NOTE TO USERS

Page(s) not included in the original manuscript and are unavailable from the author or university. The manuscript was scanned as received.

267 - 294

This reproduction is the best copy available.
RICE UNIVERSITY

A Grammar of Wayana

by

Petronila da Silva Tavares

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

Doctor of Philosophy

APPROVED, THESIS COMMITTEE:

Spike Gidea, Chair, Associate Professor and Head of Linguistics, University of Oregon; Adjunct Associate Professor, Rice University

Philip W. Davis, Professor Emeritus Linguistics

James E. Copeland, Professor Emeritus Linguistics

Michel R. Achard, Associate Professor, Department Chair, French Studies

HOUSTON, TEXAS

MAY 2005
INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.
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 Parensê Emílio Goeldi, 1991. Belem, Brazil. Denny More and his students recorded an elicitation session with Kujupê, a now deceased Wayâna speaker. Here, a little from the tape:

‘What is the word for stone?’ (Denny Moore)
‘Ah! “stone”, isn’t it? ... [topu]’ (Kujupê)

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” [tôpu]). 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 Tiriyó 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 Tiriyó, 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, Enapín, 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, Pilasiini, Salomao, Aimole, Konsa, Dora, Tadeu, Polonildo, Rubi, Alitana, Araiba, Ohpokaka, Jamae, Apekuwa, Bete, Ocimar, Malikê, Kajapo, Siuka, Paulinho Apalai, Elani, Trindade, among others.

Thanks to the late Aimole ("um rei que reinava como um ser comum")*, to João Aranha and to all the Wayâna leaders whose posture confirms the truthfulness of the words of a German expeditor 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". (Cristovão Lins, 1997)

(They have a regal, free, and portly stroll. The plenitude of their hair over the shoulders, arrow and bows 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 Wayãna 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.

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION ................................................................................. 1
1.1. The Wayâna people .................................................................. 1
1.2. The economy .......................................................................... 3
1.3. The sociolinguistic situation in the Paru River ......................... 3
1.4. Previous research on Wayâna .................................................. 5
1.5. The database for the present study .......................................... 5
1.6. The scope of this work .............................................................. 6
1.7. Wayâna on the web .................................................................. 7

2. PHONOLOGY ..................................................................................... 8
2.1. The segments ........................................................................... 9
2.1.1. Vowels ............................................................................... 9
2.1.1.1. Minimal pairs ............................................................... 11
2.1.1.2. Distribution of vowels .................................................. 12
2.1.1.3. Backing of /a/ ............................................................. 13
2.1.1.4. Nasalized vowels ......................................................... 14
2.1.1.5. Devoicing of /i/ ............................................................ 15
2.1.2. Consonants ....................................................................... 15
2.1.2.1. Minimal and analogous pairs ....................................... 15
2.1.2.2. Free variation and complementary distribution of consonants ..................................................................................................................... 17
2.1.2.2.1. Stops ..................................................................... 18
2.1.2.2.2. Fricatives ............................................................... 19
2.1.2.2.3. Nasals ................................................................... 23
2.1.2.2.4. The retroflex lateral flap ......................................... 24
2.1.2.2.5. Glides ................................................................... 24
2.2. Phonotactics .......................................................................... 25
2.2.1. Syllable types ................................................................... 25
2.2.2. Consonant clusters ............................................................ 26
2.2.3. Vowel sequences ............................................................... 29
2.3. Morphophonology .................................................................. 31
2.3.1. Syllable reduction ............................................................. 31
2.3.1.1. Vowel Deletion .......................................................... 36
2.3.1.1.1. Non-verbal morphemes ......................................... 36
2.3.1.1.1.1. Forms with one syllable .................................... 36
2.3.1.1.1.2. Forms with two syllables .................................. 38
2.3.1.1.1.3. Forms with three syllables ............................... 40
2.3.1.1.1.4. Forms with four syllables ................................. 43
2.3.1.1.1.5. Forms with five syllables ................................. 45
2.3.1.1.2. Verbal forms .......................................................... 50
2.3.1.1.3. Vowel deletion in V-V sequences .......................... 51
2.3.1.2. /t/ deletion ................................................................. 53
2.3.1.2.1. Non-verbal forms .................................................. 54
2.3.1.2.2. Verbal forms ......................................................... 59
2.3.1.3. /h/ deletion ................................................................. 60
2.3.1.3.1. Non-verbal forms ..................................................... 60
2.3.1.3.2. Verbal forms ........................................................... 65
2.3.2. Phonological processes in consonant clusters .................. 67
2.3.2.1. Voice assimilation ...................................................... 68
2.3.2.2. Assimilation of nasality ............................................. 69
2.3.2.3. DIssimilation .............................................................. 70
2.3.2.4. Denasalization ............................................................. 74
2.3.2.5. The */pt/ constraint .................................................... 75
2.3.3. The phonological status of fricatives in coda position ........ 77
2.3.4. The phonological status of nasals in coda position ............ 79
2.3.5. Consonant-vowel sequences at morpheme boundaries .......... 80
2.3.6. The phonological status of glides .................................... 80
2.3.7. Reduplication ................................................................. 85
2.3.7.1. Left edge reduplication .............................................. 85
2.3.7.2. Right edge and root-internal reduplication ................. 87
2.3.8. Ablaut .......................................................... 88
2.4. Prosody .......................................................... 90
2.4.1. Intonational units and the lack of stress ......................... 90
2.4.2. The grammatical and the phonological word .................... 98
2.5. Marginal Cases ................................................................. 98
2.5.1. /w/ deletion ................................................................. 98
2.5.2. Metathesis ......................................................... 100
2.5.3. Vowel harmony ......................................................... 100
2.5.4. The fricative infix ...................................................... 101
2.5.5. The emphatic particle mə ........................................... 102
2.5.6. Morphemes with unexpected extra phonological material .... 102
2.6. Sound symbolic words ......................................................... 103

3. INTRODUCTION TO MORPHOLOGY ........................................ 107
3.1. Particles versus suffixes .................................................. 108
3.2. The third person prefixes ............................................... 112
3.3. The speech classes .......................................................... 113
3.3.1. Nouns .......................................................... 113
3.3.2. Verbs .......................................................... 114
3.3.3. Postpositions ............................................................. 115
3.3.4. Adverbs .......................................................... 115
3.3.5. Particles .......................................................... 116
3.3.6. Ambivalent Roots ..................................................... 116

4. NOUNS ............................................................... 120
4.1. Inflection .......................................................... 120
4.1.1. Possession .......................................................... 120
4.1.1.1. Possessive prefixes ............................................. 121
4.1.1.1.1. The relational prefix */j-*? .............................. 123
4.1.1.1.2. Ablaut .......................................................... 124
5.1.3. The thematic prefixes i- and t(ī)- .................................................. 196
5.1.4. The SA prefix w- ........................................................................... 200
5.2. Morphosyntactic verb classes ............................................................. 201
5.3. Inflection ......................................................................................... 204
5.3.1. Set I verbs ................................................................................... 204
5.3.1.1. Personal prefixes: Subject and Object focus prefixes, and Split S ........ 205
5.3.1.2. Tense-Aspect-Modality-Number suffixes ....................................... 210
5.3.1.2.1. -ja ‘Non-past’ ................................................................. 212
5.3.1.2.2. -Ø ‘Recent Past’ ................................................................. 215
5.3.1.2.3. The Remote Past markers: -ne/kun- ........................................... 216
5.3.1.2.4. The Habitual past -(j)(ē)mēneja ................................................. 218
5.3.1.2.5. The permissive suffix -(h)i/-Ø .................................................. 219
5.3.1.2.6. The permissive/admonitive -tan/u ............................................. 221
5.3.1.3. The suffix -(h)e ‘SAP affirmative’ .............................................. 222
5.3.2. The Imperative and hortative Inflections ........................................... 225
5.3.2.1. The imperative suffixes: -k(ē) ‘proximal imperative,’
    -kēt(ē) ‘imperative allative,’ and -ta ‘imperative ablative’ ................. 226
5.3.2.2. The hortatory suffixes: -h(i) proximal hortatory,
    -net(ē) hortatory allative, and -ta(-n(u)) hortatory a blative ............... 228
5.3.3. The negative imperative construction: 1+2-V-Ø+na i ......................... 230
5.3.4. t-V-(h)e verbs ............................................................................. 230
5.3.5. Gerundive forms ......................................................................... 234
5.3.5.1. Negated verb forms ................................................................... 234
5.3.5.2. -(h)e ‘Purpose of Motion’ ......................................................... 235
5.3.6. The habitual past -(h)e .................................................................. 237
5.3.7. The copula .................................................................................. 238
5.4. Derivational Morphemes .................................................................... 240
5.4.1. Verbalizers ................................................................................ 241
5.4.1.1. Intransitive verbalizers ............................................................. 243
5.4.1.2. Transitive verbalizers ............................................................... 246
5.4.1.2.1. Verbalization of sound symbolic words ................................. 251
5.4.1.2.2. Body-part verbalizers ........................................................... 252
5.4.2. Valence changing morphemes ...................................................... 253
5.4.2.1. The Detransitivizer ēt-, ēhr-, e- ................................................. 253
5.4.2.2. The transitivizers -ka, -nēp(ka), -nēp(ka), -ma, and -lē .............. 254
5.4.3. The causative -po ....................................................................... 256
5.4.4. Derivational aspectual suffixes ...................................................... 259
5.4.4.1. The completive -kep(i) ............................................................. 260
5.4.4.2. The perfective -nma ................................................................. 260
5.4.4.3. The resumptive -(j)(ē)mē .......................................................... 261
5.4.4.4. The necessitative -po ............................................................... 262
5.5. Noun incorporation? ........................................................................ 263
5.6. Reduplication .................................................................................. 264

6. POSTPOSITIONS .................................................................................. 267
6.1. Postpositional morphology ................................................................. 269
6.1. Prefixes ......................................................... 270
  6.1.1. Personal prefixes ......................................... 270
  6.1.2. The reciprocal êhe-/ êh-/êth- ............................. 274
  6.1.3. Ablaut ...................................................... 276
  6.2. Suffixes ....................................................... 277
    6.2.1. Spatial suffixes ......................................... 277
      6.2.1.1. The position markers -wè ‘in’, -Ø ‘on’, and -f(e) ‘away’ 278
      6.2.1.2. The path markers -îlé ‘through’ and -lo ‘along’ .......... 281
      6.2.1.3. The goal markers -k(è) ‘into’ and -na ‘to’ .......... 286
      6.2.1.4. A conclusion on spatial morphemes ..................... 290
    6.2.2. The collective suffix -he ................................ 295
  6.2. Formal and semantic classes ................................ 297
    6.2.1. Spatial postpositions ................................... 299
      6.2.1.1. ‘Container’ postpositions ............................. 300
      6.2.1.2. ‘Surface’ postpositions .............................. 301
      6.2.1.3. ‘Away’ postpositions ................................ 302
      6.2.1.4. A conclusion on spatial postpositions ................. 308
    6.2.2. Relational Postpositions ................................. 326
    6.2.3. Experiencer postpositions ................................ 333
    6.2.4. Functional Postpositions ................................ 337
  6.3. The de-verbal postpositionalizer -tìhwè ‘Posterity’ ........ 343
  6.4. Miscellaneous ................................................ 344
    6.4.1. Irregular roots ......................................... 344
    6.4.2. The infix -h- ‘Intensifier’ .............................. 347
    6.4.3. Verbalized postpositional phrases? ...................... 347
    6.4.4. Historical Complexity .................................. 348

7. ADVERBS ................................................................ 350
  7.1. Non-derived Adverbs .......................................... 351
    7.1.1. Formal classes .............................................. 352
      7.1.1.1. Primitive Adverbs ...................................... 352
      7.1.1.2. Non-primitive adverbs ................................. 354
      7.1.1.3. Complex non-derived adverbs ......................... 355
      7.1.1.3.1. /Ce/ adverbs ....................................... 356
      7.1.1.3.2. /u/ and /t_Ce/ adverbs ............................ 358
      7.1.1.3.3. Other ................................................ 359
    7.1.2. Semantic classes .......................................... 361
      7.1.2.1. Deixis and the degree of definition of a location .... 363
      7.1.2.2. Motion and direction .................................. 377
    7.2. Derivation ..................................................... 381
      7.2.1. Adverbializers ............................................. 382
      7.2.1.1. De-nominal adverbializers ............................ 382
      7.2.1.1.1. Suffixes ............................................. 382
        7.2.1.1.1.1. -me/-pe ‘Attributive’ .......................... 382
        7.2.1.1.1.2. -hpe/-hme ‘Existential adverbializer’ .......... 385
        7.2.1.1.1.3. -mna ‘without’ ................................ 388
    7.2.1.1.1.1. -me/-pe ‘Attributive’ .......................... 382
    7.2.1.1.1.2. -hpe/-hme ‘Existential adverbializer’ .......... 385
    7.2.1.1.1.3. -mna ‘without’ ................................ 388
8. SYNTAX ........................................................................................................... 412

8.1. Constituency ................................................................................................... 412
8.1.1. Two-word phrases ...................................................................................... 412
8.1.2. Possible larger phrases? .............................................................................. 416
8.2. Grammatical Relations .................................................................................. 418
8.3. Clause types ................................................................................................... 421
8.3.1. Main clauses ............................................................................................... 421
8.3.1.1. Copular clauses ....................................................................................... 422
8.3.1.2. Set I clauses ........................................................................................... 425
8.3.1.3. Imperative/Hortative clauses ................................................................. 434
8.3.1.4. t-V-he clauses ......................................................................................... 436
8.3.1.5. Complex Predicates ............................................................................... 442
8.3.1.6. Past Habitual clauses .............................................................................. 447
8.3.1.7. Desiderative clauses ............................................................................... 450
8.3.1.8. ka ‘say, do’ clauses ............................................................................... 451
8.3.2. Subordinate clauses ................................................................................... 452
8.3.2.1. Complement clauses .............................................................................. 452
8.3.2.2. Relative clauses ..................................................................................... 453
8.3.2.3. Adverbial clauses .................................................................................. 454
8.3.2.3.1 ke ‘because’ clauses ............................................................................ 455
8.3.2.3.2 aiptau ‘when; if’ clauses .................................................................... 456
8.3.2.3.3 Posterity –tilhwê clauses .................................................................... 458
8.3.2.3.4. –me ‘in order to’ clauses .................................................................. 459

BIBLIOGRAPHY ...................................................................................................... 461
# ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attrb</td>
<td>Attrribute'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ExistAvlz</td>
<td>Existential adverbializer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avlz</td>
<td>Verbalizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nmlz</td>
<td>Nominalizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ModAvlz</td>
<td>Modifier Adverbilizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GenModAvlz</td>
<td>Generic Modifier'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SpcModAvlz</td>
<td>Specific Modifier'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defect</td>
<td>Defective'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prtc</td>
<td>Participle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>Negative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intens</td>
<td>Intensifier'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red1</td>
<td>Reduplication type 1'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red2</td>
<td>Reduplication type 2'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red3</td>
<td>Reduplication type 3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red4</td>
<td>Reduplication type 4'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red5</td>
<td>Reduplication type 5'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro</td>
<td>Pronoun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pss</td>
<td>Possessive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>First person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Second person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>First person dual inclusive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+3</td>
<td>First person exclusive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Third person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Refl.</td>
<td>Third person reflexive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clt</td>
<td>Collective'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dvl</td>
<td>Devaluative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AgtNmlz</td>
<td>Agent Nominalizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ObjNmlz</td>
<td>Object Nominalizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PatModNmlz</td>
<td>Patient Modifier'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PstAgt</td>
<td>Past Agent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CircnstNmlz</td>
<td>Circumstantial Nominalizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SpcEvntNmlz</td>
<td>Specific Event Nominalizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GenEvntNmlz</td>
<td>Generic Event Nominalizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PtNmlz</td>
<td>Participant Nominalizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PrivNmlz</td>
<td>Prativive Nominalizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priv</td>
<td>Prativive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RecprN</td>
<td>Reciprocal on nouns'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recpr</td>
<td>Reciprocal on postpositions'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg</td>
<td>Ergative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem</td>
<td>Demonstrative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inan</td>
<td>Inanimate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann</td>
<td>Animate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prox</td>
<td>Proximal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med</td>
<td>Medial'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dist</td>
<td>'Distal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snd</td>
<td>'sound symbolic word'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPst</td>
<td>'Non Past'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HabPst</td>
<td>'Habitual Past'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RecPst</td>
<td>'Recent Past'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ImpAblat</td>
<td>'Imperative Ablative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HortAbl</td>
<td>'Hortatory Ablative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DistPst</td>
<td>'Distant Past'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ProxImp</td>
<td>'Proximal Imperative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ImpAllat</td>
<td>'Imperative Allative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ProxHort</td>
<td>'Proximal Hortatory'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HortAllat</td>
<td>'Hortatory Allative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PurpMot</td>
<td>'Purpose of Motion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vrblz</td>
<td>'Verbalizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PrivVrblz</td>
<td>'Privative Verbalizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PpNVrblz</td>
<td>'Postpositional Verbalizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans</td>
<td>'Transitive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>'Noun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attr</td>
<td>'Attributive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Det</td>
<td>'Detransitivizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compl</td>
<td>'Completive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prfct</td>
<td>'Perfective'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resumpt</td>
<td>'Resumptive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necessit</td>
<td>'Necessitative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pcoll</td>
<td>'Postpositional Collective'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comit</td>
<td>'Comitative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclus</td>
<td>'Inclusive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des</td>
<td>'Desiderative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OblAgt</td>
<td>'Oblique Agent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>'Benefactive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>'Dative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr</td>
<td>'Instrument'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AvIntens</td>
<td>'Adverbial Intensifier'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

( ) Indicate the text source of the example. Skkk
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, Urucliâna, 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 Tiriyó. 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 17th century in the north and in the 19th 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 Apitu (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 Tiriyó 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 artcrafs locally or via Apitu 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 Apitu, 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 Suwisuwimín, a Wayâna village, and perhaps Murei (in our only visit of approximately one hour, Wayana was the only language we heard).

Though Suwisuwimín 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 Suwisuwiní 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 Tiriyó. Aparai is the language most spoken there, but also some Tiriyó, 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 pêk 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 Indigenas 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.  

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)


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 Wayãna 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 Wayãna.¹

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

¹ 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.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
[e]–[ɛ] & [o]–[ɔ] \\
& d. [peptə] & ~ & [peptə] & ‘big’ \\
& e. [ahnep] & ~ & [ahnep] & ‘peanut’ \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
[o] & [ɔ] \\
2) & a. [jokɔɾɔm] & b. [hɔkɔɾɔm] & ‘to paddle’ \\
& c. [koko] & d. [koko] & ‘night’ \\
& e. [kiŋɔɾo] & f. [kiŋɔɾo] & ‘macaw\(^2\)’ \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
[e] & [ɛ] \\
3) & a. [tɛŋtɛtɛn] & b. [tɛtɛtɛn] & ‘to bounce’ \\
& c. [wewε] & d. [wewε] & ‘wood’ \\
& e. [ɛɾɛkɪt] & f. [ɛɾɛkɪt] & ‘wound’ \\
& g. [peptə] & h. [peptə] & ‘big’ \\
& i. [ahnep] & j. [ahnep] & ‘peanut’ \\
\end{array}
\]

There also exists a tendency for certain words to be realized either by their open or closed version: [kuʃɛkɔm] ‘our mother’, [kuʃekɔm] ‘our teeth’. The adverbializer \(t\)-\(V\)-(h)\(e\) is almost always realized as [he], the collective suffix –k\(o\)(a) is almost always realized as [k\(o\)]m, etc.

---

\(^2\) Some speakers say that it must be pronounced [kününɔ], and that [kününɔ] is a pronunciation borrowed from Aparai. In any case, [kününɔ] is the most common pronunciation among Wayãna 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/e/</th>
<th>/o/</th>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/a/</th>
<th>/o/</th>
<th>/u/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[wipohnap]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I think of him/her/it’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[wepohnap]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I missed him/her/it’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[ipi] ‘her brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[epi] ‘your brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[aepi] ‘fly’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[ipi] ‘my brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ipi] ‘hill’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[ip] ‘her brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ips] ‘his/her shoulder blade’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[upi] ‘someone found it’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[upo] ‘clothing’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[iimo] ‘egg’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[uhmo] ‘someone killed (it)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/e/</th>
<th>/o/</th>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/a/</th>
<th>/o/</th>
<th>/u/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[erewe] ‘plant (sp.)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[aerewe] ‘fly’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[ipe] ‘tree’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ipi] ‘hill’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[i] ‘my mother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[aje] ‘your mother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[ke] ‘question particle’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ka] ‘fish’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[pore] ‘fish (sp.)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[poro] ‘to arrive’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[eputpi] ‘pit’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[uputpi] ‘his head’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ur] ‘lit’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[uru] ‘manioc bread’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ipi] ‘hill’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[upi] ‘H/Sh/She bathed someone’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[aru] ‘idiot’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[hpu] ‘spoon’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, μ or ν, 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-paŋka/ → [wipaŋka] ‘I spread something’
    b. /w-i-namaŋa/ → [winamaŋa] ‘I adorned someone’
    c. /w-i-puuma/ → [wipuuma] ‘I blew on it’
    d. /onoonkoe/ → [onoonke] ‘damp’
    e. /toloomo/ → [toloomo] ‘swollen’
    f. /maakaŋu/ → [maakaŋu] ‘bird sp.’
    g. /kaŋpucka/ → [kaŋpucka] ‘beetle (sp.)’

6)  u/uu       CCV morpheme
    a. [pupu] ‘foot’     [pupup[ik] ‘small foot’
    b. [puupu] ‘river turtle’ [puupurup[ik] ‘small turtle’
    c. [aɾi] ‘idiot’     [aɾumna] ‘there is no idiot’
    d. [aɾu] ‘porcupine’ [aɾuɾumna] ‘there is no porcupine’

7)  e/ee
    a. [etaa] ‘his kidney’ [etaɾjma] ‘without his kidney’
    b. [etaa] ‘hole’ [etaɾjma] ‘without a hole’
    c. [ije] ‘his mother’ [ijemna] ‘without a mother’
    d. [jee] ‘his tooth’ [jeɾjma] ‘without teeth’

8)  a/aa
    g. [ipa] ‘his shoulder blade’ [ipap[ik] ‘his small shoulder blade’
    h. [ipaa] ‘his granddaughter’ [ipapɾ[ik] ‘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 [i].

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, [α], is similar to that of the English word father (Tavares, 1993):

9)  
   a. [uʃpɔk]  ‘long time ago’
   b. [jupɔk]  ‘lit’
   c. [papɔk]  ‘father’
   d. [akawɔk]  ‘bird (sp.)’
   e. [mɔŋɔk]  ‘mosquito’
   f. [akaŋɛŋɔk]  ‘far’
   g. [rapɔk]  ‘fish (sp.)’

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

10)  
    a. [jaktikip]–[ʃ ək.ti.kip]  ‘cut’
    b. [aktuŋpoj]–[ək.tuŋ.poj]  ‘up river’

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

11)  
    a. [napɔk]  ‘potato (sp.)’
    b. [eŋaŋɔk]  ‘take it!’
    c. [itɔk]  ‘go!’
    d. [kunmɔk]  ‘he came (long ago)’
    e. [wanɔk]  ‘ant sp.’
    f. [tʊŋɔk]  ‘fly.sp’

---

3 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)VN.CV…
    a. [ëmma]  ‘we (excl.)’
    b. [kûnmak]  ‘he came (long ago)’
    c. [pûmpîr[a]  ‘paper’
    d. [îmna]  ‘there is not’
    e. [amat]  ‘branch’
    f. [kama]  ‘finish’
    g. [muɾe]  ‘child’
    h. [mamak]  ‘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 [\textsuperscript{*}], though it is not as strong as that in the examples described above.\textsuperscript{4}

13) NORMAL SPEECH SLOW SPEECH
    a. [pájínâ] [paʃina]  ‘fish (sp.)’
    b. [wajanâ] [wajana]  ‘people’
    c. [huwâ] [huwa]  ‘as such’
    d. [akenâ] [akeña]  ‘first’
    e. [piɾamî] [piɾami]  ‘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 \textsuperscript{\textendash}-n(u)\textsuperscript{5} as in example (14), which is preserved with \textsuperscript{\textendash}-kom(o), the collective suffix (14 d), and a CCV particle. Other speakers preserve the possessive suffix in all environments.\textsuperscript{6}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Xamore & Other speakers \\
14) & \\
a. [pitaj]  ‘heel’ & a. [pitaj]  ‘heel’
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{4} 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 [huwâ] ‘as such’ is nasalized even in slow speech.

\textsuperscript{5} In the examples, \textsuperscript{-}n(u) ‘possessive suffix’ undergoes vowel deletion: /nu\rightarrow[n]/ or /-CV/. The same happens to \textsuperscript{-}kom(o) ‘collective’. The deletion of segments is thoroughly discussed in section 2.3.1.

\textsuperscript{6} In the examples, [i] represents a syllable nucleus and [j] a coda, as in [ip.ta.j] ‘my heel’ and [pitaj] ‘heel’, respectively. This convention will be used throughout this chapter.
2.1.1.5. **Devoicing of */i/*. The voiced [i] and voiceless [j] realizations of */i/* are in free variation between [j] and a voiceless consonant.

15) a. [maʃike] ~ [maʃike] ‘so’
    b. [akiʃita] ~ [akiʃita] ‘rheumatism’
    c. [taʃikôm] ~ [taʃikôm] ‘their being’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>retroflex</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral flap glides</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>[p]</th>
<th>[t]</th>
<th>[k]</th>
<th>[n]</th>
<th>[m]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>[tel]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 Minimal pairs for [n] vs. [m] in *now* and *now* show [j] as a realization of [n], which palatalizes before [j] (cf. section 2.1.2.2.2).
The table above shows an interesting minimal pair for /p/ and /m/: [afjiphak] ‘hot’ and [afjimhak] ‘fast’. Both forms consist of a root, [afj], 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. [oko]  ‘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/.\(^8\)

- **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. [kuhela] ~ [kuhela'] 'manioc stem'
b. [kunene] ~ [kunene'] 'someone brought it (long ago)'
c. [stat] ~ [stat'] 'hammock'
d. [amat] ~ [amat'] 'branch'
e. [ipok] ~ [ipok'] 'occupied with it'
f. [warak] ~ [warak'] 'fish sp.'

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

18) a. [p'amp'ira] 'paper'
b. [p'up'ot] 'body hair'
c. [t'orop'it] 'bird'
d. [t'o't] 'they'
e. [k'ok'o] 'night'
f. [k'op'e] '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/:\(^9\)

19) a. /panti/ → [pant'i] 'male vestment'
b. /tinin/ → [t'inin] 'noise of metal hitting'
c. [a'repatajeti] → [a'repatajet'i] 'fish sp.'
d. /makwati/ → [makwati] 'fish sp.'
e. /temanu/ → [teman] 'insect sp.'

---

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

\(^9\) This does not happen across word boundary: [onot.ičan] 'new fruit (kd.).'
The only stop undergoing free variation is /t/. Free variation between [t̚i] 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. [aɾeptiɾe] ~ [aɾept'iɾe] ‘small leaf’
b. [t̚iɾepe] ~ [t̚iɾepe] ‘feverish’

2.1.2.2. Fricatives. Wayãna 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. The allophones of /h/ are found in Table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realizations of /h/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>postalveolar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morpheme internally, the postalveolar voiceless fricative [ʃ] 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])

---

10 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.
11 In two words with [s] were attested in the speech of young speakers: [apsik], [isandajan]. In both, [s]
freely alternates with [ʃ].
12 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)  [f] /\_i\_ 

22)  / [i] _\_V
    ‘urinate’, e. [kur[i]a] ‘mud’.

23)  / [t] _\_V
    [pana[mat][e] ‘good to hear’\(^{13}\)

24)  [h] /#\_V
    d. [h[or]o] ‘bird (sp.)’, e. [hakak] ‘spider’.

25)  / V _\_V

Table 6 summarizes the distribution of fricatives morpheme-internally.

Table 6
Distribution of fricatives - Complementary distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>f</th>
<th>h</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>_i</td>
<td>#_V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iV</td>
<td></td>
<td>V=_V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t_</td>
<td></td>
<td>C=_V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, /-_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/).\(^{14}\) (The
examples in (26 a) and (26 c) show /h/ deletion, a phenomenon discussed in section
2.3.1.3.)

\(^{13}\) The suffix -(t)\(e\) derives adverbials from verbs: [uwa] ‘to kill’ => [uwa-t]\(e\) ‘good to kill’ (7.2.1.2.1.)

\(^{14}\) One speaker did not accepted the palatalized realization of /h/ in this environment.
26) a. /h-ene-hi/  \(\rightarrow\) [henej]  ‘Let’s see’  
b. /h-ene-hi+hku/  \(\rightarrow\) [henejɪhku]  ‘Oh, let’s see’  
c. /h-i-panakma-hi/  \(\rightarrow\) [jipanaməjmai]  ‘Let’s listen’  
d. /h-i-panakma-hi+hku/  \(\rightarrow\) [henejɪhku]  ‘Oh, let’s see’  

27) a. /marjja-he/  \(\rightarrow\) [marjɪjahe]  ‘S/he wants a knife’  
b. /i-he/  \(\rightarrow\) [ihe]  ‘S/he/it desires me’  
c. /a-he/  \(\rightarrow\) [ahe]  ‘S/he/it desires you’  
d. /i-he/  \(\rightarrow\) [iʃe]  ‘S/he/it desires S/he/it’  

28) a. /hapa/  \(\rightarrow\) [hapa]  ‘machete’  
b. /i-hapa-nu/  \(\rightarrow\) [iʃapən]  ‘my machete’  
c. /a-hapa-nu/  \(\rightarrow\) [ɔʃapən]  ‘your machete’  
d. /i-hapa-nu/  \(\rightarrow\) [iʃapən]  ‘his machete’  

29) a. /ta-e-hahka-he/  \(\rightarrow\) [tæehakəj]  ‘torn apart’  
b. /m-i-hahka/  \(\rightarrow\) [miʃahka]  ‘you tore it apart’  

30) a. /n-utati/  \(\rightarrow\) [nutat]  ‘he got lost’  
b. /t-utati-he/  \(\rightarrow\) [tutatʃe]  ‘lost’  
c. /t-utati-he-amo/  \(\rightarrow\) [tutatʃamo]  ‘the lost ones’  
d. /utati-he/  \(\rightarrow\) [enatʃe]  ‘in order to get lost’  

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

31) a. /te-remi-he/  \(\rightarrow\) [təremihe]  ‘sang’  \(\{təremiʃe\}\)  
b. /t-upi-he-amo/  \(\rightarrow\) [tupiiʃamo]  ‘the ones that look for’  \(\{tapiʃamo\}\)  
c. /te-remi-he/  \(\rightarrow\) [te-remihe]  ‘in order to sing’  \(\{te-remiʃe\}\)  

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

32) a. /onoto/  \(\rightarrow\) [onot]  ‘fruit (sp.)’  
b. /onoto+he/  \(\rightarrow\) [onotʃe]  ‘S/he/it wants onot’  
c. /onoto+haponu/  \(\rightarrow\) [onothapən]  ‘like onot’  \(\{onothəpən\}\)  
d. /onoto+heɾə/  \(\rightarrow\) [onothəɾə]  ‘this onot’  \(\{onothəɾə\}\)

\(^{15}\) 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.
The lack of contrast between the fricatives, the complementary distribution, and the alternation across morpheme and word boundaries point to the existence of only one underlying segment. There are at least three possibilities for representing this segment: /h/ and /ʃ/ are both surface sounds, and Camargo (1996:130) suggests /s/ as a more abstract alternation. I propose /h/ as the underlying segment because it allows the simplest and most motivated representation: [ʃ] results from palatalization (/t/ and /i/ can both be represented as coronals triggering the palatalization (cf. Kenstowicz 1994:464 for a discussion on front vowels behaving as coronals and on the association between sounds such as [t] and [i] in palatalization rules)), and [h] is the default realization of /h/.

This general pattern (with the exceptions that /i/ does not trigger palatalization across a morpheme boundary in suffixal position\(^{16}\) or across a word boundary, and that the palatalization triggered by /t/ at a word boundary is restricted only to the desiderative postposition) can be easily represented in the form of a phonemic rule:

34) \( /h/ \rightarrow [ʃ] \quad /\_i \)
    \( /i\_V \)
    \( /t\_V \)
    \( \rightarrow [h] \quad /\_\text{elsewhere}. \)
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 Wayãna (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.17

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/.18

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/

---

16 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.
17 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 Wayãna of the Maroni river. Jackson (1972:48), also reports the existence of [s] in the Wayãna of the Tapanahonij river, which according to him "varies freely between alveolar and alveopalatal points of articulation". In the speech of the Wayãna 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.).
18 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NORMAL SPEECH</th>
<th>SLOW SPEECH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. [ɛnu]</td>
<td>b. [i.nu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. [ɛnaɾa]</td>
<td>d. [i.naɾa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. [paŋəŋa]</td>
<td>f. [paŋ.naŋa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. [moɾəɾnaŋa]</td>
<td>h. [moɾəɾnaŋa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. [ɛnɛnɛ]</td>
<td>j. [ɛnɛnɛ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ([ɾ]) 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.19

| 36) | a. [tumtaɾa] | 'get on board (a canoe)' |
|     | b. [eɡlot]  | 'cloud' |
|     | c. [pampiɾa] | 'paper' |
|     | d. [waɾa]   | '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. [βeβɛ] ~ [wewɛ] | 'wood'.20 |
|     | c. [βεnɛ] ~ [wɛnɛ] | 'I saw S/he/it' |

---

19 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 Wayãna of Surinam.

20 This word can be also realized as [βɛβɛ] or [wewɛ], since [ɛ] and [e] may also occur in free variation.
d. [ɛɾewe] ~ [ɛɾebeb] ‘wild fruit (kd.)’

Hardening may occur also in the articulation of the palatal /j/. In syllabic onset, [j] and [j³] (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. [jukiriri] ~ [j³ukiriri] ‘otter’
    b. [juwe] ~ [j³we] ‘I am going to dance’
    c. [jepe] ~ [j³hepe] ‘my friend’
    d. [jewana] ~ [j³ewana] ‘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.

42) CVC. a. /pa.jn.ø.ko/ ‘wild pig’, b. /mam.ha.ɾi/ ‘bird (sp.)’, c. /tut.pə/ ‘vase’, d. /mun.pə/ ‘rat’, e. /ta.kwə/ ‘how are you?’, f. /i.jəj/ ‘lizard (sp.)’

All consonants can occur as syllabic onsets. However, not all consonants co-occur with all vowels or with equal frequency: /ɜə/ and /jə/ occur in only one example
each ([tʰəhəməj] ‘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: /t/ 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. 21

The attested consonant clusters are:

43) [pt], [pk], [ph]
44) [tp], [tk]
a. [jitipi] ‘old, ugly’, b. [iwatki] ‘his tale’
45) [kp], [kt]
46) [hp], [ht], [hk], [hm], [hn], [ht'], [hj], [hw]
47) [mp], [mt], [mk], [mh], [mn], [mj]
48) [np], [nt], [nk], [nm], [nw]
49) [jp], [jt], [jk], [jh], [jm], [jn]

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

21 Some morphemes start in consonant clusters (/ptɨɾe/ ‘tiny’, pʃik ‘small, little’, /mna/ ‘without’, /hpə/ ‘existential’, etc.) but all must resyllabify:

/aɾe+ptɨɾe/  →  /aɾep.tiɾe/  ‘tiny leaf’
/oʃo+peʃik/  →  /oʃo.peʃik/  ‘small hand’
51) [bj], [ŋm], [ŋn], [ɡt], [gw]

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>j22</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>pt</td>
<td>pk</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>bj</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tp</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>tk</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kp</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ŋm</td>
<td>ŋn</td>
<td>ɡt</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>gw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>hp</td>
<td>ht</td>
<td>hk</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mp</td>
<td>mt</td>
<td>mk</td>
<td>mh</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>mj</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>np</td>
<td>nt</td>
<td>nk</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>nm</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>nw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>jp</td>
<td>jt</td>
<td>jk</td>
<td>jh</td>
<td>jm</td>
<td>jn</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>wt</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: /t/ never occurs as coda, and /w/ occurs in that position only in [ɔwɔtɔ] ‘place’, which alternates with [eɔtɔ]). /t/ almost fails to occur at all in consonant clusters: only [ɡt] and [hr] are found.

- /h/ occurs as coda preceding all consonants, except in a geminate (/hh/) cluster.

---

22 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], *[pt], *[pj], *[pw], *[tm], *[tn], *[t], *[tj], *[tw], *[kh], *[km], *[kn], *[kt], *[kj], *[kw], *[mt], *[mw], *[nh], *[nt], *[nj], *[jt], *[jw] (/th/→[t]).

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 [n] occur only in the clusters [bj], [gr], [gw], [nj], [nn]. At the same time, the clusters *[pj], *[kt], *[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] /pj/ /kt/ /kw/ → [bj], [gr], [gw], respectively.
54) [stop]→[+nasal]/___+[nasal] /km/ and /kn/ → [nj] and [nn], 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/, */pt/ */pw/, */t/, */tj/, */tw/, and */kj/, represent a gap: *[mm], *[bt], *[bw], *[dt], *[dj], *[dw], and *[gj] never occur within a morpheme. Other clusters such as */kh/, */mt/, */mw/, */nt/, */nj/, */jt/, and */jw/ also never occur.

The hypothesis regarding the assimilation of voice and nasalizality 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/, */pt/, */pw/, */tj/, */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_j*). The only exceptions are */V_iV_u* and */V_iV_i*. 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.24

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NORMAL SPEECH</th>
<th>SLOW SPEECH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. [iu]</td>
<td>b. [i.u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. [au]</td>
<td>d. [a.u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. [kumau]</td>
<td>f. [ku.ma.u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. [wei]</td>
<td>h. [we.i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. [ai]</td>
<td>j. [a.i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. [jau]</td>
<td>l. [ja.u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. [jou]</td>
<td>n. [jo.u]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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_i* syllables occur only word-initially). While */(C)V_i* and */(C)V_u* are frequent, no other */(C)V_iV_i* sequences are found in the data (cf. 2.2.1).

