĕpi	‘medicine’	b. tĕpit	‘his own medicine’	c. tĕpije	‘having medicine’
132)			a. tīpit	‘his own wife’	b. tīpīje	‘having a wife’
133)	a. ĕu	‘eye’	b. tĕuu	‘his own eye’	c. tĕule	‘having an eye’

Note that the first part of this suffix shows the same allomorphy as the third person reflexive prefix: (131 b-c), (132 a-b), (133 b-c) above and the examples below.

		skin disease	male's sister	lower leg
134)	1	a. <i>řwosii</i>	b. <i>řwēlisii</i>	c. <i>řwasii</i>
135)	3Refl	a. <b>towosii</b>	b. <b>tēwēlisii</b>	c. <b>tēwasii</b>
136)	t-ke	a. <b>towosike</b>	b. <b>tēwēlīike</b>	c. <b>tēwasike</b>

Thus, differently from the adverbializing suffixes *-me/-pe*, *-hpe/-hme*, and *-mna*, *t-N-k(e)* and its allomorphs show a true strict sequence in which the first part cannot ever be replaced by either SAP prefixes or non reflexive third person prefix *i-*.

As for the different allomorphs, they are all lexically conditioned, with *t-N-ke* being the most productive. It occurs in most examples and is the one extended to borrowings (137-139). Examples with the other two allomorphs, *t-N-le* and *t-N-je*, are few. All the attested ones (in the addition to the ones presented above) are listed below:

137)	a.	<i>pampila</i>	'paper; book'	b.	<b>třpampilak</b>	'having paper, book'
138)	a.	<i>hapatu</i>	'shoes'	b.	<b>třhapatuk</b>	'having shoes'
139)	a.	<i>kamisa</i>	'cloth'	b.	<b>třkamisak</b>	'having cloth'
140)	a.	<i>omo</i>	'hand'	b.	<b>tomole ~ tomooke</b>	'having a hand'
141)	a.	<i>ipupuu</i>	'one's foot'	b.	<b>třpuple</b>	'having foot'
142)	a.	<i>ewaa</i>	'one's rope'	b.	<b>tēwaale</b>	'having rope'
143)	a.	<i>ekřř</i>	'sting of an animal'	b.	<b>tēkřje</b>	'having a sting'
144)	a.	<i>jakřř</i>	'my farm animal/parasite'	b.	<b>takřje</b>	'having a farm animal/parasite'
145)	a.	<i>imumkuu</i>	'her son'	b.	<b>třimumkuje</b>	'having a (woman's) son'

**7.2.1.1.2.2. *i-N-phak(ě)/i-N-mhak(ě)* 'Modifier'.** The available data show only a few forms in which this morpheme is synchronically transparent. These forms show the same pattern as those with other ambifixes: a third person-like non co-referential first part, *i-*, and no genitive suffixes in the nominal stem. All examples occurring in the present database are shown below:

146)	a.	<i>ikat</i>		b.	<i>ikaphak</i>	<i>wai</i>
		<i>i-ka-tř</i>			<b>i-ka-phakě</b>	<i>wahe</i>
		3-fat-Pss			ModAvlz -fat-ModAvlz	1be
		'his/hers/its fat'			'I am fat'	

- 147) a. imun  
i-mu-**nu**  
3-edible.root-Pss  
'its (edible) root'
- b. imumhak  
i-mu-**mhakë**  
ModAvlz-edible.root-ModAvlz  
'like a (edible) root'
- 148) a. awomii  
a-womilī-Ø  
3-language-Pss  
'his/hers/its language'
- b. awomiphak  
**a-womi-phakë**  
ModAvlz-language-ModAvlz  
'in a talkative way'
- 149) a. jelemi  
j-emi-Ø  
1-song-Pss  
'my song'
- b. elemiphakan  
Ø-emi-**phakë**-anu  
ModAvlz-song-ModAvlz-PtNmlz  
'a singer'
- 150) a. iwenalu  
i-wenalū-Ø  
3-vomit-Pss  
'his vomit'
- b. iwenaluphakan  
i-wenalū-**phakë**-nu  
ModAvlz-vomit-ModAvlz-PtNmlz  
'one that vomits constantly  
(as he who keeps drinking and vomiting)'

The adverbializer is clearly parseable in the examples above because the roots it occurs with operate fully in the language (i.e., they occur with regular nominal morphology, as for instance, personal prefixes and adverbializers). In contrast, the forms presented in bold below occur only in the examples given with *-phak(ë)/-mhak(ë)* being substituted with the negative *-mna*, and in some cases with the negative *-la*. They do not take any other nominal morphology or occur as free forms. The best indication that these forms are nominal in nature is that they take *-phak(ë)/-mhak(ë)* and *-mna*, both nominal suffixes (151-154). However, in some cases, instead of *-mna*, it is *-la* that occurs (155-157).

- 151) a. **kawemhak** 'tall; high'  
b. wewe **kawemna** 'the tree is not tall'
- 152) a. **jetumhak** 'painful'  
b. **jetumna** 'not painful'
- 153) a. **anumhak** 'strong'  
b. **anumna** 'not strong'
- 154) a. **apëtumhak** 'mighty; strong'  
b. **apëtumna** 'weak'<sup>17</sup>
- 155) a. **umosiphak** 'jealous'  
b. **umosila** 'not jealous'
- 156) a. **akëlephak** 'far'  
b. **akëlela** 'not far'

<sup>17</sup> The form *apëtumna* 'weak' is not attested in the present database, but it is found in Camargo's *Lexico Wayâna-Português* (1997b:11)



- 157) a. **jamephak**            'happy; in a good mood'  
 b. **jamela**.                'not happy; not in a good mood'

For two pairs of homophonous stems, a difference in meaning is triggered by the occurrence of either of the two allomorphs of the adverbializer. In all four, either *-phak(ë)* or *-mhak(ë)* can be replaced by either *-la* or *-mna*, with the choice of the negative suffix also triggering a difference in meaning.

- |      |                   |               |      |                   |                               |
|------|-------------------|---------------|------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| 158) | a. <b>jumhak</b>  | 'peppery'     | 159) | a. <b>juphak</b>  | 'bright (light); lit'         |
|      | b. <b>jula</b>    | 'not peppery' |      | b. <b>jumna</b>   | 'not bright (light); not lit' |
| 160) | a. <b>asiphak</b> | 'hot'         | 161) | a. <b>asimhak</b> | 'fast'                        |
|      | b. <b>asila</b>   | 'not hot'     |      | b. <b>asimna</b>  | 'not fast'                    |

It is interesting that there are no signs of possessive morphology (no *i-* prefix) in any of the frozen-seeming stems shown above. This contrasts clearly with stems fully operating in the language which occur with *-phak(ë)/-mhak(ë)* only prefixed with *i-*. One must conclude that with the first group we have a suffix and with the second group we have an ambifix. However, though this analysis reflects the history of this morpheme, it is synchronically inadequate. While all stems with the suffix are non-transparent, those with the ambifix are very much alive in the language. Thus, it is best to describe *i-N-phak(ë)/i-N-mhak(ë)* as a synchronic morpheme.

This pattern suggests that, in a different stage of Wayâna history, *-phak(ë)/-mhak(ë)* was indeed a suffix, which later grammaticalized into an ambifix with *i-*. There exists, thus, a continuum of transparency with regard to *-phak(ë)/-mhak(ë)* that proceeds from cases where it is not parseable at all (monomorphemic adverbs in 7.1.1.2), to cases where it is semi-parseable (*kawem**hak**~kawem**na***, etc.), and ultimately to the clear cases of an ambifix.

Finally, the fact that some nominal roots survived in only a few contexts allows for the interpretation that *-phak(ë)/-mhak(ë)* is sometimes ‘negated’ with *-mna* (Jackson’s view point (1972:61-2)). This analysis is not adopted here because *-phak(ë)/-mhak(ë)* and *-mna* are both nominal suffixes, each occurring independently and with distinct properties. While the former seems better analyzed as a discontinuous morpheme, the latter occurs mainly as a suffix that in only one morphosyntactic context may be analyzable as an ambifix (7.2.1.1.1.3). Thus, it is not the case that *-phak(ë)/-mhak(ë)* is negated with *-mna*, but it is the case that both occur on nominal roots, and while *-mna* cannot be negated (it is already a negative form), *-phak(ë)/-mhak(ë)* occurs productively with negative suffix *-la* (*jumhakëla* ‘not peppery’).

**7.2.1.2. De-verbal adverbializers.** Adverbs are derived from verb stems by means of two suffixes, *-të* ‘Generic Modifier’ and *-tse* ‘Specific Modifier’, three ambifixes, *i-V-pophak* ‘Satisfactory’, *i-V-pola* ‘Defective’, and *t-V-he* ‘Participle’.

**7.2.1.2.1. *-të* ‘Generic Modifier’ and *-tse* ‘Specific Modifier’.** Jackson (1972:71) describes both *-të* and *-tse* as allomorphs of an ‘adjectivizing’ morpheme with distributional properties conditioned by verbal morphophonology. The data gathered for the present work, however, do not show such distributional constraints, and, though the two morphemes present semantic and morphologic similarities, they are clearly contrastive. The main similarity between the two is that both occur with prefixless back grade forms of verbal stems (see section 5.1.1). Also, in all attested examples both morphemes co-occur with copular verbs.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Jackson (1972:71) states that *-tse* and *-të* are ‘used frequently with *e-si* ‘be’’, a question that must be further investigated.

Both *-tse* and *-të* have attributive meanings, with the former referring to a ‘special skill in carrying out the action denoted by the verb’ and the latter simply to an ‘ability to carry out the action denoted by the verb’. Thus, the semantic difference between *-të* and *-tse* seems to be one of a special, particular attribute versus a usual one. Thus, in (165), *-të* indicates an ability to kill, but not necessarily a skilled one. In contrast, *-tse* in (167) means that the participant is a specialist, always successful in killing. This sometimes allows for the reading of an enduring situation, as in (170).<sup>19</sup>

‘‘Can’t you really see?’’ (Kaikui2 072)

163) *panakmatë*  
panakma-**të**  
listen-GenModAvlz  
‘able to listen’

164) *itëtëla*  
itë-**të**-la  
go-GenModAvlz-Neg  
‘not able to go’

165) *uwëtë*            *manai*  
uwë-**të**            mana-he  
kill-SpcModAvlz 2be-SapAff  
‘You are able to kill.’

‘(The) forest (is) good at making unhappy.’ (Pëne 133)

167) *moloinë* *ëkëmnë* *psik* *uwëtse*            *tëëtthe*            *inëlëë.*  
molojinë ëkëmnë phikī uwë-**the**            të-w-ëtīlī-he            inëlëlë  
Then later little kill- SpcModAvlz T-SA-become-He 3Pro.Anph  
‘Then later he turned into being good at killing (i.e., at hunting)’ (Tukusimule 044)

168) *ëkalëtse*            *eitoh*            *pëk* *wëtīlëmëne.*  
ëkalë-**the**            ehi-topo            pëkë w-ëtīlī-ëmë-ne  
tell-SpcModAvlz be-CircnstNmlz about 1SA-become-Resumpt-DistPst  
‘I start bad mouthing people again’ (Walema2-038)  
(Lit.: ‘I became about being good at telling again’).

169) *anuktatse*  
anukta-**the**  
transform.into.animal-SpcModAvlz  
‘good at transforming (oneself) into an animal’

170) *akintatse*  
akinta-**the**  
work.hard-SpcModAvlz

<sup>19</sup> In fact the gloss Jackson has given to both *-të* and *-tse* is ‘by continually doing it.’

‘constantly working hard’

Despite the similarities, the two morphemes present distinct morphological properties: *-të* takes the negative suffix *-la* and can be nominalized with *-n(u)* ‘participant nominalizer’, but *-tse* cannot take either morphemes. This is to say that *-të* is a prototypical member of the class of adverbializers, but *-tse* is not. It must, nevertheless, be considered as an adverbializer because it marks stems that may only occur in the periphery of the sentence and modifying a predicate.

Future research may find that these affixes occur only with transitive verbs, since the only attested cases in texts (ten occurrences of *-tse* and eight of *-të*) and in the great majority of cases in the database are with transitive verbs. In elicitation, however, a few intransitive verbs were accepted taking *-tse*: *uwa* ‘dance’, *elemi* sing; *akip(i)* ‘be hard; be stiff’; *amita* ‘germinate’, *umëk(i)* ‘come’, *etomam(i)* ‘wake up’, *etapam(i)* ‘animal sing’, etc. Examples of intransitive verbs with *-të* were usually not accepted with the exception of two SA verbs, *umëk(i)* ‘come’ and *(i)të(mi)* ‘go’.

**7.2.1.2.2. *i-V-pophak* ‘Effective’ versus *i-V-pola* ‘Defective’.** This is the only pair of adverbializing morphemes to show positive-negative corresponding forms. All other adverbializers take negative *-la* (cf. section 7.2.1.3 below). As indicated in the gloss, *i-V-phak(ë)*, means satisfactoriness in carrying out the action encoded by the verb, and *i-V-pola* indicates defectiveness. Like the other discontinuous morpheme (*t/he*), the resulting form is semantically related to the notional absolutive.

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| 171) | a. <i>imilikpophak</i><br><b>i-miliku-pophakë</b><br>Effective-write-Effective<br>‘good for writing (paper; book)’ | b. <i>imilikpola</i><br><b>i-miliku-pola</b><br>Defect-write-Defect<br>‘not good for writing’ |
| 172) | a. <i>ipokpophak</i><br><b>i-pokĩ-pophakë</b>  | b. <i>ipokpola</i><br><b>i-pokĩ-pola</b>  |

- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
|      | Effective-smell-Effective<br>'good for smelling (something rotten)'  | Defect-smell-Defect<br>'not good for smelling'   |
| 173) | a. <i>ipanakmapophak</i><br><b>i-panakma-pophakë</b><br>Effective-listen-Effective<br>'good to listen' (music, etc.)   | b. <i>ipanakmapola</i><br><b>i-panakma-pola</b><br>Defect-listen-Defect<br>'not good for listening'. |
| 174) | a. <i>etunuptëpophak</i><br><b>Ø-e-tunuptë-pophakë</b><br>Effective-Det-bear-Effective<br>'good at bearing'<br>(as a strong liana that resists a heavy weight)   | b. <i>etunuptëpola</i><br><b>Ø-e-tunuptë-pola</b><br>Defect-Det-bear-Defect<br>'not good at bearing' |
| 175) | <i>awainapola</i><br><b>Ø-awajna-pola</b><br>Defect-go.from.night.to.day-Defect<br>'(It) wouldn't dawn' (Pëne 070)<br>(the speaker said about waiting for the morning when lost at night in the jungle). |  |

**7.2.1.2.3. *t-V-he* 'Participle'.** This morpheme occurs with all verb roots as a means for deriving adverbs that occur almost always as a complement of copula. Gildea (1998:142), writing on the historical development of this morpheme in the Cariban family, states that "in its most conservative function the [*t-V-he*] participle indicates a state that is attributed to the notional O of a transitive verb (i.e., a passive participle as in English 'broken'/'I saw a broken widow') or the notional S of an intransitive (i.e., a past/completive event)."<sup>20</sup> This conservative function is found for most cases in Wayana (176-178), but other functions are also attested : a change of state (with *ëtii* 'become') (179) and an event (when part of an adverbial clause) (180).<sup>21</sup> A few examples of cognate

<sup>20</sup> Though, for the sake of keeping with a tradition within the Cariban literature, I use the label 'participle' here, it is important to clarify that morphologically, *t-V-he* forms fall categorically under the speech class of adverbs (and like discontinuous de-nominal adverbializers *t-N-ke*, *t-N-le*, and *t-N-je*, take *-m(i)* 'Participant Nominalizer'). However, the same morphology has also grammaticalized into a verbal morphology in the language. This scenario allows for the analysis of historical \**t-V-he* as two synchronically distinct morphemes: an adverbializer and a verbal morpheme. In this case, calling the Wayâna *t-V-(h)e* a participle (a form with both nominal and verbal properties) is inappropriate.