---

23 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_j* → */V_j*.

24 It is important to note that a distinction between */V_j*/V_w* 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] (*ijo.i).
Certain gaps in the syllable types provide a clue to understanding this: *wu and *ji, as well as *ij and *uw. are unattested.\(^{25}\) 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).\(^{26}\) 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](image)

**Deletion of Onset Glides**

\[
\begin{align*}
/wu/ & \rightarrow [u] \\
/ji/ & \rightarrow [i]
\end{align*}
\]

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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>u.w</th>
<th>i.j</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. [h.wa]</td>
<td>‘as such’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. [e.ru.wa]</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. [u.wa]</td>
<td>‘not’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{25}\) 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 Ø: (all other examples coming from Nataniel, however, follow the pattern laid out above).

| [mawuu] | ‘cotton’ |
| [kuwu.uma] | ‘there’s no owl (sp.)’ |
| [ijojipe] | ‘there is lizard (sp.)’ |

\(^{26}\) 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.wa] '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, /ɬ/ 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. /mi-ne-ri-mi/ → [mi-ne-ri-mi] 'husband'
b. i-piti/ → [ipit] 'my wife' d. /i-mi-ne-ri-mi/ → [im-ne-ri-mi] '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: 27

58) a. /w-akɔraga/  →  [wakɔraga]  ‘I broke it’
b. /w-akɔrama/  →  [wagɔrama]  ‘I put it up’
c. /w-i-tapama/  →  [witapama]  ‘I stretched it’
d. /w-i-wipka/  →  [wiwipka]  ‘I scratched it’
e. /momta/  →  [mɔmta]  ‘house (kd.)’
f. /akɔto/  →  [aŋaŋ]  ‘foam’
g. /ɔmna/  →  [ɔmna]  ‘nose’

Morphonological alternations show that besides vowels, consonants can also
delete. This is the case of /h/ and /t/ (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) /t/ deletion. After vowel deletion, due to the no coda /t/ constraint, /t/ is
deleted resulting (sometimes) in compensatory lengthening: (C)V.CV→(C)V.C→(C)VV.

60) a. /iʃu-mna/  →  [iʃumna]  ‘without shrimp’
b. /iʃu/  →  [iʃu]  ‘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. /wɔtiki+phiki/  →  [wɔtikipikiatik] ‘small woman’
b. /wɔtiki/  →  [wɔtik]  ‘woman’

---

27 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’, $w$- ‘1 A3O’, $i$/$j$- ‘1st person’, $i$- ‘3rd person’, the discontinuous morpheme $t$- $ke$ ‘having’, the suffixes $-ta$ ‘Possessive Inchoative Verbalizer’, $-k(o)$ ‘Proximal Imperative’, $-tpē$ ‘Devaluative’, $-kom(o)$ ‘Collective’, $-əmə$ ‘Resumptive’, $-me$ ‘Attributive’, $-mna$ ‘without’, and the particle $pʃik$ ‘little, small’).
### Table 8
Long and Short Allomorphs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>words</th>
<th>PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION</th>
<th>SHORT ALLOMORPH</th>
<th>FULL ALLOMORPH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-verbal forms</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V /jumi/ 'father'</td>
<td>[i-jum] 'his father'</td>
<td>[ijumta] 'I have a father'</td>
<td>[ijumima] 'without my father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃ/ (/tʃu/) /pɨɾi/ 'brother'</td>
<td>[ipili] 'my brother'</td>
<td>[ipiike] 'with a brother'</td>
<td>[ipiɾam] 'my brothers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/ /warjhi/ 'woman'</td>
<td>[warj] 'woman'</td>
<td>[warjime] 'like a woman'</td>
<td>[warjham] 'women'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V /enepi/ 'bring'</td>
<td>[n-enep] '3-brought-3'</td>
<td>[enepka] 'bring-3!'</td>
<td>[nenepipa] '3-brought-3 a little'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/ /apohi/ 'grab, get'</td>
<td>[napaj] '3-got-3'</td>
<td>[apaika] 'get-3!'</td>
<td>[tapahama] '1-got-3 again'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Suffixes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V -n(u) 'possessive'</td>
<td>[ipakon] 'my house'</td>
<td>[ipakonkom] 'their house'</td>
<td>[ipakonpi] 'his old house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃ/ -ti 'possessive'</td>
<td>[itece] 'my liver'</td>
<td>[iteekom] 'their liver'</td>
<td>[itecepi] 'his former liver'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/ -he 'purpose of motion'</td>
<td>[enej] 'go in order to see'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Full allomorphs occur whenever followed by \( CV \) particles or suffixes, a surface

\(-C\) suffix (63 c), and by some morphemes beginning with \( CV \): \(-pin(i)\) 'Privative

Nominalizer' (with \(-min\) allomorph), \(-ra\) 'Negative' and the postposition \( ja \) 'Dative.'

\(-n(u)\) and \(-t(i)\) 'Possessive'

62) a. /paru/ \( \rightarrow \) [paru] 'banana'
b. /paru-mna/ \( \rightarrow \) [paru'mna] 'no bananas'
c. /i-paru-nu/ \( \rightarrow \) [iparu'nu] 'my banana'
d. /sṛeki/ \( \rightarrow \) [sṛek] 'wound'
e. /je-sṛeki-ti/ \( \rightarrow \) [ješṛekti] 'my wound'

\(-pin(i)\)

63) a. /ipoke/ \( \rightarrow \) [ipok] 'good'
b. /ipoke-pinip/ \( \rightarrow \) [ipokepin] 'good'
c. /ămamhako/ \( \rightarrow \) [ămamhak] 'greedy'
d. /ămamhako-pinip/ \( \rightarrow \) [ămamhakopin] 'the one with no greed'

\(-ra\)

64) a. /ipoke/ \( \rightarrow \) [ipok] 'good'
b. /ipoke-ra/ \( \rightarrow \) [ipoker] 'good'
c. /ămamhako/ \( \rightarrow \) [ămamhak] 'greedy'
d. /ămamhako-ra/ \( \rightarrow \) [ămamhakara] 'the one with no greed'

\( ja\)

65) a. /pakako/ \( \rightarrow \) [papak] 'father'
b. /pakako+ja/ \( \rightarrow \) [papakoja] 'by/to my father'
c. /imepin/ \( \rightarrow \) [imepin] 'another'
d. /imepin+ja/ \( \rightarrow \) [imepinija] 'by/to another'

The following sections discuss the main aspects of syllable reduction (vowel deletion, /h/ deletion, and /r/ 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. 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)); as for suffixes ending with /ə/, some undergo vowel deletion, such as the proximal imperative -k(ə) and the imperative allative -kət(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)).


66) a. /t-ə-he-mi-mna/ → [tahemimna] ‘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/ → [ipakoɾonawə] ‘inside my house’
f. i-pakoɾo-nu+ta-wə+phiki/ → [ipakoɾontawəpʰi] ‘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’

---

28 This includes the possessive suffix /tɨ/. This however is discussed in section 2.3.1.2.
Two suffixes, the proximal imperative -k(ə) and the discontinuous t-N-k(ə)

‘having’ (with allomorphs t-N-te 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 for examples with /u/)

and with stems undergoing /h/ deletion). The allomorph t-N-k(ə) of the adverbializer

undergoes vowel deletion that is lexically conditioned:

67)  a. /enepi-ka/ → [enepkə] ‘bring!’
b. /epi-ka/ → [epikə] ‘bath!’
c. /aməmi-ka/ → [aməmkə] ‘enter!’
d. /etemi-ka/ → [etemikə] ‘sing!’
e. /atuku-ka/ → [atuhkə] ‘eat!’
f. /ku-meçeka-ka/ → [kumeçekək] ‘touch me!’
g. /ene-ka/ → [enek] ‘look at it’
h. /oko-ka/ → [okok] ‘cut it!’
i. /aɡa-ka/ → [aɡak] ‘take it!’
j. /apahi-ka/ → [apajkə] ‘get it!’
k. /ehi-ka/ → [eikə] ‘be!’

68)  a. /ti-pakoʃo-ke/ → [tipakoʃoke] ‘(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-te/ → [tipubɾe] ‘(someone) has feet’
b. /t-awu-te/ → [tawuɾe] ‘(someone) has eye’
c. /t-oki-je/ → [təkiʃe] ‘(someone) has an animal’
d. /ti-pi-je/ → [tipiʃe] ‘(someone) has a wife’

Most morphemes of one syllable do not undergo vowel deletion. Examples below

show free forms: 29

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

29 Some other morphemes of one syllable are: a) suffixes: -ma ‘Give verbalizer’, -ta ‘Possessive inchoative


la(ʔə) ‘Emphatic’, ka ‘Question’, ma ‘Emphatic’; c) postpositions: ke ‘Instrument; Source’, ta ‘in

permanent location’, ja ‘Dative’.

37
d. /ta/ → [ta] ‘what?’

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

2.3.1.1.2. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CV.CV</th>
<th>V.CV</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71a. /mita/</td>
<td>[mita] ‘mouth’</td>
<td>71b. /uru/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /jeri/</td>
<td>[jeri] ‘tooth’</td>
<td>b. /oti/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. /pupu/</td>
<td>[pupu] ‘foot’</td>
<td>c. /omi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. /tuma/</td>
<td>[tuma] ‘pan (kd.)’</td>
<td>d. /apa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. /pimi/</td>
<td>[pimi] ‘neck’</td>
<td>e. /api/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. /mota/</td>
<td>[mota] ‘shoulder’</td>
<td>f. /eni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. /kumu/</td>
<td>[kumu] ‘palm fruit (sp.)’</td>
<td>g. /omo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. /paku/</td>
<td>[paku] ‘fish (sp.)’</td>
<td>h. /oæ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. /tami/</td>
<td>[tami] ‘cigarret’</td>
<td>i. /oæm/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. /patu/</td>
<td>[patu] ‘pan’</td>
<td>j. /æw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. /kapu/</td>
<td>[kapu] ‘sky’</td>
<td>k. /aŋi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. /hapo/</td>
<td>[hapo] ‘hat’</td>
<td>l. /æki/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. /pane/</td>
<td>[pane] ‘piranha’</td>
<td>m. /aŋi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

| 72a. /nir+paɾi/ | [niɾapaa] ‘Nila’s grandchild’ |
| b. /nir+piɾi/  | [niɾapii] ‘Nila’s brother’   |
| c. /nir+miɾi/  | [niɾamii] ‘Nila’s artery’    |
| d. /nir+firi/  | [niɾafii] ‘Nila’s vein’      |
| e. /nir+punu/  | [niɾapun] ‘Nila’s body’      |

A few two-syllable words undergo vowel deletion in all environments (except, of course, in the environments were 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/.

CV.CV \rightarrow CVC

73) a. /i-piti-mna/ \rightarrow [ipitimna] ‘without his wife’
b. /pit/i \rightarrow [pit] ‘wife’
c. /ajmoře+piti/ \rightarrow [ajmořepit] ‘Aimole’s wife’
d. /i-jumi-mna/ \rightarrow [ijimidma] ‘without his/her father’
e. /jumi/ \rightarrow [jum] ‘father’
f. /niřa+jumi/ \rightarrow [niřajum] ‘Nila’s father’
g. /mane+hna/ \rightarrow [manehna] ‘third person copula + also’
h. /mane/ \rightarrow [man] ‘third person copula’
i. /maki+nma/ \rightarrow [makinma] ‘the distal demonstrative animate plus really’
j. /maki/ \rightarrow [mak] ‘distal demonstrative animate’
k. /mini+hna/ \rightarrow [minihna] ‘distal demonstrative inanimate plus also’
l. /mini/ \rightarrow [min] ‘distal demonstrative inanimate’
m. /hini+hna/ \rightarrow [hinihna] ‘proximal demonstrative inanimate plus also’
n. /hini/ \rightarrow [hin] ‘proximal demonstrative inanimate’
o. /paka+hna/ \rightarrow [pakahna] ‘about (it) also’
p. /paka/ \rightarrow [pak] ‘about’
q. /patu-tomo-mna/ \rightarrow [patutomomna] ‘without pans’
r. /patu-tomo/ \rightarrow [patutom] ‘pans’
s. /toto/ \rightarrow [tot] ‘third person particle’
t. /tep/ \rightarrow [tep] ‘adversative particle’
u. /heke/ \rightarrow [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 \rightarrow VC. There are only two exceptions to this pattern: the words for /uɾu/ ‘bread’ and /oɾi/ ‘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. /uɾu/ \rightarrow [uɾu] ‘bread’
b. /niɾa+uɾu/ \rightarrow [niɾauɾu] ‘Nila’s bread’
c. /i-uɾu/ \rightarrow [juɾu] ‘my bread’
d. /əw-uɾu/ \rightarrow [awuɾu] ‘your bread’
e. /ik-uɾu/ \rightarrow [ikuɾu] ‘our bread (dual)’
f. /t-uɾu/ \rightarrow [tuɾu] ‘his own bread’
g. /oɾi/ \rightarrow [oɾi] ‘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-npa/ \(\rightarrow\) [enetopn]pa ‘former seeing’
b. /ene-topo/ \(\rightarrow\) [enetop] ‘seeing’
c. /ku-patu-komo+hn/ \(\rightarrow\) [kupatukomoh]n ‘our pan also’
d. /ku-patu-komo/ \(\rightarrow\) [kupatu]kom ‘our pan’
e. /otuku-k\textbackslash t\textbackslash o+hna/ \(\rightarrow\) [etuht\textbackslash o]hn ‘come to eat also’
f. /i-pamp\textbackslash i\textbackslash ra-pini-mna/ \(\rightarrow\) [ipamp\textbackslash irapim\textbackslash in]mna ‘one not in need of paper’
g. /i-pamp\textbackslash i\textbackslash ra-pini/ \(\rightarrow\) [ipamp\textbackslash irapin] ‘with no paper’
h. /i-poke-anu/ \(\rightarrow\) [ipokan] ‘good one’

To summarize: words with the syllabic shape \(V.C.V\) 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.

2.3.1.1.3. 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) \(3\) \(\rightarrow\) \(2\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V.CV.CV (\rightarrow) V.CVC</th>
<th>V.CV.CV (\rightarrow) VC.CV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /amati/ (\rightarrow) [amat] ‘branch’</td>
<td>a. /amati/ (\rightarrow) [imat] ‘branch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /amati-mna/ (\rightarrow) [amatimna] ‘there is no branch’</td>
<td>b. /amati-mna/ (\rightarrow) [imatimna] ‘there is no branch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. /i-piti/ (\rightarrow) [ipit] ‘my wife’</td>
<td>c. /i-piti/ (\rightarrow) [ipit] ‘my wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. /piti-mna/ (\rightarrow) [pitimna] ‘there is no wife’</td>
<td>d. /piti-mna/ (\rightarrow) [pitimna] ‘there is no wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. /i-mita/ (\rightarrow) [imta] ‘my mouth’</td>
<td>e. /i-mita/ (\rightarrow) [imta] ‘my mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. /mita/ (\rightarrow) [mita] ‘mouth’</td>
<td>f. /mita/ (\rightarrow) [mita] ‘mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. /i-pumo/ (\rightarrow) [ihmo] ‘his egg’</td>
<td>g. /i-pumo/ (\rightarrow) [ihmo] ‘his egg’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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).  

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 *i- ‘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/, /a/, /u/, and /o/ undergo deletion word-finally. Only the vowels /i/ and /u/, however, delete root-medially.

77) V.CV.CV → V.CVC

   g. /ajamo/ → [ajam] ‘louse’, h. /ono-ti/ → [onot] ‘fruit (kd.)’,
   i. /i-poke/ → [ipok] ‘good’, j. /jo-roko/ → [jorok] ‘evil supernatural being’,
   k. /aw-oti/ → [awot] ‘your animal based food’,
   l. /ataku/ → [atak] ‘saliva’, m. /a-kunu/ → [akun] ‘waist’,
   n. /a-gi/ → [agi] ‘wound’,
   s. /upake/ → [upak], t. /j-epi-ti/ → [epit] ‘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’

---

30 Forms that must have undergone this kind of vowel deletion historically are: a) V.CV.CV → VC.CV: /ator/ ‘beard’, /emna/ ‘we (exclusive)’, /ihka/ ‘skin-worm’, among others; b) CV.CV.CV → CVC.CV: /tutpa/ ‘vase (kd.)’, /watki/ ‘tale’, /munpa/ ‘rat’, among others.
e. /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. /munato/ → [munat] 'scorpion',
   e. /katip/ → [katipl] 'like',
   f. /mihenu/ → [mihen] 'poor', g. /jojok/ → [joojok] 'devil',
   h. /tegen/ → [tegen] 'big', i. /kurum/ → [kurum] 'vulture',
   j. /hamut/ → [hamut] 'sand',
   k. /parumi/ → [parum] 'son-in-law',
   l. /kopini/ → [kopin] 'grass',
   m. /wetepu/ → [wetep] 'belly',
   n. /patumi/ → [patum] 'nephew', o. /jemiti/ → [jemit] 'my face',
   p. /wapoto/ → [wapot] 'fire'.

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

80) /e/  [oroke] 'royal sloth'
81) /i/  a. [manati] 'breast',
     b. [ipimi] 'my neck' (cf. /kaneti/ → [kanet] 'hammock string', c. /atati/ → [atat] 'hammock,
     d. /i-mita/ → [imta] 'my mouth').
     e. [uruka] 'caterpillar', f. [nunuwa], g. [ojuwa] 'clay', h. [puruma] 'clay', i. [awta] 'land'
     (cf. /munata/ → [munat] 'scorpion')
83) /u/  a. [piiraku] 'ankle', b. [ameku] 'lower-arm, wrist',
     c. /i-mumu/ → [imumu] 'my son (man speaking)'
84) /o/  a. [opolo] 'bread holder', b. [oroko] 'helmet (kd.)', c. [etato] 'side',
     d. [oheto] 'both sides', e. [nukum] '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). /o/, 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 /ɪV/, other than /ʁʊ/ and /ʁi/ (cf. section 2.3.1.2 for the deletion of /ʁʊ/ and /ʁi/ final syllables):


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/[ipeti] ‘my thigh’, as well as /pumo/ as opposed to /i-pumo/[ihmo] ‘his egg’, illustrate this.

2.3.1.1.4. 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 then one vowel can be deleted in the same word. The example in (89 b) shows a word with four syllables shortening to two syllables.

\[
\begin{align*}
86) & \text{V.CV.CV.CV} \rightarrow \text{V.CV.CV.CV} & \text{a. /i} \text{me} \text{pi} + \text{hna/} & \rightarrow \text{[imepihna]} & \text{‘another also’} \\
& \text{b. /imepi/} \rightarrow \text{[imepi]} & \text{‘another’} \\
87) & \text{V.CV.CV.CV} \rightarrow \text{V.CV.CVC} & \text{/i} \text{-wapota/} \rightarrow \text{[iwapta]} & \text{‘my fire’} \\
88) & \text{V.CV.CV.CV} \rightarrow \text{VC.CV.CVC} & \text{Not attested in morphophonological alterations} \\
& \text{4} & \text{3} & \text{2}
\end{align*}
\]

31 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.CV.CV.CV /aɾahaha/ ‘bird (sp.)’, /aɾehmu/ ‘knee’, /aɾamna/ ‘later’, /apipol ‘eyebrown’, /aɾapta/ ‘ampit’; V.CV.CV.CV → V.CV.CV.CV not attested; CV.CV.CV.CV → CV.CV.CV.CVC /pəɾaɾka ‘fruit (kd.)’, /wəɾanə ‘vulture (sp.)’, /pajaka ‘bird (sp.)’, /wəɾəɾhna ‘back of the knee’; CV.CV.CV.CV → CV.CV.CV.CV/hitpiri ‘ugly, bad’, /məɾəɾi ‘bird (sp.)’, /jaɾpiɾ ‘shallow’, /wotkaɾa ‘ribs’.

32 Examples that must have undergone the same change are: /aɾiki/[apjik] ‘little small’, /iɾhjəɾu/[ihjjan] ‘new’, /aɾhmiti/[ahmit] ‘bench’, /aɾumheɾi/[umhet] ‘hair’.
89) V.CV.CV.CV → VC.CVC  
a. /pupoti-mna/ → [pupotimma] ‘no body hair’  
b. /i-pupoti/ → [iṭpot] ‘my body hair’

4 3
90) CV.CV.CV.CV → CV.CV.CV.CVC  
a. /miŋerum-mna/ → [miŋerumimma] ‘no husband’  
b. /niŋa+miŋerum/ → [niŋamimennum] ‘Nila’s husband’

91) CV.CV.CV.CV → CV.CV.CV.CV Not attested in morphophonological alternations

92) CV.CV.CV.CV → CV.CV.CV.CV Not attested in morphophonological alternations

93) CV.CV.CV.CV → CV.CV.CV.CV Not attested in morphophonological alternations

The examples above show that vowel deletion takes place in alternating syllables.

Again, as in three syllable words, /u/ is deleted root-medially, and we see that /o/ may also be deleted in that context. As opposed to words with three syllables, however, in four-syllable words, though /i/, /a/, and /u/ delete word-finally, /e/ and /o/ do not.

Examples with vowel deletion word-finally:

94) V.CV.CV.CV→V.CV.CV.CVC  
a. /i-kaneti/→[ikanet] ‘its string’,  
b. /i-paraŋum/→[iŋat] ‘my son-in-law’,  
c. /i-patumi/→[ipatum] ‘my nephew’  
f. /aŋakawaŋ/→[aŋakawok] ‘bird (sp.)’.

95) CV.CV.CV.CV→CV.CV.CV.CV  
d. /minenot/→[minenot] ‘mother-in-law’,  
e. /hakahaŋa/→[hakahak] ‘spider sp.’,  
f. /warunaŋa/→[warunaŋ] ‘evening’.

Examples that fail to undergo vowel deletion include:


The deletion of specific vowels seems to be more systematic in words with four syllables than in words with three syllables: in words with four syllables final /u/, /i/ and

---

33 Though CV.CV.CV.CV→CV.CV.CV is not attested in morphophonological alternations, forms such as /hihnata/→[iŋhat] ‘liana’, /miphaŋa/→[iphak] ‘ant’, /j-epto-t/→[jetpot] ‘my face hair’
/ə/ almost always delete (with the exception of /imanatii/ → [imanati] ‘my breasts’ and
/əremii/ → [əremii] ‘kidney’, /i-wapotii/ → [iwapotii] ‘my fire’. /o/ and /e/ do not delete
word-finally.

2.3.1.1.5. 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:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
5 & 3 \\
\hline
97) & \text{V.CV.CV.CV.CV} \rightarrow \text{VC.CV.CV} \\
\end{array}
\]

a. /i-minriumii/ → [imniyumii] ‘my husband’
b. /i-minenotii/ → [imnenotii] ‘my mother-in-law’
c. /i-kirakanii/ → [igrakunii] ‘my ankle’
d. /i-pitanii/ → [iptainii] ‘my heels’

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
5 & 4 \\
\hline
98) & \text{V.CV.CV.CV} \rightarrow \text{V.CV.CV.CV} \\
\end{array}
\]

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.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/, /ɾa/, /ji/). The
examples below show that deletion might have taken place, at least historically, in the
third as well as in the second syllable:

\[
99) \quad *\text{V.CV.CV.CV.CV} \rightarrow \text{VC.CV.CV.CVC} \quad \text{[uwakʃiri]} \\
\]

seem to represent this pattern.
100) *V.CV.CV.CV.CV → VC.CV.CV.CVC [awokohko] ‘fish (sp.)’

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

d. [kapukapuʃi] ‘supernatural being’, e. [iʃamata] ‘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/ → [timumuktaʃ]
b. /ti-mineɾumi-ta-he/ → [timineɾumtaʃ]

In summary, vowel deletion does not affect all Wayãna 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 /pimí/), 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/ → [ihoʃ] ‘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’

/miphako/ → [miphak] ‘ant’

/watanka/ → [watanka] ‘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-wapota/→[iwaptə] ‘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 a 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

b. /ku-manati-komo/ → [kumanatkom] ‘our breast’

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/, /a/, 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. /iminerumi/ → [imnerum]  ‘my husband’ 
       b. /iminenoti/ → [imnenot]  ‘my mother-in-law’ 
       c. /ikirokunu/ → [igrekun]  ‘my ankle’ 
       d. /i-pitajina/ → [iptain]  ‘my heels’ 
       e. /imukoa/ → [mumka]  ‘woman’s son’ 

CV.CV.CV.CV.CV  f. /t-oki-nomo-ke/ → [təŋnomke]  ‘having pets’

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

107)  *V.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV  [aktupoj]  ‘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/).³⁴

³⁴ 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: [jitpiri]  ‘ugly, bad’. But, this example is not clearly an exception: the /p/ does not always delete, and a /pr/ cluster is not allowed in the language. Forms such [iwatki]  ‘his wing’ may seem like an exception but, they are not, since they had -ti deleted: /i-watki-ṭi/ → [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.


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-pikəɾa/ → [nipkəɾə] ‘he cut it’
   b. /i-punu+pikəɾa-po/ → [ipunpikəɾəpo] ‘someone caused him to cut meat’

110) a. /ni-pupa-ka/ → [nihpoka] ‘he shaved it (a pig)’ (vowel deletion + dissimilation)
   b. /pupa/ → [pupa] ‘body hair’

111) a. /wemitapi/ → [wemtap] ‘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 /t/ deletion and roots ending with /ju/ (/w-aju-ja-he/ → [wajja] ‘I dry it’, /w-eju-ja-he/ → [wejjaj] ‘I scold him/her’).\(^{35}\) /i/ and /u/ are deleted at the ends of verbal roots with three or more syllables (no cases of /e/, /i/, /o/, and /a/ being deleted are found).\(^{36}\) These vowels are retained when followed by **CCV** particles or suffixes (and the same exceptional **CV(C)** morphemes: -pɨn(i) ‘privative nominalizer’ and -tə ‘negative’) and

---

\(^{35}\) Other examples of verbal roots with one and two syllables are:


50
when inflected by the nominalizer -Ø ‘Specific event’ (examples are presented with he ‘Desiderative’): 37

112) CCV a. /w-uməki+phiki/ → [uməkip[k] ‘I came a little’  
    -pım[ɪ], -ɾa b. /uməki-ɾa/ → [uməkiɾa] ‘not come’  
    -Ø + he c. /uməki+he/ → [uməkihe] ‘someone wants to come’

113) CCV a. /w-ukuku+phiki/ → [ukukup[k] ‘I tried a little’  
    -pım[ɪ], -ɾa b. /ukuku-ɾa/ → [ukukuɾa] ‘not tried’  
    -Ø + 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 -Ø ‘Recent Past’ (if not followed by a CCV particle) 38 (the examples are presented with -ja ‘Non-past’):

114) -CV a. /n-uməki-ja/ → [numəkja] ‘He will come’  
    -Ø b. /n-uməki/ → [numəki] ‘He came’

115) -CV a. /n-ukuku-ja/ → [nukugja] ‘He will try’  
    -Ø b. /n-ukuku/ → [nukuk] ‘He tried it’

Note that the two zeros suffixes, -Ø ‘recent past’ and -Ø ‘Specific event nominalizer’, affect the verbal roots differently. While the former causes vowel deletion, the latter causes vowel retention (the nominalizer -Ø 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

37 The same behavior is seen with other postpositions and particles following verb form nominalized with -Ø.
38 Verbal roots with two syllables are an exception:

Ø- ‘Recent Past’       -CV (-ne ‘distant past)  
wepi ‘I bathed’        wepine ‘I bathed a long time ago’  
wapu ‘I prayed’        wapune ‘I prayed a long time ago’  
wamọ ‘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_r-V_j → 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’ -ama:

116) a. /ipoke+nma/ → [ipokenma]  ‘very good’
   b. /ipoke-anu/ → [ipoken]  ‘the good one’
   c. /ipoke-anu-nma/ → [ipokenumna]  ‘without the good one’
   d. /koře+nma/ → [kořenma]  ‘a lot’
   e. /koře-anu/ → [kořan]  ‘the many’
   f. /koře-anu-nma/ → [kořanumna]  ‘the very many’
   g. /eɾa-mhaka+nma/ → [eperamkakanma]  ‘very scared’
   h. /eɾa-mhaka-ano/ → [eperamhakan]  ‘the scared one’
   i. /i-piɾi-0-am/ → [ipilamo]  ‘her brothers’

117) a. /kokone/ → [kokone]  ‘yesterday’
   b. /kokone-ato/ → [kokonat]  ‘the one from yesterday’
   c. /upake-ɾa/ → [upakera]  ‘not long ago’
   d. /upake-ato/ → [upakat]  ‘the old one’
   e. /upake-ato-nomo/ → [upakatonom]  ‘the old ones’

118) a. /t'i-pata-ke/ → [tipatake]  ‘possessing a village’
   b. /t'i-pata-ke-am/ → [tipatakamo]  ‘the ones possessing a village’
   c. /t-utati-he/ → [tutat’e]  ‘lost’
   d. /t-utati-he-am/ → [tutat’am]  ‘the lost ones’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel deletion</th>
<th>plus /jəmə/</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/Ci/ → Ci</td>
<td>ijəmə</td>
<td>/w-i-pimi-jəmə/ → [wipimijəmə] ‘I tied it up again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/w-aki-jəmə/ → [wakijəmə] ‘I missed it again’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Ci/ → Ci</td>
<td>ijəmə</td>
<td>/w-e-pi-jəmə/ → [wepijəmə] ‘I took bath again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/w-upi-jəmə/ → [upijəmə] ‘I searched it again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/j-əreji-jəmə/ → [jeremijəmə] ‘I sang again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/CV/ → CV</td>
<td>Vjəmə</td>
<td>/w-ene-jəmə/ → [wenejəmə] ‘I’ve found it back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/w-oko-jəmə/ → [wokojəmə] ‘I cut it again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/w-epe-jəmə/ → [wepejəmə] ‘I fled again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ci/u → C</td>
<td>Cəmə</td>
<td>/j-iniki-əmə/ → [jinikəmə] ‘I slept again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/w-uməki-əmə/ → [uməkəmə] ‘I came again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/w-ukuku-əmə/ → [ukukəmə] ‘I tried it again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/w-enepi-əmə/ → [wenepəmə] ‘I brought it again’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2.3.1.2. /tV/ 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 /t/ as their onset consonant (All other vowels are retained with /t/ as onset.) 39 With the

---

39 There are a few examples of forms ending with /tə/ that also undergo /tV/ deletion. The deletion of /tə/, however, is a much more restricted phenomenon than that affecting forms ending with /tw/ or /tj/. The only attested examples are five pronominal forms (/inəɾə/ → [inaɾə] ‘3rd Person Anaphoric Pronoun’, /əɾə/ → [əɾə] ‘2nd Person Pronoun’, /makɾə/ → [makɾə] ‘Demonstrative Animate Medial Pronoun’, /makjaɾə/ → [makja] ‘Demonstrative Animate Medial Collective Pronoun’, /məɾə/ → [məɾə]
deletion of /i/ and /u/, /t/ is left as coda, and then deleted due to the no coda /t/ 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 /t/ is the onset; i.e., there are no cases of long allomorphs with /t/ 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 /t/ deletion in nouns is that it is necessary to distinguish between the possessive suffix -či and ċi tu syllables that are part of the nominal root. As in the case of vowel deletion, the ċi tu syllable is retained when followed by morphemes that trigger the long allomorph (CCV particles or suffixes and the idiosyncratic CV morphemes, the privative -pin(i), the negative -ra, and the dative postposition j/a).

Lengthening can be an indication of whether there is a lost ċi tu syllable. As a general rule, forms presenting a long vowel word-finally have lost a ċi tu syllable.

However, this statement is valid only for some three syllable words, mostly those starting

---

1'Demonstrative Animate Proximal Collective Pronoun',) two adverbs (/remařa/→[remařa] ‘today’, /ruwařa/→[ruwa] ‘as such’,) and a particle (/rařa/→[ra] ‘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).  

b. /ewu-ti-mna/ → [euru-mna] ‘with no eye’ d. /uru-mna/ → [urumna] ‘with no bread’  
e. /pəɾeɾi/ → [pəɾəɾə] ‘frog’ g. /kopa/ → [kopa] ‘rain’  
f. /pəɾeɾi-mna/ → [pəɾəɾimna] ‘with no frog’ h. /kopa-mna/ → [kopamna] ‘with no rain’  
j. /ɾeɾeweri-mna/ → [ɾeɾeɾimna] ‘no fruit’ l. /ɾiwe-mna/ → [ɾiwe-mna] ‘no alligator’  

120) a. /epeɾi/ → [epeɾi] ‘fruit’  
b. /epeɾi-mna/ → [epeɾimna] ‘no fruit’  
c. /epeɾi+paka/ → [epeɾipaka] ‘occupied with fruit’  
d. /ku-tuna-ti/ → [kutuna] ‘our (dual) water’  
e. /ku-tuna-ti-phiki/ → [kutunaɾipsik] ‘our (dual) little water’  
f. /ku-tuna-ti-komo/ → [kutunaakom] ‘our water (of us all)’  

In the case of the -tì 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. (-tì ‘possessive’ undergoes vowel harmony when inflecting nouns ending in /u/).

121) a. /pupu/ → [pupu] ‘foot’  
b. /i-pupu-ti/ → [ipupu] ‘his foot’  
c. /i-pupu-ti-mna/ → [ipupumna] ‘without his foot’  
d. /pupu-mna/ → [pupumna] ‘with no feet’  
e. (*ipupumna, *pupumna)  

f. /omo/ ‘hand’  
g. /j-amo-ti/ → [jamo] ‘my hand’  
h. /j-amo-ti-mna/ → [jamoɾimna] ‘without my hand’  
i. /omo-mna/ → [omomna] ‘without a hand’  


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

122) a. /upu tpɔ/ → [upu tpɔ] ‘head’
   b. /ju-upu tpɔɾi/ → [ju-pu tpɔɾi] ‘my head’
   d. /j-upu tpɔɾiɾ-ɔnɔ/ → [j-upu tpɔɾiɾ-ɔnɔ] ‘without my head’

   a. /swɔ tpɔ/ → [swɔ tpɔ] ‘aunt’
   b. /i-wotpɔɾi/ → [i-wotpɔɾi] ‘my aunt’
   c. /i-wotpɔɾiɾ-ɔnɔ/ → [i-wotpɔɾiɾ-ɔnɔ] ‘without my aunt’

Nouns with the devaluative suffix -tpɔ (with allomorph -npɔ) \(^{42}\) show parallel behavior to the nouns above (cf. section 4.2.1.1):

123) a. /pu-pu tpɔ/ → [pu-pu tpɔ] ‘footprints, former foot’
   b. /pu-pu tpɔɾ-ɔnɔ/ → [pu-pu tpɔɾ-ɔnɔ] ‘there are no footprints, former foot’
   c. /i-pu-pu tpɔɾiɾ/ → [i-pu-pu tpɔɾiɾ] ‘my footprints, former foot’
   d. /i-pu-pu tpɔɾiɾ+phi ki/ → [i-pu-pu tpɔɾiɾ phi ki] ‘my little footprints, former foot’

   e. /jeɾi- npɔ/ → [jeɾi npɔ] ‘hand severed from the body’
   f. /jeɾi- npɔɾ-ɔnɔ/ → [jeɾi npɔɾ-ɔnɔ] ‘my hand’ \(^{43}\)
   g. /i-jeɾi- npɔɾiɾ/ → [i-jeɾi npɔɾiɾ] ‘my former hand’
   h. /i-jeɾi- npɔɾiɾ-ɔnɔ/ → [i-jeɾi npɔɾiɾ-ɔnɔ] ‘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


\(^{43}\) See section 2.3.8 on ablaut for o/a and other alternations.
from the deletion of -tı. These forms end in tí/pú in the unpossessed forms, and delete tí/pú in the possessed form.44

124) a. /ječi/ → [ječi] ‘tooth’
   b. /i-ječi/ → [iće] ‘my tooth’
   c. /i-ječi-mna/ → [ijećimna] ‘without his tooth’
   d. /ječi-npa/ → [jećınpa] ‘tooth severed from the body’
   e. *jećıımna,

   f. /uru/ → [uru] ‘manioc bread’
   g. /j-uru/ → [juu] ‘my manioc bread’
   h. /j-uru-mna/ → [junumna] ‘without his manioc bread’
   i. /uru-npa/ → [uruńpa] ‘old, unpossessed manioc bread’
   j. *jećıımna

It is noteworthy that since the -tı ‘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-tı/ → [iwećepu] ‘my belly’
   c. /əɾamuku/ → [əɾamuk] ‘sweat’
   d. /j-əɾamuku-tı/ → [jeɾamuku] ‘my sweat’
   e. /əɾınatu/ → [əɾınat] ‘plate’
   f. /j-əɾınatu-tı/ → [jeɾınatu] ‘my plate’ (check length)
   g. /otaku/ → [otok] ‘saliva’
   h. /j-otaku-tı/ → [jotaku] ‘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 /t/ is kept (note that in the compounds it is preserved only in certain forms):

44 Other similar forms are: /pəɾi/ ‘granddaughter’, /piɾi/ ‘brother’. It is interesting to compare /ječi/ ‘tooth’ and /paɾi/ ‘granddaugther’ 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) ‘1st Person Collective’
/ku-paɾi-komo/→[kupakom] ‘our granddaugther’
/ku-pa-komo/→[kupakom] ‘our shoulder blade’
/ku-jeɾi-komo/→[kujekom] ‘our tooth’
/ku-je-komo/→[kujekom] ‘our mother’
126) a. /pətkuru/ \rightarrow [pətku] ‘beautiful, well’
b. /pətkuru-ani/ \rightarrow [pətkurən] ‘the beautiful one’
c. /ł-i-piri-amo/ \rightarrow [ipiriəm] ‘his brothers’
d. /ku-piri-amo-komo/ \rightarrow [kupirəkəmə] ‘our brothers’
e. /pupu+eperi/ \rightarrow [pupuəperi] ‘sole’
f. /i-pupu-\-i+eperi/ \rightarrow [ipupuəperi] ‘my sole’
g. /a-pupu-\-i+eperi/ \rightarrow [apupuəperi] ‘your sole’
h. /pupu+umiti/ \rightarrow [pupuəmiti] ‘big toe’
i. /i-pupu-\-i+umiti/ \rightarrow [ipupuəmiti] ‘his big toe’
j. /i-pupu-\-i+umiti/ \rightarrow [ipupuəmiti] ‘my big toe’
k. /a-pupu-\-i+umiti/ \rightarrow [apupuəmiti] ‘your big toe’
l. /ti- pupu-\-i+umiti/ \rightarrow [tipupuəmiti] ‘his own big toe’
m. /hiku+en\i/ \rightarrow [iʃikəni] ‘bladder (Lit. “urine container”)’
n. /i-hiku-\-i+en\i/ \rightarrow [iʃikəni] ‘my bladder’

Not all /i/-/u/ final syllables delete. A few nouns and the postposition nominalizer

/ti/ preserve them:

e. [maakəɾu] ‘bird sp.’, f. [ekoɾəɾ] ‘bread crumbs’; g. [iʃiɾi] ‘rapids’.
128) a. /tiri+hna-\-i/ \rightarrow [tiriɾnaɾi] ‘the one in the open’, b. /itu+hta-\-i/ \rightarrow [ituɾtaɾi] ‘the one in the
bushes’, c. /tuna+kwa-\-i/ \rightarrow [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 /i/-/u/ syllable (\-/pari/ \rightarrow [paɾi] ‘granddaughter’, but /i-paɾi/ \rightarrow [ipaa] ‘my
granddaughter’, /jeɾi/ \rightarrow [jeɾi], but /i-jeɾi/ \rightarrow [ijee].\(^45\) 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- ‘1st Person’ have two
syllables, but they behave just like other three-syllable words, losing their last syllable or
vowel. Note that t- ‘3rd Person Reflexive’ does not cause this phenomenon.