<sup>21</sup> All subordinate clauses are marked morphologically as either nominalizations or adverbializations in Wayâna (see section 8.3.2). Thus, the eventive (? not sure of translation) occurrences of *t-V-he* in subordinate clauses (under the scope of *esiike* 'because' and *aptaw(ë)* 'when; if') are considered likewise as an adverbial.

forms of this morpheme that occur on main verbs, glossed as *T- -He*, are presented in

(180) and (181) (See section 5.3.4 for a discussion on the verbal occurrences of *t-V-he*).

- 176) *nila tonophe neha kokone*  
 nila t-onopī-**he** n-eha-Ø kokone  
 Nila Prtc-paint-Prtc 3S-be-RecPst yesterday  
 ‘Nila **was painted** yesterday’  
 (i.e. Nila’s body was painted with traditional Wayâna drawings).
- 177) *etatinpīikom kuptëë tot*  
 Ø-etati-npīli-Ø-komo kuptëlë toto  
 3-hammock-Dvl-Pss-Coll aligned 3Coll  
  
*tī-lomo-he ehiike*  
 Prtc-die-Prtc because  
 ‘They (had) their hammock aligned because they **were dead.**’ (Jolokob 360-361)
- 178) *nitëm tēwepihe*  
 n-ītēmī-Ø tē-w-e-pī-**he**  
 3SA-go-RecPst Prtc-SA-Det-bathe-Prtc  
 ‘He went **bathed.**’
- 179) *tēpējephe tēētīhe iu*  
 t-ēpējepī-**he** tē-w-ētīli-he iwu  
 Prtc-hungry-Prtc T-SA-become-He 1Pro  
 ‘I became hungry’ (Pëne 035)
- 180) *tukukhe ejahe,*  
 t-ukuku-he e-ja-he  
 T-try-He 3Post-Erg-PColl  
  
*sisi ja tahalapnaniphe aptau.*  
 hihi ja t-ahalap-nīpī-**he** aptawë  
 sun Erg Prtc-dry-Caus-Prtcwhen  
 ‘They tried (it) when the sun dried (it out).’ (Jolokoa 086-087)
- 181) *malonme koko tīkohmamhe aptau,*  
 malonme koko tī-kopmamī-**he** aptawë  
 then night Prtc-go.from.day.to.night-Prtcwhen  
*tēhalëi tot ewalunu htak elamna.*  
 t-ēh-alë-he toto ewalunu tta-kë ela-mna  
 T-Det-take-He 3Coll dark ttaLoc-into fear-without  
 ‘Then, when it was night, they went into the dark without fear.’ (Jolokoa 043, 046)  
 (Lit.: ‘Then, when night nightened’)

**7.2.1.3. The negative adverbializer -la.** This suffix occurs with all major speech classes performing the function of deriving adverbial forms. Different from all other adverbial forms, forms with *-la* cannot undergo any further derivational process such as

nominalization, for instance. Its occurrences in each particular class are discussed below.

This suffix occurs with almost all attested adverbs independently of whether they are derived or non-derived. Examples with non-derived adverbs are presented first:

- 182) a. *kolela* 'not many'  
 b. *ahpela* 'not untruthful'  
 c. *hekehela* 'not happy'  
 d. *ipokela* 'not good'  
 e. *talēla* 'not here'  
 f. *uwamela* 'not healthy'  
 g. *apsikīla* 'not little; not a few'  
 h. *ēmēmhakēla* 'not greedy'

Adverbs derived with *-me* 'Attributive', *t-N-ke* 'Having' (and its allomorphs),

*-mhak(ē)/-phak(ē)* 'Modifier', *-tē* 'Generic Modifier', and *t-V-he* 'Participle' all take *-la*:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>183) <i>jepemela</i><br/> <i>j-epe-Ø-me-la</i><br/>         1-friend-Pss-Attrb-Neg<br/>         'not my friend; not like my friend'</p>         | <p>184) <i>mulemela</i><br/> <i>mule-me-la</i><br/>         child-Attrb-Neg<br/>         'not a child; not like a child'</p> |
| <p>185) <i>tipalekela</i><br/> <i>tī-pale-ke-la</i><br/>         Having-daughter.in.law-Having-Neg<br/>         'not having a daughter-in-law'</p> | <p>186) <i>tipuplela</i><br/> <i>tī-pupu-le-la</i><br/>         Having-foot-Having-Neg<br/>         'not having foot'</p>    |
| <p>187) <i>timumkujela</i><br/> <i>tī-mumuku-je-la</i><br/>         Having-woman's.son-Having-Neg<br/>         'not having (a woman's) son'</p>    |  |
| <p>188) <i>asimhakēla</i><br/> <i>ahi-mhakē-la</i><br/>         fast-ModAdvlz-Neg<br/>         'not fast'</p>                                      | <p>189) <i>ikaphakēla</i><br/> <i>i-ka-phakē-la</i><br/>         ModAdvlz-fat-ModAdvlz-Neg<br/>         'not fat'</p>        |
| <p>190) <i>panakmatēla</i><br/> <i>panakma-tē-la</i><br/>         listen-GenModAdvlz-Neg<br/>         'not able to listen'</p>                     | <p>191) <i>umēktēla</i><br/> <i>umēkī-tē-la</i><br/>         come-GenModAdvlz-Neg<br/>         'not able to come'</p>        |
| <p>192) <i>tēpējephela</i><br/> <i>t-ēpējepī-he-la</i><br/>         Prtc-be.hungry-Prtc-Neg<br/>         'not hungry'</p>                          | <p>193) <i>tēpuihela</i><br/> <i>t-epuhi-he-la</i><br/>         Prtc-be.fat-Prtc-Neg<br/>         'not fat'</p>              |

A few adverbializing morphemes do not take *-la*. It is not clear why this is the case for *-mna* 'Without' and *-tse* 'Specific Modifier'. As for *i-V-pophak(ē)*

‘Satisfactory’, it has its own corresponding negative form, *i-V-pola* ‘Defective’ (each discussed respectively in sections 7.2.1.1.1.3, 7.2.1.2.1, and 7.2.1.2.2). Unfortunately, there are no examples in the corpus for *-hpe/-hme* ‘Existential’, but its equivalent free form, *ihmela* ‘not having’, suggests that it may take *-la*.

The negative suffix *-la* also negates postpositions, as seen in the following examples:

- 194) *Kahu ailëla*                      *witëjai*.  
       kahu a-jlë-la                      w-itë-ja-he  
       car inside.of-along-Neg 1SA-go-NPst-SapAff  
       ‘I won’t go by car.’
- 195) *kupëkëhela*  
       ku-pëkë-he-la  
       1+2-about-PColl-Neg  
       ‘Not about all of us’
- 196) *ëhekatipila*  
       ëhe-katipï-la  
       Recpr-like-Neg  
       ‘Not like each other’
- 197) *ipëkëla*  
       ï-pëkë-la  
       1-busy.with-Neg  
       ‘Not dealing with me’

Three postpositions do not take the negative suffix: *ke* ‘instrumental,’ *ja* ‘dative; ergative,’ and *(w)apta* ‘when; if,’ all belonging to the class of postpositions with a grammatical meaning. There are no attested examples of this morpheme occurring with *mna* ‘without,’ *walë* ‘Uncertainty,’ *m(i)ta* ‘in the mouth of,’ *pata* ‘in the place of,’ *pehna* ‘in the area of forehead of,’ and *opikai* ‘under’.

The negative suffix *-la* can also occur on noun stems, with the restriction that they belong to the class of underived possessible nouns. In these cases, the form of the noun stem must be that of a form inflected with a third person (non-reflexive) prefix. No forms bearing the third person reflexive suffix *t(i)-* or a SAP prefix may co-occur with



*-la*. These cases present a pattern analogous to the nominal ambifixes (cf. 7.2.1.1.2), where the prefixed part of the ambifix resembles a third person prefix and the nominal stem presents no traces of the genitive suffix, *-n(u)*, *-(li)* or *-t(i)*.

198)	a.	/i-pampila-nu/	→	ipampilan	'his/her book/paper'
	b.	/i-ka-ti/	→	ikat	'his/her/its fat'
	d.	/Ø-elinatu-li/	→	elinatuu	'his/her plate'
	e.	/a-womi-li/	→	awomii	'his/her language'
	f.	/e-wahi-li/	→	ewasii	'his/her/its lower leg'
199)	a.	i-pampila-la	'without paper'	b.	*ipampilan(u)la
	c.	i-ka-la	'without fat'	d.	*ikat(i)la
	e.	Ø-elinatu-la	'without a plate'		
	f.	a-womi-la	'without language'	g.	*awomiiila
	h.	e-wasi-la	'without a lower leg'		

Some noun stems were not accepted bearing the suffix *-la*. The same stems, however, were readily accepted with the negative suffix *-mna* 'without' (cf. section 7.2.1.1.1.3). It is possible, thus, that *-mna* and *-la* fulfill analogous functions with nominal stems, with the former, perhaps, being in the process of replacing that latter.

200)	a.	* <i>umi(t)la</i>	b.	<i>umimna</i>	'without root'
	c.	* <i>isi(t)la</i>	d.	<i>isimna</i>	'without capillar vein'
	e.	* <i>imi(t)la</i>	f.	<i>imimna</i>	'without artery'
	g.	* <i>tamu(lu)la</i>	h.	<i>itamulumna</i>	'without a grandfather'
	i.	* <i>ekila</i>	j.	<i>ekimna</i>	'without a pet'
	k.	* <i>aki(t)la</i>	l.	<i>akimna</i>	'without a farm animal/parasite'
	m.	* <i>otila</i>	n.	<i>otimna</i>	'without meat'

The patterns of occurrence of the negative suffix with verbs are more complex. Intransitive verbs show a morphology to that almost exactly parallel of nouns. Stems starting with a consonant take *i-* (an exception to this is *ka* 'say; do,' which occurs prefixless in (207)) and stems starting with vowels take Ø.<sup>22</sup> Depending on the context, these forms may be interpreted as having either an eventive or an attributive meaning.

201) *itenkapamila*

202) *ilasilamila*

<sup>22</sup> Vowel initial stems that are subject to ablaut (cf. 4.1.1.1.2) occur in their front grade. This is an indication that they take Ø-. Prefixless forms, as those with adverbializers *-të* or *-tse* only occur in their back grade (*ëne-të-la* 'blindly', *ëne-tse* 'always looking/watching' see section 7.2.1.2.1).

- |      |  |      |   |
|------|--|------|---|
|      | i-tenkapamĩ-la<br>i?-forget-Neg<br>'not to forget; not forgotten'  |      | i-lahilamy-la<br>i?-dry-Neg<br>'not to dry; not dry'  |
| 203) | <i>ikoktimĩla</i><br>i-koktimĩ-la<br>i?-scream-Neg<br>'not to scream'  | 204) | <i>ilomola</i><br>i-lomo-la<br>i?-die-Neg<br>'not to die; not dead'                                     |
| 205) | <i>ihmomotĩla</i><br>i-pmomotĩ-la<br>i?-boil-Neg<br>'It is not boiling/boiled.'  | 206) | <i>ipələpĩla</i> <i>wai</i><br>i-pələpĩ-la <i>wahē</i><br>i?-be.tired-Neg      1be<br>'I am not tired.' |
| 207) | <i>kala</i> <i>inələē.</i><br>ka-la      inələlē<br>say-Neg      3Pro.Anph<br>'She did not speak.' (Woman 036)<br>(‘She was speechless’)   |      |   |
| 208) | <i>koko lome utatĩla</i> <i>kunehak</i><br>koko lome Ø-utatĩ-la      kun-eha-kē<br>night but Ø?-lost-Neg 3S <sub>A</sub> DistPst-be-DistPst<br>'It was night, but my son did not get/wasn't lost.' (Mopelu1 066) |      |   |

Transitive stems present a more complex pattern. There is a marked distinction between forms with an attributive meaning and those with an eventive meaning. The former are prefixed with *i-/Ø-* and the latter with both SAP prefixes and an idiosyncratic *ən-* for third person participants (also occurring with forms bearing *-pin(i)/min(i)* (cf. section 4.2.3). The prefixes in the eventive transitive forms all encode the notional object.

Examples (209) to (212) show forms with *-la* having attributive meaning.

Examples (213) to (216) have eventive meanings. The exclusive personal pronoun *emna* ‘1+3’ triggers third person *ən-* (217).

- 209) *Ulu*      *isanopĩla*  
ulu      i-he-ano-pĩ-la  
manioc.bread i?-Des-PtNmlz-PpNVrblz-la  
'unwanted manioc bread'

- 210) *Enela wai*  
 Ø-ene-la wahe  
 Ø?-see.O-Neg 1be  
 'I am not examined.'
- 211) *Ipanakmala man*  
 i-panakma-la mane  
 i?-hear.O-Neg 3be  
 'He/she/it cannot hear.'
- 212) *Ka ipkëlëla neha*  
 ka i-pikëlë-la n-eha-Ø  
 fish i?-cut.O-Neg 3S-be-RecPst  
 '(The) fish was uncut.'
- 213) *Ha, ihî, hapa, jakëtîla, nila, ispunaka.*  
 ha ihî hapa j-akëtî-la nila ipunaka-h  
 ha yes machete 1-cut.O-Neg Nila Advrs-AvIntens  
 'Ha! Yes, the machete did not cut me, Nila, contrary to the odds.' (Kaikui2 044)
- 214) *Jakëlehmalä meha.*  
 j-akëlepma-la m-eha-Ø  
 1-help.O-Neg 2SA-be-RecPst  
 'You did not help me.'
- 215) *ëwenela ka neha*  
 ëw-ene-la ka n-eha-Ø  
 2-see.O-Neg Quest 3SA-be-RecPst  
 'Did he see you?'
- 216) *ëmnelum ënekuptëla manai*  
 ë-mïnelumî-Ø ën-ekuptë-la mana-he  
 2-husband-Pss 3Neg-stop.O-Neg 2be-SapAff  
 'You do not hear your husband.' (Kaikui 007)
- 217) *uwanma emna ënapëmukula*  
 uwanma emna ën-apënuku-la  
 Neg Intens 1+3ExclPro 3Neg-answer.to.O-Neg  
 'No. Nobody answered us.' (Pëne 079)

Another interesting feature of of *-la* in transitive stems with eventive meaning is the fact that it takes the collective *-he* (collectivizing the notional object), a morpheme occurring elsewhere only with postpositions (*cf.* 6.1.2.2), and the gerundive 'purpose of motion' form of verbs (*cf.* section 5.3.5.2)):

- 218) *Ënenelahe wai*  
 ën-ene-la-he wahe  
 3Neg-see.O-Neg-PColl 1be  
 'I did not see **them**'

- 219) *Ĕnipanakmalahe*      *weha*  
 ěn-i-panakma.O-la-**he**      **wahe**  
 3Neg-see.O-Neg-PColl      1be  
 'I did not hear **them**'
- 220) *Kĕnelahe*      *inĕlĕĕ*  
 k-ĕne-la-**he**      inĕlĕlĕ  
 1+2-see.O-Neg-PColl      3AnphPro  
 'He did not see **us**'

It is clear that for intransitive verbs and for all cases with an attributive meaning (both with intransitive and transitive stems), *i-V-la* can be analyzed as discontinuous morpheme with very much the same properties as other clear case de-verbal adverbializers, as for instance *t-V-(h)e* (7.2.1.2.3).

For the eventive transitive stems, however, this analysis is clearly not satisfactory. Their occurrences in the data are restricted to co-occurrences with copula 'be' whose subjects are non-coreferential with the prefixes in the negated forms (as in example 222). This, together with the fact that prefixed forms can be collectivized with *-he* indicates that negative forms with eventive meaning are already a new verb construction together with the copula, though it is possible for the negative forms with a third person to occur with a lexical main verb (221) (*cf.* section 5.3.5.1 on negated verb forms).

- 221) *Lomeuwa nma mĭhen tot tumĕkĕmĕi*  
 lome uwa nma mĭhen toto t-umĕkĭ-ĕmĕ-he  
 but Neg Intens poor 3Coll T-come-Resumpt-He
- ĕnepolĭla.*  
 ĕn-epolĭ-la  
 3Neg-find.O-Neg  
 'However, no, they came back without finding (game)' (Alawaka 007)
- 222) *imelekala nma manai.*  
 ĭ-meleka-la nma mana-he  
 1-touch.O-Neg Intens **2be**-SapAff  
 'You did not touch me' (Jolokoa 171)

**7.2.2. -h- ‘Adverbial Intensifier’.** This morpheme intensifies the semantic attributes of the adverbs (as English ‘really’, ‘a lot’, ‘very’, *etc.*). It is an infix that occurs after the first open syllable of the adverbial root. There are no examples of it on derived adverbs.<sup>23</sup>

223)	a. upak	‘early; long ago’	b. uhpak	‘a long time ago’
	c. mija	‘thither’	d. mihja	‘really thither’
	e. tiwëë	‘different’	f. tihwëë	‘really different’
	g. kole	‘a lot, many’	h. kohle	‘a real lot; very many’
	i. molo	‘there (medial)’	j. mohlo	‘really there (medial)’
	k. ipok	‘good’	l. ihpok	‘really good’
	m. hemalë	‘now; today’	n. hehmalë	‘just today’

Some adverbs cannot take *-h-* for phonological reasons. The adverb *ëile* (/ëjle/) ‘fierce; angry’, for instance, presents a [VC.CV] which does not allow *-h-* to occur. First, only one consonant can occur as coda (thus, \**ëjh.le*), and second there is a constraint disallowing /h/ to occur in word final position (thus, \**ëjleh*).

**7.2.3. -j(e) ‘away’.** This suffix occurs with only one adverb in the data (225). It also occurs with postpositions that encode a relationship of non-physical contact with their objects (226) or, in the case of some postpositions, a non-precise location away from that of the speaker’s (227). The same meaning is found in the adverbial example:

224)	<i>të</i>	<i>man?</i>	225)	<i>tëi</i>	<i>meha?</i>
	të	mane		të-je	m-eha-Ø
	where?	2be		where?-away	2SA-be-RecPst
	‘Where are you?’			‘Where <b>away</b> were you to?’	

226)	<i>lampata</i>	<i>mesa</i>	<i>epoi</i>
	lampata	mesa	epo-je
	light.bulb	table	above-away
	‘The light bulb is (hanging) above the table’		

227)	<i>ametai</i>	<i>wehaken</i>
	Ø-ameta-je	w-eha-kene
	3-down.river-away	1SA-be-DistPst
	‘I was down river (somewhere in the south)’	

<sup>23</sup> There is at least one example of this morpheme with a postposition: /uwala+h/→*uhwala* ‘all around it’.

The adverbs *hej(e)* and *měj(e)* referring respectively to a non well-defined medial location and to a non well-defined distal location, also seem to have once been built with *-j(e)*. See section 7.1.2.1 for these adverbs.

**7.2.4. -na ‘to’.** Only locative adverbs denoting a well defined location (*talë*, *molo*, and *mon(o)*) and the adverb *të* ‘where’ take *-na*. It marks the endpoint of motion.

228) *tumëkëmëi*                      *emna*              *talëna*  
 t-umëkë-ëmë-he              emna              talë-**na**  
 Prtc-come-Resumpt-Prtc    1+3ExclPro    NspcProxLoc-to  
 ‘We came to here’ (Alawaka 059)

‘Yes, she went back there again’ (Jolokoa 211)

230) *malonme, emna*              *tumëkëmëi,*              *uu monna*  
 malonme emna              t-umëkë-ëmë-he              uu mono-**na**  
 then              1+3ExclPro T-come-Resumpt-He              oh! SpcDistLoc-to  
 ‘Then, we (started) coming back, oh, there far’ (Snake 089)

231) *tëna*              *mītēja*  
 të-**na**              m-ītë-ja  
 Where-to              2SA-go-NPst  
 ‘To where are you going?’

**7.2.5. Reduplication.** There exist only two examples of reduplicated adverbs in the present database. In both cases the reduplicant seems to convey intensity. More investigation is needed to determine if other adverbs may also be reduplicated.

232) *jelemijai*                      *mijamijalë*  
 j-elemi-ja-he                      **Red1**-mijalë  
 ISO-sing-NPst-SapAff    Red1-again  
 ‘I will sing **again and again**’

233) *iwëtutuoto*                      *psik apiapsik ihpe üu,*  
 ï-w-ëtulu-topo-Ø                      phikï **Red1**-aphikï ippe ïwu  
 1-SA-talk-CircmstNmlz-Pss    little    Red1-small    Exist    1Pro  
 ‘my little story, I have **just** a little bit’ (Mopelu2 044)

**7.3. Conclusion.** Perhaps the most striking characteristic of Wayâna adverbs is that, despite their existence as solid form class, they seem to be by and large derived from

other forms. This is the case even for the monomorphemic adverbs, which almost all show traces of some formative components.

There are several mechanisms for the creation of new adverbs. First, new adverbs may arise in the language by the disappearance of a certain root in all environments except when followed by an adverbializer. In the example below, /tapulun/ occurs in only two forms, followed by the adverbializer *-me* and by the postposition *-hta*. In the loss of this form with the postposition, a non-analyzable adverb would result (or vice-versa, with a new postpositional form).

- 234) a. *tapulunme*  
**tapulun**-me  
 darkness?-Attrb  
 ‘dark; cloudy’
- b. *tapulunu htau*  
**tapulunu** tta-wë  
 darkness among-in  
 ‘in the dark’
- c. \***tapulun(u)**

Second, besides the increasing of non-analyzable adverbs, there may also be an increase in the adverbializing morphology inventory. Combinations of a third person prefix-like morphology with some of the adverbializing suffixes are a means of creating new adverbializing morphemes. *-hpe/-hme* and *-mna*, for instance, are both independent suffixes that occur with nominal stems (discussed in sections 7.2.1.1.1.2 and 7.2.1.1.1.3, respectively). However, they may occur with nominal stems bearing a third person-like prefix that does not refer to any entity and, thus, no longer carries the function of the possessor. In these cases, the nominal stem still occurs marked with genitive suffixes. In contrast, other forms with the same non-referential prefix, such as *i-N-phak(ë)/-mhak(ë)*, do not show any occurrences of genitive suffixes at all. A consideration must be made for nominal stems bearing the negative suffix *-la*, which also take a third person-like prefix, but show no traces of the genitive suffixes (*i-pampila-la* ‘without paper’).

This scenario suggests a grammaticalization path for new ambifixes that starts with a third person-like prefix with a generic meaning, and ends with the loss of all allomorphs of the genitive suffixes on the nominal stem, as an indication that those forms are no longer ‘possessed’, and as the instantiation of reanalysis. The figure below is an attempt to show how far along the grammaticalization path some of the morphemes are:



Finally, figure 1 presents a tentative internal reconstruction of Wayâna’s adverbializing morphology. Based on recurrent formative elements of monomorphemic adverbs and on synchronic morphology, it is possible to hypothesize a process leading to the system as we see today.

Monomorphemic adverbs show recurrent sequences that seem to have been once adverbializing suffixes (see 7.1.1.3). These are either a *CV* syllable (as for instance, *\*-ne*, *\*-he*, *\*-ke*, *\*-le*, *\*-je*, *\*-me*, etc.), a *\*t-* prefix (*/t/\_* adverbs in Table 1 (7.1.1.1)), or a combination of the two (*\*t-?-ne*, *\*t-?-he*, *\*t-?-ke*, *\*t-?-me*, etc.). It is possible that the source for *\*t-* was the third person reflexive suffix. Evidence for this comes from the fact that *t-* in all adverbializing ambifixes shows exactly the same allomorphy as the third person reflexive morpheme (see section 7.2.1.1.2.1).



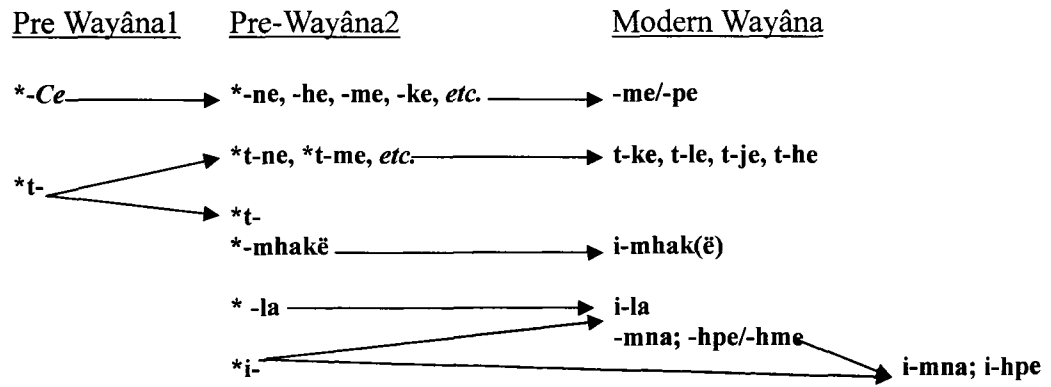


Figure 1  
A preliminary internal reconstruction of Wayâna adverbial morphology.

## 8. SYNTAX.

Wayâna presents some of the common characteristics of the syntax of a Cariban language, such the existence of three types of phrase types, a genitive phrase, a postpositional phrases and a verb phrase (Gildea 1998:16, 105). These are all characterized by a combination of person marking prefixes and, in the case of third persons, complementary distribution between the prefix and a preceding nominal (the possessor, the postpositional object and the verbal O).

One distinctive feature of Wayâna's syntax is the existence of two basic matrix verb types (Set I and *t-V-(h)e*), both with distinct morphosyntactic properties, the first bearing a complex set of person marking prefixes (which have been labelled *active-stative, inverse system, etc.*) (8.3.1.2) and the second bearing a discontinuous morpheme, *t- -he*, and ergative case (section 8.3.1.4), both of which which occur in discourse without any morphosyntactic conditioning (by contrast, in Tiriyó (Meira 1999:333), *t-V-(h)e* forms are restricted to the remote past tense). Instead, the choice of one over the other depends on discourse factors. Thus, Wayâna features an apparently unprecedented type of split ergative system.

The subordinate clauses are almost all based on nominalizations, but some adverbialized and postpositionalized clauses also occur (8.3.2).

### 8.1 Constituency.

**8.1.1 Two-word phrases.** There are three phrasal types in Wayâna: possessive phrases, postpositional phrases, and verb phrases, in which a dependent noun precedes the head of the phrase, which is, respectively, a possessed noun, a postposition, and a Set I or

nonfinite verb.<sup>1</sup> In each case, the dependent nominal element is in complementary distribution with a third person prefix. Any noun can occur as the dependent element in one of these phrases, but the same is not true for all pronouns: the pronouns that can occur in these positions are the demonstrative pronouns, the interrogative pronouns, and the first person exclusive *emna* ‘we (1+3)’; the pronouns that cannot are the speech act participant pronouns *iu* ‘I’, *kunmëlamkom(o)* ‘we all’, *ëmë* ‘you’ and *ëmëlamkom(o)* ‘you all’. As for the dual inclusive *kunmë* ‘we (1+2)’, elicited data shows that it can occur as a free-form possessor and postpositional object, but it is not clear whether or not it can occur as a free O.

No other words, except for a few scope particles (*Cf.* section 3.1), can intervene between the two elements of a phrase. In the examples below, for instance, an adverb cannot occur between the possessor and the possessed noun in a possessive phrase, unless in its nominalized form where it constitutes the possessive phrase:

- 1) *Sesu malijan.*  
*sesu malija-nu*  
 Sergio knife-Pss  
 ‘Sergio’s knife’
  
- 2) *Sesu ailën malijan.*  
*sesu ajilë-nu malija-nu*  
 Sergio truthful-PtNmz knife-Pss  
 ‘The knife of the truthful Sergio’
  
- 3) \**Sesu ailë malijan.*

Second position particles are a reliable test for phrasehood, as they have a fixed position within the clause, right after the first constituent. . The examples below show the

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<sup>1</sup> Phrases with scope particles are described for Carib of Surinam and for Tiriyó (Hoff (1990) and Meira (1999:539), respectively). The fact that some may occur between the O and the V in a phrase corroborates the idea that they are syntactically bound to the preceding noun. Unfortunately this possibility has not been systematically tested for Wayâna.

behavior of second position particle *ka* ‘question’ regarding a possessive phrase (4-5), a postpositional phrase (6a-b), and a verb phrase (7a-b):

- 4) [ GP ]  
 4) Malieta patun ka?  
 malijeta patu-nu ka  
 Malieta pan-Pss Quest  
 ‘(Is this) Malieta’s pan?’
- 5) \*Malieta ka patun.
- 6) a. [ PP ]  
 6) a. *Paluu he ka man.*  
 palulu he ka mane  
 banana Des Quest 2be  
 ‘Do you want banana?’
- b. \**palu ka he man.*
- 7) a. [ OV ]  
 7) a. *Asii anoma ka.*  
 asili anoma-Ø ka  
 pepper smoke.O-RecPst Quest  
 ‘Did (she) smoke fish?’
- b. \**asii ka anoma.*
- 8) a. imalijan ‘his knife’  
 b. **Sesu** malijan ‘Sergio’s knife’  
 c. \***Sesu** imalijan (Sergio’s knife)

Pronouns that can occur as the possessor are the demonstrative pronouns (10), the interrogative pronouns (11), *emna* ‘we (exclusive) (12), and *kunmä* ‘dual (inclusive)’ (13); all in alternation with the third person possessive prefix (57-58). The first person pronouns, second person pronouns, and the third person anaphoric pronouns cannot occur as the possessor (14, 16, 19)), though in elicited examples the first and second person pronouns can co-occur with first and second person prefixes for emphasis (15, 17):

- 9) *Ikaimo.*  
 i-kajimo-Ø  
 3-game-Pss  
 ‘his game’
- 10) Mëk kaimo  
 mëki kajimo-Ø  
 DemAnmDist game-Pss  
 ‘that distant one’s game’
- 11) Ĕnik kaimo?  
 Ĕnikī kajimo-Ø  
 who game-Pss

'whose game?'

- 12) *Emna kaimotaa.*  
**emna** kajimo-Ø  
1+3ExclPro game-Pss  
'our game'
- 13) *Kunmä akon.*  
kunmä akono-Ø  
1+2Pro sibling.of.same.sex-Pss  
'our sibling (of same sex)'
- 14) *\*Inälää kaimo.*
- 15) *Īu, jakon.*  
īwu j-akono-Ø  
1Pro 1-sibling.of.same.sex-Pss  
'my sibling (of same sex)'
- 16) *\*īu akon.*
- 17) *Ēmälä, ewakon.*  
ēmälä ew-akono-Ø  
2Pro 2-sibling.of.same.sex-Pss  
'your sibling (of same sex)'
- 18) *\*ēmä akon*

Postpositional phrases are characterized by a postposition taking prefixes for their objects or, a (pro)nominal object in alternation with third person prefixes. Again as with the possessive phrases, SAP pronouns cannot occur as the postpositional object, with the exception of *emna* 'we (exclusive)' and *kunmä* 'dual (inclusive)'. The third person anaphoric pronoun *inälä(lä)* 'third person anaphoric' also cannot occur as the postpositional object. The same pattern holds for forms with de-verbal postpositionalizer *-tīhwä* (6.3)

- 19) *Ipo.*  
i-po-Ø  
3-on.supported-on  
'on it'
- 20) *Ale po.*  
ale po-Ø  
leaf 3-on.supported-on  
'on a leaf'
- 21) *Īpo.*  
ī-po-Ø  
1-on.supported-on  
'on me'
- 22) \* *Īu po.*
- 23) *Ipanakmatihwë.*  
i-panakma-tihwë  
3-hear.O-Posteriority  
'after the hearing of him/her/it'
- 24) *Mëk panakmatihwë.*  
mëkī panakama-tihwë  
DemAnmDist hear.O-Posteriority  
'after the hearing of that distant one'

The notion of the verb phrase is more complicated than the preceding phrases because different inflections behave differently. A clear OV verb phrase has been identified with 3A3O verbs bearing Set I inflections (8.3.1.2), 3O verbs in complex predicates (8.3.1.5), and 3O verbs in the habitual past (8.3.1.6). The evidence for a VP in each clause type will be presented in the relevant section..

**8.1.2 Possible larger phrases?** As discussed above, only nouns can occur in the slot for the dependent element in the various phrases. Thus, in Wayâna, an expression equivalent to the English 'ugly dog', for instance, must be formed with the juxtaposition of two nouns, where the restricted noun is most frequently either a descriptive noun or a

nominalized adverbial form. In example (26), for instance, *sitpili* ‘ugly is a descriptive noun, and in example (27) *kupiman* ‘long one’ is a nominalized adverb.