129) a. /ur\u/ \rightarrow [ur\u] ‘manioc bread’
b. /j-ur\u/ \rightarrow [juu] ‘my manioc bread’
c. /\uɾ\u/ \rightarrow [\uɾ\u] ‘his/her/its own manioc bread’
d. /oti/ \rightarrow [ot\i] ‘meat’

\(^45\) See section 2.3.1.1.1.2. for a discussion on forms like /paɾi/ and /piri/ losing their last syllable when
possessed by a noun.
e. /j-oti/ \rightarrow \text{jot} \quad \text{‘my meat’}
f. /t-oti/ \rightarrow \text{toti} \quad \text{‘his own meat’}

2.3.1.2.2. **Verbal forms.** Similarly to nouns, verbal roots lose their [\text{\textsuperscript{tu}}] or [\text{\textsuperscript{ri}}] 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 -\text{ja} ‘Non-past’ (plus -(h)e ‘SAP Affirmative’), -\text{ne} ‘Remote Past’, the verbal ambifix t-V-(h)e, -\emptyset ‘Recent Past’ and the postposition \text{he} ‘Deseritative’. 46

130)a. /w-\text{i\text{\textsuperscript{ti}}}-ja-he/ \rightarrow \text{[wijaij]} \quad \text{‘I am going to make it’}
b. /w-\text{i\text{\textsuperscript{ti}}}-ne/ \rightarrow \text{[wiine]} \quad \text{‘I made it (a long time ago)’}
c. /t-\text{i\text{\textsuperscript{ti}}}he/ \rightarrow \text{[tihe]} \quad \text{‘made’}
d. /w-\text{i\text{\textsuperscript{ti}}}i/ \rightarrow \text{[wi\text{\textsuperscript{ti}}} \quad \text{‘I made it’}
e. /\text{i\text{\textsuperscript{ti}}}+he/ \rightarrow \text{[i\text{\textsuperscript{ti}}he]} \quad \text{‘someone wants to make it’}
f. /\text{i\text{\textsuperscript{ti}}}+ka/ \rightarrow \text{[ti\text{\textsuperscript{ik}}} \quad \text{‘do it!’}

131)a. /w-\text{ewaru}-ja-he/ \rightarrow \text{[wewaaij]} \quad \text{‘I am going to burn it’}
b. /w-\text{ewaru}-ne/ \rightarrow \text{[wewaane]} \quad \text{‘I burned it (a long time ago)’}
c. /t-\text{ewaru}-he/ \rightarrow \text{[tawaah]} \quad \text{‘burned’}
d. /w-\text{ewaru}/ \rightarrow \text{[wewaru]} \quad \text{‘I burned it’}
e. /\text{ewaru}+he/ \rightarrow \text{[ewaruhe]} \quad \text{‘someone wants to burn it’}
f. /\text{ewaru}-ka/ \rightarrow \text{[ewaak]} \quad \text{‘burn it!’}

It is interesting that -(\text{\textsuperscript{a}}) and -(h)e (suffixes that reduce after vowels other than /i/ and /u/) do not reduce when there is \text{\textsuperscript{ti}/\textsuperscript{tu}} 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 (\text{V.CVVC}, e.g., *ewaak).

\footnote{Other CV suffixes are -\text{\textsuperscript{a}} ‘Imperative Ablative’, -(\text{\textsuperscript{a}}) ‘Proximal Imperative’, -\text{\textsuperscript{ka}(\text{\textsuperscript{a}})} ‘Imperative Allative’, -(h)e ‘Purpose of Motion’}
Preceding -əmə ‘Resumptive’, a suffix starting in a vowel, ɨ/ɨ syllables undergo vowel deletion, but /ɨ/ is retained.

132) a. /w-ewaru-əmə/  \(\rightarrow\) [wewarəma] ‘I burned it again’  
b. /w-iɾi-əmə/  \(\rightarrow\) [wirəma] ‘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 /ɨ/, 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/\(\rightarrow\)Vj, /he/\(\rightarrow\)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: -(ɨ)j ‘SAP Affirmative’ and -(ɨ)jɨ ‘Proximal Hortatory’.47

133) a. /j-iniki-ja-he/  \(\rightarrow\) [jinikjaj] ‘I will sleep’  
b. /j-iniki-ja-he+phiki/  \(\rightarrow\) [jinikjahepsik] ‘I will sleep a bit’,  
c. /w-epi-ja-he/  \(\rightarrow\) [wepijaj] ‘I will eat vegetable based food’  
d. /w-epijae+psik/  \(\rightarrow\) [wepijahepsik] ‘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 -(ɨ)j occurs in a contexts where there is

---

47 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-umakə-ja-he/ → a. [uməgəjə] ‘I will go, I am coming’
               → b. [uməgəjahe] ‘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

\[ CV.he \rightarrow CV.e \rightarrow CV.j \]

135) a. /t-ane-he/ → [tanei] ‘seen’
    b. /ene-he/ → [enei] ‘in order to see’
    c. /ene-he/ → [enei] ‘used to see’
    d. /w-ene-ja-he/ → [wenejə] ‘I am seeing he/she/it’

An explanation for this is that the deletion of /h/ before /e/ creates a V₁V₂ 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 Wayaña 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/ → [kinikij+hku] ‘please, let’s sleep’
    c. /kut-iɾi-hi/ → [kutıɾiʃ] ‘let’s make it’
    d. /kut-iɾi-hi+hku/ → [kutıɾiʃhku] ‘please, let’s make it’
    e. /h-apɔhi-hi/ → [hapɔʃiʃ] ‘let’s get it’
    f. /h-apɔhi-hi+hku/ → [hapɔʃiʃhku] ‘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').

137) a. /pihi/ → [piʃi] 'shame'
b. /pihi-pe/ → [piʃpe] 'shameful'
c. /w-i-pihi-pta/ → [wipisipta] 'I made him ashamed'

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

138) a. /oʃahi/ → [oʃaj] 'fear'
b. /j-eʃahi-ri/ → [jeʃaʃi] 'my fear'
c. /oʃahi/ → [oʃaj] 'cheeks'
d. /j-eʃaʃi-ri/ → [jetaʃi] 'my cheeks'
e. /wɔʃahi/ → [wɔʃʃi] 'woman'
f. /i-wɔʃiʃi-ri/ → [iwaʃʃi] '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). 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. /əkajə/ → [əkəj] 'snake'
b. /əkajə-ʃma/ → [əkajəʃma] 'anaconda'
c. /əkajə-ʃma/ → [əkajəʃma] 'with no snake'
(*əkajəʃma)
d. /əkajə-ʃpe-an/ → [əkajəʃpe] 'there is a snake'
(*əkajəʃpe)

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

48 There is comparative evidence for /h/ deleting word-medially in Wayãna: the word for tapir is [majpuɾi] in Wayãna but [majpuɾi] in Aparai).
accept one form but not the other and *vice-versa*, and still others recognize two possibilities. Some of these forms are:

140)  

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. [murej]</td>
<td>[murekipjik]</td>
<td>~ [mureimna]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. [okaji]</td>
<td>[okajehme]</td>
<td>~ [okailma]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. [ehnaj]</td>
<td>[ehnajipjik]</td>
<td>~ [ehnajipjik]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. [arakakaj]</td>
<td>[arakakakajimna]</td>
<td>~ [arakakalma]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. [kuwaj]</td>
<td>[kuwajimna]</td>
<td>~ [kuwaimna]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. [tunaj]</td>
<td>[tunajipjik]</td>
<td>~ [tunajipjik]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. [tukuji]</td>
<td>[tukujiimna]</td>
<td>~ [tukuimna]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. [anapamij]</td>
<td>[anapamajimna]</td>
<td>~ [anapaimma]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.\(^{51}\)

\(^{49}\) Most nouns for animals, fruits and elements of nature, may never be possessed (cf. section 4.1.3).

\(^{50}\) See section 2.3.6 on morphophonological alternations between [j] and [i]: j → in onset position, etc.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aparai</th>
<th>Wayaña</th>
<th>Plus CCV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[oçiisi]</td>
<td>[warjij]</td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kaikusi]</td>
<td>[kajkuj]</td>
<td>‘jaguar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[oçosi]</td>
<td>[oçiiji]</td>
<td>‘cashew fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pijasi]</td>
<td>[pijāj]</td>
<td>‘shaman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[umosi]</td>
<td>[umoji]</td>
<td>‘jealousy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mose]</td>
<td>[maj]</td>
<td>‘that one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mast]</td>
<td>[kuwamaj]</td>
<td>‘snot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[josii]</td>
<td>[joj]</td>
<td>‘lizard (sp.)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[tukusii]</td>
<td>[tukuj]</td>
<td>‘hummingbird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mureesi]</td>
<td>[murej]</td>
<td>‘fruit (sp.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ofinase]</td>
<td>[ehnaj]</td>
<td>‘corn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
141) a. /mahi/  → [maj]  ‘this one’
b. /mahihana/  → [maʃiŋna]  ‘this one also’
c. /waɾihi/  → [waɾiŋ]  ‘woman’
d. /waɾihi+piki/  → [waɾiŋpiko]  ‘small woman’
e. /kajkuhi/  → [kaɾkuŋ]  ‘dog, jaguar’
f. /kajkuhi-mna/  → [kaɾkuŋmna]  ‘with no dog, jaguar’
g. /turii/  → [turii]  ‘fruit (kd.)’
h. /turii-mna/  → [turiiŋmna]  ‘with no fruit (kd.)’
i. /pijai/  → [piŋi]  ‘shaman’
j. /pijai-mna/  → [piŋiŋmna]  ‘with no shaman’
k. /nomi/  → [umoi]  ‘jealousy’
l. /umoi-mna/  → [umoiŋmna]  ‘with no jealousy’
m. /kuwaŋa/  → [kuwaŋaŋ]  ‘snot’
n. /kuwaŋa-mna/  → [kuwaŋaŋmna]  ‘with no snot’
q. /iŋi/  → [iŋi]  ‘lizard (sp.)’
r. /iŋi-mna/  → [iŋiŋmna]  ‘with no lizard (sp.)’
s. /tinki/  → [tinki]  ‘de-juicing instrument’
t. /tinki-mna/  → [tinkiŋmna]  ‘with no de-juicing instrument’

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

142) a. /opi/  → [opi]  ‘stair’
b. /opi-mna/  → [opiŋmna]  ‘no stairs’
c. /kute/  → [kuteŋ]  ‘bottle’
d. /kute-hme/  → [kuteŋhme]  ‘there is a bottle’

Again, as in the case of vowel and /t/ deletion, the change does not affect all forms. Attested examples that fail to undergo vowel deletion are:

143) a. [emʃi]  ‘sister’
b. [arumasi]  ‘fish (sp.),’
c. [pataŋsi]  ‘fish (sp.)’
d. [kunumai]  ‘old woman’,
e. [kapukaŋsi]  ‘Kapukapusi (a supernatural being’s name)’
f. [paʃi]  ‘small agouti’
g. [taʃi]  ‘sister’
h. [eraʃi]  ‘scissors’
i. [kurʃi]  ‘chicken’

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

[tunai]  [tunaj]  ‘snake (sp.)’  [tunajpik]–[tunaimna]
[okoj]  [akaŋ]  ‘snake (generic)’  [akaŋpiko]–[akloonmna]
[arakaŋ]  [arakaŋaŋ]  ‘bird (sp.)’  [arakakanmna]–[arakakanaimna]
[waj]  [kuwaŋ]  ‘palm tree (sp.)’  [kuwaŋmna]–[kuwaimna]
j. [tamufi] ‘old man, grandfather’
k. [kapafii] ‘armadillo’
l. [kufii] ‘toucan (sp.)’

2.3.1.3.2. Verbal forms. Two verbal roots /apohi/ ‘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 –omə ‘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-apohi-/ → [hapafii] ‘let’s get it’
b. /apohi-ta/ → [apajta] ‘go get it’
c. /w-apohi-ne/ → [waphone] ‘I got it (long ago)’
d. /n-apohi-ja/ → [napahja] ‘he will get it’
e. /w-apohi-omə/ → [waphome] ‘I got it again’
f. /apohi-ta/ → [apajta] ‘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-omə/ → [wepuhomə] ‘I got fat again’
j. /epuhi-ta/ → [epujta] ‘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+wae+hnə/ → [ipogwaehnə] ‘I am good also’
c. /manahe/ → [manaj] ‘you are’
d. /ipoke+manahe+hnə → [opoŋmanahehna] ‘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):

\[
\begin{align*}
3 \to 2 \\
(C)\text{v.cv.cv} & \to (C)\text{v.cv} \\
/\text{wetepu}/ & \to [/\text{wetep}] \quad \text{‘belly’} \quad V \text{ deletion} \\
/\text{paɾaɾj}/ & \to [/\text{paɾja}ta] \quad \text{‘frog’} \quad /\text{t} \text{ deletion} \\
/\text{aɾa}hi/ & \to [/\text{aɾa}ja] \quad \text{‘cheeks’} \quad /\text{h} \text{ deletion} \\
/\text{w-apo}hi/ & \to [/\text{w-aɾa}p] \quad \text{‘I got it’} \quad /\text{h} \text{ deletion}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
4 \to 3 \text{ or } 2 \\
(C)\text{v.cv.cv.cv} & \to \text{cv.cv.cv} \\
/\text{aɾamuk}u/ & \to [/\text{aɾamuk}] \quad \text{‘sweat’} \quad V \text{ deletion} \\
/\text{j-erəhi}-\text{ti}/ & \to [/\text{jerə}hi] \quad \text{‘my fear’} \quad /\text{t} \text{ deletion} \\
/\text{h- apo}hi-hi/ & \to [/\text{h-aɾo}hij] \quad \text{‘let’; get it’} \quad /\text{h} \text{ deletion} \\
(C)\text{v.cv.cv.cv} & \to (C)\text{v.cv} \\
/\text{i-pu}poti/ & \to [/\text{i-hpot}] \quad \text{‘my body hair’} \quad V \text{ deletion}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
5 \to 4 \text{ or } 3 \\
(C)\text{v.cv.cv.cv.cv} & \to (C)\text{v.cv.cv.cv} \\
/\text{i-wetepu-}tj/ & \to [/\text{i-wetepu}] \quad \text{‘my belly’} \quad V \text{ deletion} \\
/\text{j-erəhamu}-\text{tj}/ & \to [/\text{j-erəhamu}] \quad \text{‘my sweat’} \quad /\text{t} \text{ deletion} \\
/\text{w- apo}hi-ja-he/ & \to [/\text{w-aɾo}hi] \quad \text{‘I will get it’} \quad /\text{h}, V \text{ deletion} \\
(C)\text{v.cv.cv.cv.cv} & \to (C)\text{v.cv.cv} \\
/\text{i}mneɾumj/ & \to [/\text{i}mneɾum] \quad \text{‘my husband’} \quad V \text{ deletion}
\end{align*}
\]

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 Tiriyó, which presents a rhythmic stress system, Wayãna 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-itɔ-ja-he/ → [witʃaj]~[witəʃaj] ‘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+pako/ → [onotpak] 'on the fruit (kd.)'
    b. /j-akapiymi/ → [jakpiram] 'I go red'

147) a. /enepi-ta/ → [enepta] 'go get it'
    b. /mahaka+pako/ → [mahakpok] 'busy with the mosquito'

148) a. /enepi-ko/ → [enepko] 'bring it'
    b. /onoto+ke/ → [onotke] 'with fruit (kd.)'

149) a. /kaphako/ → [kaphok] 'fat'
    b. /t-ønatu-he/ → [tønatfe] 'finished'
    c. /t-øtuku-he/ → [tøtukhe] 'eaten'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>j</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pt</td>
<td>pk</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tp</td>
<td>tk</td>
<td>tf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kp</td>
<td>kt</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10
Defective Distribution of Stops

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 */ptʃ/ 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 \(\tau\bar{\nu}\) in example (150 d) undergoes \(\bar{\nu}V/\) deletion (2.3.1.2))

150) a. /tumh\(\bar{\nu}\)op/ \(\rightarrow\) [tumh\(\bar{\nu}\)op] ‘jump (sound simbolic)’
   b. /tumh\(\bar{\nu}\)op+w-\(\bar{k}\)a/ \(\rightarrow\) [tumh\(\bar{\nu}\)ob\(\bar{k}\)wa] ‘I jumped’
   c. /w-\(\bar{\nu}\)epi/ \(\rightarrow\) [\(\bar{\nu}\)epi] ‘I brought it’
   d. /w-\(\bar{\nu}\)epi+\(\bar{\sigma}\)\(\bar{\tau}\)/ \(\rightarrow\) [\(\bar{\nu}\)eb\(\bar{\tau}\)] ‘I really brought it’

151) a. /\(\bar{\nu}\)kaneti/ \(\rightarrow\) [\(\bar{\nu}\)kanet] ‘hammock string’
   b. /\(\bar{\nu}\)kaneti+w-\(\bar{\nu}\)e\(\bar{\nu}\)/ \(\rightarrow\) [\(\bar{\nu}\)kaned\(\bar{\nu}\)ene] ‘I saw the string of the hammock’
   c. /n-\(\bar{\nu}\)nati/ \(\rightarrow\) [\(\bar{\nu}\)nat] ‘it finished’
   d. /n-\(\bar{\nu}\)nati+ja-\(\bar{\nu}\)he/ \(\rightarrow\) [\(\bar{\nu}\)nad\(\bar{\nu}\)ja\(\bar{\nu}\)e] ‘it will get finished’

152) a. /\(\bar{\nu}\)\(\bar{\nu}\)te\(\bar{\nu}\)we\(\bar{\nu}\)/ \(\rightarrow\) [\(\bar{\nu}\)\(\bar{\nu}\)te\(\bar{\nu}\)be\(\bar{\nu}\)] ‘slippery’
   b. /\(\bar{\nu}\)\(\bar{\nu}\)ki-jamo/ \(\rightarrow\) [\(\bar{\nu}\)\(\bar{\nu}\)jam\(\bar{\nu}\)] ‘they’
   c. /\(\bar{\nu}\)\(\bar{\nu}\)\(\bar{\nu}\)ro/ \(\rightarrow\) [\(\bar{\nu}\)\(\bar{\nu}\)ro] ‘foam’
   d. /\(\bar{\nu}\)\(\bar{\nu}\)iki/ \(\rightarrow\) [\(\bar{\nu}\)\(\bar{\nu}\)ik] ‘Who’
   e. /\(\bar{\nu}\)\(\bar{\nu}\)iki+\(\bar{\nu}\)\(\bar{\nu}\)(\(\bar{\nu}\)/ \(\rightarrow\) [\(\bar{\nu}\)\(\bar{\nu}\)ig\(\bar{\nu}\)] ‘Who really?’

Table 11 summarizes this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>j</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pt</td>
<td>pk</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td></td>
<td>bw</td>
<td>br</td>
<td>bj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tp</td>
<td>tk</td>
<td>tf</td>
<td></td>
<td>dw</td>
<td>d(\bar{\nu})</td>
<td>d(\bar{\nu})j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kp</td>
<td>kt</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
<td>gw</td>
<td>g(\bar{\nu})</td>
<td>g(\bar{\nu})</td>
<td>g(\bar{\nu})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the table above, we notice that [d\(\bar{\nu}\)] 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. /em\(\bar{\nu}\)/ \(\rightarrow\) [em\(\bar{\nu}\)] ‘we (exclusive)’
   b. /jem\(\bar{\nu}\)/ \(\rightarrow\) [jem\(\bar{\nu}\)] ‘fever’
   c. /t-\(\bar{\nu}\)wan\(\bar{\nu}\)-he/ \(\rightarrow\) [t\(\bar{\nu}\)wan\(\bar{\nu}\)mai] ‘dig’
Table 12 presents a summary of assimilation to nasality:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>j</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pt</td>
<td>pk</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>bw</td>
<td>br</td>
<td>bj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tp</td>
<td>tk</td>
<td>tf</td>
<td>nm</td>
<td>dw</td>
<td>dt</td>
<td>d3j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kp</td>
<td>kt</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>njm</td>
<td>njn</td>
<td>gw</td>
<td>gc</td>
<td>gj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2.3. Dissimilation. Stops preceding non-approximant homorganic consonants change into [h] or [ʃ]~[ʒ]~[h] (/i__C/)[52] as in examples (155 a and d and 156 b).[53]

- 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]—[iʃpot]  ‘his body hair’

155) a. /pupu+pumo/  →  [pupu pumo]  ‘turtle egg’
    b. /i-pumo/  →  [iʃmo]—[iʃmo]  ‘his egg, egg’
    c. /tumhuʃop/  →  [tumhuʃop]  ‘without something to see’
    d. /tumhuʃop+mi-ka/  →  [tumhuʃomika]  ‘you jumped’

---

[52] There are some cases in which the [h]—ʃ/i__C alternation does not take place. This is the case of the borrowed word [iʃkorə] (*iʃkorə) ‘school’, and some native words as [iʃmulo] (*iʃmulo) ‘his pus’.

[53] 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 [ɹ] 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+paka/  →  [enetohpak] 'seeing'
c. /ene-topo+ke/  →  [enetopke] 'with something to see '

•/t/→/[h]/→/___ [coronal] (t, n, ɾ)
  [-approx]

157) a. /atati-mna/  →  [atatimna] 'there is no hammock'
b. /j-etu-ti/  →  [jetat] 'my hammock'
c. /j-etati-taɾanme/  →  [jetahtaɾanme] 'maybe my hammock'
d. /j-etati+ɾaɾa/  →  [jetaɾaɾa] '(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-ra/  →  [utatira] '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. /umaki-ra/  →  [umakira] 'someone/something did not come'
b. /umaki-ka/  →  [makha] 'come!'
c. /m-umaki-təw/  →  [mumaktow] 'you all came!'

Glides never trigger or undergo dissimilation.⁵⁴

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

160) a. /kuw-aptaw-a-he/  →  [kuwaptawahe] 'when, if all of us'
b. /oparani+hpə+aptaw+a+w-ita-ja-he/  →  [oparanihepaptawwitaʃaj] 'I will go if there is an airplane'

161) a. /hokoro/  →  [hokoro] 'paddle'
b. /hokoro+w-ka/  →  [hokoro+wika] 'I paddled'

162) a. /w-ekeju/  →  [wekeju] 'I baked bread'
b. /w-ekeju-ja-he/  →  [wekejuʃaj] '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-ʃa/  →  [kuteʃjaw]-[ku.tej.wa] 'inside the bottle'

⁵⁴ See section on the ambiguity of the phonemic status of glides.
Nasals never undergo dissimilation:

• /mp/ → [mp], /mm/ → [mm]  
  /nt/ → [nt], /nn/ → [nn], /nt/ → [nt]

164) a. /tahemi+paka/ → [tahempək]  ‘about food’
b. /jokořom+mika/ → [sokořommika]  ‘You paddled’
c. /hokořom+wika/ → [hokořomwika]  ‘I paddled’
d. /uru+he+man+toto/ → [uruhemantot]  ‘They want bread’
e. /tawunu+n-eha/ → [tawunneha]  ‘it was the wind’
f. /iroke-anu+təɾə/ → [i pokanə]  ‘really the good one’
e. /tawunu-ja-wa/ → [tawunjaw]  ‘in the wind’

In the speech of at least two young consultants living in the Suisuimën village, the dissimilation goes farther than for other speakers. Nasals dissimilate before homorganic consonants: /nt/ → [ht], /nn/ → [hn], /nt/ → [ht]. 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-pakořo-nu+neha/ → [ipakořohnəhe]  ‘It was my house’
b. /i-pakořo-nu+naj+neha/ → [ipakořohnai neha]  ‘It was my abandoned house’.
c. /i-pakořo-nu+neha/ → [ipakořonneha]  ‘It was my house’
d. /i-pakořo-nu+naj+neha/ → [ipakořonnai neha]  ‘It was my abandoned house’.

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

166) a. /aməɾa+ken+ɾep/ → [aməkəɾep]  ‘It is up to you’
b. /i-pakořo-nu+neha/ → [ipakořohnəhe]  ‘It was my house’
c. /i-pakořo-nu+naj+neha/ → [ipakořohnai neha]  ‘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. /jokořom+mi-ka/ → [jokořommika]  ‘You paddled’
b. /jokořom+wi-ka/ → [jokořomwika]  ‘I paddled’
c. /i-pakoło-nu+t-ane-he / → [ipakolontanej]  ‘Someone saw my house’

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NORMAL SPEECH</th>
<th>SLOW SPEECH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>168) a. /tɔkɾəweje/</td>
<td>[tɔgɾɛɮɛj] ~ [tɔkɾɛɮɛj] ‘slippery’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /tumhuriop+wi-ka/</td>
<td>[tumhurɔbwiŋa] ~ [tum.huɾiop.wiŋa] ‘I jumped’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. /i-kaneti+w-ene/</td>
<td>[ikanɛdwiŋa] ~ [i.ka.net.wiŋa] ‘I saw the hammock string’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. /iniki+tɔɾa/</td>
<td>[iŋiŋɔ] ~ [iŋiŋɔ] ‘Who really?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NORMAL SPEECH</th>
<th>SLOW SPEECH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>169) a. /emna/</td>
<td>[emna] ~ [em.na] ‘we (exclusive)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /kunma/</td>
<td>[kunma] ~ [kun.ma] ‘we (dual)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. /tekme/</td>
<td>[teŋme] ~ [teŋ.me] ‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. /w-i-panakma/</td>
<td>[wipanaŋma] ~ [wi.pa.naŋ.ma] ‘I heard it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. /papako+neha/</td>
<td>[papaŋneha] ~ [pa.pak.ne.ha] ‘It was my father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. /tumhurop+ni-ka/</td>
<td>[tumhurɔmniŋa] ~ [tumhoɾop.niŋa] ‘S/he/it jumped’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. /ita-kɔ+naj/</td>
<td>[iŋaŋnaj] ~ [i.tək.naj] ‘Don’t’ go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NORMAL SPEECH</th>
<th>SLOW SPEECH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /i-pupoti/</td>
<td>[ih.pot]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /j-utati-ne/</td>
<td>[ju.tah.ne]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. /maki-ka/</td>
<td>[maki-ka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. /j-temu-kepi/</td>
<td>[je.ruk.ka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. /ene-topo+pak/</td>
<td>[ene.topo+pak]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. /j-etati+taɾɾa/</td>
<td>[je.tah.ɾa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. /ipoke+ka+mane/</td>
<td>[ipoke+ka+mane]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. /tumuk+mi-ka/</td>
<td>[tumuk+mi-ka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. /j-etati+taɾɾame/</td>
<td>[je.tah.ɾame]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: 56

/vn/ → [vʰn]  /vm/ → [vⁿm]  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>171)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /mi-ka/</td>
<td>[mi-ka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /i-mi-ka/</td>
<td>[i-mi-ka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. /kan-ka/</td>
<td>[kan-ka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. /kun-ka/</td>
<td>[kun-ka]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>172)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /niɾa+mu-muk-ka/</td>
<td>[niɾa+mu-muk-ka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /jetumhaka/</td>
<td>[jetumhaka]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

56 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/ \(\rightarrow\) [mʊ̊̃pə] ‘rat’  
b. /anka/ \(\rightarrow\) [aŋka] ‘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/ \(\rightarrow\) [imumukta] ‘I have sons’  
b. /i-mumuku/ \(\rightarrow\) [imũ̊̃mku] ‘my son’  
\(\rightarrow\) [imũ̊̃pku] ‘my son’  
\(\rightarrow\) [imũ̊̃ku] ‘my son’  
\(\rightarrow\) [imuũ̊̃ku] ‘my son’  
(NW)  
(all including NW, except AW)  
(RW, MW, RW)  
(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’, \(-min(ı)/-pin(ı)\) ‘Privative Nominalizer’, and \(-npə/-tpə\) ‘Devaluative’.

2.3.2.5. The */pt/ constraint. We have seen above that all [pr] 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. [iɡɾakun] ‘my ankle’  
    c. [piɾami] ‘object to climb palm trees’  
    d. [iɡɾamit] ‘my object to climb palm trees’  
    e. [piɾoɾo] ‘floor’  
    f. [iɾoɾoɾo] ‘my floor’

176) a. [piɾaʃi] ‘basket’  
    b. [iɾaʃi] ‘my basket’  
    c. [piɾaw] ‘arrow’  
    d. [iɾe] ‘my arrow’

In the examples above, when vowel deletion takes place, a /pt/ 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.\(^{57}\)

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

This is the only example attested:

177) [pijaʃ] ‘shaman’  
    [iiʃi] ‘my shaman’

---

\(^{57}\) 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; the voiceless labial fricative [ϕ] occurs between [u] and [p] where it is in free variation with [h].

178) / V__C a. [əɾaθpə] 'parakeet', b. [əhtə] 'cough', c. [wəpədəkən] 'firewood'
d. [təhmeθkəntət] 'queasy', e. [ehnəj] 'corn', f. [əθnep] 'peanut',
g. [əɾiweθrə] 'alligator (sp.)', h. [tihwa] 'again', i. [weɾəθwəɾə] 'flute (kd.)',
j. [təθjekəθj] 'to extract teeth', k. [təθjontət] 'to wrap'.

179) [ϕ]–[h] /u__p a. [əktuθpəθ] ~ [aktuθpəθ] 'up river',
b. [uθρəθk] ~ [uθpəθk] '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. [iθkə] ~ [iθkə] 'skin worm'
b. [iθtəθnəθ] ~ [iθtəθnəθ] 'jaguar'
c. [θme] ~ [θme] 'to exist'
d. [θθnəθ] ~ [θθnəθ] 'liana'
e. [θθθθ] ~ [θθθθ] 'new'

---

58 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. [əθnep] ~ [əθnep] 'peanut'). For the sake of simplicity, only [h] is presented in the examples.

59 It occurs only between [u] and [p], so in the absence of either sound [ϕ] fails to occur: [nəθuθmo] 'He/She/it fell' (*nəθuθmo), [əθpa] 'parakeet' (*əθpa).
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


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-apahi-j/ → [hapajj] ‘Let’s get it’
b. /apahi-ta/ → [apaja] ‘Go get it’
c. /w-apahi-ne/ → [wapajne] ‘I got it (long ago)’
d. /apahi-ka/ → [apajkə] ‘Get it’
e. /n-apahi-ja/ → [napajja] ‘He will get it’
f. /w-apahi-oma/ → [wapajma] ‘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 [ϕ], [ʃ] 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. /arappa/ → [arahpa] ‘parakeet’
    b. /ipme/ → [ihme] ~ [i[j]me] ‘to exist’
    c. /atto/ → [ahto] ‘cough’
    d. /etn[n]i/ → [ehnaj] ‘corn’
    e. /aktuppojo/ → [aktu[p]poj] ‘up river’
    f. /ikk[a]/ → [ihka] ~ [i[j]ka] ‘skin worm’

**CODA /h/**

184) a. /tihwa/ → [tihwa] ‘again’
    b. /t-o-h-j-e-ka-he/ → [tahjekaj] ‘pull teeth’
    c. /we[r]hwe[r]a/ → [wer[r]hwer[r]a] ‘flute (kd.)’
    d. /t-o-h-jomta-he/ → [tahjomtaj] ‘wrap oneself’
    e. /ihjanu/ → [ihjan]~[i[j]jan] ‘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.

| 185) a. /etat+ewa/ | [etadewa] | 'hammock rope' | [e.tat.e.wa] |
| b. /maki+eti-ri/ | [magerii] | 'the cowlick of that one' | [mok.e.rii] |
| c. /wapoto+umiti/ | [wapodumiti] | 'log for making fire' | [wap.ot.u.mit] |

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

| 186) a. /wapoto/ | [wapot] | 'fire' |
| b. /wapoto+rakkono/ | [wapodahkon] | 'firewood' (*wapotahkon) |
| c. /i-peti/ | [ipet] | 'my thigh' |
| d. /peti+emo/ | [ipedemo] | 'upper thigh' (*ipetem) |

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

| 187) a. /aw-oti+aparati-he/ | [awotaparati] | 'in order to get your food' |
| b. /i-pi-ti+akono/ | [ipitakon] | 'my wife's sister' |
| c. /wapoto+rakkono/ | [wapotahkon] | '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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>188)</th>
<th>a. /jaɾamaɾa/</th>
<th>→ [jaɾamaɾa] ‘chin’</th>
<th>a. /waɾi/</th>
<th>→ [waɾi] ‘lower leg’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>/i-jaɾamaɾaɾi/</td>
<td>→ [i-jaɾamaɾaɾi]</td>
<td>b. /i-waɾi/</td>
<td>→ [iwaɾi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>/o-jaɾamaɾaɾi/</td>
<td>→ [o-jaɾamaɾaɾi]</td>
<td>c. /o-waɾi/</td>
<td>→ [owaɾi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>/t-jaɾamaɾaɾi/</td>
<td>→ [t-jaɾamaɾaɾi]</td>
<td>d. /t-waɾi/</td>
<td>→ [twaɾi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>e. /ku-jaɾamaɾaɾi/</td>
<td>→ [ku-jaɾamaɾaɾi]</td>
<td>e. /ku-waɾi/</td>
<td>→ [kuwaɾi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Reflx</td>
<td>f. /ti-jaɾamaɾaɾi/</td>
<td>→ [ti-jaɾamaɾaɾi]</td>
<td>f. /ti-waɾi/</td>
<td>→ [tiwaɾi]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>/i-pa/</td>
<td>→ [ipa]</td>
<td>b. /j-am-o-ɾi/</td>
<td>→ [jamo]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>/o-pa/</td>
<td>→ [oɾa]</td>
<td>c. /o-aw-am-o-ɾi/</td>
<td>→ [oɾawo]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>/t-pa/</td>
<td>→ [iɾa]</td>
<td>d. /o-ɾo-ɾi/</td>
<td>→ [oro]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>e. /ku-pa/</td>
<td>→ [kapa]</td>
<td>e. /k-o-ɾi/</td>
<td>→ [komo]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Reflx</td>
<td>g. /ti-pa/</td>
<td>→ [tɾa]</td>
<td>g. /t-o-ɾi/</td>
<td>→ [tomo]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/.

190) /pw/ (no attested cases)
/tw/ a. /t-ot-uwa-he/ | → [tɔdɔʔi] ‘(He/she) killed himself’
/kw/ b. /tuna+kuwa-waɾ/ | → [tungwaw] ‘in the water’
/pj/ c. /sw-eɾeɾeɾepi/ | → [swεɾεɾεɾepi] ‘You got scared’
| d. /sw-eɾeɾeɾepi-ja-he/ | → [swεɾεɾεɾepi-ja-he] ‘You will be scared’
/tj/ f. /n-eɾat/ | → [nεɾat] ‘He will cross’
| g. /n-eɾat/ | → [nεɾat] ‘He will cross’
/kj/ h. /w-umak/ | → [umak] ‘I came’
| i. /w-umak-ja-he/ | → [umak-ja-he] ‘I will come’
/pɾ/ j. /ti-pupu-ɾe/ | → [tiɾubɾε] ‘having foot’
/tɾ/ (cf. consonant dissimilation in section 2.3.2.3.)
/kɾ/ k. /maɾɾaɾa/ | → [maɾɾa] ‘that one’

---

60 Words starting in vowels present ablaut on their first vowel (cf. section 2.3.8).
61 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/ → [wekewekeje] ‘I made bread again and again’
    b. /w-epajɾa-ma-ja-he/ → [wepawepajɾamej] ‘I get drunk again and again’
    c. /w-enepi-ja-he/ → [wenewenebjai] ‘I bring it again and again’

Conversely, dissimilation treats glides differently from other consonants. Though only stops undergo dissimilation, all consonants, including /t’, /m/, /n/ trigger dissimilation. Glides, however, never trigger dissimilation (section 2.3.2.3).62

192) a. /w-ekeju-ja-he/ → [wekejja] ‘I will make bread’
    b. /ihme+aptawə+w-ita-ja-he/ → [ihmeapttawitajai] ‘If there is one, I will go’
    c. /hokoɾom+wi-ka/ → [hokoɾomwiaka] ‘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’, [papakəmna] ‘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. /aptawəɾə/ → [aptawəɾə] ‘when, if (it is) not’
    c. /tuna+kuwa-wə/ → [tunagwaw] ‘in the water’
    d. /tuna+kuwa-wəɾə/ → [tunagwawəɾə] ‘not in the water’
    e. /aktuppojə/ → [aktuppojə] ‘up river’
    f. /aktuppojəɾə/ → [aktuppojəɾə] ‘not up river’
    g. /takoɾewejə/ → [takoɾewejə] ‘slippery’
    h. /takoɾewejə+psiky/ → [təɾəɾewejəpʃik] ‘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

---

62 In Xakuyana (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→u /__CCV and j→i__CCV. (Examples are presented as they were produced in slow speech)

194)  a. [ka.məm.təw] ‘we all sank’
   b. [ka.məm.ta.up.ʃik] ‘we all almost sank’
   c. [pi.ʃəw] ‘arrow’
   d. [pi.ʃə.um.na] ‘with no arrow’
   e. [hag.ʃəw] ‘bird.sp’
   f. [hag.ʃə.um.na] ‘with no haklau’

195)  a. [i.ʃoj] ‘lizard’
   b. [i.ʃoj.im.na] ‘with no lizard’
   c. [o.ʃoj] ‘cashew fruit’
   d. [o.ʃo.im.na] ‘with no cashew fruit’

This process results in onsetless syllables resembling the case of glide deletion in words such as /kumawu/→[ku.ma.u] ‘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 /piʃəwum-nna/→[piʃəumna]. 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 appliable 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. The Wayâna morphophonological alternations between [j]/[i] and [w]/[u] confirm this idea:

\[
\begin{array}{c@{\rightarrow}c}
V.CVj & V.CV.iC.CV \\
 i,oj & i,oj.im,na \\
 [ijo] 'lizard' & [ijoimna] 'without lizard'
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c@{\rightarrow}c}
CV.CVw & CV.CV.uC.CV \\
 pi,\text{faw} & pi,\text{fawum,na} \\
 [pi\text{faw}] 'arrow' & [pi\text{fawumna}] 'without arrow'
\end{array}
\]

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).

\[
63 \text{ Once it is in onset position, glides are subject to the properties of this position. Thus, the hardening: } [w]\rightarrow[\beta] \text{ and } [j]\rightarrow[j^{3}].
\]
2.3.7. **Reduplication.** Only three languages have been reported as presenting any pattern of reduplication in the Cariban family: Tiriyó (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(C)V(C).CV</th>
<th>[wahamoja]</th>
<th>[wahawshamoja]</th>
<th>‘I cry’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /w-ah-amo-ja-he/</td>
<td>[nupoma]</td>
<td>[nuponupoma]</td>
<td>‘He undressed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /n-upo-ma/</td>
<td>[wipanâñme]</td>
<td>[wipawipanâñme]</td>
<td>‘I listen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. /w-i-panakma-ja-he/</td>
<td>[nepija]</td>
<td>[nepinepija]</td>
<td>‘He/she bathes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. /n-epi-ja/</td>
<td>[upi]</td>
<td>[upiupi]</td>
<td>‘H/she gave a bath’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. /upi/</td>
<td>[amik-hka]</td>
<td>[amiamik-hka]</td>
<td>‘Get it!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. /amik-ka/</td>
<td>[kuhepi]</td>
<td>[kuhekuhepi]</td>
<td>‘We ate fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. /kuhepi/</td>
<td>[jêmnamohuktej]</td>
<td>[jêmnamajjêmnamohuktej]</td>
<td>‘My nose is running’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. /j-êmnamohukta-he/</td>
<td>[jêmnamohuktej]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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/:

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:

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.

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 molaric analysis, such as the one done for Tiriyó (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 Tiriýó, stems starting in long vowels have only its first syllable copied (/j-eerana/ → [jɛɛ-jɛɛ́na]). 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 /r/ deletion (2.3.1.2)).

201)  
  a. /t-iitā-he/ → [tiitaj] → [tiitaiitaj] ‘go’  
  b. /t-aata-he/ → [taataj] → [taataataataj] ‘fall from a tree (fruit, flower)’  
  c. /tə-w-ət-upo-ma-he/ → [təətupomaj] → [təətuptupomaj] ‘dress’  
  d. /tə-w-ət-uhmo-he/ → [təətuhmoi] → [təətuptuhmoi] ‘hit oneself’  
  e. /w-ewaru-jā-he/ → [wewaaajaj] → [wewaawewaaajaj] ‘I burn it’  
  f. /w-iōri-je/ → [wikiine] → [wikiitwikiine] ‘I take it from something’  
  g. /w-i-puru-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-pkəra/ → [wipkərapkara] ‘I cut it in small pieces’  
  b. /w-i-pkara-ja-he/ → [wipkərapkaraajaj] ‘I will cut it in small pieces’  
  c. /w-apkəra/ → [wapkərapkara] ‘I broke it in small pieces’  
  d. /w-apkəra-ja-he/ → [wapkərapkaraajaj] ‘I will break it in small pieces’

203)  
  a. /w-i-muŋkma/ → [wimuŋŋkimma] ‘I made it really uneven’  
  b. /wiwiipka/ → [wiwiipka] ‘I scratched someone else again and again’  
  c. /wehahaka/ → [wehahaka] ‘I rubbed myself’  \(^{64}\)  
  d. /wihahaka/ → [wifafaka] ‘I rubbed someone else’

**A summary of reduplication:**

**Left edge:** very productive.

\[(C)V(C).CV \rightarrow (C)V(C).CV\]  \(^{1\text{st}}\) type

\(^{64}\) The equivalent non-reduplicated forms are unattested.
(C)V(C).CVC \rightarrow (C)V(C).CV
(C)V(C).CVh \rightarrow (C)V(C).CVh

2^{nd} type
3^{rd} type

Root internal: rare.

a) CV.CV \rightarrow CV.CV

4^{th} type

b) CV(C) \rightarrow [CV]

5^{th} type

Finally, reduplication seems to be a late phonological process. Example (204 b)
shows that the copy is done after vowel /t/ deletion takes place, and example (204 d)
shows that the copy is done after the rule /h/ \rightarrow [ʃ]/i_\text{V} applies.

204) a. /n-ewaru/ \rightarrow [newaru] \rightarrow [newanewaru] ‘He burned it again and again’
b. /n-ewaru-ja-he/ \rightarrow [newaajaj] \rightarrow [newaanewaaajaj] ‘He will burn it again and again’
c. /w-e-hahaka/ \rightarrow [wehahaka] ‘I rubbed myself’
d. /w-i-hahaka/ \rightarrow [wijahaka] ‘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 Tiriýó, uses the terms back grade for allomorphs starting with /o/ 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 /o/.
Forms beginning with /a/, however, only alternate with /o/ or /a/, if either of these are the
second vowel of the root. Table 13 summarizes this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>front grade</th>
<th>back grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aCo/</td>
<td>/oCo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aCa/</td>
<td>/oCa/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13
Ablaut

88
Examples of the alternation /e~/ə/ are given in (205), of /a~/ə/ in (206), and of /a~/ə/ in (207) (for more specific examples see section (4.1.1.1.2) on nouns, (5.1.1) on verbs, and (6.1.1.3) on postpositions):

205) a. /ɔkunu/ → [ɔkun] ‘hips’
b. /j-ekunu-ɾi/ → [ʃekun] ‘my hips’
c. /sw-ekunu/ → [ʃwekun] ‘your hips’
d. /ʃ-e-kunu/ → [ekun] ‘his/her hips’
e. /k-ɔkunu-ɾi/ → [ʃakun] ‘our (dual) hips’
f. /t-ɔkunu-ɾi/ → [takun] ‘his own hips’

206) a. /ɔmo/ → [omə] ‘hand’
b. /j-amo-ɾi/ → [ʃamə] ‘my hand’
c. /sw-amo-ɾi/ → [ʃawamə] ‘your hand’
d. /ʃ-ə-amo-ɾi/ → [amə] ‘his/her hand’
e. /k-omo-ɾi/ → [kɔmə] ‘our (dual) hand’
f. /t-omo-ɾi/ → [tomə] ‘his own hand’

207) a. /mule+əɾə/ → [muleɾə] ‘(He/she/it) took a child’
b. /w-əɾə/ → [waɾə] ‘I took (him/her/it)’
c. /ʃ-əɾə/ → [ʃəɾə] ‘(He/she/it) took me’
d. /k-əɾə/ → [kəɾə] ‘(He/she/it) took us’
e. /t-əɾə-he/ → [təɾəj] ‘taken’

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

208) a. /ʃ-ə-hikapami/ → [ʃajikapam] ‘I got upset’
b. /k-ə-hikapami/ → [kaʃikapam] ‘We (dual) got upset’
c. /t-ə-hikapami-he/ → [taʃikapamhe] ‘upset’
d. /ʃ-ə-kəpiɾami/ → [ʃakəpiɾam] ‘I became red’
e. /k-ə-kəpiɾami/ → [kaʃəpiɾam] ‘We (dual) became red’
f. /t-ə-kəpiɾami-he/ → [takəpiɾamhe] ‘red’
g. /ʃ-ə-əkina/ → [ʃakinta] ‘I worked hard’
h. /k-ə-əkinta/ → [kaʃkinta] ‘We (dual) worked hard’
i. /t-ə-əkinta-he/ → [takintai] ‘having worked hard’
j. /n-ə-əkθama/ → [nakθama] ‘He put it away’
k. /t-ə-əkθama-he/ → [taθramai] ‘put away’
l. /ʃ-ə-əkəwə/ → [ʃakəwə] ‘(He/she) washed me’
m. /k-ə-əkəwə/ → [kaʃəkwə] ‘(He/she) washed us (dual)’
n. /t-ə-əkəwə-he/ → [takəwəj] ‘washed’

209) a. /ʃ-ə-əmə/ → [ʃəmə] ‘I entered’
b. /k-ə-əmə/ → [kaʃəmə] ‘We (dual) entered’
2.4. Prosody. As far as we can tell, Wayána’s prosody is characterized by very simple patterns. The most interesting statements that may be made about it are those referring to what Wayána 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 Wayána’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) Mëje-la aptau, witējai.
mëje-la wapta-wë w-řë-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.\footnote{An investigation on sound symbolic words may reveal stress to operate in that domain (cf. 2.6)}

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 Tiriyô (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).\footnote{In Tiriyô, 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).}

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
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) akiʃita ‘reumatism’
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.
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:


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.


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) tjomtaj  
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 pəuku* ‘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) eputpiipatuku length: 480/452/912(/t/ deletion)/602/600/685.
Intensity: third of the first word and first of the second word, rest about the same.

220) eputpiipatuku Length: 485/669/1087/621/690/821;
Intensity: highest in the first two syllables of patuku.

This shows that a phrase and a word have a similar organization in terms of intonation. While English and Tiriyó present prominent stressed syllables, Wayána 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 Tiriyó ‘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 \textit{w}- and the marker of Sa verbs \textit{w}- both alternate with \textit{Ø}-, with the latter being the most frequent form.

221) a. /\textit{w}-ene/ \rightarrow [wene] ~ [ene]  
   'I saw it'

b. /\textit{w}-ekəra\textperiodcentered-ja-he/ \rightarrow [wekəra\textperiodcentered] ~ [ekəra\textperiodcentered]  
   'I will give it'

c. /\textit{w}-i-panakma/ \rightarrow [wipanakma] ~ [ipanakma]  
   'I heard it'

\textit{/w/} may be lost in the participial form \textit{t-V-(h)e}. All cases the allomorphs \textit{ə}- or \textit{e}- of the detransitivizing suffix (nor \textit{/w/} or compensatory vowel length occur with allomorph \textit{əh}-).\footnote{There exist at least two cases of \textit{SA} verbs with vowel lengthening in a \textit{t-V-(h)e} ‘participle’. These examples cannot be synchronically attributed to \textit{/w/} deletion, since the two morphemes do not present \textit{/w/} in any of their other forms (see section 4.1.2 for a more detailed discussion):}

222) a. /\textit{ta}-\textit{w}-at-uhmo-he/ \rightarrow [təwətuhmoj] ~ [təwətuhmoj]  
   'fallen'

b. /\textit{ta}-\textit{w}-at-apua-he/ \rightarrow [təwətapuwa\textperiodcentered] ~ [təwətapuwa\textperiodcentered]  
   'open'

c. /\textit{ta}-\textit{w}-e-pi-he/ \rightarrow [təwəpihe] ~ [təwəpihe]  
   'bathe'

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

223) a. /\textit{woka}/ \rightarrow [oka]  
   'fishhook'

b. /\textit{i-woka-nu}/ \rightarrow [iwo\textperiodcentered]  
   'my fishhook'

c. /\textit{womi}/ \rightarrow [omi]  
   'language'

d. /\textit{i-womi-\textperiodcentered-ti}/ \rightarrow [iwomii]  
   'my language'

e. /\textit{awta}/ \rightarrow [\textit{awta}]-[\textit{ətə}]  
   'land'

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

224) mëwi\textperiodcentered ~ mëwi\textperiodcentered 'a lot; very'

225) mëwi\textperiodcentered ~ mëwi\textperiodcentered 'nearby'

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

226) a. /\textit{wono}/ \rightarrow [wono]  
   'bead'

\footnote{There exist at least two cases of \textit{SA} verbs with vowel lengthening in a \textit{t-V-(h)e} ‘participle’. These examples cannot be synchronically attributed to \textit{/w/} deletion, since the two morphemes do not present \textit{/w/} in any of their other forms (see section 4.1.2 for a more detailed discussion):}

\textit{/ti-ita-he/} \rightarrow [ti\textperiodcenteredta\textperiodcentered]  
   'gone'

\textit{/ti-ka-he/} \rightarrow [ti\textperiodcenteredka\textperiodcentered] ~ [ti\textperiodcenteredka\textperiodcentered]  
   'said'}
b. /wohi/ → [woj] ‘skin fungus’
c. /waŋhi/ → [waŋj] ‘woman’
d. /wantəapa/ → [wantu] ‘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. [mamharji] ‘bird (sp.) ’ (Speakers from the Paru River)
b. [mamharji] ‘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 -ći, clearly undergoes vowel harmony (see section 2.1.1 for cases of phonetic vowel harmony of the allophones of /o/ and /e/).

b. /j-apo-ti-mna/ → [japoți-mna] ‘without my arm’
c. /i-wahi-ti-phiki/ → [iwašipiji] ‘my little lower leg’
d. /i-nu-ti-mna/ → [inuți-mna] ‘without his tongue’
e. /i-pupu-ti-mna/ → [ipuți-mna] ‘without his foot’
f. /i-miu-ti-mna/ → [imiți-mna] ‘without his blood’

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

231) a. /pana-npa/ → [pananpa] ‘ear severed from the body’
b. /i-pana-ʁi-npə-ʁi/ → [ipanaʁinpi] ‘his former ear’
c. /pupu-tŋa/ → [puputŋa] ‘footprints, former foot’
d. /i-pupu-tŋa-ʁi/ → [ipuputŋi] ‘his former foot’

232) a. [aɾeq] ‘wound’
b. [aɾeqəmna] ‘no wound’
c. [jeɾeqi] ‘my wound’
d. [jeɾeqitimna] ‘without my wound’
e. [jaɾon+mumkə] ‘my sister’s son’
f. [imumku] ‘my son’
g. [imumkurpʃik] ‘my little son’
h. [aɾinat] ‘plate’
i. [aɾinatəmna] ‘without a plate’
j. [jeɾinatu] ‘my plate’
k. [jeɾinatifupʃik] ‘my small plate’
l. [aɾımak] ‘baking plate’
m. [aɾımakəmna] ‘without baking plate’
n. [jeɾımaki] ‘my baking plate’
o. [eɾımakɨɾimna] ‘without his/her baking plate’

One example looks idiosyncratic:

233) a. [wapot] ‘fire’
b. [wapotomna] ‘without fire’
c. [iwaptə] ‘his/her fire’
d. [iwaptəɾimna] ‘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. [iʃpok] ‘bad’
b. [upok] ‘long time ago’
c. [miʃja] ‘far’
d. [pətuku] ‘well’
e. [heɾmaɾa] ‘now’
f. [warunok] ‘evening’
g. [kɔɾe] ‘many’
h. [jahpine] ‘shallow’
i. [iʃpok] ‘very bad’
j. [uʃpok] ‘very long time ago’
k. [miʃja] ‘very far’
l. [pətuku] ‘really well’
m. [heɾmaɾa] ‘right now’
m. [wahɾunok] ‘really in the evening’
n. [kɔɾe] ‘a lot’
o. [jahpine] ‘very shallow’
2.5.5. **The emphatic particle *ma*.** The emphatic particle *ma* can be represented as having an extra-mora. It prevents syllable reduction and causes lengthening on words ending in a vowel.\(^{68}\) This particle is represented phonemically as /\(\text{"m}a\)/.

\[\begin{array}{lll}
\text{235)} & \text{a.} & \text{wi-ka-jm}\text{a}-ja-he+\text{"ma}/ \\
& \rightarrow & \text{[wikajm}\text{\text{ahema}a]} \\
 & \text{b.} & \text{m}\text{\text{aki}+n}\text{\text{ma}+\text{"ma}/} \\
& \rightarrow & \text{[m}\text{\text{ak\text{\text{imma}a>}a]} \\
& \text{c.} & \text{m}\text{\text{hema}+\text{"ma}/} \\
& \rightarrow & \text{[m}\text{\text{hem}a\text{\text{a}\text{a}ma\text{a}a]} \\
& \text{d.} & \text{akuwa+p}\text{\text{ak}}+\text{"ma}/ \\
& \rightarrow & \text{[akuwa\text{\text{pa\text{\text{a}a}m}a\text{a}a]} \\
\end{array}\]

‘I will talk for sure’

‘It’s really that one’

‘It’s really that one’

‘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 /aɾe/ ‘leaf’ it turns out as [ituhaɾe] ‘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 \(h\): [me\text{\text{ku}a}k\text{\text{a}}} ‘monkey’s breed’, [maɾip\text{\text{aa}r}e] ‘leaf of malipa tree’. One other example is /aɾe/ ‘leaf’ plus /paɾuɾu/ ‘banana’ which turns out as [paɾuwaɾe] ‘banana leaf’, but no \(w\) is found in other combinations, [uɾuaɾe] ‘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.

---

\(^{68}\) *ma* has different properties than the negative -\(p\), the privative nominalizer -\(p\text{\text{im}i}-\(m\text{\text{im}}\text{\text{a}\text{a}a)}\) and the dative postposition \(\text{ja}\). 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.\(^{69}\) 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).\(^{70}\)

\begin{verbatim}
236) a. [kutonŋ tikaj] '(Someone) drank.'
b. [toponŋ tikaj] '(Someone) dropped fishhooks.'
c. [tonŋ tikaj] '(Someone) shot something.'
d. [tan tikaj] '(Someone) threw something.'
e. [tononŋ tikaj] '(Someone) swam.'
f. [ponŋ tikaj] '(Someone) laid down.'
g. [ponŋ tikaj] 'It rained.'
h. [wen tikaj] 'The walami bird sang.'
i. [wenŋ tikai] 'The wamu bird sang.'
\end{verbatim}

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].

---

\(^{69}\) 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. [wipjan]  ‘jump’
b. [jaktikip]  ‘cut wood’
c. [jom]  ‘stand up’
d. [jegrataj]  ‘slide’
e. [ja[jaj]  ‘cicada’
f. [atfu]  ‘sneeze’

b) [j] 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. [jokojom] ~ [hokojom] ~ [tokojom]  ‘to paddle’
b. [juju] ~ [huhu]  ‘breast; milk’

239) a. [helephlelep]  ‘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: [j] 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 /j/ and /h/, which may be neutralized in some words. Fricatives in sound symbolic words are in an intermediate stage between being or not contrastive.

\[70\] 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. [juwi:jwi] ‘bird (sp.) that sings at night’
b. [juwi:jwi tikaj] ‘suwisaw i sang’
c. [mutu] ‘bird (sp.)’
d. [mũt “mũt” tikaj] ‘mutu sang’
e. [ũwi:ũ] ‘insect (sp.)’
f. [ũwi:ũ tikaj] ‘ũwĩũwí sang’
g. [ũrũkũri] ‘insect (sp.)’
h. [ũrũkũri tikaj] ‘ũrũkũri sang’
i. [ũwu] ‘insect (sp.)’
j. [ũwu nika] ‘ũwu sang’
k. [kotkoto] ‘insect (sp.)’
l. [kotkoto nika] ‘kotkoto 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 Wayãna 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 Wayãna 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](image)

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 Wayána 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 Wayána.
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 CCVyllabic type. For example, the devaluative suffix -tpē and the admiraive particle pke have the same syllabic shape. In the same way, size cannot be a criterion since both suffices and particles can be one syllable long, as for example the suffix -k(ē) 'Proximal Imperative', or several syllables long, as for example the particle hemele 'now; soon' and the Habitual past suffix -(j)(ê)mêneja. 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 Wayana 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: ¹

1)  
Emna  kunētuku  psik..  
emna  kun-ētuku  phikt  
1+3ExclPro  3SADistPst-have.a.meal  little  
‘We ate a little.’

2)  
Pakolo  psik  neha.  
pakolo  phikt  n-eha-Ø  
house  small  3SA-be-RecPst  
‘It was a small house.’

3)  
Tímile  psik  neha.  
tímile  phikt  n-eha-Ø  
bloody  small  3SA-be-RecPst  
‘There was a little bit of blood.’

4)  
Mèklëë  uhpolo  psik  lèken.  
mèklëë  uppo-lo  phikt  lèken  
DemAnmMed  on.top.of-along  little  only  
‘(He was) a little bit taller than that one.’ (Ékëi 072)

5)  
Uwa  hné  psik  ŋu.  
uwa  tnë  phikt  ñwu  
Neg  still  little  1Pro  
‘I still did not (sleep).’ (Pène 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.’

¹Hereafter, examples are presented mostly in the Wayãna 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 /'/ deletion are represented as if ending with long vowels /'epepti/ → [epepti], *epelli* ‘fruit’). Examples of contrastive occurrences of the velar nasal /ŋ/ are represented by kn (/tan/ → [tan], *tañ* ‘far away’).
Rarely, in elicitation, the devaluative suffix -tpê (section 4.2.1.1), the existential suffix -hpe/~hme (section 7.2.1.1.1.2), and with the negative suffix -mna (section 7.2.1.1.1.3), 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 Tiriyô (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 7.2.1.1.1.1):
11) Moloiné, tê lèken me hapon.
moloiné tê lèken me haponu
then be.stopped.snd only Attrib like
‘Then, he (was just) standing like that.’ (Pear 010)

12) Têi pa lêe me lèken piléu tîhe
têe-je pa lêlê me lèken pilèw t-ilî-he
where-away pa Emph Attrib only arrow Prtc-make.O-Prtc

imnetamulu ja.
i-mnetamulu-Ø ja
3-male’s.father.in.law-Pss Erg
‘Go figure why his father-in-law made arrows.’ (Tukusimule 007)

13) Wajana anuktaa he me esike.
wajana anukta-O-lf he me ehike
person transform.into.animal-SpecEvtNmlz-Pss Des Attrib because
‘Because people wanted to transform (themselves) into animals.’ (Stair 029)

tuno nma me m-iëif-jâ-he
fearful Intens Attrib 2SA-become-NPst-SapAff
‘You will become feared.’ (Walema 095)

15) Inëléë le mela ñë wai.
inëléë le me-la ñë wahe
3AnphPro Intens Attrib-la still 1be
‘I am still not like him (a true pastor).’ (Walema2 129)

One other argument in favor of considering -me, and also -hpe/-hme, and -mna, as
suffixes is the fact that they are all derivational. In general, particles do not perform class
changing processes which are carried out by suffixes.

One of the criteria for the existence of phrases (postpositional phrase, genitive
phrases, and verbal phrases) in the language is the fact that their members cannot be
separated by an intervening form (cf. section 8.1.1). A few scope particles, psik(i), ptile,
lê, lihle and tapek, however, can occur between the two members of a phrase, in which
case they seem to display suffix-like behavior:

[OV]

16) Pilasi lêë kap toma eluwa.
pilahi lêlê kapl-Ø toma eluwa.
basket Emph hand.craft.O-RecPst Verit man
‘A basket really a man truly crafted.’
3.2. The third person prefixes. Third person prefixes occur in complementary distribution with free dependent nominals (possessors (23), objects of postpositions (24), or direct objects (25)) (Gildea 1998:34 refers to these morphemes as pronominal clitics).

Given the fact that they behave, however, like other prefixes in that their occurrences are restricted to the classes they inflect and that they cannot be separated from their stem, we consider them to be prefixes:

23) a. i-kopu-n
    'his/her cup'

24) Alina kopu-n
    'Alina’s cup'
24) a. e-po
   'on it.'
  b. ahmit po.
     'on the shelf'

25) a. n-ene
    'He/she/it saw it.'
  b. Opolana ene
     'He/she/it saw Opolana.'

3.3. The speech classes. There are five major speech classes in Wayâna: nouns, verbs, postpositions, adverbs and particles. Some of the most important aspects of each class are introduced in the next sections.

3.3.1. Nouns. Nouns bear personal prefixes, possessive suffixes, derivational suffixes (class and meaning changing suffixes), and number. Nouns are of central importance to the grammar in that they may be derived from every major speech class: verbs, adverbs and postpositions (the reverse is not true for other speech classes). Moreover, most classes may be derived from nominal stems. Verbalization is all a de-nominal process, and the great majority of adverbials, as well as many modern postpositions, come from nouns. Some examples of inflected nouns, both derived and non-derived, are given below:

26) tìwalamalinkom
    tì-walamali-nu-komo
    3Refl-mask-Pss-Coll
    'their own mask'

27) ipatatpykoom
    i-pata-tpli-O-komo
    3-homeland-Dvl-Pss-Coll
    'their former homeland'

28) iwêhanuktopkom
    i-w-ê-â-âkutopo-O-komo
    3-SA-Det-put.O.up -CircmtNmlz-Pss-Coll
    'their going up'
3.3.2. Verbs. There are two systems of verbal morphology in Wayãna. 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\textsubscript{A} verbs, marking the S on S\textsubscript{O} and marking both the A and the O in transitive verbs. Some of these affixes are exemplified here:

29) Këhepematatën.
   k-ékhep-em-ma-t-tën
   1+2SA-Det-friend-GiveVrblz-HortAblat-HortColl
   'Let's be friends.'

30) Wikloimeë.
    w-i-klo-jmë-Ø
    1A3O-Them-mix.O-Resumpt-RecPst
    'I mixed it.'

31) Mëmëm.
    m-émë-Ø
    2SA-enter-RecPst
    'You entered.'

32) Kuzuwe ka?
    ku-tu-wa-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.'

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{A} & \text{O} \\
\text{Ilimona} & \text{ja} & \text{ékëj} & \text{tuhmoi.} \\
\text{iâlimona} & \text{ja} & \text{ékëhi} & \text{t-upmo-he} \\
\text{Ilimona} & \text{Erg} & \text{snake} & \text{T-kill.O-Prtc} \\
\text{Ilimona} & \text{Erg} & \text{snake} & \text{T-kill.O-Prtc} \\
\end{array}
\]

'Ilimona killed a snake.'

34) Talanne tiflëmëpëhe i-jumë.
    talanne tiflëmëpë-he i-jumë-Ø
    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-elep{j}-ja-he
   1A3O-make.O.afraid-NPst-SapAff
   'I make him/her/it afraid.'

36) Wehelepjai.
   w-ěh-elep{j}-ja-he
   1SA-Det-make.O.afraid-NPst-SapAff
   'I got afraid.'

37) Kunutat inélée.
    kun-uttať inélélè
    3SODistPst-be.lost 3AnphPro
    'He got lost (a long time ago).'

38) Kahulu utatka inélée.
    kahulu utat{t}-ka-Ø inélélè
    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.

39) tēnawēhe
    t-ēna-wē-he
    3Refl-in.middle.of.supported-in-PColl
    'in their lap'

40) jeuu jak
    j-ewu-lî já-kē
    1-eye-Pss inside.of-into
    'into my eye'

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(uf), and its allomorphs (section 4.2.2.2.2), the
privative suffix \(-pin(i)\) (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 ipoke-la kaneta.
    hinī ipoke-la kaneta
    DemInanProx good-Neg pen
    'This one (is) not good, a pen.'

42) Sin ipokan, wīwī.
    hinī ipoke-anu wīwī
    DemInanProx good-PtNmlz ax
    'This one (is) the good one, an ax.'

43) Inpoke nma kan womii.
    ipoke-h nma kanu womii-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) Moloinē emna kunīnīk.
    moloiniē emna kuninnīk
    then 1+3ExclPro 1+3SODistPst-sleep
    'Then, we slept (a long time ago).' (Pēne 067)

45) Ulu hek henepta Jamai.
    ulu hek h-enepi-ta jamai
    manioc only 1+2A3O-bring.O-HortAblat Jamai
    'Let's go get only manioc, Jamai.' (Kaikui2 003)

46) Kunumusimanmela haponu hnē lep wai lep.
    kunumuh-1me-anu-me-lā haponu tnē lep wahe lep
    old.woman-Attrb-PtNmlz-Attrb-Neg like still Advrs 1be 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)  
\textit{elemi} ‘sing; song’
a.  \textit{jelemijai} ‘I sing.’
b.  \textit{elemiphak} ‘good at music’

48)  
\textit{pimi} ‘tie O; string’
a.  Wipymyjai;
   w-i-p\textit{mi}-ja-he
   1A3O-Them-tie.O-NPst-SapAff
   ‘I am going to tie it.’
b.  ip\textit{mi}t
   i-p\textit{mi}-t’
   3-string-Pss
   ‘its string.’

49)  
\textit{awaina} ‘to come into the morning/to down; morning’
   \textit{m}\textit{k}\textit{f}-la  j-awajna-O
   sleep-Neg 1SO-come.into.the.morning-RecPst
   ‘I came into the morning without sleeping.’ (Jolokoc 530)
b.  Emna nipanakmei awaina kupt\textit{e}.
   emna n-i-panakma-ja-he awajna kupt\textit{e}
   1+3ExclPro 1+3A3O-Them-hear.O-NPst-SapAff morning each
   ‘We hear this every morning.’ (Walema 048)

50)  
\textit{tip}i ‘end; end O’
a.  N\textit{ti}pja.
   n-i-\textit{tip}-ja-he
   3A3O-Them-end.O-NPst-SapAff
   ‘(He/she) will end it.’
b.  Hel\textit{e} wapot akkon, \textit{itp}.
   hel\textit{e} wapoto akkonu i-\textit{tip}-O
   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 \textit{pata}, for instance, behaves as a noun in that it has an unpossessed form (ëutë), it occurs with \textit{t-N-ke} denominal adverbializer, it takes the devaluative suffix \textit{tpi(l)i}, 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(ê) ‘goal’ (*Jalaki patak* ‘to Jalaki’s village’) and -w(ê) ‘in’ (*épatau* ‘in your village’), and take the nominalizer -li(lî), in this case bearing some sort of meaning changing morphology (*Jahelai patallî* ‘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 *pêkânatpê* ‘one’, *hakêne* ‘two’, *éheluwau* ‘three’, and *éhepitiθhîne* ‘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 *tapē* ‘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) mêlê pêkxnatpê
mêlê pêkênatpê
DemInnanMed one
‘that one’

52) Éheluwau pona tawainai inêlêê okê pêk.
éheluwaw po-na t-awajna-he inêlêê wokî pêkê
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) Moloinê hakêne pona tawainai.
moloinê hakêne po-na t-awajna-he
then two at-to T-come.into.the.morning-He
‘Then, he spent two more nights.’ (Walema 105)

54) Pîlasî éheluwau wene.
pîlahi éheluwawê w-ene-Ø
back.carrier three 1A3O-see.O-RecPst
‘I saw two baskets.’ (Pear 007)
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.\(^1\) As in many Cariban languages (cf. Gildes 1998:104 for an overall discussion), the possessor, expressed either by personal prefixes or by a full (pro)noun,\(^2\) immediately precedes the possessed noun.\(^3\) 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).

---

\(^1\) 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.

\(^2\) 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).

\(^3\) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person prefix or (Pro)Noun</th>
<th>NOUN STEM</th>
<th>Possessive suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>expressing the possessor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 1st, 1st dual, 2nd, and 3rd 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.4

Table 2
Nominal personal prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/ V</th>
<th>/ C</th>
<th>/ w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>r-</td>
<td>r-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ēw-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>k-, ik-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>O-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-, a-, e (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Refl.</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>tš-</td>
<td>tš-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(V-harmony)

Examples of speech act personal prefixes (hereafter SAP) are presented below:5

2) a. pakolo ‘house’
   b. ē-pakolo-n
   c. ū-pakolo-n
   d. ku-pakolo-n
   g. apukuita ‘paddle’
   h. j-apukuita-n
   i. ēw-apukuita-n
   j. k-apukuita-n

4 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.

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

6 A few speakers also accept ki- as the dual prefix: ki-miuukom ‘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. wëlisì ‘male’s sister’
b. ụ-wosii  h. ụ-wëlisì
2  c. ẹ-wosii   i. ẹ-wëlisì
1+2  d. ku-wosii  j. ku-wëlisì

Two nouns present the idiosyncratic dual prefix ụk-:

4)  a. ulu ‘manioc bread’   h. otì ‘meat’
b. j-uu  i. j-ot
2  c. ẹw-uu   j. ọw-ot
1+2  d. ụk-uu  k. ụk-ot
3  e. Ò-ulu  l. Ò-otì
3 Refl.f. t-ulu  m. t-otì
Pro+Ng. mëklele ulu ‘his (medial) bread’  n. emna otì ‘our (exclusive) bread’

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

5)

3  a. i-pakolo-n ‘his house’  c. Ò-apukuita-n ‘his paddle’
3 Refl.  b. tì-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: tê- and to- if the first vowel of the root is /ë/ or /o/, respectively, and tì-
elsewhere.

6)

3  a. a-wosii ‘his skin fungus’  c. a-wëlisì ‘his sister’
3 Refl.  b. to-wosii ‘his own skin fungus’  d. të-wëlisì ‘his own sister’
3  e. i-watkfì ‘tail’  g. i-wewe ‘his wood’
3 Refl.  f. tì-watkfì ‘his own tail’  h. tì-wewe ‘his own wood’

Two roots starting with /w/ are exceptional: wasì ‘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 tê- also a unique allomorph for the third person reflexive prefix
(not resulting from vowel harmony as tê- presented above):
| 7) | a. wasi   | ‘lower leg’ | 8) | a. walehna | ‘back of knee’ |
| 1  | b. w-waisi|            |    | b. t-walehnaa |
| 2  | c. t-waisi|            |    | c. e-walehna |
| 1+2| d. ku-waisi|           |    | d. ku-walehna |
| 3  | e. e-waisi|            |    | e. e-walehna |
| 3 Refl.| f. t-e-waisi|         |    | f. t-walehna |
| N+N| g. mesa wasi | ‘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: pile, the possessable allomorph, undergoes syllable reduction when possessed by prefixes and becomes ple. However, a \*p\_c 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. pileu | ‘arrow’ |
| 1  | b. t-le  |        |
| 2  | c. t\_e-le |      |
| 1+2| d. kuu-le|        |
| 3  | e. i\_le  |       |
| 3 Refl.| f. t\_le |         |
| N+N| g. Anakali pile ‘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.\(^8\)

---

\(^7\) All other examples in the database take a– for the third person prefix: wo ‘uncle’, wotpē ‘aunt’, (w)okl ‘beverage’, wono ‘bead’, wipilli ‘sin’, (w)ohanē ‘suffering’, (w)omi(li) ‘language’. The third person possessed form of w\_wāl ‘ax’ is unknown.

\(^8\) 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(i) ‘food of a sikale’
    b. sikale ‘bird (sp.)’
    c. ott ‘meat food’
    d. okomējot ‘wasp (sp.)’ < *okomē+j-ot(i) ‘food of a wasp’

11) a. heliŋek ‘bird (sp.)’ < *heli+j-ek(i) ‘heli’s associate’
    b. heli ‘ant (sp.)’
    c. ekī ‘pet; parasite’
    d. pēnejek ‘bird (sp.) (flies at the river’s surface)’ < *pēne+j-ek(i) ‘piranha’s associate’
    e. pēne ‘piranha’
    f. wapotjek ‘bird (sp.)’ < *wapot+j-ekī ‘fire’s associate’
    g. wapot ‘fire’
    h. kulum ‘vulture’
    i. kulumjek ‘bird sp. (frequently used as pet)’ < *kulum+j-ekī ‘kulum’s associate’

12) a. kulumjēlukē ‘mythological caterpillar-like vulture’ < *kulum+j-ēlukē ‘vulture’s caterpillar’
    b. kulum ‘vulture’
    c. ēlukē ‘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.9

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 Tiriyó, uses the terms back grade for allomorphs starting with /ē/ 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

---

9 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 pēnejek, for instance, had some important relationship with a mythological pēne ‘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. Table 3 depicts the three sets of alternating allomorphs (C = consonant); examples are presented in (13) to (15).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front grade</th>
<th>back grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aCo/</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>/oCo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aCɛ/</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>/ɛCɛ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/e/</th>
<th>o/a</th>
<th>/ɛ/a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17)</td>
<td>'name'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18)</td>
<td>'sibling of same sex'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19)</td>
<td>'dorsal fin'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>(*e)het</td>
<td>a.</td>
<td>(*e)plet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>j-ehe-t</td>
<td>b.</td>
<td>j-akon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>ēw-ehe-t</td>
<td>c.</td>
<td>ēw-akon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>d. k-ēhe-t</td>
<td>d.</td>
<td>k-akon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>e. Œ-ēhe-t</td>
<td>e.</td>
<td>Œ-akon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Refl.</td>
<td>t-ēhe-t</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>t-akon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The noun for 'scissors' presents an idiosyncratic front grade unpossessed form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/e/</th>
<th>o/a</th>
<th>/ɛ/a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20)</td>
<td>a. elasi 'scissors' (*ēlasi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. j-elasi-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. ēw-elasi-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2 d. k-ēlasi-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 e. Œ-ēlasi-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Refl.g. t-ēlasi-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

10 Ablaut is a widespread morphophonological phenomenon affecting both nouns and verbs. See section 2.3.8 for a discussion on this pattern.
11 Nouns like état are: ēmma 'nose', ēu 'eye', ēlek 'wound', ēlimak 'plate', ēhema 'path', etc.
12 Like omo is opoto 'bread holder'.
13 Nouns like ēpē are ēpējepti 'hunger' and ēwem 'penis'.
14 Like ehet 'his name' is emsi 'his daughter' (*ēmsi), elemi 'song' (*ēlemi 'song').
15 Like akon is anon 'body paint'.