- 25) *Alimime tanuktai wajana wēlii.*  
 alimi-me t-anukta-he wajana wēlihi  
 monkey.sp-Attrb T-transform.into.animal-He wajana woman  
 ‘A **wajana woman** transformed into a monkey.’ (Woman 001)  
 (Lit.: like a monkey (self)transformed a person a woman.)

- 26) *Kaikui sitpili tumēkhe.*  
 kaikuhi hitpili t-umēki-he  
 dog ugly T-come -He  
 ‘The **ugly dog** came.’  
 (Lit.: dog ugly-one came)

Such cases of noun-noun sequences may be considered as an unity, since, they all refer to the same constituent, the second noun in a sequence is normally the restrictive one, and since they are distinct from other cases of noun-noun sequences, as for instance a possessed noun plus a generic term (*jot, ka* ‘my meat, fish’) where a pause must occur between the two nouns. However, in nominal modification, the restrictive noun need not to come adjacent to the restricted noun. As is frequently the case, it occurs after the verb in afterthought-like fashion (28).

- 27) *Tuwahkomhe mīja lēē umhetpē kupimankom.*  
 t-uwakkom-he mīja lēlē umhe-tpē kupime-anu-komo  
 T-tie.together-He far.away Emph hair-Dvl long-anuPtNmlz-2Coll  
 ‘(They) tied all the way the **long hair**.’ (Jolokoc 424)  
 (Lit.: tied all the way hair long-one)

- 28) *Tīihe kawehmakanutpē kolanutpē,*  
 t-īli-he kawe-mhakē-anu-tpē kole-anu-tpē  
 T-make-He tall?-ModAdvlz-anuPtNmlz-Dvl many-anuPtNmlz-Dvl  
 ‘They arranged the **many tall ones**.’ (Jolokoc 500)

- 29) *Akulipotī tēnatkai kolankom,*  
 akulipotī t-ēnatu-ka-he kole-anu-komo  
 akulipoty T-finish-Transvzr-He many-anuPtNmlz-Coll  
 ‘(He) finished up the many Agouti people.’ (Jolokod 717)  
 (Lit.:Agouti (he) finished many ones.)

**8.2 Grammatical Relations.** Various typological traditions and theories of syntax divide nominal participants in two kinds of arguments, nuclear and peripheral. The nuclear arguments are generally understood to be the grammatical relations of Subject, Object and Indirect Object, whereas peripheral participants are considered obliques. Verbs come obligatorily accompanied by a certain number of nuclear participants, one in the case of intransitive stems, two in the case of transitive stems, and three in the case of ditransitive stems.

In Wayâna, the categories of intransitive and transitive verbs are readily identified, as are morphemes that change the number of participants from two to one (the detransitivizer, 5.4.2.1) or from one to two (the transitivizer, 5.4.2.2) However, it is not clear that the category of ditransitive verb is relevant for the grammar of Wayâna. This section first presents the characteristics that suggest A, S and O are nuclear arguments in various clause types, and it then reviews the lack of characteristics that might distinguish a recipient or a causee as Indirect Object, distinct from any oblique.

Patterns that identify A, S and O arguments as unique in the grammar are a mix of: nominal case-marking, verbal person-marking, inclusion in the verb phrase, and control of the third person reflexive prefix. Case-marking, verbal person-marking and inclusion in the VP vary from clause type to clause type, but control of coreference with the reflexive belongs to the A and S in all clause types. In the Set I clause type, the nuclear arguments have no case-marking, whereas all other participants must occur as the object of a postposition. Similarly, the nuclear arguments can all be marked on the verb, whereas peripheral participants cannot be.



In the *t-V-he* clause type, no arguments are marked on the verb; S and O are still distinguished as the only arguments that occur unmarked, so A and all other participants are objects of postpositions. However, A is still distinguished as a nuclear participant because, along with the unmarked S, it controls co-reference with the third person reflexive prefix

30) *Mule tupihe ija.*  
 mule t-upi-he i-ja  
 child T-find.O-He 1-Erg  
 'I found the child.'

31) *Oki melijai.*  
 oki m-elĭ-ja-he  
 beverage 2A3O-drink.O-Npst-SapAff  
 'You drink beverage.'

32) *Nene Alinawale.*  
 n-ene-Ø alinawale  
 3A3O-see.O-RecPst Alinawale  
 'Alinawale saw it'

[O V]  
 33) *Hapakala ene Alinawale.*  
 hapakala ene-Ø alinawale  
 lizard.sp 3A3O-see.O-RecPst Alinawale  
 'Alinawale saw the *hapakala* lizard'

[O V]  
 34) *Īmumkuu nalēla wai.*  
 ĩ-mumuku-lu ěn-alĕ-la w-a-he  
 1-woman's.son-Pss 3Neg-take.O-Neg 1SA-be-SapAff  
 'I did not take my son.'

35) *Īwakam.*  
 ĩ-wakamĭ-Ø  
 1SO-sit.down-RecPst  
 'I sat down'

36) *Wepei.*  
 w-epe-Ø  
 1SA-flee-RecPst  
 'I fled.'

37) *Nelemi tĭpakolon tau.*  
 n-elemi-Ø tĭ-pakolo-nu ta-wĕ  
 3SA-sing-RecPst 3Refl-house-Pss in.permanent.loc-into

‘He/she sang in his/her house.’  
 (\*He/she sang in someone’s else house)

- 38) *Aliko alë Anakali tipakolon tak.*  
 aliko alë-Ø anakali tɪ-pakolo-nu ta-kë  
 Aliko take.O-RecPst Anakali 3Refl-house-Pss in.permanent.loc-into  
 ‘Anakali<sub>i</sub> took Aliko<sub>j</sub> to his<sub>i</sub> house’  
 (\*Anakali<sub>i</sub> took Aliko<sub>j</sub> to his<sub>j</sub> house)

The participant in the A position can present different semantic roles such as an agent (*wakulika* ‘I broke O’), an experiencer (*wene* ‘I saw O’), an instrument (*malija noko* ‘A knife cut it’), and a source (*wewakma* ‘I attracted love from O’), etc. The participant in the S also can present different semantic roles such as more active ones, as in *nelemi* ‘He/she sang’ and *nuwa* ‘He/she danced’, or more inactive ones, such as *nilëmöp* ‘He/she/it died’, *nijep* ‘He/she has fever’. The different semantic roles do not correlate to different morphosyntactic properties within each class. The same is true for the participant in the O position, which can have semantic roles such as a patient, a stimulus, an experiencer, as seen in the transitive examples given above.

Other participants involved in the event are marked as peripheral by postpositions: e.g., *ke* ‘instrumental’, *ja* ‘dative, causee, *pëk(ë)* ‘about; busy with’, etc.:

- 39) *Ka wipkëlë malija ke.*  
 ka w-i-pkëlë-Ø malija ke  
 fish 1A3O-Them-cut.O-RecPst knife Instr  
 ‘I cut fish with a knife.’

- 40) *Wekalëjai wapu Tateu ja.*  
 w-ekalë-ja-he wapu tatew ja  
 1A3O-give.O-NPst-SapAff palm.tree.sp Tateu Dat  
 ‘I will give wapu fruit to Tateu.’

- 41) *Kan womii pëk tëpai ejahe.*  
 Kanu womilì-Ø pëkë tëpai e-ja-he  
 God word-Pss about T-learn.O-He 3-Erg-Coll  
 ‘They taught about the word of God.’

As in other Cariban languages, in Wayâna no feature has been found that distinguishes a third nuclear argument, such as an Indirect Object or a Secondary

Object, as distinct from any peripheral argument. The usual candidates for IO are the recipient of a ditransitive verb like ‘give’, the addressee of a speech verb like ‘tell’, or the causees of a transitive verb in a causative construction. These are all marked (with the postposition *ja*), none is ever cross-referenced on the verb, none forms a constituent with the verb (i.e., they are not contained inside the VP), and none controls any kind of coreference phenomena. There is no “dative shift” construction, no applicative, and none are grammatically obligatory. In conclusion, they do not appear to be in any way more privileged than the object of any other postposition, and as a result, there appears to be no reason to posit the existence of an IO-like nuclear argument.

**8.3 Clause types.** Main clauses stand alone and refer to a single state/event/action; subordinate clauses occur embedded inside main clauses.

**8.3.1 Main clauses.** Main clauses fall into four clear categories, each with somewhat different morphosyntactic devices for indicating core arguments, as well as different word order properties and different elements that can co-occur in the clause. These are the copular clause, which frequently does not even have a verb (8.3.1.1); the Set I clause, in which grammatical relations are indicated by means of verbal person-marking morphology and the OV verb phrase (8.3.1.2); the *t-V-he* clause, in which the A bears the ergative case and the S/O are unmarked (8.3.1.4); and the various kinds of complex predicates, in which the nominative S/A patterns in opposition to the accusative O (8.3.1.5).

**8.3.1.1 Copular clauses.** The copula can be conjugated for personal prefixes (resembling the SA prefixes on intransitive verbs) and tense. These prefixes are clear for the past tense forms, the recent and the distant past. In the non-past forms, however, no tense marker occurs and there are some suppletive forms (cf. section 5.3.7 for all the forms of the copula). The examples below show personal prefixes and tense markers; the starred examples show that the copula cannot occur in sentence initial position. The parentheses indicate that the occurrence of the copula is optional.

42) *Tan*                      (*wai*).  
       tanë                    w-a-he  
       SpCProxLoc 1SA-be-SapAff  
       ‘Here I am’

43) \* *Wai tan*.

44) *Ēhewake*            (*weha*).  
       ēhewake            w-eha-Ø  
       happy                1SA-be-RecPst  
       ‘I was happy’

45) \* *Weha ēhewake*.

46) *Apalai*                *po*    (*wehaken*).  
       mono                po- Ø    w-eha-kene  
       SpCDistLoc at-on 1SA-be-DistPst  
       ‘I was there far away, long ago.’

47) \* *Wehaken Apalai po*.

The examples 42, 44, and 46 above show respectively two adverbial predicates and a postpositional predicate. A third type of copular predicate is a nominal predicate. These are interesting because the copula can occur in a nominal predicates with all persons and tenses, except with third person non-past forms).

48) *İu wai Mopelu.*  
*İwu w-a-he mopelu*  
 1Pro 1SA-be-SapAff Mopelu  
 'I am Mopelu.' (Mopelu1 003)

49) *Nila neha ulumİN.*  
*nila n-eha-Ø Ø-ulu-Ø-mİNİ*  
 Nila 3SA-be-RecPst NegAvlz-manioc.bread-NegAvlz-Def-PrivNmlz  
 'Nila was the one without manic bread.'

50) *Malalē eluwa neha pētukulunu hnē.*  
*malalē eluwa n-eha-Ø pētukulu-nu tnē*  
 same man 3SA-be-RecPst beautiful-PtNmlz also  
 'The boy was also the handsome one.'

Given the rich semantic properties of adverbs, nouns and postpositions, copular clause can express a myriad of meanings such as existence (51), location (52-53), possession (54), identification (55), emotional state (56), likeness (57-58), desire (59), knowledge (60), occupation (61), etc.

51) *Kanawahpe man.*  
*kanawa-ppē manu*  
 canoe-ExistentAvlz 3be  
 'There is a canoe'

52) *Tuna sitpili molo man.*  
*tuna hitpili molo manu*  
 water bad SpcMedLoc 3be  
 'Bad water is there.'

53) *Kapu nau man Kan.*  
*kapu na-wē manu Kanu*  
 sky in.boundless.loc-in 3be God  
 'God is in the sky.'

54) *Tijumke man.*  
*tī-jumī-ke mane*  
 HavingAvlz-father-HavingAvlz 3be  
 'He/she has a father'

55) *Telesa neha onoptën.*  
 Telesa n-eha- onopĩ-të-nu  
 Thereza 3SA-be-RecPst paint.O-GeModAvlz-PtNmlz  
 ‘Thereza was the painter.’

56) *Ëile man mëklëë.*  
 ëjile mane mëklëlë  
 angry 3be DemAnmMed  
 ‘That one is angry’ (Walema 093)

57) *Imijatame kunehak inëlëë.*  
 imijata-me kun-eha-kë inëlëlë  
 boy-Attrb 3SADistPs-be-DistPst 3AnaphPro  
 ‘He was like a boy.’

58) *Mëlë katip man ëpeinom.*  
 mëlë katipĩ mane ë-pej-nomo  
 DemInanMed alike 3be 2-child-Coll  
 ‘Your children are like that.’ (Tukusimule 034)

59) *Ulu he man tot.*  
 ulu he mane toto  
 manioc.sp Des 3be 3Coll  
 ‘They want manioc.’  
 (Lit.: they are desirous of manioc.)

60) *Kumu uwalë wai.*  
 kumu uwalë w-a-he  
 palm.tree.sp knowing.of 1SA-be-SapAff  
 ‘I know the *kumu* tree.’

61) *Wewe pëk wai.*  
 wewe pëkë w-a-he  
 wood busy.with 1SA-be-SapAff  
 ‘I am busy with wood.’

As seen in the preceding section, nominal predication is possible with the copula ‘be’ for all persons and tenses, excepting the third person non-past forms. These are, thus, clauses without a verb, all of which have an equative meaning, but examples with pronouns can also function to point out an unexpected event:

62) *Ijoi mëkjaa.*  
 ijohi mëkjalë  
 lizard.sp DemAnmMedColl  
 ‘They are the lizards.’  
 ‘(Look) it’s the lizards!’

63) \* *Ijoi mēkja man.*

64) *Mēi papak.*  
mēhi papako  
DemAnmProx father  
'This one is my father.'  
'(Look) it's my father!'

65) \* *Mēi papak man.*

66) *Telesa onoptën.*  
teresa onoptë-nu  
Thereza paint.O-PtNmlz  
'Tereza is the Painter.'

\* *Teresa man onoptën*

The verb of a simple predicate is subject to elision, as is normally the case for the copula 'be' in copular predicates.

67) *Lome, watë katipila mëlë ulu.*  
lome watë katipī-la mëlë ulu  
but feces like-Neg DemInanMed manioc.bread  
'But that manioc bread (was) unlike feces.' (Sulalapana 065)

### 8.3.1.2 Set I clauses

Set I clauses display a verb conjugated by person prefixes and one or more TAM and Number suffixes (see section 5.3.1.2 for a morphological description of Set I verbs). Intransitive verbs mark their single participant via a personal prefix. The person of the A and of the O are marked by verbal prefixes or, optionally, by additional nominals referring to them. In *3A3O* arrangements, a pre-verbal O is in complementary distribution with the third person prefixes.

68) *Wewe wëkëtjai hapa ke.*  
wewe w-ëkëtī-ja-he hapa ke  
wood 1A3O-cut.O-NPst-SapAff machete Instr  
'I will cut the wood with a machete.'

69) *Lome ulu wikijai hemalëë.*  
lome ulu w-ikī-ja-he hemalëë  
but manioc 1A3O-grate.O-NPst-SapAff now  
'But, I will grate manioc now.'

70) *Mon kōhmē pēitopīt nekalē.*  
 mono kopmē pējitopīt n-ekalē-Ø  
 SpcDistLoc perhaps children 3A30-tell.O-RecPst  
 ‘Over there, perhaps!.’ The kids told it.’ (Woman 013)

71) *Kola ekalē epe ja.*  
 kola ekalē-Ø Ø-epe-Ø ja  
 necklace give-RecPst 3-friend-Pss Dat  
 ‘(She) gave necklace to her friend.’

In the Set I clause type, the third person prefixes *n-* ‘3A3O’, *mēn-* ‘3A3O certainty’, and *kun-* ‘3A3O distant past’ all disappear when the O noun is immediately preverbal (74). Forms in the distant past take *kun-* except when the O is immediately preverbal in which case *-ne* ‘Distant past’ occurs instead (76a-b). The order of the O and the Verb can alternate, but the prefix must occur when the O is post-verbal (76).

72) *Mēneneja.*  
 mēn-ene-ja  
 3A3OCertnty-see.O-NPst  
 ‘He/she/it will certainly see O’

73) *Neneja.*  
 n-ene-ja  
 3A3O-see.O-NPst  
 ‘He/she/it will see O’

74) *Nila eneja.*  
 nila ene-ja  
 Nila see.O-NPst  
 ‘He/she/it will see Nila’

75) *Nenep pīlasi.*  
 n-enepī-Ø pīlahi  
 3A3O-bring.O-RecPst basket.kd  
 ‘He/she brought a *pīlasi* basket.’