125
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.\(^{16}\)

In addition to ablaut, possession presents other morphophonological patterns.

Almost all possesable nouns starting with /e/ are related to the body (body-parts, body products or diseases). The few exceptions attested are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNPOSSESSED</th>
<th>POSSESSIVE ((O- '3^{rd}))</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. ëhema</td>
<td>b. Ò-ëhema ('his/her trail')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. ëkpe</td>
<td>d. Ò-ëkpe(()) ('his/her deceased relative')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. ëlai</td>
<td>f. Ò-ëlasii ('his/her fear')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. ëlimak</td>
<td>h. Ò-ëlimak(()) ('his/her plate')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. ëlinat</td>
<td>j. Ò-ëlinatu(()) ('his/her baking plate')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. ëpi</td>
<td>l. Ò-ëpi(()) ('his/her stair')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. ëtat</td>
<td>n. Ò-ëtat ('his/her hammock')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o. ëwa</td>
<td>p. Ò-ëwaa ('his/her child net')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q. ëpi</td>
<td>r. Ò-ëpi-t ('his/her medicine')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

4.1.1.2. Possessive suffixes. The possessive suffix presents four allomorphs, \(-n(u), -(l)i, -(l)t, -O\). The full form of all suffixes appears in certain conditioning environments, as for instance when followed by a CCV particle like \(psik\) \('small; little'\).\(^{17}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-(n(u)) (^{18})</th>
<th>-(l)i) (^{19})</th>
<th>-(l)t) (^{20})</th>
<th>-(O) (^{20})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. ëmeku 'wrist'</td>
<td>e. ëpë 'arm'</td>
<td>i. ëpi 'medicine'</td>
<td>m. ëli 'cowl/()top.of.head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ëmeku psik</td>
<td>f. ëpë psik</td>
<td>j. ëpi psik</td>
<td>n. ëli psik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. j-ëmeku-n</td>
<td>g. j-ëpë(())</td>
<td>k. j-ëpi-t</td>
<td>o. j-ëli-()O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. j-ëmeku-nu psik h.</td>
<td>h. j-ëpë-()t</td>
<td>l. j-ëpi-t()t psik</td>
<td>p. j-ëli-()O psik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{16}\) Examples with no ablaut are: \(apukuita\) \('paddle'\), \(ananëmii\) \('paddle'\), \(oti\) \('meat'\), \(aka\) \('first'\), \(aki\) \('pet'\), \(anekatop\) \('beer mixer'\), \(ahmit\) \('holder'\), etc.

\(^{17}\) This is the case for all forms that undergo syllable reduction with the deletion of their last vowel or final /\(\)tV/ syllable \((cf.\ section 2.3.1.2)\). In certain cases, emphatic intonation is enough to stop vowel deletion \((\text{see example (170) below)}\).

\(^{18}\) Nouns like ëmeku are, to name a few, \(holoto\) \('lock'\), \(apukuita\) \('paddle'\), \(alowa\) \('mirror'\), \(anapamii\) \('fan'\), \(apoto\) \('bread holder'\), \(hapo\) \('machete'\), \(manale\) \('sieve'\), \(malija\) \('knife'\), etc.

\(^{19}\) Nouns like ëpë are ëpëlesi, ëhema \('path'\), ëhëm\(\(\)mu\) \('knee'\), ëlamuk \('sweat'\), ële \('liver'\), ëlinat \('baking plate'\), etc.

\(^{20}\) Other examples are \(amole\) \('shadow'\), \(ami\) \('blanket'\), ëwam \('penis'\), 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):\(^{21}\)

23)  
   a. hapatu 'shoe'   c. kopu 'glass'   e. kuje 'spoon'  
   b. ᵒ-hapatu-ⁿ 'my shoe'  d. ᵒ-kopu-ⁿ 'my glass'  f. ᵒ-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-1) above and (24) (but see (27-30) below).

24)  
   a. ᵙɛmʲ 'face'         d. ɓelek 'boil'  
   b. ᵒ-ɛmʲ-ᵗ 'his/her face'  e. ᵒ-ɛleki-ᵗ 'his/her boil'  
   c. ᵒ-ɛmʲ-ᵗʧ pšik 'his/her small face'  f. ᵒ-ɛleki-ᵗʧ pšik 'his/her small boil'  

Possessable nouns ending with /tpɛ/ or /npɛ/ in the unpossessed forms and forms possessed by a (pro)noun take possessive suffix -Ø, along with the change in their endings to /tʰpɨli/ or /nɨpɨli/. 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. ʃepɛtɛ 'payment'       b. j-epetpɨ-Ø 'my payment'  
   c. jetpɛ 'bone'            d. j-etpɨ-Ø 'my bone'  
   e. pitpɛ 'skin; scales; shell'  f. ᵒ-pitpɨ-Ø 'my skin'  
   g. uputpɛ 'head'           h. j-uputpɨ-Ø 'my head'  
   i. kanpɛ 'my smoked meat'  j. ᵒ-kanpɨ-Ø 'my smoked meat'  
   k. eputpɨ-Ø 'its seed'  

26)  
   a. mule uputpɛ-Ø 'child’s head’  
   b. anakali jetpɛ-Ø 'Anakali’s bone’  
   c. manka putpɛ-Ø 'mango’s seed’  

It is not always easy to 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

\(^{21}\) 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 pílha), 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 gentive 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
   Ø-ehe-ti
   3-name-Pss
   ‘his/her name’

   b. weheptéjai
   w-ehe-pter-ja-he
   1A3O-name-ModVrlz-NPst-SapAff
   ‘I will call his/her name’

28) a. tptí
    t-pter-ti
   1-wife-Pss
   ‘my wife’ (Alawaka 057)

   b. tptitaí
   ti-pter-ta-he
   Prtc-wife-PssNlntrVrlz-Prtc
   ‘married to a woman’

29) a. ikat
    i-ka-ti
   3-fat-Pss
   ‘his/her/its fat’

   b. ikaphakan
   i-ka-phak-a-anu
   ModAvlz-fat-ModAvlz-PtNmlz
   ‘the fat one’

30) a. jumhet
    j-umhe-ti
   1-hair-Pss
   ‘My hair’

   b. umhetpe
   umhe-pter
   hair-Dvl
   ‘hair severed from the body’

31) anon
    Ø-anonu-Ø
   3-body.paint-Pss
   ‘his/her body paint’

32) ipaa
    i-pal-Ø
   3-granddaughter-Pss
   ‘his/her granddaughter’

33) ileti
    i-leti-Ø
   3-horn-Pss
   ‘its horn’

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/-tpi(lti) or -npē of
the devalutative suffix are inflected by -Ø. 22

---

22 It seems that historically, the sequence /li/ in the devalutative suffix was in fact –li, with –tpē occurring on
non-possessed forms and –tpi-li on possessed forms (see Gildea, 1998:119). In Wayâna today, both forms
35) a. ēhema
   ‘trail; way’

b. ēhemaπ psik
   ‘his small trail’

c. emna ēhematpē
   emna ēhematpē-Ø
   ‘our former trail’ (Péne 016)

36) a. hapapatu
   ‘shoe’

b. ḥapatunu ptile
   ‘his tiny shoe’

c. emna hapatutpē
   emna hapatutpē-Ø
   ‘our old, useless shoe’

d. ēhematpē
   Œ-ēhema-tpff-Ø
   ‘his former trail’ (Mopelu 022)

d. ḥapatutpē
   ḥ-hapatu-tpff-Ø
   ‘my old, useless shoe’

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

37) a. tulii epīī
    pek
    tulii epī-Ø-ī
    pekē
    fruit.sp eat.vegetable-SpecEvnntNmlz-Pss about
    ‘(He was) eating tulii.’ (Alawaka 027)

b. kapu nak ēhanuku
   kapu na-kē Œ-ēhanuku-Ø-ū
   he lep tot
   sky in boundless.loc-into 3-Det.put.Ø-..up - SpecEvnntNmlz-Pss Des Advrs 3Coll
   ‘They wanted to go up to the sky.’ (Lit.: ‘They wanted their going to sky’) (Stair 004)

c. tulii epīī
   htau
   tulii epī-Ø-ī
   tta-wē
   fruit.sp eat.vegetable- SpecEvnntNmlz -Pss among-in
   ‘when (he was) eating tulii’

of the devalutative, –tpē and –tpi(īi) may occur with possessed stems. For this reason, nouns inflected with –tpē—tpi(īi) are here analyzed as bearing –Ø. A few forms with li-npī were attested in elicitation, ēwatpē ‘old rope’, ewatnπī ‘string thrown away; old rope’, pananpē ‘ear severed from the body’, ipanainπī ‘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 devalutative –npī(li).

23 Note that syllable reduction is prevented any time a stem is inflected by a /w/ shaped suffix (cf. /i-w-ēhanuku-topo-Ø/ > ēhanuktop ‘his going up’ vs. /Œ-ēhanuku-Ø-ū+hē/ > ēhanuku hē ‘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 pekē ‘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(t) ‘Privative Nominalizer’.

129
38) a. moloinê pêinêkê, ñeneplîne, wînê
moloinê pêinêkê 'n-eneplî-ne w-ill-ne
then wild.pig 1-ObjNmlz-bring,O-Pss-Attrb 1A3O-make,O-DistPst
‘Then, I brought the pig’ (Lit.: ‘Then I made the pig as my bringing (thing)’) (Mopelu1 055)

b. ñeneplîlmna
l-'n-eneplî-mna
1-ObjNmlz-bring,O-Pss-without
‘without the thing that I brought’

and -Ø occurs after -top(o) ‘Circumstantial’, -tpon(u) ‘Past Agent’, -në ‘Agent
Nominalizer’ ((39) to (40)), with any of the nominalizers plus the devaluative -tpë/-tpî(lt)
(42) to (44)) (with the exception of -tpon(u) which does not occurs with the
devaluative), and with normalized forms of postpositions (45).

39) jmîkojôp 40) jepatpon
j-tnikl-topo-Ø j-epe-tponu-Ø
l-sleep-CircnstNmlz-Pss 1-teach.O-PstAgtNmlz-Pss
‘my object for sleeping; my blanket’ ‘my ex-teacher’ (Walema 020)
(Jolokoc 488)

41) jepane,
j-epe-ne-Ø
1-teach.O-AgtNmlz-Pss
‘my teacher’ (Walema 019)

42) ipkëlêtpîlî psik
i-pkîlê-Ø-tpîlî-Ø phîkî
3-cut.O-SpecEvntNmlz-Dvl-Pss little
‘the (piece of wood) they had done small cuts on’ (Pêne 093)

43) ñekalêtpîlî 44) emma ñëtoponpë
Y-n-ekalê-tpîlî-Ø emma Yû-topo-npë-Ø
1-ObjNmlz-tell.O-Dvl-Pss 1+3ExclPro go-CircnstNmlz-Dvl-Pss
‘the story told to me’ (Iguana 008) ‘our going; our trip’ (alawaka 002)

45) itu htaññî
itu tta-ill-Ø
jungle among-PtNmlz-Pss ‘one in the jungle’

The distribution of all the allomorphs of the possessive suffix is summarized in
Table 4.

---

24 No examples of –në with the devaluative are found in the database.
Table 4
The distribution of the allomorphs of the possessive suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal roots</th>
<th>-n(u)</th>
<th>-l(l)</th>
<th>-t(ø)</th>
<th>-ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-pakolo-n 'his house'</td>
<td>j-epi-t 'my medicine'</td>
<td>ku-tamu-(lu) 'our grandfather'</td>
<td>j-ekt-ø 'my pet'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalizations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n- 'ObjNmlz,'</td>
<td>-ø 'SpecEvntNmlz'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-top(o) 'CircnstNmlz',</td>
<td>-pon(u) 'PstAgtNmlz',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ne 'AgtNmlz',</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devalutative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-tpë/-tpPi(lu) 'Dvl'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.1.3. Possessibility. 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, and possibly borrowings. Short illustrative lists are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>46) elements/phenomena of nature</th>
<th>47) place(locations/public buildings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. sisi 'sun'</td>
<td>a. ona 'field'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. nunuwe 'moon'</td>
<td>b. sikola 'school'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. tawun 'wind'</td>
<td>c. tukusipan 'the village hall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. talala 'lightning'</td>
<td>d. Asiki 'Creek Asiki'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. aklo 'foam'</td>
<td>e. Suwisuwimín 'a village's name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. eklot 'cloud'</td>
<td>f. Ajamuwaka 'a village's name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. kammanai 'rainbow'</td>
<td>g. Bona 'a village's name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. kapu 'sky'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. kopé 'rain'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. weju 'light'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l.  ýpí 'mountain'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>48) animal names/categories</th>
<th>49) plants/fruits/vegetables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. pélē 'frog'</td>
<td>a. wapu 'palm tree (sp.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. pēnē 'piranha'</td>
<td>b. olo ‘cashew fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. kaikui 'jaguar; dog'</td>
<td>c. pelesina 'orange'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. kulasi 'chicken'</td>
<td>d. hakula 'potato (sp.), beer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. uluma ‘duck’</td>
<td>e. maja 'mango'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. akuli 'agouti'</td>
<td>f. ehnai 'corn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. tolōpī 'bird'</td>
<td>g. kumu 'palm tree (sp.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. ka 'fish'</td>
<td>h. ekuu 'flower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. meku 'monkey'</td>
<td>i. asikala 'pumpkin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. péinēkē ‘wild pig’</td>
<td>j. alesi ‘rice’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>50) people's names, human groups or categories, supernatural entities</th>
<th>51) vocative form of kinship terms and pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Anakali (a man’s name)</td>
<td>a. papak ‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Pikala (a woman’s name)</td>
<td>b. kuni ‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Alinawale (a man’s name)</td>
<td>c. kami ‘younger relative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Pintutu (a woman’s name)</td>
<td>d. kono ‘brother-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. kalajuwa ‘Brazilian’</td>
<td>e. aimo ‘younger male relative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. palasisi ‘French’</td>
<td>f. ŭu ‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. kalipono ‘Non-Wayána’</td>
<td>g. Ṇmē ‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. eluwa ‘man’</td>
<td>h. měk ‘that one far away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. mule ‘child’</td>
<td>i. mēsē ‘this one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. wēlē ‘woman’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. jolok ‘evil spirit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. ipoo ‘mythical river being’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. waluhma ‘young woman’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. kan ‘God’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

25 Wayána 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 Wayána encoded by adverbs (kawé ‘tall; high’, pētuku(lu) ‘beautiful, well’, apsik ‘small, a little’, etc.) or nouns (pepia ‘big’, sitpili ‘ugly’, iθjan(u) ‘new’, jaime ‘male’, etc.) (cf. 7.1.1.1).
52) descriptive nouns

a. jakin  ‘bit’

b. këmë  ‘cold’

c. sitpë  ‘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.\footnote{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.}

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 kilë  ‘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(ù), the most productive allomorph of the possessive suffix: \footnote{In fact, testing the possesibility of certain forms in elicitation is a very difficult task. In many instances, some speakers accepted and produce (to later reject) even uppossesible forms such as ka  ‘fish’, lpi  ‘mountain’ and kopin  ‘grass’ (though other nouns like sisì  ‘sun’, munuwë  ‘moon’, tawun  ‘wind’ were more systematically refused). All such cases were produced with -n(ù). Thus, in order to arrive at the different}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayâna</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54) a.  r-kamisa-n</td>
<td>‘my (male’s) clothe; cloth’</td>
<td>camisa  ‘shirt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.  r-hapatu-n</td>
<td>‘my sandals; shoes’</td>
<td>sapato  ‘shoes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.  r-papia-n</td>
<td>‘my paper; my book’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.  r-kopu-n</td>
<td>‘my glass’</td>
<td>copo    ‘glass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.  r-kuje-n</td>
<td>‘my spoon’</td>
<td>colher  ‘spoon’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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. 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) (see discussion above in section 4.1.1.1.2).

---

categories presented here (unpossessed noun, optionally possessed nouns, inherently possessed nouns) it
was necessary to considered how systematically possessed forms were accepted or rejected.
28 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.
29 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 euv
(possessed by o- euv) instead of euv (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.
(ii) roots with an unpossessed suppletive allomorph.\(^\text{30}\)

### 56)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNPOSSESSED</th>
<th>POSSESSED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. kahulu</td>
<td>b. l-wono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. lme</td>
<td>d. l-tupi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. ete</td>
<td>f. l-pataa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. pfleu</td>
<td>h. l-ile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. wapot</td>
<td>j. l-wapt\text{\u0161}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. pfaklu</td>
<td>l. l-klaku-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. wat\text{\u0161}</td>
<td>n. l-wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o. pflo</td>
<td>p. l-kloko-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q. alakapuha</td>
<td>r. l-ile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. akawale</td>
<td>t. l-wakim\text{\u0161}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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))

### 57)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNPOSSESSED</th>
<th>POSSESSED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. mota</td>
<td>b. l-motaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. m\text{\u0161}a</td>
<td>d. l-m\text{\u0161}a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. p\text{\u0161}\text{\u0161}</td>
<td>f. l-p\text{\u0161}\text{\u0161}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. napii</td>
<td>h. l-napii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. pakolo</td>
<td>j. l-pakolo-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. tuna</td>
<td>l. l-tunaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. t\text{\u0161}pu</td>
<td>n. l-t\text{\u0161}puu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o. patu</td>
<td>p. l-patu-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q. asi\text{\u0161}</td>
<td>r. j-asili-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. paluu</td>
<td>t. l-palu-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u. apukuita</td>
<td>v. j-apukuita-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w. aluwa</td>
<td>x. j-aluwa-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y. anapem\text{\u0161}</td>
<td>z. j-anapem\text{\u0161}si-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aa. nap\text{\u0161}k</td>
<td>ab. lnap\text{\u0161}k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^\text{30}\) 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.
58) a. palakta
b. ᵃ-palakta-n
   ‘rubber sap’
c. waama
d. ᵃ-waama-n
   ‘plant (sp.)’
e. kulaiwat
f. ᵃ-kulaiwat'-n
   ‘sisal’
g. halihali
h. ᵃ-halihali-n
   ‘poisonous liana’
i. ajawa
j. ᵃ-ajawa-n
   ‘dark sap’
k. malamala
l. ᵃ-malamala-n
   ‘seeds used to make artcrafts’

59) a. apukuita-n
   ‘his paddle’
b. aluwa-n
   ‘his mirror’
c. anapemisi-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. ᵃ-jum
b. i-jum
   tapek
   ᵃ-jum-Ø
   i-jum-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’)

136
61) a. ẹje  
   ẹ-je-Ø  
   2-mother-Pss  
   ‘your mother’  
   (Lit.: ‘She is not his/her mother; she is not a mother.’)  
   b. ije  
   i-je  
   3-mother-Pss  
   Neg  
   tapek

There exist two unpossessed forms of kinship terms, the word for widow and for widower (62 a-b). These forms are based on /pī/ ‘wife’ and /mīnelumi/ ‘husband’, and take the devaluative suffix -tpé which indicates a no longer existing condition. No other kinship term, however, presents this pattern.

62) a. pītpē  
   ‘widow’  
   b. mīnelumīnpē  
   ‘widower’

Kinship terms resemble optionally possessed nouns because they have equivalent vocative forms that are unpossessed. However, though it is the case that many kinship terms have an exclusive corresponding vocative form, many do not: pa(lt)
‘granddaughter’, walt(s)ī ‘male’s sister’, and akon(o) all have kami ‘younger relative’ as their vocative correspondent. In addition, while optionally possessed nouns present unpossessed allomorphs that indicate the absence of a relationship (as the absence of ownership, for instance) vocative terms always encode a relationship between the speaker and the hearer.

Thus, kinship terms are best analyzed as having two forms, which are not determined by possessibility, but by two distinct discourse situations. Citational kinship forms, which are always possessed, are used in talking about a third person with an intrinsic relationship with the speaker or with another participant, while vocative terms are used by the speaker to address the hearer.

4.1.1.3.3.1.2. Body parts. The great majority of body parts belong to the class of optionally possessed nouns (i.e., nouns with both a possessable and an unpossessable
allomorph). However, a few are obligatorily possessed:31 (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-poni ‘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’, poti ‘lips’, and the optionally possessed miwu ‘blood’ and jetpe ‘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’

31 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.
4.1.3.3.1.3. 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’.

4.1.3.3.2. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specifically Possessed</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>l-malet</em> ‘(its) lower side fin’</td>
<td><em>paku malet</em> ‘lower fin of a <em>paku</em> (fish sp.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-mkoo</em> ‘(its) gills’</td>
<td><em>ka miko</em> ‘gills of a fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-watki</em> ‘(its) tail’</td>
<td><em>kaikui watki</em> ‘dog/jaguar’s tail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-leti</em> ‘(its) tail; horn’</td>
<td><em>kunolo leti</em> ‘macaw’s tail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kapau leti</em> ‘deer’ horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lhpot</em> ‘(its) feather; body-hair’</td>
<td><em>tolotii pupot</em> ‘bird’s feather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-hmo</em> ‘(its) eggs’</td>
<td><em>kulasii pumo</em> ‘the chicken’s egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-mit</em> ‘(its) root’</td>
<td><em>weve mit</em> ‘root of a tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-mun</em> ‘(its) edible root’</td>
<td><em>ulu mun</em> ‘manioc’s root’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-min</em> ‘(its) nest’</td>
<td><em>tolotii min</em> ‘a bird’s nest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-mit</em> ‘(its) trunk; stem’</td>
<td><em>weve mit</em> ‘stem of a tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-jomiti</em> ‘(its) wrapping’</td>
<td><em>i-pet jomiti</em> ‘my leg’s wrapping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-kaneti</em> ‘(its) string’</td>
<td><em>j-eto kaneti</em> ‘my hammock’s string’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-jehtalan</em> ‘(its) coals’</td>
<td><em>wapot jehtalan</em> ‘the fire’s coals’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-lihin</em> ‘(its) flame’</td>
<td><em>wapot lihin</em> ‘fire’s flame’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-wena</em> ‘(its) shore’</td>
<td><em>tuna wena</em> ‘the river’s shore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-poti</em> ‘(its) tip; edge’</td>
<td><em>susu poti</em> ‘tip of breasts; nipple’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l-japo</em> ‘(its) gums’</td>
<td><em>i-jee japo</em> ‘my teeth’s gums’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that these nouns are specifically possessed is wcorroborated elsewhere in the grammar. When taking *-ka* ‘Privative Verbalizer’ the syntactic object of the derived verb must be the notional possessor:
65) a. ka tmaletkai
tka t-maletk-ka-he
fish T-lower.fin-PrivVrbz-He
'(He/She) removed the fish's lower fin.'

b. *mule tmaletkai
(He/She took the lower fin from the child; i.e., if he was holding it)

66) a. kunolo watkika
kunolo watk-ka-O
macaw tail-PrivVrbzz-RecPst
'(He/She) removed the tail off of a macau.'

b. *eluwa watkika
(He/She took the (bird's) tail from the man; i.e., if he was holding it)

67) a. tolopit timinkai
tolopiti tt-mimika-he
bird T-nest-PrivVrbz-He
'(He/She) removed the nest from the bird'

b. *mule timinkai
(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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All persons</th>
<th>Third person only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>68)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. ihpot 'body-hair'</td>
<td>'(its) feather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. *thpot 'my body hair'</td>
<td>'(*my feather)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. tolopyt pupot 'a bird's feather'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. euuku 'sperm'</td>
<td>'(its) sap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. j-euuku 'my sperm'</td>
<td>'(*my sap)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. palakta euuk 'rubber tree sap'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. etpii 'lips'</td>
<td>'(its) edge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. jetpi 'my lips'</td>
<td>'(*my edge)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. *etpih haup 'at the edge of the village'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. imit 'vein'</td>
<td>'(its) root'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. *mit 'my vein'</td>
<td>'(*my root)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. napuk mit 'a potato's root'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 O- as the allomorph of the third person prefix, which creates ambiguity between O- 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. otī 'meat food; his/her meat food'
e. j-ekī 'my pet'  f. ekī 'pet; his/her pet'
g. j-akī 'my parasite (lice, etc.)'  h. akī '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. epī 'tree' ('its tree')
d. enī '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 Wayána
grammar (see section 8.1.2).

75)  a. pelesina ale 'orange leaf (tree)' (orange tree's leaf (??))
c. weve amat 'tree branch' (a tree's branch (??))
e. paluu epi 'banana tree' (a banana's tree (??))
f. tolopīt enī '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. kaien tatenkai
    kajlen t-atenu-ka-he
    mosquito.net T-mosquito.net.stick-PrivVrblz-Prtc
    'He/She) removed the stick from the mosquito net.'
b. kulasi \( \rightarrow \) tēnīkai \( \rightarrow \) eja
kula\( \rightarrow \) t-\( \dot{\text{f}} \)-ka-he \( \rightarrow \) e-ja
chicken \( \rightarrow \) T-container-PrivVrlz-He \( \rightarrow \) 3-Erg
‘He/She removed the chicken from its cage.’

c. we\( \rightarrow \) tamatkai
we\( \rightarrow \) t-\( \text{amaf} \)-ka-he
tree \( \rightarrow \) T-branch-PrivVrlz-He
‘(He/She) removed the branch from the tree.’

d. ulu \( \rightarrow \) tumkai
ulu \( \rightarrow \) t-\( \text{umf} \)-ka-he
manioc \( \rightarrow \) T-root-PrivVrlz-He
‘(She/He) unearthed manioc’

e. ep\( \rightarrow \) tēpelkai \( \rightarrow \) eja
ep\( \rightarrow \) t-\( \text{epelëf} \)-ka-he \( \rightarrow \) e-ja
tree \( \rightarrow \) T-fruit-PrivVrlz-He \( \rightarrow \) 3-Erg
‘He/She removed the fruit from the tree.’

f. paluu \( \rightarrow \) aleka
palulu \( \rightarrow \) ale-ka-Ø
banana \( \rightarrow \) leaf-PrivVrlz-RecPst
‘(He/She removed the leaf from the banana (tree).’

g. ka \( \rightarrow \) tēpletkai
ka \( \rightarrow \) t-\( \text{pletëf} \)-ka-he
fish \( \rightarrow \) T-dorsal.fin-PrivVrlz-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 (-\( \text{tpē} /-\text{npē} \) or -\( \text{tpii} /-\text{npii} \)). 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 thepossessibility scale is open: (a few unpossessable nouns are repeated below):
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ot(f)</td>
<td>‘animal based food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaimo</td>
<td>‘game’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akíí</td>
<td>‘farm animal; parasite; breed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon(u)</td>
<td>‘body painting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(w)okí</td>
<td>‘beverage’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekí</td>
<td>‘pet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kííí</td>
<td>‘thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muhunu</td>
<td>‘bait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pataa</td>
<td>‘place, village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanpí</td>
<td>‘smoked animal based food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nepíí</td>
<td>‘soft vegetable food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neme</td>
<td>‘juicy fruit/food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-top</td>
<td>‘thing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)okî ‘beverage, muhunu ‘bait’, pataa ‘village’and kanpe ‘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. i-muhunu, okopi ‘my bait, okopi (fruit.sp)’
   b. j-ekî, pakila ‘my pet, wild pig (sp.)’
   c. l-wokî, 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)  
Têkī  têlée,  kujali.
t-êkî-Ø  t-êlé-he  kujali
3Refl-pet-Pss T-take.O-He  bird.sp
'(She) took her pet along, a macaw.' (Sulalapana 095)

80)  
malonme, jekî  ña  têlée,  kaikusi psik;
malonme j-ekî-Ø  t-êlé-he  kajikuhi phikî
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  tîkai  læê  lep,  jekî;
kaikuhî kuu  tî -ka-he  læê  lep  j-ekî-Ø
dog  growling.snd  T-say-He  Emph  Advs  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 palu‘u ‘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.  îmepi, palu  ‘my food, banana’
b.  îpalulun, satume  ‘my banana, satume’
c.  îpalulun, kujali  ‘my banana, kujali’
d.  îpalulun, kajan  ‘my banana, kajan’

Finally, many unpossessable nouns cannot co-occur with a classifying generic term (sisi ‘sun’, tapala ‘grasshopper’, kopin ‘grass’, aglo ‘foam’, hamut ‘sand’, tipi ‘mountain’, etc.). (See also Meira 1999, for a somewhat similar analysis for Tiriýô.)

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 noun classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unpossessable</th>
<th>Optionally possessed</th>
<th>Inherently possessed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>– elements or phenomena of nature;</td>
<td>– utensils, tools, objects, and artifacts.</td>
<td>– kinship terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– animals;</td>
<td>– body-parts, body products and body fluids.</td>
<td>– a few human body-parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– plants, fruits, and vegetables;</td>
<td>– a few elements/phenomena of nature: wood, water, stone, and fire.</td>
<td>– the words for game, and thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– names, human groups, supernatural entities.</td>
<td>– a few fruits/vegetables: pepper, banana, and three edible roots (ulu, napi and napık).</td>
<td>– part–whole relationships (parts of a plant, animal body-parts; parts of a hammock; etc.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– wild, unprocessable goods (fruits, roots, honey).</td>
<td>– wild processable goods.</td>
<td>– intrinsic associations: bird’s nest, teeth’s gums, hammock’s string, fire’s flame, fire’s coals, river’s shore, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– vocative form of kinship terms.</td>
<td>– the word for farm, the word for village.</td>
<td>– the word for farm, the word for village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– descriptive nouns and pronouns;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– borrowings.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 napēk; rubber sap, aluma (a plant used for making baskets), sisal, 
poisonous liana, malamala seed; and the borrowings kamisa, pampilu, 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 *napèk*), 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 -*imè* ‘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).
Two figures summarize the two features underlying possession in Wayâna: Figure 1 shows the degree of relationship of an item to a possessor (see items in Table 7) and Figure 2 shows the degree of incorporation of an item into the culture.

unpossessable → optionally possessable → inherently possessed → specifically possessed

The degree of relationship of a noun to a possessor

Figure 1

The degree of integration of an item into the culture

Figure 2

A residue: the word for shaman, the only label for a human category other than kinship terms that can be possessed, remains unexplained.

4.1.2. Number. Wayâna lacks a category for plural (one versus more than one). All morphemes for number (including non-nominal collectivizers) refer to the collectivity (‘a great number’ or ‘all of them’) of a referent (a cross-Cariban phenomenon, cf. Meira 1999:139 and Gildea 1998:116-117). Thus, it is possible for a noun to lack any marking
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’).

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective suffixes on nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tom(o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kom(o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nom(o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-anom(o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-am(o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jam(o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tonom(o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-om(o)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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(t), palum(t), 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).

---

32 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: ăhehe ‘(She) wants you all’ (son-in-law addressing his mother-in-law in a story (Tamopoale 072). Some nouns cannot take collective morphemes: *tvetepuu tom* (his bellies).
83) a. Mopelutom ‘Mopelu’s folk’
b. pakolotom ‘the houses’
c. eluwakom ‘the men’
d. wëllham ‘women’
e. ipilam ‘her brothers’
f. tipajam ‘his own grandchildren’
g. tipatunom ‘my nephew’
h. kupalunom ‘our sons-in-law’
i. lpeinom ‘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. helëkom (Presentative)
c. mëlëkom (Demonstrative Inanimate Medial)
d. mënkom (Demonstrative Inanimate Distal)
e. cëlikom (‘What?’)

85) a. enkjam ~ enkjamkom (‘Who?’)
b. mëkjam ~ mëkjamkom (Demonstrative Animate Medial Collective)

86) a. emëlamkom (2nd Collective)
b. mëham (Demonstrative Animate Proximal)
c. kunmëlamkom (1st 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. janapamisintom  ‘my paddles’  
b. ttpilam  ‘her own brothers’  
c. ttpajam  ‘his/her own grandchildren’  
d. ttpėinom  ‘his/her own children’  

88) a. kupilamkom  ‘the brothers of us all’  
b. ttpajamkom  ‘their own grandchildren’  
c. kupalunomkom  ‘the sons-in-law of us all’  

89) a. kupatunomkom  ‘the nephews of all of us’  
b. kupėinomkom  ‘the children of all of us’  
c. kupalenomkom  ‘the daughterys-in-law of all of us’  
d. kupahenomkom  ‘the nieces of all of us’  
e. ėweknomkom  ‘the pets of all of you’  

90) a. kupakolonkom  ‘the house(s) of all of us’  
b. kole kupalunomkom  ‘the many houses of all of us’  
c. * kupakolonkom  

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. wēliham pakolon  ‘the women’s house’  
b. eluwakom pakolon  ‘the men’s house’  
c. ippajam pakolon  ‘his grandchildren’s house’  
d. ipatunom pakolon  ‘his nephews’ house’  
e. ipėinom pakolon  ‘his children’s house’  
f. kujumkom pakolon  ‘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 -att(o) (94 a). The corresponding collective form of nouns with the privative suffix pin(i)/-män(t) are not clearly parseable (94 b).

92) hemalēlotom  
   hemalē-lo-tomo  
   today-PtNmlz-Coll  
   ‘the ones of today’  

93) tēhamo  
   t-ē-he-Ø-amō  
   Prtc-eat.meat-Prtc-PtNmlz-Coll  
   ‘the many things to eat’
94) a. upakatonom  b. ulumnom
upake-ato-nomo  ulu-mññ-o-mo?
long.ago-PtNmIz-Coll  manioc:bread-Priv-Coll
‘the really ancient ones’  ‘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(li), -no, -non(u), and -n(u) (96).33 The
nominalized form of pêk(ê) ‘about; busy with’ with -n(u) and tuwalê ‘knowing’ with
-on(u) take either -komo(o) or -tomo(o) (97 a-d):

95) a. ipokankom  ‘the good ones’
b. mîfalonkom  ‘the ones moving that way’
c. mononkom  ‘the ones from there’

96) a. ahmotalîkom  ‘the ones in between them’
b. Apalai ponokomo  ‘the ones from Aparai’
c. âphononkom  ‘the ones placed over the back of it’
d. opinênkom  ‘the ones under it’

97) a. êpi pêkêntom  ‘the ones busy with medicine’
b. ikaimo pêkênkom  ‘the ones busy with game’
c. tuwalonutom  ‘my knowings’
d. tuwalonukom  ‘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 -Ø ‘Specific Event’ (100).34 Prefixless forms of -top(o) take both
-tom(o) and -tonom(o) (101) with no apparent difference in meaning.

98) a. twentiethom  -kom(o)
1-w-chi-topo-Ø-tomo  kuweto-kom
1-SA-be-CircmstNmlz-Pss-Coll  ku-w-chi-topo-nplî-Ø-komo
‘my beings; my ways’  1+2-SA-be-CircmstNmlz-Dvl-Pss-Coll
(Walema 180)  ‘our ancient people’ (Jolokod 766)

33 There are no collective examples of the adverbial nominalizers -no, and postpositional nominalizer -ano
in the database.
34 There are no collectivized examples with de-verbal nominalizers -nê, and -hem(l).
99) a. inepitkom
   i-n-epi-li-tomo
   3-ObjNmlz-eat.soft.food-Pss-Coll
   ‘his fruits’ (Pear 030)

   b. inepitkom
   i-n-epi-li-komo
   3-ObjNmlz-eat.soft.food-Pss-Coll
   ‘their fruit’ (Pear 035)

100) a. ikatpitkom
   i-k-0-top-Ø-tomo
   3-do SpecEvntNmlz-Dvl-Pss-Coll
   ‘the things one did’
   (Lit.: ‘his former doings’) (Jolokod 658)

   b. kënatuukom
   k-ënatu-Ø-Il-komo
   1+2-be finished SpecEvntNmlz-Pss-Coll
   ‘the ending of us all’ (Jolokod 632)

101) a. katoptom
    ka-topo-tomo
    say-CircmsntNmlz-Coll
    ‘stories; words’ (Walema2 039)

   b. eitopyntom
    e-hi-topo-ne-tomo
    be-CircmsntNmlz-Dvl-Coll
    ‘ancient people’ (Jolokod 725)

   c. katoptonom
    ka-topo-tonomo
    say-CircmsntNmlz-Coll
    ‘the stories’ (Jolokod 399)

   d. itëtoponom
    itë-topo-ne-tonomo
    go-CircmsntNmlz-Dvl-Coll
    ‘the ones that went up’ (Jolokod 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. juunonam
    j-u-u-ne-Ø-anomo
    1-talk.to.0-AgtNmlz-Pss-Coll
    ‘the ones that talked to me’
    (Iguana 008)

   b. pola alimanonam
    pola alima-ne-Ø-anomo
    ball throw.0-AgtNmlz-Pss-Coll
    ‘the ball throwers’
    (Mopelu 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. ëpanakmatponkom
    ‘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 -Ø. 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. itëtpïtom  
i-të-Ø-trïlt-Ø-tomo  
3-go-SpecEvntNmlz-Dvl-Pss-Coll  
'the ones that had gone' (Pêne 127)  
('His goings')

b. ilëmëtpïtom  
i-lëmë-Ø-trïlt-Ø-tomo  
3-go-SpecEvntNmlz-Dvl-Pss-Coll  
'the ones that had died' (Jolok355)  
('His deaths')

c. ilëmëtpïtkom  
i-lëmë-Ø-trïlt-Ø-komo  
3-die-SpecEvntNmlz-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 èmëlakom 'you all', and kumnelakom 'we all', but still optional in the collective forms of ènik(l)-jam(-kom) 'Interrogative animate' and mèk(l)-jam(-kom) 'Distal animate'. In all the examples, the second collective morpheme is optional and has no additional meaning.

105)  
a. tëwëmkamotom  
tëmï-ke-Ø-amö-tomo  
havingAvlz-penis-havingAvlz-PtNmlz-Coll-Coll  
'the naked ones'  
(Lit.: 'ones with their penis') (Dialog)

b. tëhamotom  
të-Ø-amö-tomo  
Prtc-eat.meat-Prtc-PtNmlz-Coll-Coll  
'foods; games' (Walema2 012)

106)  
ihtamonomkom  
ihe-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).\(^{35}\)

4.2.1. Meaning changing morphology. Wayâna exhibits only two meaning changing derivational morphemes, {-tpē ‘Devaluative’ and -imē ‘Extraordinary’}. Both suffixes have limited scope, unpredictable meaning, and some semantic extensions.