76) a. *Kunene.*  
 kun-ene  
 3A3ODistPst-see.O  
 ‘He/she/it saw O long ago’

b. *Jolok enene.*  
 joloko ene-ne  
 evil.spirit see.O-DistPst  
 ‘He/she/it saw the evil spirit long ago.’



While no cases of post-verbal O's form a constituent with the verb, the reverse is not true, and thus not all cases of immediately pre-verbal O's form a constituent with the verb. The (pro)nominal O's occurring with verbs with a SAP participant as the A do not form a constituent with the verb. The O and the verb in these cases can be separated by adverbs (77), second position particles (78a) and even by other phrases (78b), and there are no cases of complementary distribution between a noun and a prefix (cf. 5.1.3. for thematic elements occurring on imperative forms). The pronominal O's referring to a first and second person can co-occur with prefixes encoding first and second person O's at least on elicited data for emphatic purposes (79-80). The dissimilar behavior of *kunmë* 'we (dual) and *emna* 'we (exclusive)' is discussed above, at the beginning of this section.

77) *Sulalapana eitoponpë* *hemalëë* *wekalëjai*  
 sulalapana ehi-topo-npë-Ø hemalëë w-ekalë-ja-he  
 sulalapana be-CircmstNmlz-Dvl-Pss now 1A3O-tell.O-NPst-SapAff  
 'I am going to tell the story of Sulalapana.' (Sulalapana 005)

78) a. *Ēuu ka mumka hemele, kami?*  
 ěw-ulu-Ø ka m-umĩ-ka-Ø hemele kami  
 2-manioc-Pss Quest 2A30-root-PrivVrblz-RecPst already younger.relative  
 'Have you already unearthed your manioc, darling?' (Sulalapana 134)

b. *Upo sisi hnak wili.*  
 upo hihi tna-kë w-ĩli-Ø  
 clothing sun in.sun.into 1A3O-place.O-RecPst  
 'I place the clothing in the sun.'

79) *Īu, jene inëlëë.*  
 ĩwu j-ene-Ø inëlëë  
 1Pro 3A1O-see-RecPst 3AnaphPro  
 'Me, he/she/it saw me.'

80) *Ēmëë, ěwene.*  
 ĩwu ěw-ene-Ø  
 2Pro 3A2O-see-RecPst  
 'You, (he/she/it) saw you.'

In morphosyntactic terms, forms with the causative suffix *-po* are indistinguishable from other transitive stems (this suffix is described in section 5.4.3).

The causee, marked as a peripheral participant, is optionally expressed by a postpositional phrase. This is a pattern similar to non-causativized transitive verbs presenting peripheral participants (compare example 82 with 84).

81) *Talanme juhmojoja kapu ja.*  
 talanme j-upmo-po-ja kapu ja  
 maybe 3A1O-kill.O-Caus-NPst sky Causee  
 'Maybe he is going to make the sky kill me.' (Iguana 109)

82) *Ilimona ekēi uhmopo.*  
 ilimona ekēhi upmo-Ø  
 Ilimona snake kill.O-RecPst  
 'Ilimona had a snake killed.'

83) *Ētilē wekalēne hepī eja.*  
 ētilē w-ekalē-ne hepī e-ja  
 belongings 1A3O-give.O-Dpst habitual 3-Dat  
 'I always gave her/him things.'

84) *Ētilē wekalēne.*  
 ētilē w-ekalē-ne  
 belongings 1A3O-give.O-Dpst  
 'I always gave away things.'

In order to describe the word order patterns of this set, it is useful to separate the four different types of person marking configuration on the transitive verb (as proposed by Gildea (1998:57): a) *direct* (when SAP participant acts on third person), b) *inverse* (when a third person acts on a SAP participant), *local* (when SAP participants act on each other), and *3A3O* (when a third person acts on a third person). Intransitive verbs are discussed last in this section.

a) Word order in the *direct* configuration. In direct configurations, if any overt participants occur at all, the most common pattern is that of a verb bearing pronominal prefixes co-occurring with an overt O. Free personal pronouns encoding the A may occur pre-verbally for emphasis (and always with a pause separating them from other elements in the sentence). The diagram below summarizes the pattern for the direct cases: (the parentheses indicate that the O can occur in any of the two orders regarding the verb)

((Pro)NO) direct-V-TAM((Pro)NO)

This is to say that for the direct configuration VO and OV are the most common word order, and though it is possible to gather elicited examples with all six orders (i.e. with examples including SAP pronouns), speakers were reluctant to accept postverbal A SAP pronouns. Pre-verbal SAP pronouns were easily accepted, but always indicate emphasis (the translation given for example (86) corresponded to an English cleft). This indicates a specific function for the SAP pronouns in Set I verbs, that of emphasis, thus their occurrence sentence initially. The idea of such a restricted function is corroborated by the fact that in texts, almost no examples occur of SAP pronouns with Set I transitive verbs. The only text example is shown in example (85). Below we show examples of the most common orders, OV and VO :

[A?] [O] [V]  
 85) *Īu, jot welepjai.*  
*īwu j-otī-Ø w-elepī-ja-he*  
 1Pro 1-meat-Pss 1A3O-make.O.afraid-NPst-SapAff  
 'Me, I scare my meat.' (Iguana 037)

86) *Īu, wakpilē mēlē.*  
*īwu w-akpilē-Ø mēlē*  
 1Pro 1A3O-make.O.red-RecPst DemInanMed  
 'It was me who painted it red.'

[ O ] [V]  
 87) *Sinkom wewe mumomumopka.*  
*hini-komo wewe mumo-m-umopka-Ø*  
 DemInanProx-Coll wood Red2-2A30-make.O.fall-RecPst  
 'You made these (pieces of) wood fall again and again.' (iguana 116)

[V] [ O ]  
 88) *Jepe walē ka wēlii?*  
*j-epe-Ø w-alē-Ø ka wēlii*  
 1-friend-Pss 1A3O-take.O-RecPst Quest woman  
 'My friend, did I take the woman?' (jolokoa 219)

[V] [ O ]  
 89) *Hemele wenene kan womii*  
*hemele w-ene-ne kanu womilī-Ø*  
 then 1A3O-see.O-DistPst God word-Pss  
 'Then, I read God's word' (Walema 169)

The examples above show that in the direct situation the free nominals encoding nuclear participants do not disturb the personal prefixes in the verb.

b) Word order in the inverse configuration. In the inverse group we see word order patterns that represent an almost mirror-image of the direct configuration. The most common word order is AV and VA, with A being expressed either by a noun or a third person pronoun. This is represented in the diagram below, and examples with the common AV and VA orders are given right after:

((Pro)NA) inverse-V-TAM ((Pro)NA)

	[V]		[A]
90) <i>Molo</i>	<i>jepaimēne</i>	<i>mē</i>	<i>tot.</i>
	molo j-epa-jmē-ne		vmē toto
	SpcMedLoc 3A1O-teach.O-Resumpt-DistPst	Emph	3Coll
	'There, they taught me again' (walema 189)		

	[V]		[A]
91) <i>Mēlē</i>	<i>katip ewepiike</i>		<i>ēpawanaa.</i>
	mēlē katipī ēw-epīi-ka-ja		ē-pawana-li
	DemInanMed alike 3A2O-stair-PrivVerblz		2-partner-Pss
	'Like that your friend will deprive you of a stair.' (Eagle 034)		

	[A]		[V]
92) <i>Kaikui</i>	<i>nai</i>	<i>kēja.</i>	
	kajikuhi naj	k-ē-ja	
	jaguar Intens	3A1+2O-eat.meat-NPst	
	'The jaguar will eat us.' (kaikui2 026)		

	[A]		[V]
93) <i>Mēklēē</i>	<i>jalēne</i>	<i>mija</i>	<i>psik.</i>
	mēklēlē j-alē-ne	mija	phikī
	DemAnmMed 3A1O-take.O-DistPst	thither	little
	'He took me a bit thither.' (Pēne 006)		

Any occurrence of a SAP pronoun in any order is rejected in the inverse configuration. Below we see rejected examples with SAP pronouns in pre-verbal position:

94)	a.	* ĩu jenep	('Me, he/she/it saw me')
	b.	* ĩu enep	('Me, he/she/it saw me')

- 95) a. \* Ęmė ěwenep. ('You, he/she/it saw you')  
 b. \* Ęmė enep. ('You, he/she/it saw you')

The examples above also show that first and second person pronouns in the syntactic role of the O cannot co-occur with a prefixless verb form, as is normally the case for pre-verbal (pro)nominal O's (see below). One case of a personal pronoun, however, deserves an explanation, that of the dual inclusive *kunmė* '1+2<sup>nd</sup> pronoun'. There are a few examples in our database where this pronoun co-occurs with the prefix *k(u)-* '3A1+2O' (96-97), and one example in which it occur with a prefixless verb stem (310). Unfortunately, these data only serve to call for future research on the syntactic behavior of *kunmė*, as they do not inform, for instance, whether *kunmė* is in free variation or even in complementary distribution with the verbal prefix (like a pre-verbal noun in 3A3O situations. Given the fact that *kunmė* can occur in complementary distribution with the prefix *k(u)-* '1+2' in possessive constructions (*kunmė pakolo-n* 'our house-gen' vs. *ku-pakolo-n* 'our-house-gen'), a complementary distribution between a pre-verbal *kunmė* and *k(u)-* '3A1+2O' is plausible. On the other hand, given the fact that other *SAP* pronouns cannot co-occur in pre-verbal position in the inverse situation, the reliability of the data presented here is questionable.

- 96) *Kulas*            *kunmė kėne.*  
 kulahi    kunmė    k-ėne-Ø  
 rooster    1+2Pro    3A1+2O  
 'The rooster saw us'

- 97) *Kunmė*            *kumeleka.*  
 kunmė    ku-meleka-Ø  
 1+2Pro    3A1+2O-touch.O.-RecPst  
 '(He) touched us.'

- 98) *Mėk*                *kunmė wipka.*  
 mėkė                kunmė    wip-ka-Ø  
 DemAnmDist    1+2Pro    scratch.snd-SndVrblz-RecPst  
 'That one scratched us.'

For both direct and inverse situation the

c) Word order in local configuration. The local configuration only allows for first and second persons. Thus, the only possible overt free participants are the pronouns *ïu* ‘first person pronoun’ and *ëmë(lë)* second person pronouns (and their collective forms. We see an interesting asymmetry in the occurrences of the pronouns, while the second person pronouns can occur as both the O and the A, the first person pronouns can only occur as the A, but not as the O. Again as with the direct and inverse configurations, the personal pronouns do not occur post-verbally, and their occurrence in first position in the sentence has the function of emphasis.

99) *Ëmëë, kuwene.*  
ëmëlä kuw-ene-Ø  
2Pro 1A2O-see.O-RecPst  
‘You, I saw you’

100) *Ïu, kuwene.*  
ïwu kuw-ene-Ø  
1Pro 1A2O-see.O-RecPst  
‘Me, I saw you.’

101) *Ëmëë, këne.*  
ëmëlä k-ëne-Ø  
2Pro 2A1O-see.O-RecPst  
‘You, you saw me.’

102) *\*ïu këne.*

d) Word order in *3A3O* configuration. Of the six possible word orders in *3A3O* situation, four are equally felicitous, and in all these the order of participants does not affect their syntactic role (103). The only restriction holds for the cases where both the A and the O occur postverbally (104). The speakers’ intuition about these cases is that they are confusing, as one cannot understand who is doing what to whom. As described in section (8.1.1), when the O is immediately pre-verbal in *3A3O* instances the verb stem

occurs without its usual 3A3O prefix, and both O and V form a constituent. In all other arrangements, the prefix occurs (103a, c). In the examples below: *akuli* ‘agouti’, *kaikui* ‘jaguar’, *ë* ‘eat O’, and the prefix *n-* ‘3A3O’.

- 103) a. *kaikui n-ë-ja akuli.* (OAV)  
 b. *kaikui akuli ë-ja* (AOV)  
 c. *kaikui n-ë-ja akuli* (AVO)  
 d. *akuli ë-ja kaikui* (OVA)  
 ‘(The/a) jaguar will eat (a/the) agouti.’

- 104) a. *??n-ë-ja akuli kaikui* (VAO)  
 b. *??n-ë-ja kaikui akuli* (VOA)

It is interesting to say that both the O and the A can be encoded either by a pronoun or by a noun. Compare example (103) above with example (105) below. The only restriction to pronouns applies to *inëlë(lë)*, a pronoun marking a central character in discourse, which cannot occur in the OV order .

- 105) *Mëklë ëja inëlëë* (OV)  
*mëklëlë ë-ja inëlëlë*  
 DemAnmMed eat.O-Npst 3AnpPro  
 ‘He/she/it will eat that one.’

Finally, the first person exclusive *emna* ‘1+3<sup>rd</sup>’ pronoun, which is probably historically related to a noun, still retains most of the morphosyntactic properties of its historical source, and like nouns is in complementary distribution with 3A3O prefixes (106b). Whenever in the position of A, however, *emna* must occur immediately pre-verbally otherwise third person A is inferred.

- 106) a. *Emna kunupi.*  
*emna kun-upi*  
 1+3Pro 3A3ODistPst-find.O  
 ‘We found it’  
 b. *emna ene*  
*emna ene-Ø*  
 1+3ExclPro see.O-RecPst

- 107) *Kunupi emna.*  
*kun-upi emna*  
 3A3ODistPst-find.O 1+3Pro  
 ‘(he/she/it) found us’

Now, we turn our attention to the word order patterns for Set I intransitive stems. What we see here is a much simpler pattern. *SAP* pronouns, as with the transitive stems, can occur before the verb with an emphatic function, as well as after the verb in a less emphatic occurrence. Nouns and third person pronouns can occur either pre-verbally or postverbally. The order of free arguments does not alter the verbal prefixes:

- 108) *Īu, wikei.*  
 ĩu wĩ-ka-ja-he  
 ĩwu 1SA-say-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘Me, I spoke.’
- 109) *alonme, itėjai iu lėken.*  
 malonme w-ĩtė-ja-he ĩwu lėken  
 then 1SA-go-NPst-SapAff 1Pro only  
 ‘Then, I will go, only me’ (kaikui 025)
- 110) *Molo kunehak inėlėė.*  
 molo kun-eha-kė inėlėlė  
 SpcMedLoc 3SADistPst-be-DistPst 3AnpPro  
 ‘He was there.’
- 111) *Inėlėė kunehak molo.*  
 inėlėlė kun-eha-kė molo  
 3AnpPro 3SADistPst-be-DistPst SpcMedLoc  
 ‘He was there.’
- 112) *Nika mamak.*  
 nĩ-ka-Ø mamako  
 3SA-say-RecPst mother  
 ‘Mother said.’
- 113) *Mamak nika.*  
 mamako nĩ-ka-Ø  
 mother 3SA-say-RecPst  
 ‘Mother said.’

The pronoun *emna* must occur pre-verbally, or third person is assumed.

- 114) *Emna kunmėkėmė.*  
 emna kun-umėkĩ-ėmė  
 1+3ExclPro 3DistPst-come-Resumpt  
 ‘We came back.’

**8.3.1.3. Imperative/Hortative clauses.** These clauses are characterized by (a) lack of explicit index of S/A, (b) lack of OV verb phrase, (c) lack of control over 3<sup>rd</sup> person



reflexive prefix. The O or A are not marked morphologically on imperative forms, the only exception being the transitive verbs which take *k-* ‘2A1O’ and intransitive SO verbs which take a 2<sup>nd</sup> person prefix. SA intransitive forms take no prefixes (see section 5.3.2.1 for the morphological properties of imperative forms). Transitive stems starting with a consonant take the thematic prefix *i-* (5.1.3). Only the O can occur as an overt nominal, either pre-verbally or post-verbally; when pre-verbally, it does not create a formal constituent with the verb, (as seen in the preceding section, this is also true of Set I verbs with SAP A). Other material, as the postpositional phrase in example (119) and the second position particle *hek* in example (120), can occur between the two.

115) *Ĕwiniŋkta!*  
*ĕw-ĩnikĩ-ta*  
 ‘Go (there) to sleep.’