4.2.1.1. The Devaluative suffix {-tpē/-npē, -tpi(lli)/-npi(lli)}. 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. kamisatpē ‘old clothes’; b. tukusipanutpē ‘old/abandoned village hall’; c. hakutpē ‘old bag’.
108) a. wanētpē ‘spoiled honey’; b. ulunpē ‘rotten manioc bread’; c. pēnētpē ‘rotten piranha’.\(^{36}\)
109) a. ēpēnētpē ‘arm severed from the body’; b. omotpē ‘hand severed from the body’; ēunpē ‘eye severed from the body’
110) a. kalaiwatpē ‘a deceased Brazilian’; b. ijumīnpē ‘one’s deceased father’; c. ipawanatpē ‘one’s ex-lover’; d. Kilihītpē ‘former Kilihī’.
111) a. ihjanutpē ‘formerly new; no longer new’; b. welisitpē ‘formerly a woman (now a monkey)’; peptatpē ‘formerly big; no longer big’.

In nominalized verb forms the devaluative encodes a resultative state or a happening that already took place.

\(^{35}\) Nouns are also inflected by class changing morphology such as verbalizers and adverbalizers (-mphak(è)/-pha(kè), -me, etc.). In this work, class changing morphology is described in the target category; thus, verbalizers and adverbalizers are discussed in the chapters on verb and adverbs, respectively.

\(^{36}\) At least one speaker did not accept animal names with the devaluative. He suggested that the animal name be followed by mētpē ‘bad smell’: pēne mētpē ‘rotten piranha’.
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 (*kalakulitpê but ikalakulitpê ‘it was my money’), and pronouns cannot take the devaluative suffix.\(^{37}\)

Nouns ending in /tpê/ or /npê/ 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).

\(^{37}\) Jackson (1972:66) states that the devaluative suffix occurs with pronouns. His examples are helêtpê ‘formerly this (inanimate)’, sinîtpê ‘formerly this (animate)’, iîtpê ‘formerly me, my former sex partner’ and èmélêtpê ‘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 devalutative suffix presents four different allomorphs, as presented in Table 9.

Table 9
The allomorphs of the Devalutative suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixless forms</th>
<th>Non-nasal</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tpē</td>
<td>-npē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefixed forms</td>
<td>-tpi(li)</td>
<td>-npi(li)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, prefixless forms (unpossessable nouns, unpossessed allomorphs of optionally possessed nouns, and nouns possessed by a (pro)noun) take -tpē or -npē ((107) to (111) above and (114 b-c) and (115 b-c) below); all prefixed forms take -tpi(li) or -npi(li) ((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 -Ø co-occurs with the devalutative.\(^\text{38}\) This distribution holds true for all nouns, derived or not (with the exception of nominalizations with n- ‘Object Nominalizer’, see below).

114) a. ū-pampila-n ‘My paper, book’
    b. pamphila-tpē ‘Old, useless paper, book’
    c. Nila pamphila-tpē ‘Nila’s old, useless, former book’
    d. ū-pampila-tpii ‘My old, useless, former book’

115) a. Ø-chema-li-mna ‘Without his/her/its trail’
    b. ēhematpē ‘Old path’
    c. ēkēlē ehema-tpē ‘Snake’s trail (the marks left on the ground)’
    d. Ø-chema-tpii ‘His/her/its trail’

The distribution of the nasal versus the non-nasal allomorphs of the devalutative suffix is conditioned lexically on roots\(^\text{39}\) 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

\(^{38}\) It seems that historically /w/ in /-tpiwi/ was the possessive suffix. In the present stage of Wayânä, however, no strong argument indicates that /-tpiwi/ is a complex form (cf. footnote 22).

\(^{39}\) Jackson (1972:64) states that nouns ending in /n/ and /l/ take -npē. Though the same examples are found in the present database (jetatinpī ‘my former hammock’, ehetinpī ‘his former name’, ipununpī his former
"Specific Event Nominalizer" (118), and -m(i), -(a)nu, -n(u), -non(u), -ato, and -no

'Participant Nominalizer' (119-120).

116) a. ikaimopimnipé 'one no longer without game' (Tukusimule 001)
    b. uwetepinipé 'one no longer not able to kill' (Tukusimule 076)

117) a. enma ilétopenpé 'our former going' (Alawaka 002)
    b. ilvetukopenpé 'the place I ate' (Fishing 017)

118) a. saktikpi katpe 'the thing (a piece of wood) that has been cut'
    b. itetpí 'his former going'
    cut.snd do-SpecEvntNmlz-Pss-Dvl 3-go-SpecEvntNmlz-Pss-Dvl
    (Péne 100)

Nominalized Postpositions are possessable and thus take both -tpii(li) and -tpé;

nominalized adverbs are non-possessable prefixless forms, and thus take only -tpé:

119) a. jakelénutpí 'one that used to be with me'
    b. Nila akelénutpí 'one that used to be with Nila'
    c. Macapa ponotpí 'one that used to live in Macapa'

120) a. tipataakemitépí 'one that used to be a chief'
    b. upakatotpí 'old, ragged, useless thing'
    c. elamhakanutpí 'one that used not to be afraid'
    d. malalonutpí 'one that used to be the same way'
    e. ténnonutpí 'one originally from where?
    f. pëtukulunutpí 'one that used to be beautiful'

The object nominalizer presents an exception to the general pattern of distribution

of the devaluative suffix: it takes -tpii(li) on prefixed forms and also on forms possessed

by a (pro)noun (where -tpé would be expected). The object nominalizer has no

unpossessed forms.

121) a. kunitom nekalétupí 'the (story) the grandmothers told' (Iguana 007)
    b. tinkémétupí 'the thing that I brought'

---

* flesh*), the only other nouns ending in t(V) do not occur with the devaluative suffix, and thus do not test Jackson's generalization.

There are no examples in the database with the devaluative suffix co-occurring with the following nominalizing suffixes: -ne 'Agent Nominalizer', -né 'Generic Event Nominalizer', -pom(u), and some of the allomorphs the 'Participant Nominalizer' (-lt(li), -ano, -lo, and -lon(u)).
4.2.1.2. The suffix -imē ‘Extraordinary’. This suffix has been described at least for Tiriyó under the label of ‘agumentative’ 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 Wayána, 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 /imē/ with no clear indication that that is the remnant of the ‘extraordinary’ suffix (126). No nouns taking -imē can be possessed.

122) a. kupita ‘wound’ b. kupitaimē ‘big wound’
c. ἑλα ‘boil’ d. ἑλεκῆμē ‘big boil’
e. pupu ‘foot’ f. pupuimē ‘big foot’

123) a. alawata ‘monkey (sp.)’ b. alawataimē ‘a supernatural alawata monkey’;
c. pakila ‘peccary’ d. pakilaimē ‘supernatural peccary’
e. alimi ‘monkey (sp.)’ f. alimimē ‘a supernatural alimi monkey’

124) a. kumata ‘beans’ b. kumataimē ‘commercial Brazilian beans’
c. pẹinēkē ‘wild pig’ d. pẹinēkēimē ‘non-wild pig’
e. wanē ‘bee’ f. wanēimē ‘imported Italian bee’
g. uluma ‘wild duck’ h. ulumaimē ‘non-wild duck’

125) a. ἑkti ‘snake’ b. ἑktuiimē ‘anaconda’ (*big snake)
c. m̱u ‘blood’ d. m̱uimē ‘menstrual period’ (*a lot of blood’)
e. paluu ‘banana’ f. paluluiimē ‘banana (sp.)’ (*big banana’
g. kanawax ‘canoe’ h. kanawaimē ‘airplane’ (*big canoe’
i. palakata ‘rubber sap’ j. palakataimē ‘ball’ (*a lot of rubber sap’)

126) a. kapukapusiimē ‘the name of a supernatural entity’
b. isoiimē ‘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.41

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>possessed</td>
<td>possessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ne ‘AgtNmlz’</td>
<td>-Ø ‘SpcEvntNmlz’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n- ‘ObjNmlz’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hem(0) ‘ParModNmlz’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tpon(u) ‘PstAgtNmlz’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-top(o) ‘CircnstNmlz’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

41 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. moloinē pēinēkē ñeneñïïme wiine,
   moloinē pēinēkē ṭ-n-enenpî-lî-mē w-îî-ne
   then wild.pig 1-Obj[Nmlz]-bring,O-Pss-Attrib 1A3O-make,O-DistPst
   'Then I made the pig as my thing to bring.' (Mopelu1 055)

   b. tulakanumhamo nipkēlîtpîï
   t-ulanumî-he-O-amo n-i-pîkēlî-tpîl-O
   Prtc-hunt/fish-Prtc-PtNmlz-Coll Obj[Nmlz]-Them-cut.O-Dvl-Pss
   'the thing the hunters cut' (Pêne 100)

128) a. jepane
   j-êpa-ne-O
   1-teach.O-AgtNmlz-Pss
   'my teacher' (Walema 019)

   b. wajana epane
   wajana epa-ne-O
   person teach.O-AgtNmlz-Pss
   'the teacher of the Wayâna' (Walema 133)

4.2.2.1.2. -O ‘Specific Event’ and- ne ‘Generic Event’. Both nominalizers occur with front grade allomorphs, but they display different morphological properties. -O derives prefixed forms, and -ne only prefixless forms. The possessor of -O 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 -O, the participants are clearly specified:

129)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Talamme lomok</th>
<th>kunehak</th>
<th>ēti</th>
<th>pena</th>
<th>pēk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>talanne lomoke</td>
<td>kun-eha-kē</td>
<td>ēti</td>
<td>pena</td>
<td>pēkē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maybe</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>3DistPst-be-DistPst what</td>
<td>Hesitative</td>
<td>busy.with</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tulii</th>
<th>epi</th>
<th>pēk</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuliih</td>
<td>epi-O-lî</td>
<td>pēkē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fruit.sp eat.soft.food-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss busy.with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Maybe (it) was low (on the tree), busy with something,... eating tulii.' (Alawaka 027-026)
-nê occurs only with intransitive (or detransitivized) verbs, referring to events in which the participants are unknown or unimportant.

130) a. Tonk kanê ke hek mēkjaam emna pēk
    tonk ka-nê ke hek mēkjaam emna pēkê
    shoot_snd do-GenEvntNmlz Instr only DemAnmMedColl 1+3ExclPro about
    itētpītom tîpanakmai emna ja
    i-ē-O-tπlfr-O-tomo tî-panakma-he emna ja
    3-go-SpcEvntNmlz-Dvl-Pss-Coll T-hear,O-He 1+3ExclPro Erg
    'With the shooting, we heard those that had gone about us.' (Pēne 127-182)

b. Ėhepanê pēk wai
    Ėh-epa-nê pēkê wâhe
    Det-teach,O-GenEvntNmlz 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 -nê (for intransitive, as in example (131)) plus the postposition pēk(e)

'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) Eleminê pēk (wai)
    elemi-nê pēkê wâhe
    sing-GenEvntNmlz busy.with 1be
    'I am (occupied with) singing.'

132) tuwakom pēk
    t-uwa-Ø-O-komo pēkê
    3Refl-dance-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss-Coll busy.with
    '(They) are (busy with their) dancing.'

133) tulii epî pēk (kunēhak)
    tulii epî-Ø-î pēkê kun-eha-kê
    fruit.sp eat.soft.food-SpcEvntNmlz-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 -nê. When asked to answer to the question ētti pêk ‘Occupied with what?’, the speakers would invariably answer with Set I non-past (see below) or with -nê, 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. 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 ētti pêk? ((134 a-c) for intransitive stems, and for transitive stems (134 j-k), with occasional Set I non-past (134d) and some t-V-ı(h)e (134 l) answers. Examples with -nê were all elicited, but were considered equally good (134 e-h). (Examples with with long vowels are inflected with-Ø).

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>134)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>têēhetamikaakom pêk ‘(They are at their) playing.’ (first answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>têēthulukom pêk ‘(They are at their) talking.’ (first answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>tuwaakom pêk ‘(They are at their) dancing.’ (first answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>luwe weêtêjai ‘I am playing flute.’ (first answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>epohnémmê pêk ‘(He is) thinking.’ (elicited)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ñhëhetamikanë pêk tot ‘(They are) playing.’ (elicited)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>étuunë pêk tot ‘(They are) talking.’ (elicited)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>ñwanë pêk ‘(They are) dancing.’ (elicited)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>luwe etêë pêk wâi ‘I am playing flute.’ (elicited)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j.</td>
<td>domino alimâa pêk ‘(They are) playing dominos.’ (first answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k.</td>
<td>televissâo enee pêk ‘(They are) watching TV.’ (first answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l.</td>
<td>têēpomhêpë ‘(He is) thinking.’ (first answer) (about a man who was just seating down thinking with a gazing look)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In my notes recording spontaneous speech, t-V-ı(h)e is frequently used with a ‘progressive’ meaning (135). Non-past is frequently used with a ‘future’ meaning.

---

42 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 -nē coming from spontaneous speech were collected.

135)  a. kape ūhe?
kape t-ūhe
coffee-T-make-He
‘Making coffee’?
(Said to me as I was pouring coffee powder into the hot water)

b. ūtēmēi
ūtē-t-ūnē-he
Red2-T-go-He
‘(They are) walking around.’
(Said about a group of teachers as they were walking around the village)

c. ūtēmiyai
 Funai pona
w-ūtē-ūmē-ja-he funai po-na
1SA-go-Resumpt-NPst-SapAff Funai at-to
‘I am going to Funai.’

136)  a. kaiki  ēwējai
kaikuhi  ē-wē-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. anumalē  ētēmiyai
 anumalē w-ūtē-ūmē-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 -nē occurs in texts: (in the example below the speakers uses īwī, the Apalai first person pronoun)

137)  īwī, aa, Renato, ētēmē
 īwī aa renato ūnū-nē pēkē
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 ī(ii) ‘do; make’ and kap(t) ‘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 ṭhem 'knife made from stone'
c. kulumuli ṭhem malija 'knife made with bamboo'
d. luwe amohawin ṭhem 'flute made with nails (of an armadillo)'
e. mauu kaphem 'crafted from cotton'
a. čliwē kaphem 'crafted with clay'

The -hem(t) forms can occupy a nominal slot:

138b) Malija wev ṭhem ilî inêlêë.
malija weve ilî-hemî ilî-Ø inêlêë
knife wood make.O-PatModNmlz make.O-RecPst 3AnaphPro
'He made a knife made out of wood.'

The possessibility of forms with -hem(t) 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 ṭhem).43

4.2.2.1.4. -pon(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.44 The possessor is the notional object.

139) jepatpon
    j-epa-pon-Ø
    1-teach.O-PstAgtNmlz-Pss
    'my former teacher' (Walema 020)

140) wewe apèkatponu ja
    wewe apèka-ponu-Ø ja
    wood get.O-PstAgtNmlz-Pss Erg
    'the one that got the wood' (Stair 015)

4.2.2.1.5. -top(o) ‘Circumstantial’.45 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

---

43 Second position particles can be easily placed between two nouns in noun-noun modification: eluwa, ka pētukulun, mene ‘Did you see the handsome, man?’ (cf. section 8.1.2).
44 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.
nominalization with -top(o) may refer to a thing or object, to a place, to the purpose an event, or to an event itself.

In its more entity-like derivations, -top(o) may derive concrete items (as for instance, a lock, a cutting instrument, a blanket, a place (141 a-d)), or to more abstract ones (a story, a job, a talk, etc. (142 a-c)). Meira (1999:183-4), reports that in Tiriyyó -topo’s “more entity-like uses can be described as purposive: an instrument, or a place for the purpose of carrying out the action described by the verb. In this respect, -top(o) can be seen as a means of generating a noun for a peripheral participant, one which is important to the event, but not central to it, unlike nuclear participants A, O and S.” This is mostly true for Wayâna, but a -top(o) nominalization can easily occur as a nuclear participant (in example (143), it occurs as the O):

141) a. apuutop
Ø-apulu-topo-Ø
3-cover.O-CircumstNmlz-Pss
‘lock, lid’

b. ipkêlêtoponma, malijamna nma upak,
i-pîkêlê-topo-Ø-mna malijâ-mna nma upake
3-cut.O-CircumstNmlz-Pss-without knife-without Intens long.ago
‘There was no cutting instrument, there were no knives, a long time ago.’ (jolokoa 388-389)

c. jîmktop tîtëk sisi hjak,
j-jînk-topo-Ø tîl-të-kê hîhi hjâ-kê
1-sleep-CircumstNmlz-Pss make.O-SapColl-ProxImp sun in.sun-into
‘Put my blanket in the sun.’ (Jolokoc 488)
(i.e, a thing that I sleep with)

d. ëhekuptêtoponma nma
Ø-ëh-ekuptê-topo-Ø-mna nma
3-Det-stop.O-CircumstNmlz-Pss-without Intens
‘(There was) really no place to stop.’ (Alawaka 044)

142) a. Ma, hemalëe ekalêtop wekalëjai
  maa hemalële Ø-ekalë-topo-Ø w-ekalë-ja-he
So now/today 3-tell.O-CircumstNmlz-Pss 1A3O-tell.O-NPst-SapAff
‘So, I will tell a story.’ (Eagle 001)

45 This has been called ‘Place/instrument nominalizer’ (Gildea 1998:119) and ‘Circumstantial’ (Meira 1999). The latter seems more encompassing to me.
b. epo emaminutmopnop noop
epo O-emaminum-topo-Ø-nopi finish 3-work-CircmnstNmlz-Pss-Dvl
‘His former job (was now) finished.’ (Jolokod 721)

c. ŋtutop panakmai emna kuntēm.
Ø-ŋtulu-topo-Ø panakma-he emna kun-tēmī
3-talk-CircmnstNmlz-Pss hear.O-Purpmot 1+3ExclPro 3DistPst-go
‘In order to listen to the talk, we went.’ (Mopele2 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) ŋwɨpɨmɨtop wiʃai
ertificate-imɨ-topo-Ø wiʃai
2-SA-go.down-Resumpt-CircmnstNmlz-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 tanuptēi, jolok amepatop tējahe.
luego t-anupte-he joloko amējipa-topo-Ø tē-jahe
flute T-play.instr-He evil.spirit call.O-CircmnstNmlz-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) ɛhepeme eitop man ipok lep,
ɛh-epe-me ehi-topo mane ipoke lep
Recepn-friend-Attrb be-CircmnstNmlz good Advrs
‘Being one another’s friend is good, but…’ (Eagle 036)

146) katop
ka-topo
say-CircmnstNmlz
‘(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 -pǐn(i)/-mǐn(i) (4.2.3).

Table 11
Nominalizers of Adverbs and Postpositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADVERBS</th>
<th>‘Participant Nmlz’</th>
<th>‘Privative’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-m(i)→∅</td>
<td>-pǐn(i)~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ato</td>
<td>-mǐn(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-an(u)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-to→-lo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-lon(u)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-on(u)</td>
<td>-n(u)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSTPOSITIONS</th>
<th>‘Participant Nmlz’</th>
<th>‘Privative’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-l(ə)</td>
<td>-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-on(o)</td>
<td>-non(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The meaning of nominalizations with the ‘Participant’ suffix is usually that of a superlative (*maliya ipokan* ‘knife the good one, i.e. ‘the best knife’), of what would be a relative clause in English (*apëita 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.
4.2.2.1. Nominalization of postpositions. The allomorphs of the ‘Participant’
nominalizer are are all conditioned lexically. Container-like postpositions (all ending in
/tal/, /na/, /fj/, or /wal/ take -li(ili) (147) (cf. section 6.2.1.1). Postpositions ending in /e/
take -an(o) (148a). All other postpositions (with the exception of the ‘away’
postpositions discussed below) take either -n(u), -no, -to or -non(u) (148.b-d).

147) a. ahiimna ‘There is nothing/no one inside.’
b. pakolo talui ‘one inside the house’
c. kapu nalui ‘one in the sky’
d. sisi hjalui ‘one in the sun’ cf. sisi hnak in Malama 009.
e. tuna kwaliui ‘one in the water’

148) a. i-sanomna ‘one who wants/desires it is missing’.
b. épi pëkenumna ‘one busy with medicine (i.e. ‘nurse’; ‘doctor’) is missing’ 48
c. makapa pono ‘one from Macapa city’ 49
d. ahponon ‘one that is over something’ 50
e. i-tnato ‘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(è) ‘into’ and -na ‘to’
have been attested or accepted, but one example of the position marker -w(è) ‘in’ and one
of the path marker -ilè ‘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

46 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-anol–
>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.
47 No nominalized forms of the following postpositions are attested: kwata ‘in a port’, ina ‘adjacent;
belonging’, opikai ‘under’, swap(o) ‘ahead of’, wake ‘wary of’. No nominalized forms of walè
‘Uncertainty’, wantè ‘by one’s will’, umpo(s) ‘Cause’, ke ‘Instrument; Source’ and ja ‘Dative; Agent;
Cause’ have been accepted.
48 Other examples are: akèlè ‘(Comitative) with’, katip(i) ‘alike’, kuptèlè ‘following’, malè ‘(Inclusive)
49 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’.
50 The only other attested example is uhpo ‘on top’.
infrequent that their reliability is questionable. All container-like postpositions are all nominalized with -li(li) (as seen above), except in these two examples where they take -n(u):

149) a. i-lopta-ilē-n ‘something that comes from within’
    b. a-wē-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(t)- (153)) or a full noun as the possessor.

152) a. ēpi pēkēnumna medicine
    ēpi pēkē-nu-Ø-mna 3-busy.with-PtNmlz-Pss-without
    ‘(The) one busy with medicine is missing’

153) a. ilamnalfi 3-in.center.of-PtNmlz-Pss
    i-lamna-III-Ø 3-refl.in.middle.of.supported-PtNmlz-Pss
    ‘(the) one among something/someone’
    b. t-ēnalfi t-ena-III-Ø
    ‘(the) one in his own middle; in his own lap’
154) a. itu httalii 
   ‘one in the jungle’

   b. istatkom
   ‘one among them’

   c. iwaliptahtii
   ‘one that is always behind it’

   d. ewalalii
   ‘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) épunan
é-pune-ano-Ø
2-fitting-PtNmlz-Pss
‘one that fits you’

157) jeilan
j-eille-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(i)ti ‘PtNmlz’ but no object
(cf. section 6.1.1.1)

4.2.2.2. 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 -pin(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(e)/i-mhak(e) ‘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. ikaphakē nma ‘really fat’  
b. ikaphakan ‘fat one’  
c. elamhakēnū 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’  
b. kupime ‘long’  
c. kolec ‘many’  
d. ipoke nma ‘very good’  
e. ahpan ‘lier’  
f. kupiman ‘long one’  
g. kolam ‘a lot of something’  
h. ipokan ‘good one’

-\(n(u)\) occurs with non-derived adverbs (160) and adverbs derived with the
deverbal adverbializer \(-tē\) (161) (cf. 7.2.1.2.1); \(-ato\) (for adverbs ending in /e/), \(-to\), \(-no\),

-\(\text{non}(u)\) and \(-\text{on}(u)\) all occur with non-derived adverbs (162).

160) a. pētuku ‘beautiful’  
b. pētukulun ‘beautiful one’  
c. pētukulun nma ‘very beautiful one’

161) tamusimna  
    uutēnumna  
tamuhimna  
utu-tē-nū-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’  
c. ēkēmmē ‘behind’  
d. ēkēmmēto ‘One behind’

e. kawē ‘tall; high’  
f. kawēno ‘tall, high one’

g. tuwalē ‘knowingly’  
h. tuwalon ‘One that knows’

i. tē ‘Where?’  
j. tēnon ‘One from where?’

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 \(-\text{on}(u)\) with

-\(\text{an}(u)\) (this being the only example in the database in which \(-lo\) occurs). In (163 f-g), the
choice of \(-ato\) over \(-\text{an}(u)\) triggers a slight difference in meaning:

---

51 Other examples are \textit{molo} ‘there (medial)’, \textit{jakwe} ‘sweet; salty’, \textit{wantē(lē)} ‘later; afterwards’, \textit{malē} ‘also; too’, etc.
52 Other adverbs taking \(-ato\) are \textit{ihepi/hme} ‘Existent/having’
53 Other adverbs taking \(-lo\) are: \textit{hemalē} ‘now; today’ and \textit{pēkēnā} ‘sole; alone.’
54 The only other example is \textit{malalē} ‘same’.
55 This is the only attested example.
56 This is the only attested example.
163) a. hemalé ‘today’
   b. ka hemaléto ~ ka hamaléto ‘the fish of today’
   c. talé ‘here’
   d. talonu hnē ~ talanu hnē ‘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. mēj ‘around somewhere way over there’
   d. mējelon ‘one somewhere way over there’
   e. sijā ‘motion in this direction’
   f. sijalon ‘one moving this way’
   g. mīja ‘motion in that direction’
   h. mījalonu hnē ‘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(t) ((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).57

165) a. ttkatalikemímna
t’ét-katali-ke-mī-na
havingAvlz-basket-HavingAvlz-PtNmlz-without
‘There is no one with a basket.’
   b. tēpelam
t’ēpel-le-mī
havingAvlz-fruit-havingAvlz-PtNmlz
‘fruit’58
   c. ttkatilkījem
t’ét-watkiit-je-mī
havingAvlz-tail-havingAvlz-PtNmlz
‘(an animal) with a tail’

166) a. tulakanumhem
t’ulakanum’t’he-mī
Prtc-hunt/fish-Prtc-PtNmlz
‘hunter’
   b. tēhem
t’ē-he-mī
Prtc-eat.meat-Prtc-PtNmlz
‘food’

167) a. ttkatalikamo
t’ét-katali-ke-Ø-amo
havingAvlz-basket-havingAvlz-PtNmlz-Coll
‘ones with a basket’
   b. tēpelamo
t’ēpel-le-Ø-amo
havingAvlz-fruit-havingAvlz-PtNmlz-Coll
‘ones with fruit’
   c. ttkatilkījamo
t’ét-watkiit-je-Ø-amo
havingAvlz-tail-havingAvlz-PtNmlz-Coll
‘(animals) with tail’

57 The properties of the de-verbal adverbializer t-V-he are discussed fully in section 7.2.1.2.3.
58 tēpelam 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. tulakanumamo
t-ulakanumí-he-Ø-amo
Prtc-hunt/fish-Prtc-PtNmlz-Coll
‘hunters’ (Pêne 100)
b. têhamo
t-ë-he-Ø-amo
Prtc-eat.meat-Prtc-EventNmlz-Coll
‘all (the different types of) food’
(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 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(t) 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. tapulume  ‘dark; cloudy’
d. tapuluman  ‘dark one’
e. tjule  ‘greenish/bluish’
f. tjulem  ‘blue/green one’
g. takpile  ‘reddish’
h. takpilem  ‘red one’
i. tkoloke  ‘whitish’
j. tkolokem  ‘white one’
k. maikame nma  ‘really bitter’
l. maikaman  ‘bitter one’
m. kupime  ‘long’
n. kupiman  ‘long one’

4.2.3. The suffix -pin(i)/-min(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, -min(i) is attested only with nominal stems ((174 a, c-e) and (175-176), below), while -pin(i) occurs with other forms.59 Examples in (170) show non-derived adverbs inflected with this nominalizer:

170) a. ipok  ‘good’
b. ipokepíní  ‘one without goodness!’
c. éile  ‘angry’
d. éilepín  ‘one without anger’
e. maikam  ‘bitter’
f. maikamepín  ‘one without bitterness’
g. uwame  ‘well’
h. uwamepín  ‘one constantly sick’
i. ahpe  ‘untrue’
j. ahpepín  ‘a true one’

59 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 -tê

‘Generic Modifier’ also take -pin(t). In both cases, the nominal base is prefixless: ⁶⁰

171) a. peptamepîn  ‘not biggish’
    b. pîpêpîn  ‘shameless’
    c. ohanêmepîn  ‘needless’
    d. sitîpîmepîn  ‘without ugly/old things’

172) a. panakmatêpîn
    panakma-tê-pinî
    listen.to.O-GenModAvlz-Priv
    ‘one that does not listen’

    b. ènetêpîn
    ène-tê-pinî
    see.O-GenModAvlz-Priv
    ‘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 allormorphs of the possessive suffix, -n(u) and -t(l), which obligatory occur with possessessed nouns, do not occur. The allomorph, -(l)i, however, occurs (174d-e). This suffix is indicated in the examples (173 b, d, e) by long vowels.

173) a. i-pamilâ-n  ‘his/her paper’
    b. i-ka-t  ‘his/her/its fat’
    c. e-wasîi  ‘his/her/its lower leg’
    d. a-wellîsîi  ‘his sister’
    e. Ø-euu  ‘his/her eye’

174) a. i-pamilâ-mîn  ‘one without paper’
    b. i-ka-pîn  ‘one not fat one’
    c. a-wellîsî-li-mîn  ‘one without a sister’
    d. e-wasî-li-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

⁶⁰ Though prefixed forms do occur with -mel-pe, there are no attested cases of such forms with -pin(t).
section 7.3), t-N-ke ‘Having’, i-V-pophak ‘Satisfactory’, among others, the third person on possessible nouns may be analized as the first part and -min(\(i\)) as the second part of a new ambifix performing the job of meaning changing morphology.

There are no attested cases of -p\(\text{ûn}(\(i\))/-min(\(i\)) 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: t\(\text{ûpatu}\)ke ‘having a pan’) or a property (in the case of those derived from verbs: t\(\text{ûputu}\)se ‘having the property of being full’).

However, the nominalized forms of the discontinuous adverbializers, referring now to an entity, can take -min(\(i\)).

175) a. t-ë-he-më-m\(\text{ûn}\) ‘one without that which can be eaten’
b. t-ëkalë-he-më-m\(\text{ûn}\) ‘one without what was given’
c. tì-mëlik-he-më-m\(\text{ûn}\) ‘one without what was writen’
d. tì-jasiliam-he-më-m\(\text{ûn}\) ‘one without a dry one’
e. tì-apiliam-he-më-m\(\text{ûn}\) ‘one without a red one’

176) a. tì-pattaa-ke-më-m\(\text{ûn}\) ‘one without a leader’
b. tì-më-le-më-m\(\text{ûn}\) ‘one without one that bleeds’
c. tì-pë-te-më-m\(\text{ûn}\) ‘one without one who has a wife’

We witness a similar scenario with verbal stems. For intransitive verbs staring with a consonant, we can clearly see a third person-like prefix (177c). Transitive stems take the third person ên- (178), which occurs only in negated verbal forms (cf. forms with the negative suffix -la in section 7.2.1.3).

177) a. Ò-ëë-p\(\text{ûn}\) ‘one not able to walk’
b. Ò-ëliku-p\(\text{ûn}\) ‘one that cannot be killed’
c. i-kaimo-p\(\text{ûn}\)-npë ‘one without game.’

178) a. ên-ipohnëpë-p\(\text{ûn}\) ‘one that does not think it’
b. ên-ululu-p\(\text{ûn}\) ‘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 \(êh(e)\)- ‘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: \(êh\)- preceding consonants and and \(êt\)- and \(êhe\)- before vowels.

179)  
1. \(êh\)-ep-e-me \quad ‘as each other’s friend’ (Eagle 034)  
2. \(êhe\)-pit \quad ‘each other’s wives’ (Eagle 008)  
3. \(êh\)-et-o-to \quad ‘side by side’  
4. \(êhe\)-jato-n \quad ‘each other’s associate’  
5. \(êt\)-ak-o-n \quad ‘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]  
Reepr-
```

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 (1st+2nd) and exclusive (1st+3rd) 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 1st + 2nd + 3rd.\(^6\) The SAP pronouns are shown in Table 12.

\(^6\)Kunnêlamkom ‘we all’ is clearly derived, at least historically, from a form with the dual pronoun kunmê: *kunnêlē-amo-komo. Emêlamkom ‘you all’ seems derived from *êmêlē-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)
The pronominal forms *kunmë* and *emna* include two persons of the paradigm. *kunmë* includes first and second person (thus, including the hearer) and *emna* includes first and third person (thus, excluding the hearer). *Kunmë* refers to only one other participant. *Emna*, on the other hand, may refer to one or to several third person participants.

Both, *emna* and *kunmë* can occur as the possessors in genitive constructions, in complementary distribution with personal prefixes (examples with *kunmë* as the possessor were all elicited):
d. *kunmè kumhet

Morphosyntactically, *emna* behaves similarly to lexical nouns, triggering co-referential third person prefixes on Set I verbs (compare it in (187) with *kunmè* in (184). Unlike any other pronoun, *emna*'s co-occurrence with verbs is obligatory; otherwise third person is interpreted (188)). Like nouns, *emna* is in complementary distribution with *3A3O* pronominal prefixes in the object slot (186), a possibility that is not clear for *kunmè* given the inconsistent evaluations on the acceptance of such cases by native speakers.

186) *Emna* aléimène tot.
     emna alé-jmè-ne toto
     1+3ExclPro take.O-Resumpt-DistPst 3Coll
     'They took us.' (Mopelu2 028)

187) mala *emna* numèkèmè lep ipok lèken
     mala *emna* n -umèkè-èmè-Ø lep ipoke lèken
     so 1+3ExclPro 3SA-come-Resumpt-RecPst Advrs good only
     'But, we arrived just well.' (Jolokod 598)

188) numèkèmè
     n -umèkè-èmè-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. *inèlè(lè)* 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 *inèlè(lè)*
occur, their occurrence not being determined by their syntactic role, though inélé(lé) 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSOLUTIVE</td>
<td>inélé(lé)</td>
<td>inamolo/tot(o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERGATIVE</td>
<td>eja</td>
<td>ejahe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In texts, all of the forms in Table 13 occur referring almost exclusively to human participants. However, occurrences of at least inélé(lé) and eja referring to inanimate participants have also been attested (though no occurrences of inanimate inélé(lé)’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 inélé(lé). 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) – êe, ahmit...Inéléè?
    (consultant B) – Ihi, inéléè.
    ‘Um, ahmit...Is that it?’
    ‘Yes, that is it’

190) sin ka pa ësandajan?
    hinì ka pa ë-sandaja-nu
    DemInanProx Quest Quest 2-sandals-Pss
    ‘Are these your sandals?’

    inéléè
    inéléè
    3Pro.Anph
    ‘It’s it/their.’

As stated above, in texts, the only inanimate anaphoric pronoun used is mêlé, primarily a demonstrative pronoun (see below).

---

62 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 absolutive than *inamolo*, which is the morphological collective equivalent of *inelė(le)*. 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).\(^{63}\) 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 *mé*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animacy</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>mē(s)j</td>
<td>mēhe(lē)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>mēk̑(lē)</td>
<td>mēk̑ja(lē)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>mēk̑(l)</td>
<td>mēkjam(o)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, people*) and still triggers third person agreement on verbs (*a gente fala ‘we speak’).\(^{63}\) Visibility has been reported as a distinctive feature for pronouns at least for Tiriýó (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; *helê* is more like a presentative, as in *helê kan womi pampilan* ‘this is the word of God’, while *sin* emphasizes the location ‘this one here’ (as opposed to another). In addition, *helê* 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:  

191)  
a. *mêkêê puupuu* ‘That (is) the Turtle constellation’  
b. *mêêê kaikui* ‘That (is) the Jaguar constellation’

4.3.2.3. Interrogative pronouns. Only two interrogative pronouns are attested in Wayâna:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-collective collective</th>
<th>animated</th>
<th>inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ênîk(î)</td>
<td>êttî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ênkjem(o)</td>
<td>êttkom(o)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  
ênikí *htak* ti-tîéî *hemele*  
ênikí tti-kê ti-w-tê-he hemele  
who among-into T-SA-go-He now  
‘To which others did they go now?’

193)  
êtt *alêja* pa  
êtt alê-ja pa  
what take.O-NPst Quest  
‘Which one will (he) take?’

64 A similar case is found in Tiriyó (Meira 1999:155).
Other pronoun-like morphemes are all nominalized adverbs or combination of adverbs with particles (tēnon(u) 'which one?', ta phēle '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. i-mumkuu 'my son'  
b. i-mumku-lu psik 'my little son'  
c. j-akon mumkē 'my sister's son'

195) a. wapot 'fire'  
b. wapoto psik 'small fire'  
c. i-waptē-lī psik 'my small fire'

196) a. ėlinat 'plate'  
b. ėlinatē-mna 'without a plate'  
c. j-elinatuu 'my plate'  
d. j-elinatu-lu-mna 'without my plate'

197) a. ėlimak 'baking plate'  
b. ėlimakē psik 'small baking plate'  
c. j-elimakīī 'my baking plate'  
d. j-elimakī-lī 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 kononto ‘juice of kasili potato’
199) a. wapot ‘fire’
    b. wapot ahkona ‘firewood’
200) a. ëtë ‘what?’
    b. ëtik ‘who?’
    c. ëtë pena ‘something’
    d. ëtik pena ‘someone’
201) a. épé ‘arm’
    b. épé tumu ‘shoulder’
202) a. uwak ‘waist’
    b. uwak silili ‘intestines’
203) a. amo ‘his hand’
    b. omo hawin ‘fingernails’
204) a. kawemna ‘without high, tall ones’
    b. kawemhak ‘tall; high’
205) a. jumhak ‘burning’
    b. jumna ‘without burning’

b) Forms occurring with what seems to once have been the discontinuous morphemes: i-pha(k)ë/i-mhak(ë), t-ke, *t-m(e) (?):

206) a. asiphak ‘hot’
    b. asimhak ‘fast’
    c. tìlikhak ‘hard’
    d. ëmëmhak ‘greedy’
    e. anumhak ‘strong’
    f. akalephak ‘far’
    g. elamhak ‘afraid’
207) a. talilmé ‘black’
    b. tjule ‘green/blue’
    c. takpile ‘red’
    d. tìkoloke ‘white’
    e. tameheke ‘careful’
    f. tìpìêke ‘smelly’
    g. tímne ‘quiet/still’
    h. tapulunme ‘dark’

d) Nouns ending in what seems to be the devalutative suffix. There seems to exist a continuum of integration of the devalutative going from nouns for which there is a free form and where the devalutative is clearly added (pakolo-tpë ‘old, abandoned house’), to forms in which the remnants of the devalutative can still be parsed due to morphemic alternations but with no difference in meaning between the allomorphs, such as

208) a. a-wotpë ‘his aunt’
    b. to-wo-ke la ‘without having an aunt’
209) a. uputpë ‘head’
    b. tupkai ‘to behead’
210) a. pitpë ‘skin’
    b. tìpikai ‘to skin’

and forms for which the ‘devalutative’ cannot be synchronically parsed, such as

211) a. tutpë ‘vase’
    b. pitpë ‘tapioca’
    c. pëkënatpë ‘one’
    d. ikutpë ‘lake’
    e. halihihipitpë ‘bird.sp’
    f. junutpë ‘biggish’
    g. kulupitpë ‘turtle.sp’
    h. mukapatpë ‘bird.sp’
    i. moholotpë ‘potato.sp, monkey.sp’
    j. watasinpë ‘thin’
    k. ukupitpë ‘caterpillar.sp’
    l. kaikusipë ‘warriors’
    m. munpë ‘rat’
    n. akwaltipë ‘ghost’

c) Forms that have several allomorphs, each apparently having more than one morpheme, but with no difference in meaning:
212) a. péitopi; b. peito 'children'
c. ɬ̱p̱t̪iño ‘my children’
d. (*p̱t̪i)

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. ituwakiri ‘Indian’ (itu ‘jungle’ + akiri ‘breed’ = ‘jungle’s breed’)
c. maipulawêm ‘wasp (sp.)’ (maipulli ‘tapir’ + awêm ‘penis’ = ‘tapir’s penis’
d. maipuliwet ‘wasps (sp.)’ (maipulli ‘tapir’ + wet ‘feces’ = ‘tapir’s feces’)

In some cases, the composing parts have become obscure due to syllable reduction:

214) a. apletiri ‘its dorsal fin’ (from apée ‘his arm’ + letiri ‘tail’)
215) b. imaletiri ‘its lower fin’ (from ma ‘?’ + letiri ‘tail’
216) c. juhmit ‘my bandana’ (the cover of my head?) (from upu ‘head’ + mii ‘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 ététi(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).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tinnitus</th>
<th>‘metal banging’</th>
<th>tuk</th>
<th>‘pull’</th>
<th>tēk</th>
<th>‘think’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atu</td>
<td>‘sneeze’</td>
<td>helep</td>
<td>‘turn head’</td>
<td>emukle</td>
<td>‘stop working’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>houhouhou</td>
<td>‘bark’</td>
<td>som</td>
<td>‘stand up’</td>
<td>hemik</td>
<td>‘disappear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>‘monkey cry’</td>
<td>tuhru</td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
<td>alok</td>
<td>‘pierce’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuku</td>
<td>‘chant of the kuku bird’</td>
<td>hinge</td>
<td>‘noise of something moving in the bushes’</td>
<td>htiwilin</td>
<td>‘kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koutonkoutonk</td>
<td>‘drink water’</td>
<td>hene</td>
<td>‘jump’</td>
<td>kama</td>
<td>‘to end’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lonlonlonlou</td>
<td>‘play flute’</td>
<td>sak</td>
<td>‘cut’</td>
<td>kolo</td>
<td>‘sit down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisokpisok</td>
<td>‘to nurse’</td>
<td>hamham</td>
<td>‘stomach-ache’</td>
<td>awe</td>
<td>‘to decide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilhpilpilp</td>
<td>‘to throb’</td>
<td>hikok</td>
<td>‘choke’</td>
<td>hawe</td>
<td>‘to die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suksuk</td>
<td>‘to suck’</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>‘spit’</td>
<td>kui</td>
<td>‘to scream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokotok</td>
<td>‘pulsate; shake’</td>
<td>kalakakak</td>
<td>‘snap’</td>
<td>kili</td>
<td>‘be inert’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toponek</td>
<td>‘drop in water’</td>
<td>kawe</td>
<td>‘paddle’</td>
<td>kili</td>
<td>‘to move’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>koken</td>
<td>‘jaguar’s roar’</td>
<td>kili-tiki</td>
<td>‘to tie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kilim</td>
<td>‘heart beat’</td>
<td>lok</td>
<td>‘to pierce’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kilite</td>
<td>‘grit teeth’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.⁶⁵

217) **malonme tokipilopkaimë**

malonme t-opilop-ka-jmë-he
then T-untie.sn-PvBr-Resumpt-He
‘Then (he) untied (it).’ (Jolokoa 216)

218) **emna kunepolepka-jmë**

emna kun-e-polep-ka-jmë
1+3ExclPro 3DisPst-3Det-arrive.sn-PvBr-Resumpt
‘We arrived.’ (Pêne 117)

219) a. kolome man ‘He is seated.’
    b. tuhtume witejëai ‘I will go running.’
    c. walawalame la eikë ‘Do not salute anybody.’
    d. kulume neha malija ‘knife was in a hole’ (kulu ‘in a hole’)

---

⁶⁵ This is not true for all sound symbolic words. Many constructed examples were rejected by speakers.
220) pitam tīkai
    pitam tī-ka-he
    drip T-say-He
    'It dripped.'

221) wepíma pakolo pitam nau.
    w-epí-ma-Ø pakolo pitam na-wē
    1A3O-tree-GiveVrblz-RecPst house drip in.boundless.loc-into
    'I planted on 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 mēnke coberta
    lome kalipono mēn-ka-ja coberta
    but non.Wayána 3SACertainty-say-NPst blanket
    'But the non-Wayána (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).66

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.

---

66 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 Wayána, 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) \textit{Wokopojai}
   \begin{itemize}
   \item w-oko-po-ja-he
   \item 1A30-cut.O-Caus-NPst-SapAff
   \item ‘I will make (him/her) cut it.’
   \end{itemize}

2) \textit{Éwinik}.
   \begin{itemize}
   \item ēw-inākt-Ø
   \item 2S0-sleep-RecPst
   \item ‘You slept.’
   \end{itemize}

Figure 1 shows the order of the affixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person prefix</th>
<th>Them. prefix</th>
<th>Det</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>Verbalizers</th>
<th>Transitivizers</th>
<th>Caus.</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>SAP Aff.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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: \textit{tēk} ‘think,’ \textit{tuhtu} ‘walk,’ \textit{kiliṭṭik} ‘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 -∅ ‘Recent past’ (Examples bear w- ‘1A3O,’ m- ‘2A3O,’ and j- ‘1S0’).

3) a. /mikî/ ‘sleep’ → jîmkîjî ‘I am going to sleep’
b. /enepî/ ‘bring O’ → wenejîjî ‘I am going to bring it’
c. /elepî/ ‘make O afraid’ → jelejî ‘He/she/it just made me afraid.’

4) a. /ëtuku/ ‘have a meal’ → wëtukîjî ‘I am going to have a meal’
b. /uku/ ‘try O’ → mukûkîjî ‘You are going to try it’
c. /ë/ ‘eat bread’ → wëkîjî ‘I am going to eat bread’

b) Verb stems ending with /ii/ or /uu/ reduce leaving compensatory lengthening on the preceding vowel:

5) a. /ii/ ‘make O’ → wîfîjîjî ‘I am making it.’
b. /ulu/ ‘talk to’ → (w)ûujîjî ‘I am talking to O’
c. /kii/ ‘take O from’ → wîkîjîjî ‘I am taking O from’

6) Some two-syllable stems ending with /î/ and /u/ do not reduce (/w/ deletes before /u/, cf. section 2.2.3):

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| a | elî ‘drink O’ | welîjîjî ‘I am drinking it’
|   |   | welî ‘I drank it’ |
| b | upî ‘bathe O’ | (w)upîjîjî ‘I will bathe him/her’
|   |   | (w)upî ‘I bathed him/her’ |
| c | ykî ‘grate O’ | wîkîjîjî ‘I will grate it.’
|   |   | wîkî ‘I grated it’ |
The stem *éku* ‘eat bread’ reduces before CV suffixes, but not in the recent past
(compare (4c) with (7) below):

7)  

wēku  ‘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)  

/apēhi/  ‘grab O’  →  apēkē  ‘Grab it’
    →  wapē  ‘I just grabbed it.’
    →  wapēhjai  ‘I am grabbing it.’

Verb stems ending with the other vowels, /i/, /e/, /ē/, /o/, and /a/, do not reduce,
but the suffixes may reduce (cf. section 2.3.1.1.1 for the reducing suffixes).

5.1.1. Ablaut. Some verb stems alternate their first vowel, /e/~/ē/, /a/~/o/, or /a~/ē/,
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/~/ēne/  ‘see O’  →  wene  ‘I saw it’
    →  tēnei  ‘seen’
    →  kēne  ‘He/she/it saw us.’

b. /apēhi/~/ēpēhi/  ‘grab O’  →  wapē  ‘I grabbed it’
    →  tēpēhhe  ‘grabbed’
    →  kēpē  ‘He/she/it grabbed us.’

c. /anopi/~/onopi/  ‘paint O’  →  wanop  ‘I painted it’
    →  tonophe  ‘painted’
    →  konop  ‘He/she/it painted us.’

b) In stems inflected with the adverbializing morphemes -tē and -tse (cf.
7.2.1.2.1). (There are no attested cases of stems with /ē~/a/ alternation and -tse):
10)  
a. čenete 'able to see.'
b. čenete 'specialist in seeing.'
11)  
peite 'able to grab.'
12)  
a. onopte 'able to paint.'
b. onosse 'specialist in painting.'

Only transitive and intransitive $S_O$ stems undergo this process. No examples of ablaut with $S_A$ intransitive verbs are attested.

5.1.2. Minor patterns. The are some patterns affecting only some specific verb stems. Verb stems ending in /a/ present an idiosyncratic allomorph with -ja, the non-past suffix: 
$Va+ja \rightarrow [e]$ (Examples with oko ‘cut’ are offered for comparison; cf. also Derbyshire 1985 for a parallel pattern in Hixkariana):

13)  
a. wika 'I spoke'
b. wikai 'I am speaking.'
c. (*wikajai)
14)  
wapanaka 'I heard it.'
wapanakmai 'I am hearing it.'
(*wapanakmajai)
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 $\dot{e}/wakam(\ddot{a})-wakam(\ddot{i})$, with the first allomorph occurring depending on the morphological context (iwakam ‘I sat down,’ ēwakamkē ‘Sit down!’), but newakam ‘He sat down,’ ewakamila ‘not to sit down,’ tēwakamehe ‘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 adverbalized forms retaining the third person prefix e-) and the verbal stem lasilam(\ddot{i})-jasilam(\ddot{a}) ‘S dry’ where /l/ and /j/ occur in free variation.
The S$_A$ intransitive verbs ka(i) ‘say; do,’ (u)mēk(i) ‘come’, and (i)tēk(i) ‘go’ present a more complex pattern with regard to their potential first vowel, which occurs depending on the morphological context (cf. for S$_A$). In the case of personal prefixes, a first vowel occurs with w- ‘1$^\text{st}$,’ m- ‘2$^\text{nd}$,’ and n- ‘3$^\text{rd}$,’ but not with mēn- ‘3$^\text{rd}$’ certainty,’ kun- ‘3$^\text{rd}$’ Distant Past,’ and with the 1+2$^\text{nd}$ 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$^\text{nd}$ prefix kut- ⇒ kun /īnasal (cf. 2.3.2.2. for nasal assimilation); /w/⇒Ø /w/, as in umēk below) 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>w- ‘1$^\text{st}$’</th>
<th>m- ‘2$^\text{nd}$’</th>
<th>n- ‘3$^\text{rd}$’</th>
<th>mēn- ‘3$^\text{rd}$’</th>
<th>kun- ‘3$^\text{rd}$’DP’</th>
<th>1+2$^\text{nd}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16) a. umēk</td>
<td>b. mumēk</td>
<td>c. numēk</td>
<td>d. mēnumer</td>
<td>e. kunmēk</td>
<td>f. kunmēk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. wītēm</td>
<td>b. mītēm</td>
<td>c. nītēm</td>
<td>d. mēntēja</td>
<td>e. kuptēm</td>
<td>f. kuntēm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. wīka</td>
<td>b. mīka</td>
<td>c. nīka</td>
<td>d. mēnke</td>
<td>e. kutke</td>
<td>f. kunka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 –tihwē ‘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)tē(mi) in the t-V-(h)e forms and for the prefixes in nominalizations, the third person i- in the examples below. (/mēkt/⇒[mēh] is a result of syllable reduction and consonant dissimilation: /kk/⇒[hk] (2.3.2.3))

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17) a. umēkīla</td>
<td>b. yītēla</td>
<td>c. kala</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18) a. tumēkhe</td>
<td>b. tūtē</td>
<td>c. tūkai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19) a. mēkhē</td>
<td>b. yītēk</td>
<td>c. kaikē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kahe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21) a. imēktop</td>
<td>b. iitētop</td>
<td>c. iikatop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Wayāna 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)mēk(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)mēk(i), as in the imperative and in the negative forms, /u/ occurs as part of the root. For *(i)tē(mī) '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, ti-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)tē(mī) and ka(i), the first starting with /i/ and the second with a consonant, we consider that *(i)tē(mī) fits the general pattern and takes the same set of prefixes as *(u)mēk(i), but ka(i) takes the idiosyncratic prefixes wi-, mī-, and nī-.

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\textsuperscript{nd} 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. 3A30 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.’ 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.¹²

22) a. panakmatë  ‘able to hear’
   b. ikëtë  ‘able to grate’
   c. jetë  ‘able to cook’
   d. kaptë  ‘able to weave’

23) a. kulasi panakma  ‘He/she/it heard the rooster’
   b. ulu ikì  ‘She grated manioc’
   c. tëhem je  ‘She cooked food’
   d. pilasi kap  ‘He wove a basket’

24) a. wëtëm elemi topanakmai  ‘I went to hear the singing’
   b. wëtëm ulu ikëtë  ‘I went to grate manioc’
   c. wëtëm tëhem jei  ‘I went to cook food’
   d. wëtëm pilasi kaphe  ‘I went to weave a basket’

25) a. latio panakmai  ‘in the listening of the radio’
   b. ulu ikëtë  ‘in the grating of the manioc’
   c. tëhem jei  ‘in the cooking of the food’
   d. pilasi kaphe  ‘in the weaving of the basket’

26) a. tipanakmai  ‘heard’
   b. tikëhe  ‘grated’
   c. tijei  ‘cooked’
   d. tikaphe  ‘woven’

¹² This also applies to the suffix -tse ‘Specific modifying adverbializer’ (cf. 7.2.1.2.1. for -të and -tse), to the nominalizers -top(a), -ston(a), -ne ‘Agent nominalizer’ but not to n- ‘Object nominalizer’ (see below and cf. 4.2.2.1 for deverbal nominalizers), to the postpositionalizer -tiwë, to the t-V-(l)he 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’.

¹³ Like iki ‘grate O’ are i(í) ‘make O’ and iki(í) ‘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-* ‘2A3O,’ 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 *ikî* ‘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). 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>w- ‘1A30’</th>
<th>m- ‘2A3O’</th>
<th>*(ku)h-/kut-‘1+2A30’</th>
<th><em>n-</em> ‘3rd’</th>
<th>*mën- ‘3rd C.’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28a</td>
<td>a. w-i-panakma</td>
<td>b. m-i-panakma</td>
<td>c. s-i-panakma</td>
<td>d. n-i-panakma</td>
<td>e. mën-i-panakma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>w-i-je</td>
<td>g. m-i-je</td>
<td>h. s-i-je.</td>
<td>i. n-i-je</td>
<td>j. mën-i-je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k.</td>
<td>w-i-kî</td>
<td>l. m-i-kî</td>
<td>m. kut-i-kî</td>
<td>n. n-i-kî</td>
<td>o. mën-i-kî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>wî-kap</td>
<td>q. mî-kap</td>
<td>r. kut-kap</td>
<td>s. nî-kap</td>
<td>t. mën-kap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29) a. *ën-i-panakma-la* ‘not hearing O’

b. *ën-i-je-la* ‘not cooking O’

c. *ën-i-kî-la* ‘not grating O’

d. *ën-i-kap-i-la* ‘not weaving O’

30) a. *èn-i-panakma* ‘what you listen to’

b. *èn-i-jee* ‘what you cook’

c. *èn-i-kî* ‘what you grate’

d. *èn-i-kap* (what you weave)

---

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, ıkı and kap(ı) occur with an extra prefix, t(ı)-, 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(ı)- 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-panakmak  ‘able to hear’  
b. ēje i-panakmak  ‘Listen to your mother!’  
c. t-ııklıkę  ‘able to grate’  
d. ulu t-ııklıkę  ‘Grate manioc!’  
e. tį-jek  ‘able to cook’  
f. akuli tį-jek  ‘Cook agouti!’  
g. tį-kapkę  ‘able to weave’  
h. pamit tį-kapkę  ‘Weave a pamit basket!’

Other stems presenting the thematic t(ı)- are (u)wę ‘pierce; kill,’ ılı̆ ‘make,’ (i)kt(ı) ‘take from,’ ēk(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 ēn- and the O nominalizer n-. Intransitive stems starting with vowels and Sₐ stems do not present a thematic prefix.

32)  
a. n-i-lêmep  ‘He/she/it died’  
b. mën-i-lêmep-ja  ‘He/she/it is going to die’  
c. kun-i-lêmep  ‘He/she/it died a long time ago’

No thematic element occurs with the following forms: t-V-(h)e forms, imperative forms (since S₀ verbs take 2nd person prefixes), and nominalizations (and forms with postpositionalizing suffix -tıhwę) where third person prefixes alternate with a nominal possessor (a parallel pattern to that seen with the transitive stems discussed above):
33) a. tî-lêmêp-he ‘He/she/it died’
   b. i-lasilam-top ‘to dry it’
   c. upo lasilam-top ‘to dry clothing’
   d. é-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 én- 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_A prefix w-. This thematic prefix occurs almost exclusively with intransitive S_A stems (synchronously 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) m-êmêm ‘You entered’
   tê-w-êmêm-he ‘entered’
   i-w-êmêm-top ‘to my entering’

35) w-êtîlî ‘I became’
   tê-w-êtîl-he ‘become’
   i-w-êtîl-îh tau ‘in my becoming’

Exceptions to this pattern exist. Three S_A stems do not present w-: (u)mêk(i) ‘come,’ (i)tî(m) ‘go,’ and ka ‘say; do’ (cf. section 5.1.2 for a discussion of the allomorphic patterns of these stems). Two S_O stems (cf. section 5.2 for S_O verbs) occur with w-, iptê ‘go down’ and ekakta ‘come out; be born’. (examples are presented with -Ø ‘Recent past,’ -ja ‘Non-past,’ and -k(ê) ‘Proximal imperative’):

36) j-iptêjai ‘I will go down’
   ēw-iptêjai ‘You will go down’
   n-iptêjai ‘He will go down’
   ēw-iptê-k ‘Get down!’
   tî-w-iptê ‘Gone down.’

   i-w-iptê ‘My going down.’
37) ekakta 'I came out'  
ēw-ekakta 'You came out'  
n-ekakta 'He/she/it came out'  
ēw-akakta-k 'Come out!'  
tē-w-ekakta-i 'Come out'  
l-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 *Sₐ* or *Sₖ*. Unfortunately, no nominalized forms are attested for this stem.

38) n-etapam ‘It sang’  
tē-w-etapam-he ‘sang’

Since *w-* occurs almost exclusively and with the great majority of *Sₐ* verbs, we label it as ‘*Sₐ*’, 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:

   m-enepti-Ø
   2A3O-bring.O-RecPst
   ‘You brought it.’

b. *Menepéu?*
   m-enepti-O-tēw
   2A3O-bring,O-RecPst-SapCol
   ‘You all brought it?’

c. *Éwenemne.*
   ēw-enepti-ne
   2-bring.O-AgtNmlz
   ‘The one who brought you’

d. *Énepi.*
   ē-n-enepti-li
   2-ObjNmlz-bring,O-Pss
   ‘The thing that you brought’
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_A verbs (roughly, those in which the personal prefixes resemble those marking the A on transitive verbs) and intransitive S_O 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_A and S_O verbs take different thematic elements: w- and i-, respectively (cf section 5.1.4 and section 5.1.3). Finally, S_O verbs undergo the following morphological processes that do not apply to S_A verbs: transitiivizing morphology (cf. section 5.4.2.2) and 2nd person prefixes on imperative forms (examples 41b) and (41c), respectively.

40) a. ľemēmtēu.
   m-emēmi-O-tement
   2S_A-enter-RecPst-SapColl
   ‘You all entered.’

41) a. ľewemēitēu.
    ľew-emēmi-O-tement
    2S_O-sing-RecPst-SapColl
    ‘You all sang.’

b. ľejelemi.
   j-ememi-ka-O
   3A1O-sing-Transvzr-RecPst
   ‘He prayed over me’

c. ľewimhē!
   ľew-imhē-ka
   2S_O-sleep-ProxImp
   ‘Sleep!’

202
Monomorphemic S₀ verbs are by far more numerous than monomorphemic Sₐ verbs, as most members of the Sₐ verb class result from the synchronic process of detransitivization (ene ‘see O,’ éh-ene ‘see oneself’ (cf.)). All the attested monomorphemic Sₐ 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-, ét-, éh- (cf. section 5.4.2.1): esi/eha/ehe ‘be’ (cf.), emek(u) ‘come back,’ epe ‘flee,’ êhum ‘warm oneself,’ êtaj(u) ‘level down,’ êtuk(u) ‘have a meal,’ êtasika ‘curse,’ and étemêm(i)–êmêm(i) ‘enter.’ For two Sₐ stems, the source co-exists, but the detransitivized form has enough change of meaning to have an entry of its own: êti(li) ‘become’ and êtuhmo ‘fall,’ from i(li) ‘make O’ and uhmo ‘beat O; kill O.’ Three Sₐ verbs are the best candidates for the oldest forms of this class, distinguishing themselves from the other members for not taking the Sₐ marked w- (cf. 5.1.4): (u)mêk(i) ‘come,’ (i)tê(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 éheti ‘to dream’ can occur with a transitivizer only if it loses the first syllable /éh/, but êtè cannot occur itself as a transitive stem (examples (44)-(45)).

42) Wikapo eja.
   wi-ka-po-O e-ja
   1Sₐ-say-RecPst 3-Causee
   ‘I made him speak.’

43) Lome kalipono mënke 'kupeta.'
   lome kalipono mën-ka-ja kupeta
   but non.Wayana 3SₐCertnty-say-NPst blanket
   ‘But the non-wayana (Brazilians) say kupeta.’ (Jolokoa 009)
44) *Wēheti*
   w-ēh-ētē-Ø
   |Sa-dream-RecPst
   ‘I dreamed’

45) *Wetnēp*
   w-ētē-nēp-Ø
   |A3O-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 3rd person and 3rd 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 Wayãna 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: 1st person, 2nd person, 1+2nd (dual) person, and 3rd 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: 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INTRANSITIVE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S_A</td>
<td>S_O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S_A</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>y/-j-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S_A</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>€/-€w-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2S_A</td>
<td>h-, k-, kuh-, kut-, kup-</td>
<td>h-, k-, ku-, kuh-, kut-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TRANSITIVE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Inverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1A3O</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>y/-j-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2A3O</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>€/-€w-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2A3O</td>
<td>(ku)h-/kut-, ku-, k-</td>
<td>ku-, k-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Local

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1A2O</td>
<td>kuw-/ku-/k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2A1O</td>
<td>k-/ku-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The different allomorphs of each prefix are phonologically conditioned. The first and second person forms i- and €- occur before stems starting a consonant, and j- and €w- occur before stems starting with a vowel. The allomorphs of prefixes involving 1st and 2nd persons all have, with the exception of the direct h-, a /k/, in them:

a) With 1+2S_O  →  ku- /__C:  kut-atulumb ‘we trembled’
    kut- /__/ u/ , fi/:  kut-uika ‘we defecated,’
    k- /__/ V, fi/:  k-élemi ‘we sang,’ kinik ‘we slept’

---

5 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_A \( \rightarrow \) kúp - with tē 'go'  kúp-tém 'we went'
kút - with (w)mék(i) 'come,' kai(i) 'say; do,' and a'be':  kun-mékja 'we will come' (t+m>n)
kút-ke 'we will speak'
kút-qi 'we are'

h- /i/ helama 'we came back'
k- /i/ kétli 'we became'
c) Local: 1A2O \( \rightarrow \) kúw-/V kúw-ené 'I saw you'
kú- /C kú-panakma 'I heard you'
k- /u/, ŋ/ k-ii 'I placed you,' k-úwéja 'I will kill you'
d) Local: 2A1O \( \rightarrow \) k- /V, u/, ŋ/ kéné 'you saw me'
k-úwéja 'You will kill me'
k-ii 'you placed me'
kú- /C kú-panakma 'You heard me'
e) Direct: 1+2A30 \( \rightarrow \) (ku)s-/C sì-panakma 'You and I heard 3rd, kus-ìpika 'We skinned it'
h- /V hene 'You and I saw 3rd.'
kut- /u/, ŋ/ kút-uhmo 'You and I beat 3rd.'
k-ii 'You and I made it'
f) Inverse: 3A1+20 \( \rightarrow \) kú- /C kú-panakma '3rd heard you and me'
k- /V, u/, ŋ/ k-ène '3rd saw you and me'
k-uhmo '3rd beat you and me'
k-ii '3rd 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 -(f)ëmëneja (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 ětuk(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):
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/Statative 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 Tiriýó verbs where first and second persons outrank third:

1=2 > 3

While this analysis holds for Wayána, 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 1st and 2nd 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 Wayána: 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 Wayána speaker, she said the following:

49)  *Kopé mënümkja.*
  kopé mën-umëkt-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 numēkja*
    opalanu n-umēk-t-ja
    airplane 3S-<come-NPst
    '(The) airplane will come.'

after we commented that we were expecting an airplane to come into the village that day.
Thus, is seems that *mēn-* 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 Wayána, 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 -*tē*. 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 morphems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-collective</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Non-Past'</td>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>ja-tē(h)e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ja-tēu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'HabPst'</td>
<td>-(j)(e)mēhneja</td>
<td>-(j)(e)mēhneja-tē(h)e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-(j)(e)mēhneja-tēu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'RecPst'</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø-tēu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'DistPst'</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-tē-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Permissive'</td>
<td>-(h)i/-Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Permissive/admonitive'</td>
<td>-tan(u)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The collective suffix is restricted to Set I verbs and it collectivizes only SAP
participants (i.e., 2\textsuperscript{nd} person and 1+2\textsuperscript{nd} 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 2nd 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 -tē 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: -tē(h)e, -tēw, -tēn(u), -tēk(ē). 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) 6:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Carib</th>
<th>Modern Wayâna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*to-ne</td>
<td>-tē-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*to-wī</td>
<td>-tēw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ja-to-ce</td>
<td>-ja-tē(h)e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ja-to-wī</td>
<td>-ja-tēw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is thus not surprising that -tēu, 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, -∅ 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

---

6 In Table 2 above the collective -tēw is considered as going after the -∅ recent past in consonance with the general pattern of allomorphs other than -tē 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 pēk(e) 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).7 (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?
   ipolf m-enē-ja-he
   river.being 2A3O-see.O-NPst-SapAff
   “Do you see the river being?” (Kaikui2 074 )

53) Ituwakī Pakolon tak hepī witējai.
   ituwakī pakolono nu ta-kē hepī w-ītē-ja-he
   indian house-Pss in.permanent.loc into habitual 1SΛ-go-NPst-SapAff
   ‘I always go to the House of the Indians.’

7 As the perfective/imperfective distinction is not morphologically instantiated in Wayãna, we see here with
the non-past -ja that a proposition will be understood as perfective or imperfective depending on the
context: example tfs can be translated as ‘I will make bread’ or as ‘I make breads.’
54) Kaikui ewéja.
kaikuhi ēw-ē-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) twenatei pitê.
t-wenata-ja-he pitê
1SO-vomit-NPst-SapAff in.a.minute
‘I am about to vomit.’

56) Akon wei po, wēhepei Estados Unidos po.
akono weji po-Ø wēh-eja-ja-he estados unidos po-Ø
another year on.supported-on 1SA-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 mēn-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-wē waapta-wē
untrue-Neg old.woman-Coll ekata-wē when-in
Mēnekalēja lep.
mēn-ekalē-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, -tē(h)e occurs in affirmatives with both S0 and S4 verbs (examples 59 and 60) and with transitive verbs bearing direct or local prefixes (examples 61-63), while -tēu occurs in affirmatives with inverse prefixes (64) and in interrogatives (66). (The same scenario presumably holds also for forms with the habitual past -(f)(e)mēhneja, though we only find in the database collective forms in affirmative sentences (67).)
59) Ėwelikjatēi.
ēw-eli-ku-ja-tēhe
1SO-get.killed-NPst-SapColl
“You'll get killed.”

60) Tok miketēi.
tok mi-ka-ja-tēhe
beat.up.snd 2Sₐ-say-NPst-SapColl
‘You are all beating up’

61) Kutukukēmējatēi manu.
kut-ukuku-ēmē-ja-tēhe manu
1+2A3O-try.O-Resumpt-NPst-SapColl Irrealis
“We would try it again.”

62) Kuwenajatēi.
kuw-ene-ja-tēhe
1A2O-see.O-NPst-SapColl
‘I see you all.’

63) Kēnejatēi.
kē-ene-ja-tēhe
2A1O-see.O-NPst-SapColl
‘You all see me.’

64) Ūuhmojatēu nahek.
ēw-upmo-ja-tēw nahek
3A2O-kill.O-NPst-SapColl just?
“(He) is just going to kill you all.”

65) Kan kēnejatēu.
kanu kē-ene-ja-tēw
God 3A1+2O-see.O-NPst-SapColl
‘God sees all of us.’

66) Ėri miįjatēu?
ēri m-il-ll-ja-tēw
what 2A3O-make.O-NPst-SapColl
“What do you all do?”

67) Tutukē henepēmēnhjējatēi.
tutukē h-enept-ēmēnheja-tēhe
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 -tēhe only occurring with direct and local forms and -tēw in the inverse forms. The other factor conditioning the allomorphs is whether the proposition is affirmative or interrogative,
with -tēhe occurring with the former and -tēw with the latter. No semantic motivation suggests itself as an explanation for this configuration.

5.3.1.2.2. -O ‘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. 8

68) Nīlēmēp.
   n-i-lēmēpī-Ø
   3S-Them-die-RecPst
   ‘He just died (a few minutes ago).’

69) Hemaľēlē nma weha inīkīla.
   hemaľēlē nma w-e-ha-Ø inīkī-λa
   today Intens 1SA-be-RecPst sleep-Neg
   “Just today, I did not sleep.”

70) Eluwa pepta kaikuī uwē kokone.
   eluwa pepta kaikuī uwē-Ø kokone
   man big jaguar kill. O-RecPst yesterday
   ‘A man killed a big jaguar yesterday.’

71) Jemśii nijep kokone,
   j-emśii-Ø n-i-jepī-Ø kokone
   1-daughter-Pss 3SO-Them-have.fever-RecPst yesterday

   lome hemaľē uwame netīlī.
   lome hemaľē uwame n-emśii-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 –tēu:

72) Kuwēnetēu.
   kuw-ene-Ø-tēw
   1A2O-see. O-RecPst-SapColl
   ‘I saw all of you.’

8 Meira (1999:299) reports that for Tiriyo 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 Wayana, 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 kënetēu.
    eluwa k-ēne-0-tēw
    man 3A1+2O-see.0-RecPst-SapColl
    ‘The man saw all of us.’

74) Emēlakom  kā kulaši menetēu?
    ēmēlakomo kā kulahi m-ene-0-tēw
    2CollPro Quest chicken 2A3O-see.0-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.0-DistPst mountain
    ‘Did you see the mountain?’

76) Min toholohem wenene.
    mīn toholohe-mī w-ene-ne
    DemInanDist hollow-PtNmlz 1A3O-see.0-DistPst
    ‘I saw that distant cave.’

77) Jolok enene Anakali.
    joloko ene-ne anakali
    evil.spirit see.0-DistPst Anakali
    ‘Anakali saw a Jolok.’

78) Malonme kunmekēmē tot.
    malonme kun-umēkī-ēmē toto
    then 3SsDistPst-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) Moloinē emna ikanawakom enene.
molojinē emna i-kanawa-ō-komo ene-ne
then 1+3ExclPro 3-canoe-Pss-Coll see.O-DistPst
‘Then, we saw their canoe.’

81) Emna kunmekēmē,
emna kun-umēkl-ēmē
1+3ExclPro 1+3SA,DistPst-come-NonCompl
‘We came.’

82) Moloinē emna kuneneimē ehemakom.
molojinē emna kun-ene-imē 0-ehema-ō-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 -tē. One
exceptional example in which a first person exclusive is collectivized with -tēu 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) Kwenetēne.
kuw-ene-tē-ne
1A2O-see.O-SapColl-DistPst
‘I saw all of you a long time ago.’

84) Kēnetēne.
k-ēne-tē-ne
2A1O-see.O-SapColl-DistPst
‘You all saw me a long time ago.’

85) Menetēne?
m-ene-tē-ne
2A3O-see.O-RecPst-SapColl
‘Did you see all of them a long time ago?’
5.3.1.2.4. The Habitual past -($fj$)(€)mēhneja. 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).

86) Moloinë emna kunepotëeu tihule psik.

87) Macapa pona semana do indio po.

emna kun-ēh-alē 1+3ExclPro 3SₐDistPst-Det-take.O

Dezme wajana kunēhalē tot mija.

dez-me wajana kun-ēh-alē toto mija
ten-Attrb people 3SₐDistPst-Det-take.O 3Coll thither

“Then we all found it... very far”

5.3.1.2.4. The Habitual past -($fj$)(€)mēhneja. 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) Mēlē psik léken ipanakmaimēhnejai.

mēlē phikī léken w-i-panakma-jmēhnejai-he
DemlnanMed little only 1A3O-Them-hear.O-HabPst-SapAff

“Only this little I used to hear”

89) Upak aptau, kaika pitpē halēimēhnejatēi katelyu ja.