116) *Kaikĕ le!*  
*kaji-kĕ le*  
 do-Imp Intens  
 ‘Do (it) again.’

[O] [V]  
 117) *Elemiŋtop ipanakmak.*  
*elemi-top i-panakma-kĕ*  
 sing-CircmstNmlz Them-listen.to.O-ProxImp  
 ‘Listen to the singing.’

[V] [ O ]  
 118) *Enek mĕi mĩphak japĕtumuu po.*  
*ene-kĕ mĕhi mĩphakĕ j-apĕtumu-lĩ po-Ø*  
 see-ProxImp DemAnmProx ant.sp 1-upper.arm-Pss on.supported-on  
 ‘Look at this ant here on my shoulder.’

[O] [PP] [V]  
 119) *Upo, ewaa ke, ipimikĕ.*  
*upo Ø-ewa-lĩ ke i-pimĩ-kĕ*  
 clothing 3-rope-Pss Instr Them-tie.O-ProxImp  
 ‘Tie the clothing with rope.’

[O] 2ndPart [O]  
 120) *Ka hek ekalĕk, pilasisi.*  
*ka hek ekalĕ-kĕ pilahihi*  
 fish only give-Imp Pilasisi  
 ‘Only give fish, Pilasisi!’

- 121) *Kinikisi*                      *hkuu.*  
k-inĩkĩ-hi                      kkulu  
1+2SO-sleep-ProxHort Intens  
‘Let’s really sleep.’
- 122) *Kētukui.*  
k-ētuku-hi  
1+2SA-have.a.meal-ProxHort  
‘Let’s have a meal.’
- 123) *Ulu*    *hek*    *henepta,*                      *Jamai.*  
ulu    **hek**    h-enepĩ-ta                      jamai  
manioc only    1+2A3O-bring.O-HortAblat    Jamai  
‘Let’s go get manioc, Jamai.’ (kaikui2 003)
- 124) *Heneta*                      *mělë.*  
h-ene-ta                      mëlë  
1+2A3O-see.O-HortAblat DemInanMed  
‘Let’s go see that one.’

Another characteristic of this construction is the obligatory intensifying particle *nai*, which as second position particle, must occur after the first constituent, either the verb or the pre-verbal O:

- 125) *Kupanakma*                      *nai.*  
ku-panakma-Ø                      naj  
1+2A3O-listen.to.O Intens  
‘Do not listen to it.’
- 126) *Ĕwepe*                      *nai*    *kupanakma.*  
ëw-epe-Ø                      naj    ku-panakma  
2-friend-Pss Intens    1+2A3O-listen.to.O  
‘Do not listen to your friend.’

**8.3.1.4. *t-V-he* clauses.** These clauses are characterized by a verb bearing a discontinuous morpheme, *t- -he*, and by the ergative case marking of participants. The A is marked by *ja* ‘Ergative’ and the S and O occur unmarked. The third person reflexive prefix is controlled by the S and the A (129-130):

- 127)                      [O]                      [V]                      [A]  
*Jolok*                      *tëmëipai*                      *ejahe.*  
joloko                      t-ëmëjpa-he    e-ja-he

evil.spirit **T-call-He** 3-ErgPts-PColl  
 'They called the evil spirit.' (Jolokoa 042)

[V] [S]  
 128) *Malonme tewelamaimëi wëlii.*  
 malonme tē-w-e-lama-jmē-he wëlihi  
 then **T-SA-Det-turn.O-Resumpt-He** woman  
 'Then, the woman came back.' (Jolokoa 202)

129) *Tikai tēpe ja.*  
 tī-ka-he t-ēpe-Ø ja  
 T-say-He 3Refl-friend-Pss Dat  
 'He said to his friend.' (Jolokoa 003)

130) *Moloinë, tipit tipimihe eja.*  
 molojinë tī-pī-tī tī-pīmi-he e-ja  
 then 3Refl-wife-Pss T-tie-T 3-Erg  
 'Then, (he) tied his own wife up.' (Tamopoale 058)

Gildea (1998:218) proposes a historical development for *t-V-he* ergative clauses from a participial source for many languages of the Cariban family. In short, the participle plus a copula evolve into a main verb plus an auxiliary, as in the examples below for Tiriyó (from Meira 1995, presented in Gildea 1998:24), and in the latest stages of the development, the copula is optional and rare:

S (Aux) V  
 131) *Wëli nai t-tē-e*  
 woman 3:be Compl-go-Compl  
 'The woman went.'

O (Aux) V [ A ]  
 132) *Wëli nai t-eeke-e ekëi ya*  
 woman 3:be Compl-bite-Compl snake Erg  
 'The woman bit the snake.'

Given the translations, while an analysis involving a main verb plus an auxiliary can be argued for Tiriyó, the same does not clearly hold for Wayâna. First of all, the *t-V-he* forms are formally adverbs denoting a resulting state (these forms may co-occur with lexical verbs and undergo nominalization (cf. section 4.2.2.2.2)) as in the example below where it is glossed as a participle:

133) *Tokohe psik wai.*

t-oko-he          phikĩ w-a-he  
**Prtc-cut.O-Prtc** little 1SA-be-SapAff  
 ‘I am a little bit **cut**.’

In elicitation, *t-V-he* examples co-occurring with a copula had a participial translation, having either the semantics of a resulting state or of a present perfect even in the presence of an agent expressed in a oblique phrase. The examples show the translation as the speaker uttered it in Portuguese:

134) *Ulakanumhe          tĩitēi          kunehak.*  
 ulakanum-he          tĩ-w-ĩtē-he          kun-eha-kē  
 hunt/fish-MotPurp Prtc-SA-go-Prtc 3Dpst-be-Dpst  
 ‘He had **gone** hunting.’

135) *Inēlēē          tēkētse          neha          Anakali ja          malija          ke.*  
 inēlēlē          t-ēkētĩ-he          n-eha-Ø          anakali ja          malija          ke  
 3AnaphPro T-cut.O-He 3SA-be-RecPst Anakali OblAgt knife Instr  
 ‘It was **cut** with a knife, it was Anakali.’

136) *Ilimawa kunehak          tēlēi          Josineti ja.*  
 Ilimawa kun-eha-kē          t-ēlē-he          josineti ja  
 lime 3SADistPst-be-DistPst Prtc-take.O-Prtc Josinete ja  
 ‘Josinete had already **taken** the lime.’

On the other hand, examples without the copula were always translated as referring to an event rather than a state. The morphology in these examples is simply glossed as *T- -he*:

137) *Imumkulu          psik          tanĩmhe          ija.*  
 ĩ-mumuku-lĩ          phikĩ          t-anĩmĩ-he          ĩ-ja  
 1-woman’s.son-Pss little T-take.O-He 1-Erg  
 ‘I took my little son’ (kaikui 038)

138) *Tipĩt          tonomai          eja.*  
 tĩ-pĩ-tĩ          t-onoma-he          e-ja  
 3Refl-wife-Pss T-smoke-He 3-Erg  
 ‘He smoked his wife.’ (Tamopoale 036)

Our analysis is that the copula cannot occur in examples where the *t-V-he* form refers to an independent verb, but only with examples in which the morphology still resembles its historical source, those with the adverbial forms. This is corroborated by the

fact that *t-V-he* and the copula only co-occur in two examples, both from a personal narrative, and both with a participial interpretation, as reflected in their English translations:

- 139) *Uwa nma tēnephe psik kunehak tolopīi*  
*uwa nma t-ēnepī-he phikī kun-eha-kē tolopīī*  
 Neg Intens Prtc-bring-Prtc small 3DistPst-be-DistPst bird

*ptīle lēken.*

*ptīle lēken*

tiny only

‘Not really, only a little was **brought**, a tiny bird.’ (alawaka 009)

- 140) *īmumkuu tītēi pītēna kunehak.*  
*ī-mumuku-li tī-w-ītē-he pītēna kun-eha-kē*  
 1-womans.son-Pss Prtc-SA-go-Prtc hunt 3DistPst-be-DistPst  
 ‘Then, my son had **gone** hunting.’ (mopelu1 014)

All six word orders are attested for *t-V-he* verbs. And all are considered equally well formed by Wayāna speakers. In the examples below, *apukuita* ‘paddle’ and *apēi* ‘take O’:

- 141) a. Apukuita mujale ja t-ēpēi-he (OAV)  
 b. Mujale ja apukuita t-ēpēi-he (AOV)  
 c. T-ēpēi-he Mujale ja apukuita (VAO)  
 d. T-ēpēi-he apukuita Mujale ja (VOA)  
 e. Mujale ja t-ēpēi-he apukuita (AVO)  
 f. Apukuita t-ēpēi-he Mujale ja (OVA)  
 ‘Mujale took the paddle.’

Different from Set I verbs, pronouns referring to all persons can occur in all orders. In addition, the pronominal system occurring with *t-V-he* is much more elaborate and more numerous than that of Set I, since it includes the A marker *-ja* (*-ja-he* for the collective). With A having a specific pronominal form, all the other pronouns are relegated to encoding the absolutive role. It is interesting that though the third person pronoun *inēlē(lē)* may also refer to inanimate referents in elicited examples and in conversations, it does not do so in narratives. Inanimate referents are encoded in texts

only by the medial inanimate pronoun *mələ* Table 1 shows these pronouns, and examples are given after:

Table 1  
Set I pronominal forms

		Animate		Inanimate	
		singular	collective	singular	collective
<b>ABS</b>		inələə	inamolo/tot	mələə	mələkom
	<b>ERG</b>	eja	ejahe,		
		məkləə	məkja		

- [S]  
142) Tɪkai inələə,  
tɪ -ka-he inələlə  
T-say-He 3AnphPro  
'He said.' (Jolokoa 069)

- [O]  
143) Mija etpili stak tumosiptəi inələə,  
mija Ø-etpili-Ø tta-kə t-umohiptə-he inələlə  
thither 3-edge-Pss among-into T-leave.O-He 3AnphPro  
'Thither, to the edge (of the village), (he) left her.' (Jolokoa 201)

- [S]  
144) Təhaləi tot ewalunu htak  
t-əh-alə-he toto ewalunu tta-kə  
T-Det-take.O-He 3Coll dark amongPts-into  
  
elamna.  
ela-mna  
fear-without  
'They went into the dark without fear.' (Jolokoa 043)

- [O]  
145) Maa timomhe tot  
maa tɪ-momɪ-he toto  
So T-scoop.up.O-He 3Coll  
'Then, they scoop them up.' (Jolokob 348)

- [A]  
146) tɪpənak tɪpimɪhe eja jolok  
tɪ-petna-kə tɪ-pimɪ-he e-ja joloko  
3Refl- in.area.of.foreheadPts-into T-tie.O-He 3-Erg evil.spirit  
  
pitpə,  
pitpə-Ø  
skinPss  
'He tied the evil spirit's skin to the area of his forehead.' (Jolokoa 091)

[A]

147) *jolok pitpë tiküthe ejahe,*  
 joloko pitpë-Ø t-ikilī-he e-ja-he  
 evil.spirit skin-Pss T-take.O.from-He 3-Erg-PColl  
 'They took off the skin of the evil spirit,' (Jolokob 354)

[S]

148) *malonme mēklē tumēkēmēi*  
 malonme mēklē t-umēkī-ēmē-he  
 then DemAnmMed T-come-Resumpt-He  
 'Then, he went back' (jolokoa 214)

[ A ]

149) *tēmikai mēlē ja,*  
 t-ēmika-he mēlē ja  
 T-make.O.disappear-He DemInanMed Erg  
 'It (the skin) made him disappear' (jolokoa 099)

[ O ]

150) *malonme tīpokaimēi mēlē.*  
 malonme tī-poka-jmē-he mēlē  
 then T-untie.O-Resumpt-He DemInanMed  
 'Then (he) untied that off again.' (jolokoa 100)

Since the syntactic role of verbal arguments is so explicitly marked, word order is free. However, in the cases where there are oblique oblique participants such as the recipient or the causee, we see some interesting patterns. With verbal stems indicating the possibility of three semantic roles, as *ekalē* 'give O', the first *-ja* is understood as the A and the second *-ja* is understood as the recipient:

[Erg] [Rec]

151) *Kahulu tēkalēi Avina ja Pintutu ja.*  
 kahulu t-ēkalē-he avina ja pintutu ja  
 beads T-give.O-He Avina Erg Pintutu Dat  
 'Avina gave beads to Pintutu'

[Erg] [Rec]

152) *Pintutu ja kahulu tēkalēi Avina ja.*  
 pintutu ja kahulu t-ēkalē-he avina ja  
 Pintutu Dat beads T-give.O-He Avina Erg  
 'Pintutu gave beads to Avina'

An extra complexity exists in the case of causativized examples, since the causee is also marked by *-ja* in causative constructions. The preferred order in these cases is Erg-Causee-Dat:

- 153) *Alakapuha tēkalēpoi Tateu ja Polonildo ja.*  
alakapuha t-ēkalē-po-he tateu ja polonildo ja  
shot.gun T-give.O-Caus-He Tateu Erg Polonildo Causee  
‘Tateu had Polonildo give the shotgun (to someone else)’

- 154) *Patu tēkalēpoi Konsa ja Nila ja Avina ja.*  
patu t-ēkalē-po-he konsa ja nila ja avina ja  
pan T-give.O-Caus-He Konsa Erg Nila Causee Avina Dat  
‘Konsa had Nila give a pan to Avina’

Cases with both *ja* phrases pre-verbally were considered confusing:

- 155) ??Pintutu **ja** Avina **ja** patu tēkalēpoi.

It is important to say that such examples are not attested in texts, and thus could not be further confirmed.

**8.3.1.5. Complex Predicates.** The three complex predicates share a clear nominative-accusative pattern, with the A/S as subject of the auxiliary (when the auxiliary occurs), and the O as either a (pro)noun immediately preceding the verb, and forming a strong VP constituent, or as a personal prefix on the verb. There are three different subtypes of complex clause: the negative and progressive utilize a copular auxiliary, and the purpose of motion utilizes an intransitive movement verb as auxiliary.

The progressive clause takes nominalized verb forms, with either of the two event nominalizers *-nē* ‘generic event nominalizer’ or *-Ø* specific event nominalizer (as described in 4.2.2.1.2.). It describes an ongoing situation for the non-past tense (156), for the recent past (157) and the for the distant past (158):

- 156) *Apēsii pēk wai.*  
Ø-apēhi-Ø-lī **pēkē** w-a-he  
3-hold.O-SpcEvntNmlz busy.with 1SA-be-SapAff  
‘I am holding it.’

- 157) *Kokone upo akuwaa pēk weha*  
kokone upo akuwa-Ø-lī **pēkē** w-eha-Ø



yesterday clothing wash.O- SpcEvtNmlz-Pss busy.with 1SA-be-RecPst

*josineti mēkili htau.*  
 Josineti mēkī-Ø-lī tta-wē  
 Josinete come-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss among-in  
 ‘Yesterday I was washing clothing when Josinete came.’

158) *Molo wehaken opalan elaimaa pēk.*  
 molo w-eha-kene opalanu elajma-Ø-lī pēkē  
 SpcMedLoc 1SA-be-DistPst airplane wait.for.O -SpcEvtNmlz-Pss busy.with  
 ‘There I was waiting for the airplane.’

159) *Ētuunē pēk wai.*  
 ēt-ulu-nē pēkē w-a-he  
 Det-talk.to.O-GenEvtNmlz busy.with 1SA-be-SapAff  
 ‘I am talking.’

160) *Jelemii pēk weha.*  
 j-emi-Ø-lī pēkē w-eha-Ø  
 1-sing-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss busy.with 1SA-be-RecPst  
 ‘I was singing.’

As far as we are aware, this construction is the only way to express progression in the past tenses. As for the non-past tense, apparently there are no semantic distinctions between the progressive construction and the progressive occurrences of forms with the non-past suffix *-ja* (5.3.1.2.1).

The negated form of verbs results from the process of adverbialization plus the suffix *-la* ‘Negative’, a suffix that occurs with both adverbs and postpositions (cf. section 7.2.1.3). The most common occurrences of negated verb forms are with an optional copula ‘be’, but examples where the negated verbs occur as an adverb of lexical verbs are also attested (163). Negated intransitive stems take no person marking, but SO stems starting with consonants which take *i-* (161). Transitive stems take O prefixes encoding the underlying O (206). The S of the copula corresponds, thus, to the underlying A or S of the negated verb:

161) *Imnelumtala kunehak.*  
 i-mīnelumī-ta-Ø-la kun-eha-kē

NegAvlz-husband-PssNIncoVrblz-NegAvlz-Neg 3SADistPst-be-DistPst  
 'She did not get married.'

162) *Īmelekala nma manai.*  
 ĩ-meleka-la nma mana-he  
 1-touch.O-Neg Intens 2be-SapAff  
 'You are not touching me.' (Jolokoa 171)

163) *Kanija kala tēkulephe, kaikui.*  
 kanija ka-la t-ēkulepī-he kajikuhi  
 win.snd NegAvlz-do-NegAvlz-Neg T-be.left.without-He jaguar  
 'Jaguar was left with not winning.' (iguana 002)

Contrary to what we see with all other phrases in the language, the third person prefix *ēn-* is not in complementary distribution with a nominal immediately preceding the negated verb, though they form a syntactic constituent (see discussion in section 8.1):

164) *Wajana ēnēla wai.*  
 wajana ēn-ē-la w-a-he  
 people 3Neg-eat.meat-Neg 1SA-be-SapAff  
 'I do not eat people.' (walema 053)

The postposition *pēkē* has both a spatial 'on unsupported' and non-spatial meaning 'about; busy with; occupied with' (6.2.1.2). As far as we can tell *pēk(ē)* clauses never show a clausal spatial meaning. But clauses with the two other meanings are very frequent. Below, we show examples of clauses with the sense 'about' or 'target of concern':

165) *Helē neha*  
 helē n-eha-Ø  
 PrsntvPro 3SA-be-RecPst

*imēkēmētoponpīi pēk.*  
 ĩ-mēkī-ēmē-topo-npīli-Ø pēkē  
 1-come-Resumpt-CircmstNmlz-Dvl-Pss about  
 'This (story) was about my past coming back.' ((alawaka 064, 065)

166) *Tēhepai emna*  
 t-ēh-epa-he emna  
 T-Det-teach.O-He 1+3ExclPro

*emna kaimotaa pēk.*  
 emna kajimo-ta-Ø-lī pēkē  
 1+3ExclPro game-PssNIncoVrblz-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss about

‘We learned about our getting game.’ (jolokod 625, 624)

167)	<i>Wepohnëp</i>	<i>jepane</i>	<i>pëk.</i>
	w-e-potnëpĩ-Ø	j-epa-ne-Ø	<b>pëkë</b>
	1SA-Det-think.O-RecPst	1-teach.O-AgtNmlz-Pss	about
	‘I thought about the one who taught me/about my teacher.’		

‘Topic of concern’ clauses follow the usual pattern for most postpositional clauses. Clauses where *pëk(ë)* occurs with the sense of ‘busy with’ or ‘occupied with’ are most interesting. They take almost always an intransitive verb (most frequently the copula ‘be’) as the matrix verb whose S is always coreferential with the underlying S or A of the nominalized verb (168-169). The verb stems take only the nominalizers that exclusively refer to an event: -Ø ‘Specific Event’ and -*në* ‘Generic Event’.

The whole ‘construction’ conveys an aspectual meaning, that of a progressive, which is the only way to express the progressive aspect in the past tenses. Whether we have a new construction with Aux-MainV is open to discussion. On one hand, the meaning of the ‘construction’ is easily extractable from the meaning of the postposition. If one is ‘occupied’ with something, that must only refer to a progressive situation, and the matrix verb can be either a copula or a lexical verb. On the other hand, the marking of participants in the nominalized verb is not totally independent from the matrix verb. Prefixes on intransitive verb stem are accepted in elicitation, but not attested in texts, and an oblique agent of the nominalized verb which is marked in other postpositional clauses by *ja* does not occur with the progressive *pëk(ë)*. Of all the postpositional clauses, this is the best construction for a candidate for a new verbal construction.

168)	<i>Molo</i>	<i>tikohmamhe</i>	<i>tot</i>
	molo	tĩ-kopmamĩ-he	toto
	SpcMedLoc	T-go.from.day.to.night-He	3Coll
	<i>akuwaa</i>	<i>pëkëë</i>	<i>më</i> <i>pola.</i>
	Ø-akuwa-Ø-lĩ	pëkë	Vmë pola
	3-wash.O-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss	busy.with	Emph Defect

'There they **went into the night** washing it in a hard way.' (Jolokod 563)

- 169) *Tamusi*      *man,*      *upētii*           *pək.*  
 tamuhi      mane      Ø-upēti-Ø-li           **pəkē**  
 old.man      3be      3-pick.fruit-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss      busy.with  
 'The old man was picking it (i.e., fruits).' (Pear 019)
- 170) *Enee*           *pək*      *kunehak*      *tamusi*  
 ene-Ø-li           **pəkē**      kun-eha-kē      tamuhi  
 see.O-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss      busy.with      3DistPst-be-DistPst      old.man  
 'The old man was just looking at it.' (Pear 039)
- 171) *ēhalēnē*           *pək*      *kunehak.*  
 ēh-alē-nē           pəkē      kun-eha-kē  
 Det-take.O-GenEvntNmlz      busy.with      3DistPst-be-DistPst  
 'He/she/it was going.'  
 (Lit. 'He/she/it was busy with taking oneself=going.')
- 172) *Wenene*           *eluwa*  
 w-ene-ne           eluwa  
 1A3O-see-DistPst      man
- tēpelem*           *pētii*           *pək.*  
 t-ēpeli-le-mi           pēti-Ø-li           pəkē  
 NAdvlz-fruit-having-PtNmlz      pick.fruit-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss      busy.withPts  
 'I saw a man picking up fruits.' (Pear 003,004)
- 173) *Wene*           *Alina pakolo*      *pək.*  
 w-ene-Ø           Alina pakolo      **pəkē**  
 1A3O-see.O-RecPst      Alina house      busy.with  
 'I saw Alina buiding a house.'  
 (Lit. 'I saw Alina busy with the house.')

Verbs forms bearing the purpose of motion suffix *-(h)e* behave like a participle, taking some personal prefixes in the case of transitive stems, but not deriving morphology as, for instance, nominalizations (4.2.2). Intransitive stems do not take prefixes, but SO stems take the thematic prefix *i-* (174) (5.1.3). Transitive stems take O prefixes encoding the underlying O (175). The S of the motion verb is co-referent with the semantic S or A of purpose of motion verb. The occurrence of the main verb indicating motion is optional (174):

- 174) *Koko elamhak mihen isiktai*  
 koko elahi-mhakē mīhen i-hiku-ta-he  
 night fear-NAdvlz poor Them-urine-PssNIncoVrblz -PurpMot

*kaikui uno.*  
 kajikuhi uno  
 jaguar afraid.of  
 'At night (I go) to urinate, afraid of the jaguar'

- 175) *Ēwenei wītėjai.*  
 ěw-ene-he w-ītě-ja-he  
 2-see.O-PurpMot 1SA-go-Npst-SapAff  
 'I will go to see you.'

The third person prefix on the purpose of motion form alternates with the pre-verbal O and forms a syntactic bound with it (8.1):

- 176) *Nitēm ipikēlēi.*  
 n-ītēmī-Ø i-pīkēlē-he  
 3SA-go-RecPst 3-cut.O-PurpMot  
 'He/she went to cut it.'
- 177) *Nitēm kopīn pīkēlēi.*  
 n-ītēmī-Ø kopīnī pīkēlē-he  
 3SA-go-RecPst grass cut.O-PurpMot  
 'He/she went to cut grass.'

Elision is frequent in cases where the deleted verb carries the least lexical information as in the case of *ka* 'do' occurring with sound symbolic words (178), the copula plus negated verb (179), and verbs of motion plus a purpose of motion form (180):

- 178) *Tokn alakapuha ke.*  
 tokn alakapuha ke  
 shoot.snd shotgun Instr  
 '(We) shot with the shotgun' (Pēne 078)
- 179) *Mē, jelepīla nma.*  
 mē j-elepī-la nma  
 So 1-make.afraid-Neg Intens  
 'So, it does not scare me at all.' (iguana 033)
- 180) *Malonme imnelum amēipaimēhe lep.*  
 malonme i-mīnelumī-Ø amējīpa-jmē-he lep  
 then 3-husband-Pss call.O-Resumpt-PurpMot Advrs  
 'Then, her husband (went) in order to call her, in vain.' (woman 030)

**8.3.1.6. Past Habitual clauses.** The habitual past *-(h)e* clauses refer semantically to a situation that was characteristic of a time in the remote past. The A and the S are marked optionally by a free nominal, instead of by pronominal prefixes as with other verbs

functioning as simple predicates. Meira (1999:) reports that the cognate forms in Tiriyo take O prefixes, a pattern that could not be confirmed for Wayâna given the existing data. For the attested examples, stems starting with consonant take a prefix *i-* (184), but it is not possible to tell whether this is a third person prefix or the thematic prefix *i-*. The order of participants is free for S and A, but unknown for O, as all the examples of overt O's occurring in the database are pre-verbal.

[S] [V]  
 181) *Mamak, muleme iwaptau, elemihe inipanakmaame.*  
 mamako mule-me i-wapta-wë elemi-he i-n-i-panakma-li-me  
 mother child-Attrb 1-when-in sing-HabPst 1-ObjNmlz-Them-listen.to.O-Pss-Attrb  
 'When I was a child, mother used to sing as the thing I would listen to.'

[V] [S]  
 182) *Kai kuni.*  
 ka-he kuni  
 say-HabPst grandmother  
 'Grandma used to say.' (Tukusimule 047)

[A] [V]  
 183) *Kuni ekalëi.*  
 kuni ekalë-he  
 grandmother tell.O-HabPst  
 'Grandma used to tell it.'

[V] [A]  
 184) *Ipanakmai iu.*  
 i-panakma-he iwu  
 Them/3?-hear.O-HabPst 1Pro  
 'I used to hear it.'

185) *Upakaptau umëkhe talëna kanawa ailë.*  
 upakapataw umëki-he talë-na kanawa a-jië  
 long.ago come-HabPst NspcProxLoc-to canoe inside.of-through  
 'Long ago, (one) used to come here by canoe.'

186) *Upakaptau, kaikui pitpë alëi tot katelu ja.*  
 upakaptaw kaikuhi pitpë-Ø alë-he toto katelu ja  
 long.ago jaguar skin-Pss take.O-HabPst 3Coll jaguar.skin.hunter Dat  
 'Long ago, they used to take jaguar skin to the jaguar skin dealer.'

Gerundive forms with the suffix *-(h)e* 'Purpose of motion' (5.3.6) also present the same prefix vs. pre-verbal O alternation (79-80), and examples (81-82) show that a

second position particle must follow both the pre-posed noun and the purpose of motion verb:<sup>2</sup>

- 187) *Nitëm ipanakmai.*  
 n-itëmĩ-Ø i-panakma-he  
 3SA-go-RecPst 3-hear.O-PurpMot  
 ‘He/she went in order to hear he/she/it’
- 188) *Nitëm timnelum panakmai.*  
 n-itëmĩ-Ø tĩ-mĩnelumĩ-Ø panakama-he  
 3SA-go-RecPst 3Refl-husband-Pss hear.O-PurpMot  
 ‘I will go in order to paint my husband.’
- 189) *Malija enei hek witëm.*  
 Mary ene-he hek witëmĩ-Ø  
 Mary see.O-PurpMot only w-itëmĩ-RecPst  
 ‘I only went to see Mary.’
- 190) \**Malija hek enei witëm.*

An interesting case is that of the negative verbs. In *3A3O* situations, the nominal preceding the negated verb co-occurs with the third person negative prefix *en-*, as shown in examples (191) and (193). However, presenting a behavior characteristic of phrases, no intervening material may occur between the pre-posed nominal and the verb. In the examples below, for instance, the second position particle *ka* ‘question’ must go after both the pre-posed noun and the negated verb.

- 191) *Upo enekalëla ka neha ëja.*  
 upo en-ekalë-la ka n-eha-Ø ë-ja  
 clothing 3Neg-give.O-Neg Quest 3SA-be-RecPst 2-Dat  
 ‘Didn’t he/she give clothing to you?’
- 192) \**upo ka enekalëla neha ëja.*
- 193) *Mëklëë enenela.*  
 mëklëë en-ene-la  
 DemAnmMed 3neg-see.O-Neg  
 ‘(He/she/if) did not see that one’

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the *-(h)e* ‘Habitual past’ forms present a similar pattern regarding the OV phrase (see footnote 11 in section 5.3.2.8). However, the existing data on this matter is insufficient to be conclusive.

**8.3.1.7. Desiderative clauses.** The desiderative postposition *he* indicates desire towards the postpositional object (194). Basically the same meaning occurs in the clausal examples with a nominalized verb. As usual, the marking on the nominalized verb follows an absolutive pattern, the O or S (195-196), but in desiderative clauses the S is optional when coreferential with the S of the copula (the only verbal form to occur with *he*). Compare examples (196) and (197).

- 194) *Epelii he wai.*  
 epelili he w-a-he  
 fruit Des 1SA-be-SapAff  
 'I want fruit.'
- 195) *Kaikui neha jëë he.*  
 kajikuhi n-eha-Ø j-ë-Ø-li he  
 jaguar 3SA-be-RecPst 1-eat.meat-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss Des  
 'The jaguar wanted to eat me.' (kaikui 116)
- 196) *Jelemii he nma wai.*  
 j-elemi-Ø-li he nma wahe  
 1-sing-CircmstNmlz-Pss Des Intens 1Sa-be-SapAff  
 'I want me to sing.'  
 (Lit.: I want my singing')
- 197) *Elemi he nma wai.*  
 elemi-Ø he nma wahe  
 sing-CircmstNmlz Des Intens 1Sa-be-SapAff  
 'I want to sing.'

A similar pattern of coreference occurs when the oblique agent is not overt. The

S of the copula is coreferential the A of the nominalized verb:

- 198) *Nunuwë enee he wai*  
 nunuwë ene-Ø-li he w-a-he  
 moon see.O-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss Des 1SA-be-SapAff  
 'I want to see the moon.' (\*I want him/her/it to see the moon)
- 199) *Nunuwë enee he wai Anakali ja.*  
 nunuwë ene-Ø-li he w-a-he anakali ja  
 moon see.O-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss Des 1SA-be-SapAff Anakali OblAgt  
 'I want Anakali to see the moon.'

The nominalizing suffixes that occur with the nominalized verbs in the desiderative clauses are only -Ø 'Specific event' and -*në* 'Generic event', as in all the





203) *Tuk tikai.*  
 tuk tĩ-ka-he  
 pull.snd t-do-He  
 'He/she pulled (it).'  
 (Lit.: (He/she) did 'tuk=pull')

204) \* *Tuk hek tikai.*

205) \* *Nika pokn.*

206) \* *tikai tuk.*

**8.3.2 Subordinate clauses.** All subordination in Wayâna is restricted to nominalized or adverbialized verb forms. The only unusual exception is that of verbal forms inflected by the postpositionalizing suffix *-tĩhwëë* 'posterity' (cf. section 6.3), which function as adverbial clauses.

Functionally, there are three basic types of subordinate clauses: a) complement clauses, b) relative clauses, and c) adverbial clauses. The specifics of each type are discussed in the next sections.

**8.3.2.1 Complement clauses.** These clauses are based on nominalizations that function syntactically as arguments of a matrix verb, A, O and S. The great majority of S clauses are occurrences with the copula 'be', but this need not to be the case as seen in the examples below:

[ S ]  
 207) *Wewe apëkatpon tikai.*  
 wewe apëka-tponu tĩ-ka-he  
 wood get.O-PstAgt Prtc-say-Prtc  
 'The one who had gotten the wood said' (stair 020)

[ S ]  
 208) *Ipok iweitop kunmëk.*  
 ipoke i-w-ehi-topo-Ø kun-umëki  
 good 1-SA-be-CircmstNmlz-Pss 3SADistPst-come  
 'My being good came about' (walema 147)

No A clauses occur in texts, but they do occur in elicited data:

[ A ]

209) *Etat alëtponu ja tënei inëlëë.*  
 Ø-etatī-Ø alë-tponu-Ø ja t-ëne-he inëlëë  
 3-hammock-Pss take.O-PstAgtNmlz-Pss Erg T-see.O-He 3AnphPro  
 'The one who had taken his hammock saw him.'

[ A ]

210) *Jepane ètuutop ekalëne.*  
 j-epa-ne ètulu-topo ekalë-ne  
 1-teach.O-AgtNmlz talk-CircmstNmlz tell.O-DistPst  
 'The one who taught me told a story.'

Examples of O clauses are given below:

211) *Hemalëë wenejai*  
 hemalëë w-ene-ja-he  
 now 1A3O-see.O-NPst-SapAff

[ O ]

*uwamela iweitop mihen.*  
 uwame-la i-w-ehi-topo-Ø mihen  
 healthy-Neg 3-SA-be-CircmstNmlz-Pss poor  
 'Now I see her being unwell, poor (one).' (Maria 036, 037)

[ O ]

212) *Inekalëë wipanakma.*  
 i-n-ekalë-Ø-lī w-i-panakma-Ø  
 3-ObjNmlz-tell.O-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss 1A3O-Them-hear.O-RecPst  
 'I heard what she said.'

**8.3.2.2 Relative clauses.** Clauses labeled as 'relative clauses' are nominalized verb forms that occur juxtaposed to other nouns in a noun-noun modification fashion, thus their label (213-215). Though such an arrangement is accepted with ease in elicited examples, they are not attested in texts. In texts, we observe a different strategy for modification or restriction of a participant: the extensive use of 'afterthoughts' (216-218). Such a common strategy is linked to the idea that Wayâna clauses tend to express one idea at a time. Thus, such occurrences in final position are not truly afterthoughts, in the sense that they are not necessarily mentions of something the speaker forgot. They are a means of offering additional information about a participant without having to lump it together with the mentioning of that participant.

- 213) NP NP V  
*Eluwa, ekēi nētpīi tilēmēphe.*  
 eluwa ekēhi n-ē-Ø-tpīli-Ø tī-lēmēpi-he  
 man snake ObjNmlz-bite.O-  
 'The man who was snake-bitten died.' synt150
- 214) NP NP  
*Helē malija ipun pīkēlētop.*  
 helē malija i-punu-Ø pīkēlē-topo-Ø  
 PrsntvPro knife 3-meat-Pss cut.O-CircmstNmlz-Pss  
 'This (is) the knife that cuts meat.'
- 215) NP NP V  
*Mēklēē jenetpon tūtēi.*  
 mēklēlē j-ene-tponu-Ø t-ītē-he  
 DemAnmMed 1-see.O-PstAgt-Pss T-go-He  
 'That one came, the one who saw me' synt151
- 216) NP V  
*Luwe tanuptēi*  
 luwe t-anuptē-he  
 flute T-play.instr-He
- [ NP ]  
*jolok amēipatop tējahe.*  
 joloko amējipa-topo-Ø tē-ja-he  
 evil.spirit call.O-CircmstNmlz-Pss 3Refl-OblAgt-Coll  
 'They played the flute, the thing used by them to call jolok.' (Jolokoa 040, 041)
- 217) NP V [ NP ]  
*Lome mēklēē ja tēnei mējelon epe ja.*  
 lome mēklēlē ja t-ēne-he mēje-lonu epe ja  
 but DemAnmMed Erg T-see.O-He NspcDistLoc-PtNmlz friend Erg  
 'But, that one, the distant friend, could see.' (Jolokoa 126)
- 218) NP V  
*Malonme tēpitkom tīthe hemele*  
 malonme t-ēpi-tī-komo t-īli-he hemele  
 then 3Refl-medicine-3Refl-Coll T-make.O-He soon
- [ NP ]  
*kalipono ekalēne.*  
 kalipono ekalē-ne  
 non.Wayāna give.O-AgtNmlz  
 'Then, soon they made their medicine, that which would give away the non-Indian enemy.'  
 synt153

**8.3.2.3. Adverbial clauses.** All adverbial clauses all are based on nominalized verb forms that occur syntactically as the object of postpositions or on adverbialized verb forms.

Both function as modifiers of matrix clauses. In this section, we present three clause types based on nominalizations that occur as object of postpositions, *ke* ‘because’ clauses, *htau* ‘when; if’ clauses, one clause type that takes the postpositionalizer *-tihwë* ‘posteriority’ clause, and one clause type with *-me* ‘in order to’ clauses.

**8.3.2.3.1, *ke* ‘because’ clauses.** The postposition *ke* marks underived nouns as instruments and sources, an example of the instrumental use is given in (219). With verbal nominalizations, the meaning of source (or reason) is the one used, and glossed here as ‘because’. The main clause can be both a transitive and an intransitive verb or a copula.

219) *Ewaa ke ipimikë.*  
 Ø-ewa-li ke i-pimī-kë  
 3-rope-Pss Instr Them-tie.O-ProxImp  
 ‘Tie with its rope.’

220) *Tokn kanë ke hek,*  
 tokn ka-në ke hek  
 shoot.snd do-GenEvtNmlzInstr only

*mëkjaa emna pëk itëpütom*  
 mëkjalë emna pëkë i-të-Ø-tpilī-Ø-tomo  
 DemAnmMedColl 1+3ExclPro about 3-go-SpcEvtNmlz-Dvl-Pss-Coll

*tīpanakmai emna ja.*  
 tī-panakma-he emna ja  
 T-hear.O-He 1+3ExclPro Erg  
 ‘Because of the shooting, we heard those who had gone after us.’ (Pëne 127, 128, 129)

221) *İkilütom ekalëë ke, umxk.*  
 İ-kililī-Ø-tomo ekalë-Ø-li ke w-umxky-Ø  
 1-thing-Pss-Coll give.O-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss Instr 1SA-come-RecPst  
 ‘I came because they were giving away my things.’

222) *Jamoo jetumhak*  
 j-amo-lī jetu-mhakë  
 1-hand-Pss hurt-ModAdvz

*tokolom katop ke.*  
 tokolom ka-topo ke  
 paddling.snd do-CircmstNmlz Source  
 ‘My hand (was) hurt from the paddling.’ (Alawaka 061, 062)

223) *Tikai, mëlë enee ke.*  
 tī-ka-he mëlë ene-Ø-li ke

T-say-He DemInanMed see.O-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss Instr  
 ‘She said because of her seeing that.’ (Jolokod 606, 607)

All the examples above involve a lexical verb. Copular ‘because’ clauses present some particular properties. First, the form *aptau* occurring in such clauses does not present a transparent allomorph of the copula ‘be’, second though *aptau* may be inflected by *SAP* prefixes (226), it cannot take third person person prefixes.

224) *Moloinë tēhanukhe inēlēē.*  
 molojnë tē-w-ēh-anuku-he inēlēlē  
 then T-SA-Det-put.up.above-He 3AnphPro

*Imnelum mīhen eulumna esike.*  
 i-mīnelumī-Ø mīhen Ø-ewu-lī-mna **ehiike**  
 3-husband-Pss poor 3-eye-Pss-without because  
 ‘Then, he went up, because her husband was blind. (Tamopoale 005, 006)

225) *Molo tuna pepta esike, nītēm inēlēē ka apēlētse.*  
 Molo tuna pepta **ehiike** n-ītēmī-Ø inēlēlē ka apēlēti-he  
 SpcMedLoc water big because 3SA-go-RecPst 3AnphPro fish get.fish-PurpMot  
 ‘Because big water exists there, he went to fish.’

226) *Umēkēmē he mēwihñē*  
 umēkī-ēmē-Ø he mēwitñē  
 come-Resumpt-SpcEvntNmlz Des really:

*imumkuu he iwesike lēken*  
 i-mumuku-lī he i-w-ehi-Ø-lī-ke lēken  
 1-womans.son-Pss Des 1-SA-be-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss-Instr only  
 ‘I really wanted to come back because I just wanted my son.’ (Alvina 050, 051)

**8.3.2.3.2. htau ‘when; if’ clauses.** This postposition follows objects that are composed of parts, a group of people, a basket of fruits, a group of stones, or a group of cotton balls (227) (cf. 6.2.1.1). It follows a nominalized verb form to indicate simultaneity of events. The semantics of the postposition, ‘among’, ‘in the middle of’ seems to indicate that events are conceptualized as complex and made of parts, thus being compatible with this postposition. The main clause can be either an intransitive or a transitive verb.

227) *Maulu htau.*  
 mawulu **tta-wē**  
 cotton among-in

'In the middle of the cotton (balls).'

- 228) *Īmekīli* *htau* *uwa meha.*  
 ĩ-mĕkĭ-Ø-lĭ **tta-wĕ** uwa m-eha-Ø  
 I-come-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss among-in Neg 2SA-be-RecPst  
 'When I came you were not (here).'

- 229) *Ta* *mike* *pa*  
 ta mĭ-ka-ja pa  
 what 2SA-do-NPst Quest

*Ĕwot* *elepīli* *htau?*  
 ẽw-otĭ-Øelepĭ-Ø-lĭ **tta-wĕ**  
 2-meat-Pss make.O.afraid-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss among-in  
 'What do you do when scaring of your meat away?' (iguana 028, 029)  
 (Lit. what do you do in the middle of (lit. among) your making your meat afraid.?)

- 230) *Malonme,* *tĕwelamai,*  
 malonme tĕ-w-e-lama-he  
 then T-SA-Det-turn.O-He

*tĭh* *kanĕ* *htau,* *imnenot.*  
 tĭh ka-nĕ **tta-wĕ** i-mĭnenotĭ-Ø  
 alone do-GenEvtNmlz among-in 3-mother.in.law-Pss  
 'Then (he) came back when his mother-in-law was alone.' (Sulalapana 037, 038)  
 (Lit.: in the middle of (lit. among) doing tĭh=being alone, his mother in law)

- 231) *Kan* *womii* *witĭpkei* *sisi* *mĕkīli* *htau.*  
 kanu womĭli-Ø w-i-tĭpka-he hihi mĕkĭ-Ø-lĭ **tta-wĕ**  
 God word-Pss 1A3O-Them-read.O-SapAff sun come-SpcEvtNmlz-Pss among-in  
 'I read the word of God whe the sun comes.'  
 (Lit. I read the word of God in the middle of (lit. among) the coming of the sun.)

Clauses bearing the specific event nominalizer *-Ø* present an interesting asymmetry: a lexical predicate, as all the ones presented above, are characterized by the occurrences of the postposition *hta*, but clauses with a copular predicate are characterized by the occurrences of *esiike*, a zero nominalized form of *esi* 'be' plus the postposition *ke*. Like with *aptau* clauses, discussed above, the form *esike* takes *SAP* prefixes (234), bur not third person one.

- 232) *Kalipono* *mĕjela* *aptau,*  
 kalipono mĕje-la **apta-wĕ**  
 non.Wayāna NspcDistLoc-Neg when-in
- ĕpi,* *muhule* *tĕĕtuputse.*  
 ẽpi muhule tĕ-w -ĕt -uputĭ-he  
 medicine alluring.amulet T-SA-Det-fill.O-He

‘When the non-Wayâna were not far, the medicine, the alluring amulet, would start filling up.’  
(Jolokob 307, 308)

- 233) *Elamhak aptau numëkëmë.*  
 ela-mhak **apta-wë** n-umëki-ëmë-Ø  
 fear- when-in 3SA-come-Resumpt-RecPst  
 ‘When (he) was scared, he came back.’ synt140

- 234) *Muleme ewaptau, kaikui uwëne.*  
 mule-me **ëw-apta-wë** kaikuhi w-uwë-ne  
 child-Attrb2-when-in jaguar 1A3O-kill.O-DistPst  
 ‘When you were a child, I killed a jaguar.’

**8.3.2.3 Posterity –*tihwë* clauses.** Posteriority clauses indicate that another event will follow. Formally, the posteriority clauses are postpositions derived from verb stems with the postpositionalizing suffix *-tihwë* ‘Posterity’ (cf. section 6.3.), but they refer semantically to specific events. The marking of participants on these forms is parallel to that in other postpositional clauses, with absolutive prefixes (235synt131 and 236synt132) and, as normally the case, with a full nominal alternating with a third person prefix (synt132 vs. synt133). The agent of the *-tihwë* form is obliquely marked as in the case of nominalizations by the postposition *ja* ‘AgtObl’ (235synt131).

- 235) *Ëwenetihwë ëje ja, tawake nma wëtijai.*  
**ëw-ene-tihwë** ë-je-Ø **ja** tawake nma w-ëtijai-ja-he  
 2-see.O-Posterity 2-mother-Pss OblAgt happy Instens 1Sa-become-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘After you mother sees you, I will be so happy.’

- 236) *Itëtihwë wepijai.*  
**i-të-tihwë** w-epi-ja-he  
 3-go-Posterity 1A3O-eat.soft.food-NPst-SapAff  
 ‘I will eat after he comes.’

- 237) *Mëklëë umpoi, mëklëë itëtihwë lëken,*  
 mëklëë umpoje mëklëë **itë-tihwë** lëken  
 DemAnmMed cause DemAnmMed go-Posterity only

*moloinë, tumkai eja hemele.*  
 molojnë t-umï-ka-he e-ja hemele  
 then T-root-PrivVrblz-He 3-Erg now  
 ‘Because of that one, only after that one went, then, (she) unearthed (it) now.’  
 (§Sulalapana 130, 131)



**8.3.2.3.4. –me ‘in order to’ clauses.** Nominalized verb forms taking the adverbializing suffix *–me* ‘Attributive’ occur with the sense of goal or finality. As with postpositional clauses, the meaning of this adverbial clause is a direct result of the meaning of the adverbializing suffix. The sense of purpose can be observed for *–me* already with underived nouns, as in examples (238)

The nominalized verb is possessed accordingly with the properties of the nominalizing morphology, e.g. forms with the circumstantial nominalizer *–top(o)* take prefixes encoding the S and the O, forms with the agent nominalizer *–ne* take prefixes encoding the A, and so on (see section 4.2.2.1. for the properties of all de-verbal nominalizing suffixes). All other de-verbal adverbializers (*–të* ‘Generic Modifier’, *–tse* ‘Specific Modifier’, *–tse*, *i–pophak(ë)* ‘Effective’, etc.) are attributive in nature and have never been attested in reference to an event (cf. 7.2.1.2.)

238) *Masike*,      *‘Këkime*            *hapëita!*  
 mahike      k-ëkī-Ø-me            h-apëhi-ta  
 With.that    1+2-pet-Pss-Attrb    1+2A3O-get.O-HortAblat  
 ‘With that, ‘Lets go get it to be our pet!’ (Eagle 014)  
 (Lit: ‘... as our pet.’) synt138

239) *Mëklëë*            *pëk*      *epiin*            *tiihe*            *ejahe*  
 mëklëë            pëkë      Ø-epij-nu      t-ili-he            e-ja-he  
 DemAnmMed    about    3-stair-Pss    T-make-He      3-Erg-PColl

*apëitohme.*

Ø-apëhi-**topo**-Ø-me

3-grab.O-CircmstNmlz-Pss-Attrb

‘Because of that one, they made a ladder in order to grab it.’ (Eagle 020, 021)

240) *Moloinë sisi*      *hjak*            *tiihe*  
 molojnë hihi      hja-kë            t-ili-he  
 Then    sun            in.sun-into    T-make-He

*ilasilamtöhme.*

i-lahilamī-**topo**-Ø-me

3-dry.O-CircmstNmlz-Pss-Attrb

‘Then, (they) placed (it) into the sun, in order for it to dry.’ (Jolokoa 081, 082)

241) *Masike*      *mëi*                    *nila*      *nipanakmaame*  
 mahike      mëhi                    nila      n-i-panakma-li-me

With.that DemAnmProx Nila ObjNmlz-Them-listen.to.O-Pss-Attrb

*wikei.*

wi-ka-ja-he

1SA-say-NPst-SapAff

'Then, in order to serve as what Nila listens to, I am speaking.' (Fishing 015, 016)

- 242) *Mamak he wai, jeneimëneme.*  
mamako he wahe j-ene-jmë-ne-Ø-me  
mother Des Ibe I-see.O-Resumpt-AgtNmlz-Pss-Attrb  
'I want mother (in order) to see me' (tamopoale 075, 076)  
(Lit.: 'as the one who sees me again.')

Finally, negative clauses are construed on adverbial verbal forms constituting complex predicates. Thus, they are described in section 8.3.1.5 on complex predicates.

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