upak apta-wē kaikuhi pitpē-O h-ālē-jmēhnejai-tēhe katelyu ja
long.ago when/if-in jaguar skin-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 twaptau ījepēmēhnejai.

mule-mē twapta-wē ījepē-ēmēhnejai-he
child-Attrb 1-when/if-in 1S₉-have.fever-HabPst-SapAff

‘When I was a child, I used to have fever.’

218
91) Upak kulumuli ke mènehemèhneja malijatom
upake kulumuli ke mèn-ehe-mètneja 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 nipohnépémèhnejai helékom.
emna n-i-pothèpl-emètneja-he helè-komo
1+3ExclPro 1+3A3O-Them-think.O-HabPst-SapAff PrsntvPro-Coll
"These things used to be our constant thinking."

93) Akuli je ilèmèhneja malijame.
akuli je-Ø ill-emètneja 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 wehemèhneja.
uwame-la w-ehe-mètneja
healthy-Neg 1SA-be-HabPst
'I used to be healthy.'

5.3.1.2.5. The permissive suffix -(h)il-/Ø. 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 -Ø suffix, with the same allomorphy of -Ø recent past (cf. section 5.3.1.2.2
above),

95) Awap nitèm!
awap n-itèm-Ø
awap 3SA-go-Permissive
‘Let him go.’

96) Awap nètulu!
awap n-èt-ulu-Ø
awap 3SA-Det-talk.to.O-Permissive
‘Let him talk.’

‘No. Let it grow.’

98) Awap professor-me n-esi-Ø
awap professor-me n-ehi-Ø
wait teacher-Attrb 3S\textsubscript{A}-be-Permissive
‘Wait, let him be a teacher.’

99) \textit{Awap} nepi!
awap n-epi-Ø
wait 3A3O-eat.soft.food-Permissive
‘Wait, let him eat it.’

100) \textit{Awap} juwe!
awap j-uwë-Ø
wait 3A1O-pierce.O-Permissive
‘Wait, let him give me an injection!’

101) \textit{Awap} éwe!
awap é-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) \textit{Awap} iwakamii!
awap i-wakamí-hi
wait 1S\textsubscript{O}-sit.down-Permissive
‘Let me sit down!’

103) \textit{Awap} wëtului \quad kija!
awap w-ëtulu-hi \quad kija
wait 1S\textsubscript{A}-Det-talk.to.O-Permissive Persuasive
‘Wait, let me talk, will you?’

104) \textit{Awap} professorme wesii!
awap professor-me w-ehi-hi
wait teacher-Attrb 1S\textsubscript{A}-be-Permissive
‘Wait, let me be a teacher!’

105) \textit{Wenei!}
w-ene-hi
1A3O-see.O-Permissive
‘Let me see it!’

106) a. \textit{Awap} kuwenei!
awap kuw-ene-hi
wait 1A2O-see.O-Permissive
‘Let me see you!’
b. *Wepisi*  
*hnē.*  
w-e-pi-hi  
1SA-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 *mēn*-. Our data confirm that *mēn-* 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 *mēn-* 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
Forms with a pre-verbal object may have an admonitive meaning (examples 111-113).  

107) *Menêtitan!*
   mën-ëtíî-tanu
3Certnty-work-ImpPerm
‘Let him work!’

108) *Ise aptau mënapêitan.*
   i-sewapta-wë mën-apêhi-tanu
3-Des when/if-in 3Certnty-take.O-ImpPerm
‘If wanting, he/she can take it.’

109) *Akon wei po mënêhepatan Estados Unidos po.*
   akono weji po-Ø mën-eh-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) *Ènâlèla mënëita.*
   èn-âlë-Ø-la mën-ëhï-tanu
3Neg-take.O-Neg 3Certnty-be-ImpPerm
‘He cannot take it (it is not his’).

111) *Èlkîtî  enêta.*
   èl-kîtî-Ø énê-tanu
1-thing-Pss see.O-ImpPerm
‘(You’d) better verify my things.’

112) *Ka pikélëta!*
   ka pikélë.-tanu
fish cut.O-ImpPerm
‘She’d better cut fish!’

113) *Èwamoo okotan.*
   èw-amo-li 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

---

9 There are no examples of -tan(u) in texts. In a narrative where a speaker talks about his plans for the
suffix -(j)(ē)mēneja ‘Habitual past,’ and only with verbs bearing non-collective SAP participants (114 to 119), including 1+3rd 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) *Helē wekalējai.*
    helē w-ekalē-ja-he
    PrsntvPro 1A3Of-tell.O-NPst-SapAff
    “This I will tell.”

115) *Wipanakmaimēneja.*
    w-i-panakma-jmēneja-he
    1A3Of-Them-listen.to.O-HabPst-SapAff
    ‘I used to listen to it.’

116) *Peptame īpakolon aptau wekalējai manu.*
    pepta-me ī-pakolo-nu wapta-wē w-ekalē-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) *Kēelepijahe nma.*
    k-ēlepi-Red5-ja-he nma
    1A2O-make.O.afraid-Red5-NPst-SapAff Intens
    “You are really scaring me.”

118) *Talanne uvamela wētijai.*
    talanne uwame-la w-ētīl-ja-he
    maybe healthy-Neg 1Sx-become-NPst-SapAff
    ‘Maybe I will get sick.’

119) *Masike tēmamine kutai.*
    mahike tēmamine kut-a-he
    With.that have.work 1+2Sx-be-SapAff
    ‘With that, we have work (to do).’

120) *Emna ninēmējai.*
    emna n-i-nēmē-ja-he
    1+3ExclPro 1+3A3O-leave.O-NPst-SapAff
    ‘We will leave it.’

121) *Emna nipōnepēmēnejai helēkom.*
    emna n-i-pōnepē-ēmēneja-he helē-komo
    1+3ExclPro 3A3O-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:

future, only non-past forms (with -ja ‘Non past’) or t-V-(h)e forms occurred.
122) Méklée hné menumékja.
   méklée në mën-unemék-jë
Dem.AnnMed also 3Sₐ.Certnty-come-NPst
   'That one will also come.'

123) Josinete étile sitpili ewaaja hepi.
   josinete étile hitpili ewalu-jë hepi
Josinete belonging dirty burn.O-NPst Habitual
   'Josinete always burns her garbage.'

124) Upak kulumuli ke menheméhneja malija-tom.
   upake kulumuli ke mën-ehe-métneja malija-tomo
long.ago bamboo InstrPts 3Sₐ.Certnty-be-HabPst knife-Coll
   "Long time ago the knives (i.e., the knife-like instruments) used to be with bamboo."

125) Kaikuí nai kéja.
   kajikuí naj k-ë-ja
jaguar Intens 3A₁+2O-eat.meat-NPst
   "The jaguar will eat us."

126) Uwa, kaikuí nai éwéja.
   uwa kajikuí 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-Pes how 1+2S₁-be
   "So, my friend, how will we be?"

128) Tala pa kasili wiija?
   tala pa kahili w-ili-ja
how Quest manioc.beer 1A₃O-make.O-NPst
   'How do I make kasili (beer)'

129) Nila, anumalë ka mitëimëja?
   nila anumalë ka m-ëjë-jë
Nila tomorrow Quest 2Sₐ-go-Resumpt-NPst
   'Nila, are you going back tomorrow?'

130) Mitëja?
   m-ëjë
2Sₐ-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 Wayana, 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 is 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Coll</td>
<td>Coll</td>
<td>Non-Coll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imp</td>
<td>-k(è)</td>
<td>-tê-k(è)</td>
<td>-kêt(è)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hort</td>
<td>-(h)i</td>
<td>-tê-(h)i</td>
<td>-net(è)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for the occurrences of the collective with imperative forms, as shown in Table 3, the allomorph -tê occurs whenever it precedes the proximal imperative, the imperative
allative, the proximal hortatory, or the hortatory allative, and the allomorphs -tēk(ē) and -tēn(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 2nd person prefixes, the latter must occur with 1+2nd 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-/kua '2A1O'</td>
<td>ḍ/ (w)- '2S₀'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hortatory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kua)h-/kua-, kua, k '1+2A3O'</td>
<td>h-, k-, kuh-, kut- '1+2S₀'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h-, k-, kuh-, kut- '1+2S₀'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides the imperative suffixes, an independent imperative negative construction is attested.

5.3.2.1. The imperative suffixes: -k(ē) 'proximal imperative,' -kēt(ē) 'imperative allative,' and -ta 'imperative ablative.' The imperative forms take 2nd person prefixes as follows: transitive verbs may take only the local prefix k- '2A1O,' and intransitive S₀ verbs take the 2nd person prefix. Other situations, 2A3O and 2S₀ 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_o, and S_A verbs are given below:

Proximal imperative:

131) Anopkè!
   anopì-kè
   paint.O-ProxImp
   ‘Paint he/she/it!’

132) Òwelemikè!
    òw-elemi-kè
    2S_o-sing-ProxImp
    ‘Sing!’

133) Konopkè!
    k-onopì-kè
    2A1O-paint.O-ProxImp
    ‘Paint me!’

134) Òmèmèkè!
    òmèmè-kè
    enter-ProxImp
    ‘Enter’

Imperative allative:

135) Anopkèt!
    anopì-kètè
    paint.O-ImpAllat
    ‘Come and paint he/she/it!’

136) Òwelemikèt!
    òw-elemi-kètè
    2S_o-sing-impAllat
    ‘Come and sing!’

137) Konopkèt!
    k-onopì-kètè
    2A1O-paint.O-impAllat
    ‘Come and paint me!’

138) Ètuhkèt!
    ètukù-kètè
    have.a.meal-impAllat
    ‘Come and have a meal’

Imperative ablative:

139) Ipanakmatà!
    i-panakma-ta
    Them-hear.O-impAblat
    ‘Listen to he/she/it.’

140) Èwata!
    òw-ùwa-ta
    2-dance-impAblat
    ‘Go dance!’

141) Kupanakmatà!
    ku-panakma-ta
    2A1O-hear.O-impAblat
    ‘Go (there) and listen to me!’

142) Ètukàta!
    ètukù-ta
    have.a.meal-impAblat
    ‘Go have a meal.’

143) Aletèk!
    alè-tè-kè
    take.O-SapColl-ProxImp
    ‘You all take it!’

144) Ètukètèkèt!
    ètukù-tè-kètè
    have.a.meal-impAllat
    ‘Come you all and eat!’

145) Kaitatèk eja.
    kaj-ta-tèkè e-ja
    say-impAblat-SapColl 2-allative
    ‘You all go and say (it) to him/her.’
5.3.2.2. The hortatory suffixes: -h(i) proximal hortatory, -net(e) hortatory allative, and -ta(-n(u)) hortatory ablative. All hortatory suffixes occur with verbs inflected with 1+2nd 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 kkuulu
1+2A3O-see.O-ProxHort Intens
Let's go see he/she/it!

147) Kinikii!
k-ímíkí-hi
1+2S0-sleep-ProxHort
Let's sleep.

148) Ehepeme heiteii!
eh-epe-me h-ehi-të-hi
RecprN-friend-Attrib 1+2S_A-be-SapColl-ProxHort
Let us all be friends.

Hortatory allative:

149) Hépnet!
h-epí-neté
1+2A3O-eat.soft.food-HortAllat
Let's come and eat it!

150) Kutuwañënetë psik.
kut-uwa-të-netë phiki
1+2S0-dance-SapColl-HortAllat
Let us all came and dance a little.

Hortatory ablative:

151) Hapéita!
h-apehi-ta!
1+2A3O-get.O-HortAblat
Let's go get it!

152) Kutuwañatën!
kut-uwa-ta-tënu
1+2S0-dance-HortAblat-SapColl
Let us all go there and dance!

153) Hapéitatën!
h-apehi-ta-tënu
1+2A3O-get.O-HortAblat-SapColl
Let us all go and get it!

154) Ketuka!
k-étuku-ta
1+2S_A-have.a.meal-HortAblat
Let's go there and have a meal.

155) Kutuwañënet!
kut-uwa-të-netë
1+2S0-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\textsuperscript{nd} for the hortatory and 2\textsuperscript{nd} 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: \(-tēk(ē)\) for the imperative and \(-tēn(u)\) 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carib</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Future+Coll</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carib</td>
<td>-\textit{take}</td>
<td>-ta-:to-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carijona</td>
<td>-\textit{ta-e}</td>
<td>-ta-\textit{kē-i}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiriyyó</td>
<td>-\textit{ta}</td>
<td>-ta-hki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayâna</td>
<td>-\textit{tan}</td>
<td>-tē-\textit{tan}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2

\textbf{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 \(-ta-tēn(u)\) for the imperative and \(-ta-tēk(ē)\) for the hortatory seem to be historically derived from \(*-ta-tē-nu\) and \(*-ta-tē-kē\) (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+2S₀ and 1+2Sₐ 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\textsuperscript{nd} prefixes in the recent past, whose translations are given later between parenthesis in the examples below:

158) *Imumuu nai halimanepo!*

1-mumulu-Ø  nai  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  nai
1+2S₀-defecate  Intens
‘Watch out, lest you defecate.’
(We just defecated)

160) *Kumēk nai!*

kut-umēk'O  nai
1+2Sₐ-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) ‘3rd person collective.’

The examples below show some of these properties:

161) Malonme òwokan epuu tépkélêi pasina ja.
malonme 1-woka-nu epulu-Ø té-pikélê-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) Malonme pasina ija tépélêtse huwaa.
malonme pahina 1-ja t-épélêt-he huwalê
then fish.kind 1-Erg T-get.fish-He as.such
“Then, I got 1 pasina, as such.”

163) Kopé telen tumêkhe
kopê telenu t-umêkî-he
rain huge T-come-He
‘A huge rain came.’

164) Tikai iu.
ti-ka-he 1wu
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 inélée.
   ték tê-ka-he inélélè
   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) Tèlelephe hepi tî kaikusi ja.
   t-élépî-le-he hepi tku kajikuhi ja
   T-make.O.afraid-Red5-He habitual 1Pro jaguar Erg
   'The jaguar always makes me scared.'

167) Kape tîhe.
   kape tî-î-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, Sapotof.')

   'It's heart is still beating.'
   (Said about a dying animal.)

169) Moloine aptau têepjêmêi.
   moloinê wapta-wê tê-e-pê-jêmê-he
   Then thus-in T-SA-Det-bathe.O-Resumpt-He
   "Then, thus, (I) will bathe again"

170) Tuna pek tîtêi, hawaa
   tuna pêkê tî-w-itê-he huwaalê
   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 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.10

171)  
Eti pa mepiía?  
ētī pa m-epli-ja  
what Quest 2A30-eat.soft.food-NPst  
‘‘What do you eat?”

Tikai ololi ja, kaikui.  
tī-ka-he ololi ja kajikui  
T-say-He iguana Dat jaguar  
“Said Jaguar to Iguana.”

172) Malonme emna kunēhalē talē inē miJa lēē  
malonme emna kun-ē-h-alē talē jnē miJa lēē  
then 1+3ExclPro 3DistPst-Det-take.O NspcProxLoc Source thither Emph

Etukula nma tītēi emna  
ētuku-la nma tī-w-ītē-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...”

10 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 ilémépi-la hnē nai.
      meku i-lémépi-la tnē naj
monkey i?-die-Neg still Intens
      ‘The monkey hasn’t died yet.’

174)  Ka-la inétée.
      ka-la inélélē
say-Neg 3AnaphPro
      ‘She did not speak.’

175)  Ele-mla  kutatēi.
      Œ-elemla  kut-a-tēhe
      Ø?-sing-Neg 1+2-be-SapColl
      ‘We are not going to sing.’

176)  Etukula  nma  tiitēi  emna
      etuku-la  nma  ti-w-itē-he  emna
      have.a.meal-Neg Intens T-SA-go-He 1+3ExclPro
      ‘We went without having a meal,’

      ‘Have you still not seen these yet?’

178)  Me, jelepi-la  nma.
      mē  j-elepi-la  nma
      So 1-make.O.afraid-Neg Intens
      ‘So, it does not scare me at all.’

Follow TL the general pattern, -he collectivizes prefixed participants other than first person singular.

179)  Pufalo  ènenelahe  wai.
      pufalo  èn-ene-la-he  wahe
      bull 3Neg-see.O-Neg-Coll 1be
      ‘I do not see the bulls.’

180)  Konoplahe  kunehak  Telesa.
      k-onopi-la-he  kun-eha-kē  telesa
      1+2-paint.O-Neg-Coll 3SA-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)tē(mi) ‘go and (u)mēk(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 1st person, 2nd person, 1+2nd person, and 3rd 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 (186c-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) Witejai
    W\-ite\-ja\-he i\-hiku\-ta\-he
    1S\A\-go\-Npst\-SapAff Them\-urine\-Pss\-NIntr\Vrblz\-Purp\Mot
    'I am going (there) to urinate.'

182) Eti kai umēk?
    êti ka\-he w\-umēk\-i\-O
    what do\-Purp\Mot 1S\A\-come\-Rec\Pst
    'In order to do what did I come here?'

183) Wekilima paluu enephe.
    w\-e\-killima\-O palulu enephi\-he
    1S\A\-Det\-Leave\,O\-Rec\Pst banana bring\,O\-Mot\Purp
    'I left in order to get bananas.'

184) Kama kahe inē tinēmēimēi.
    kama ka\-he jnē ti\-nēmē\-jmē\-he
    end\,snd do\-Mot\Purp from T\-leave\,Resumpt\-He
    'From having finished (with their activity), they left'

185) Hemalēe mikhe jawainei.
    hemalēe mikh\-he j\-awajna\-ja\-he
    today sleep\,Purp\Mot 1S\O\-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. īpamakmai 'In order to listen to me.'
    b. ėpamakmai 'In order to listen to you.'
    c. kapanakmai 'In order to listen to us.'
    d. īpanakamal 'In order to listen to him/her/it.'
    e. Ulu ēk-he witejai 'I am going to eat bread'
    f. tēk-he witejai 'I am going to eat (bread)'
    g. malamala kap-he witejai 'I am going to craft malamala seeds'
    h. ti-kap-he witejai 'I am going to craft it'
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.\(^\text{11}\) The habitual past -(h)e marks habitual past events apparently in the same way as the habitual past -(f)ëmëheja (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).

\(^\text{11}\) Meira (1999:329) describes the cognate habitual past for Tiriyo 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-l-Ø) (see section 5.3.7):

193)  Eile  eihe  in.
ëjle  ehi-he  Òwu
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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-past</th>
<th>Recent Past</th>
<th>Remote Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>w-a-he (affirm)</td>
<td>w-eha-Ø</td>
<td>w-eha-k(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa (questions)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mana-he (affirmative)</td>
<td>m-eha-Ø</td>
<td>m-eha-k(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>man (questions)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>man(e) (man(u)?)</td>
<td>n-eha-Ø</td>
<td>kun-eha-k(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>kut-a-(h)e (affirmative)</td>
<td>h-eha-Ø</td>
<td>h-eha-k(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kut-a (questions)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1CII</td>
<td>kut-a-të(h)e-kut-a-tëw (affirmatives)</td>
<td>h-eha-tëw(e)-Ø</td>
<td>h-eha-të-k(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kut-a-tëw (questions)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2CII</td>
<td>man-a-tëhe</td>
<td>m-eha-tëw(e)-Ø</td>
<td>m-eha-të-k(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>man-a-tëw (questions)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 5, we see that the distant past suffix -k(e) occurs with SAP prefixes, and kun- -k(e) occurs with third person forms and the first person exclusive emna. Examples follow.
194) Itéimela wehaken.
Ité-jmë-la w-eha-kene
go-Resumpt-Neg 1Sₐ-be-DistPst
"I did not go again."

195) Tipije mehaken.
tî-pr̂-je m-eha-kene
havingAvlz-wife-havingAvlz 2Sₐ-be-DistPst
‘You had a wife.’

196) Alimi kunehak molo.
alimi kun-eha-kë molo
monkey.sp 3DistPst-be-DistPst SpcMedLoc
‘An alimi monkey was there.’

197) Emna mëje emna kunehak.
emna mëje emna kun-eha-kë
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: -të(h)e and -tëu occur in free variation in affirmatives with 1+2ⁿd forms
(198 and 199), and only -tëu occurs in questions (200); for 2ⁿd person forms-të(h)e occurs
in affirmatives (201) and -tëu in questions (202). The Collective suffix is always –tëu for
the Recent Past and –të for the distant past.

198) Talë kutatëi helë pakolo tau.
talë kut-a-tëhe helë pakolo ta-wë
NspcProxLoc 1+2Sₐ-be-SapColl PrsntvPro house in.permanent.loc-in
‘Here we are in this house.’

199) Ma totike psik kutatëu.
maa t-ot-tëhe phikë kut-a-tëw
So havingAvlz-meat-havingAvlz small 1+2Sₐ-be-SapColl
‘So, we have a little bit of food.’ (alawaka 038)

200) Tohme êhehtau kutatëu?
topme êhe-tta-wë kut-a-tëw
why Recpr-among-in 1+2Sₐ-be-SapColl
‘Why are we all mixed?’

201) Ína ipok anumhak manatëi.
ína ipoke anu-mhakë mana-tëhe
yeah good strong-ModAdvlz 2be-SapColl
‘Yeah, good, you are strong.’
202) *Tala manatêw?
tala mana-têw
how 2be-SapColI
"How have you managed (to do these things)?"

The other attested forms are *e(shire) with the habitual past suffix -(h)ẹ (section 5.3.1.2.4), with the permissive/admonitive suffix -tan(ụ) (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)(ẹ)mehnea (section 5.3.1.2.4).

Examples of the t-V-(h)e form of the copula *tēweihẹ 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 *ētii(ị) 'become' (204):

203) *Alimi kunehak molọ.
alimi kun-ẹha-kẹ molọ
monkey.sp 3DistPst-be-DistPst SpcMedLoc
'(An) alimi was there.' (Alawaka 016)

204) *lu elamhak teetiịhe.
ụwụ elamhakẹ t-étiịi-he
1Pro fearful T-become-He
'I became scared.'

The allomorph of the copula occurring with the purpose of motion is *e(h)ẹi.

205) *Mitẹjai ėpatënme elihe.
m-ẹtẹ-jahẹ ėpa-tẹ-nu-me ehi-ẹ
2SA-go-Npst-SapAff teach.O-GenModAdviz-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 S0 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All possessible nouns</th>
<th>Transitive Verbalizers</th>
<th>Intransitive Verbalizers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ka ‘PrivVrblz’</td>
<td>-ta ‘PssNIintrVrblz’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa / -ma ‘GiveVrblz’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ptè / -mtè ‘ProvideVrblz’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka / -ma ‘SndVrblz’</td>
<td>-lum(i) ‘SndIntrVrblz’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound symbolic words Body-parts</th>
<th>Transitive Verbalizers</th>
<th>Intransitive Verbalizers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kma ~ -takma ~ -tama ~ -pakma ‘HitVrblz’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tukma ~ -hapakma ‘PressVrblz’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-p(i) ‘PpNVrblz’</td>
<td>-pam(i) ‘AttrVrblz’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lè ‘TransVrblz’</td>
<td>-napam(i) ‘AttrVrblz’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pè ‘TransVrblz’</td>
<td>-m(i) ‘AttrVrblz’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nama ‘TransVrblz’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nèp(i) ‘TransVrblz’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ēwa ‘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 possissibility 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 and 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, wohanē ‘suffering’ and (w)ok(i) ‘beverage,’ verbalized by the transitive -mal-pa ‘Give verbalizer,’ exemplify this: ē-wohanē-ma ‘3A made you suffer,’ ḫ-wohanē-ma ‘3A made me suffer,’ n-a-wohanē-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 refering to body-parts ending with tpen lose the ending.

5.4.1.1. Intransitive verbalizers. All intransitive verbalizers create new verbal stems taking S0 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(ī) (in boldface in the second column). Only one noun ending in what seems to be a fusion with the devalutative -tpē 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 /tt/>[ht], a consonant dissimilation rule.

206) *Isiktei.*
   i-hi-ku-ta-ja-he
   1So-urine-PssIntrVrblz-NPst-SapAff
   'I am going to urinate.'

207) a. pakolo  'house'  ipakolon  'his house'  nipakolota  'He/she has a house'
    b. wapot  'fire'  ijañtē  'his fire'  niwaptēta  'He/she has fire'
    c. pēlēu  'arrow'  ilile  'his arrow'  niileta  'He has arrow'
    d. pēlai  'shaman'  ijiši  'his shaman'  niijaita  'He/she got a shaman'
    e. pēlasī  'basket'  ilišin  'his basket'  niilasita  'He/she has a basket'
    f. ēpi  'medicine'  epi  'his medicine'  nepihta  'He/she has medicine'
    g. .  ipi  'his wife'  niipita  'He has a wife'
    h. .  ikat  'his fat'  nikata  'He has fat'
    i. kānpē  'smoked meat'  ikānpi  '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 nelisiwēta.*
   wapoto  n-elihiwē-ta-Ø
   fire  3SG-smoke-PssIntrVrblz-RecPst
   'There was smoke from the fire.'
   (Lit.: the fire smoked)

209) *Weewe neluwētpēta.*
   weewe  n-eluwētpē-ta-Ø
   wood  3SG-ashes-PssIntrVrblz-RecPst
   The wood went into ashes.'

Exceptionally, a few non-possessible nouns, including a nominalized adverbial form (with -amu (4.2.2.2.2)), one adverbial stem (*maika is historically a noun that fused
with -me, the attributive adverbalizer, and one postpositional phrase (he is a desiderative postposition (6.2.3)) occur with -ta:

210)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Postposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. waluhma</td>
<td>'young woman'</td>
<td>waluhmata 'become a young woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. jolok</td>
<td>'evil spirit'</td>
<td>jolokta 'incorporate an evil spirit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. maikame</td>
<td>'bitter'</td>
<td>maikata 'get bitter'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

211)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jamephak</td>
<td>'happy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

212)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ahmek</td>
<td>'with stomach pain'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

213)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuna he</td>
<td>'wanting water'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).12 (Cf. 4.1.1.3.1 for other descriptive nouns such as sitpilt 'ugly' and pepta 'big'.)

'I became ugly.'

215)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. pepta</td>
<td>'big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. waluhma</td>
<td>'young woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. imiata</td>
<td>'young man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. asika</td>
<td>'angry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

216)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. muno-me</td>
<td>'pregnant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. timnoke</td>
<td>'full bellied'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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):

12 Jackson (1972:71) reports that forms ending with -phak(e) or -mhak(e) change their endings for the verbalizer -pam(i). The example ikiphak 'lazy' vs. ykipam '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. Etatalum.
       ë-tatata-lümä-O
       2S<sub>O</sub>-tremble-AttrbVrbz-RecPst
       ‘You trembled’

218) a. ela(h)i ‘fear’
    b. Ewelainapam.
       ūw-elahï-napamï-O
       2S<sub>O</sub>-fear-AttrbVrbz-RecPst
       ‘You got scared.’

219) a. ṭimaminum ‘my work’
    b. Imaminumjai.
       ɬ-imaminu-ml-ja-he
       1S<sub>O</sub>-work-AttrbVrbz-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 -<i>ka</i> indicates that the O is dispossessed of the item indicated by the noun stem (the verbalized examples are shown in the -<i>O</i> ‘Recent Past’ forms in the examples below). Of the allomorphs of the genitive suffix, -<i>n(u)</i> and -<i>l(i)</i> (cf. syllable reduction (in example 220d) never happens in the presence of -<i>l(i)</i>) do not occur in the verbalized forms, and -<i>l(i)</i> is preserved with some nouns but not with others (220e-h). Body parts with /<i>mpl/</i> lose their endings (only nouns with a distinct unpossessed allomorph are presented in the first column):

(}// vs. /k// we chose to consider /k/pam as synchronically non-derived verbal stem (cf. additional discussion in 7.1.3.3.).)
220) a. malamala  ‘seed’  ïmalamalan  ‘my seed’  nimalamalaka  ‘3A de-seeds O’
b. ṭmē  ‘farm’  ṭupi  ‘my farm’  nitupika  ‘3A de-farms O’
c. pilēu  ‘arrow’  yile  ‘my arrow’  niileka  ‘3A de-arrows O’
d. ēlinat  ‘baking plate’  jelinatuu  ‘my b. plate’  nelinatka  ‘3A de-b. plates O’
e. ṭhpot  ‘my body hair’  nihpoka  ‘3A shaves O’
f. ṭkat  ‘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  juputpīi  ‘my head’  nupka  ‘3A de-heads O’
k. pitpē  īpitpīi  ‘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) . Ka  malet  . Ka  maletka.
   ka  malet-Ō            ka  malet-Ka-Ō
   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)

   Œ-etat-Ō  ewa-či  Œ-etat-Ō  ewa-Ka-Ō
   3-hammock-Pss  rope-Pss  3-hammock-Pss  rope-PrivVrbLz-RecPst
   ‘Hammock’s rope’  ‘He/she took the rope from the hammock.’

   *wehī 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 -pal-/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).

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>222)</td>
<td>a.</td>
<td>ulu  ‘manioc bread’</td>
<td>juu  ‘my manioc bread’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td></td>
<td>īmalijan  ‘my knife’</td>
<td>malijapa  ‘give a knife to O’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td></td>
<td>jepīn  ‘my stair’</td>
<td>epīpa  ‘give/provide a stair to O’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td></td>
<td>jot  ‘my meat’</td>
<td>opa  ‘give meat to O’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td></td>
<td>kanpī  ‘smoked meat’</td>
<td>ikanpī  ‘my smoked meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>jupō  ‘my clothing’</td>
<td>nupōma  ‘give clothing to O’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td></td>
<td>īmē  ‘farm’</td>
<td>ītupi  ‘my farm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ēpī  ‘its plant’</td>
<td>epīma  ‘plant O’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-\(\text{-}\)ma-\(\text{-}\)O
  fire  fire.wood-GiveVrbzlz-RecPst
  ‘He/she placed wood in the fire’

  
  * Wëlili ahkonma
  (He/she gave the woman some firewood)

224)  
*Pileu wipotpā.*

  
  pǐlēw  w-i-pot-pa-\(\text{-}\)O
  arrow  1A3O-Them-tip-GiveVrbzlz-RecPst
  ‘I put a tip on the arrow.’

  
  *Eluwa wipotpā
  (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) *Kopé* lo *eukuma.*

kopé lo *ewuku-ma-O*

rain soil *sap-GiveVrbnz-RecPst*

‘The rain soaked the soil.’

(226) a. *ení* ‘his/her box/its container’

   *neníma* ‘to box O’

t. *epetpí* ‘his/hers payment’

   *nepetpíma* ‘pay back; punish O’

c. *napi* ‘potato (sp.)’

   *napíi* ‘my potato (sp.)’

   *napíma* ‘add potato to a beverage.’

d. *tuna* ‘water’

   *itunaa* ‘his/her water’

   *tunama* ‘Add water to make O thinner.’

A few non-possessible nouns and some nominalized adverbial forms (with

-ons(u)-and an(u) occur with -*ma*: (though *èhèwake* is an adverb and *ewak* 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. *ēmí* ‘nothing’

   *amíma* ‘finish all O’

t. *èhèwake* ‘happily’

   *ewakma* ‘make O happy’

c. *wohanè* ‘suffering’

   *(a)wohánèma* ‘make O suffer’

d. *tuwalè* ‘knowingly’

   *tuwalonuma* ‘make O know’

e. *ahmek* ‘bothersome’

   *ahmekanma* ‘bother O’

One unique case of -*ma* with a complex stem occurred in the database:

(228) *Jamonmèma.*

j-*anot-mè-ma-O*

1SA-hand-bad.smell-GiveVrbnz-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: *tè-po-no-ma-i* ‘put onto,’ *t-èkèlè-n-ma-i* ‘accompany,’ *t-ohpo-yan-ma-i* ‘go above, put above.’

249
The difference between -pal-ma and the verbalizer -mtē/-ptē is not a clear one. The examples suggest that the O of forms with -mtē/-ptē is more directly affected by the referent encoded by the noun stem, but -pal-ma also presents such cases (cf. examples 285 and 286 above). In the translations, -mtē/-ptē means to ‘bring N to existence in order to benefit O’ or to ‘provide O with N,’ this second sense being semantically close to that of -mal-pa. The difference between the two verbalizer seems thus to be that most examples of -pal-ma suggests a transference of possession while examples with -mtē/-ptē do not (thus, pata-mtē ‘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. nipatamē in 289 and ex. 290), while -(ti) does not occur in the only relevant example attested (eheptē in 289). No examples of nouns ending with-tpe occurring with this verbalizer are attested.

229) a. ēpī ‘stair’ jeplīn ‘my stair’ eplīmtē ‘Make O a stair’
   b. kamisa ‘clothing’ kamisant ‘my clothing’ kamisatpē ‘Dress O’
   c. imē ‘farm’ itūpi ‘my farm’ tupimtē ‘provide O with farm’
   d. pīlēu ‘arrow’ ūlē ‘my arrow’ aleptē ‘make O an arrow’
   e. pata ‘place’ ippata ‘my place’ nipatamē ‘Place O’
   f. enī ‘its container’ e联网tē ‘Make O a container’
   g. jamole ‘my shadow; image; spirit’ amooleptē ‘dream O’
   h. jehet ‘my name’ eheptē ‘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 ḍwa ‘rope’) can occur as the O here:

230)  Upo  ewalīmtē 
   upo  ewa-lī-ṃtē-O
   clothing  rope-Pss-ProvideVrbiz-RecPst
   ‘He/she made a rope/string to tie/sow the clothing’

Some non-possessible descriptive nouns are also found with -mtē/-ptē:

231)  a. jetu-  ‘hurt’  jetumtē  ‘hurt O’
b. akena  ‘alignment’  akenaptē  ‘align O; direct O; organize O’
c. pī(s)i  ‘shame’  pīsiptē  ‘shame O’

The other transitive verbalizers are attested with only a very few nouns. The 
verbalizer -p̥(i) is attested in three nominalized postpositions: /uno-no-pī/ → unonop(i) ‘A 
fears O,’ /he-ano-pī/ → hanop(i) ‘love O’ and /ejle-ano-pī/ → elanop(i) ‘make O angry.’
The following verbalizers are each attested with only one noun stem: -nēp̥(i) with epi 
‘his/hers/its medicine,’ in epinēp(i) ‘medicate/cure O’; -pē with alu ‘idiot, stupid,’ in 
alupē ‘make O crazy’; -nama with ela(h)i ‘his/hers/its fear,’ in elainama ‘scare O’; -lē 
with siku ‘urine,’ in siku-lē ‘urinates on O’ (cf. uika-lē ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound symbolic word</th>
<th>-ka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hemik ‘disappear’</td>
<td>hemihka ‘Steal O; make O disappear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokpilop ‘untie’</td>
<td>tokpilopka ‘untie O’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sak ‘cut’</td>
<td>sakka ‘cut O’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pikat ‘burning sensation from heat’</td>
<td>pikatka ‘cause a burning sensation on O’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanpilop ‘get a scare, surprised’</td>
<td>wanpilopka ‘scare O; surprise O’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waluwala ‘talk; whisper’</td>
<td>waluwalaaka ‘complain to O’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sololo ‘drip’</td>
<td>soloka ‘pour O’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polep ‘go through’</td>
<td>polepka ‘go through O’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuk ‘pull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topokn ‘drop in water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokn ‘shoot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kui ‘scream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tek ‘cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tok ‘hit; beat up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sokolom ‘paddle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokotok ‘shake wings’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lok ‘pierce’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulu ‘place in a hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulip ‘peel penis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitlim ‘move restlessly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polep ‘arrive; visit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tek ‘mess with’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following sound symbolic words were not accepted with either -ka or -ma:

*tumhulop ‘jump,’ kama ‘end,’ pokn ‘rain,’ tatata ‘tramble’ (cf. -lum titular above), petop ‘get dark,’ tohtoto ‘cough,’ sukululu ‘mucous running from nose,’ kulup ‘sink,’ woi ‘breath,’ saktikip ‘cut,’ sakupulu ‘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. peňna ‘forehead’ peňnakma ‘hit O’s forehead’
b. jalamata ‘chin’ jalamatakma ‘hit O’s chin’
c. uputpě ‘head’ uptakma ‘hit O’s head’
d. plin‘ ‘neck’ plintakma ‘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’ pptakma ‘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. omotukma ‘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 ēt- (with allomorphs), but several increasing it, the transitivizers and the causatives.

5.4.2.1. The Detransitivizer ēt-, ēh-, e-. Transitive stems are detransitivized, i.e., occur with only one nuclear participant specified, and then are marked as an S_A intransitive verb, whenever taking this detransitizing 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 ēh-, except for two stems which take ēt-, akēt(i) ‘cut’ and apkēlē ‘break’)
Table 8

The allomorphs of the detransitivizing prefix

| /e- /a/ /e/ /i/ /o/ /u/ /u/ /e/ /e- /a/ /e/ /i/ /o/ /u/ /u/ /e/ /e- | Cons | /a/ /e/ /i/ /o/ /u/ /u/ /e/ /e- |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| e- | ēh- | ēt- |

234) a. kilima 'leave O' → ekilima 'go'
b. lama 'turn O' → elama 'turn oneself; turn around'
c. pokca 'untie O' → epoka 'untie oneself.'
d. (u)pī 'bathe O' → epī 'bathe oneself'

235) a. alē 'take O' → ēhalē 'take oneself, go'
b. epa 'teach O' → ēhepa 'teach oneself; learn'
c. jeka 'take O's tooth' → ēhjeka 'extract/lose one's own tooth.'

236) a. kilima 'leave O' → ekilima 'go'
b. oko 'cut O' → ētoko 'cut oneself'
c. ulu 'talk to O' → ētulu 'talk'
d. ili 'make O' → ētili 'fix oneself; become; board'
e. ē 'eat/bite meat' → ētē 'bite oneself.'

Illustrative examples are given below:

237) Ma kutamu nētulu jepe,
maa ku-tamul-O n-ētulu-O j-epe-O
So 1+2-grandfather-Pss 3SA-Det-talk.to.O-RecPst 1-friend-Pss
'So, our grandfather has talked, my friend.'

238) Moloinē téhelephe kaikui.
molojinē t-ēh-elepī-he kajikuhi
Then T-Det-make.O.afraid-He jaguar
"Then, Jaguar got scared."

239) Mēle umpoi lēken ēhemēle tēepuahu
mēle umpoje lēken ēmelē-h tē-w-e-pulu-he
DemInanMed cause only all-AvIntens T-SA-Det-sting.O-He
'Only because of that, all (people) got themselves stung.'

5.4.2.2. The transitivizers -ka, -nip(ka), -nēp(ka), -ma, and -lē. These suffixes occur on SO intransitive stems with the property of adding a new nuclear participant to the event described by the verb (SA 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 \textit{-nip(\textit{i})} \sim \textit{-npi\textk{a}} and \textit{-nep(\textit{i})} \sim \textit{nep\textk{a}}: 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 \textit{-nip(\textit{i})}, in free variation with \textit{-npi\textk{a}}, occurs with certain verbs and with stems derived with the verbalizer \textit{-ta} \textit{(cf. section 5.4.1.1)}, in examples (240h-i). Most examples are of non-reducing stems.

(240) a. ahalap(\textit{i}) ‘to dry up’ \rightarrow ahalam\textit{n}\textcap{p}(\textit{i})–ahalam\textit{n}\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘dry O’
   b. alilimam(\textit{i}) ‘be/get black’ \rightarrow alilimam\textit{n}\textcap{p}(\textit{i})–alilimam\textit{n}\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘blacken O’
   c. ap\textcap{\textk{e}}na ‘stop’ \rightarrow ap\textcap{\textk{e}}n\textcap{\textk{a}}n\textcap{\textk{p}}(\textit{i})–ap\textcap{\textk{e}}n\textcap{\textk{a}}n\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘stop O’
   d. ekakta ‘be born’ \rightarrow ekak\textcap{\textk{a}}\textcap{\textk{t}}\textcap{\textk{a}}\textcap{\textk{p}}(\textit{i})–ekak\textcap{\textk{a}}\textcap{\textk{t}}\textcap{\textk{a}}\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘give birth to O’
   e. u\textcap{\textk{a}} ‘dance’ \rightarrow u\textcap{\textk{a}}n\textcap{\textk{p}}(\textit{i})–u\textcap{\textk{a}}n\textcap{\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘Make O dance’
   f. uwanta ‘grow’ \rightarrow u\textcap{\textk{a}}\textcap{\textk{t}}\textcap{\textk{a}}\textcap{\textk{p}}(\textit{i})–u\textcap{\textk{a}}\textcap{\textk{t}}\textcap{\textk{a}}\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘Make O grow’
   g. awaina ‘go from night to day’ \rightarrow awain\textcap{\textk{a}}\textcap{\textk{t}}\textcap{\textk{a}}\textcap{\textk{p}}(\textit{i})–awain\textcap{\textk{a}}\textcap{\textk{t}}\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘Make O go from night to day.’
   h. ekepta ‘get sick’ \rightarrow eke\textcap{\textk{t}}\textcap{\textk{a}}\textcap{\textk{t}}\textcap{\textk{a}}\textk{p}(\textit{i})–eke\textcap{\textk{t}}\textcap{\textk{a}}\textcap{\textk{t}}\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘Make O sick’
   i. kaimota ‘get game’ \rightarrow kai\textcap{\textk{o}}\textcap{\textk{t}}\textcap{\textk{a}}\textcap{\textk{t}}\textcap{\textk{a}}\textk{p}(\textit{i})–kai\textcap{\textk{o}}\textcap{\textk{t}}\textcap{\textk{a}}\textk{t}\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘Make O get game’

The occurrences of the transitivizing suffix \textit{-ka} seem more phonologically conditioned, with almost all examples occurring with stems ending with reducing /\textcap{\textk{u}}/ or /\textcap{\textk{u}}/:

(241) a. (w)\textcap{\textk{t}}\textcap{\textk{e}} ‘go down’ \rightarrow (w)\textcap{\textk{t}}\textcap{\textk{e}}\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘make O go down’
   b. etomam(\textit{i}) ‘wake up’ \rightarrow etomamk\textcap{\textk{a}} ‘wake up’
   c. enat(u) ‘finish; end’ \rightarrow enat\textk{a} ‘finish O’
   d. l\textcap{\textk{e}}\textcap{\textk{m\textk{e}}}p(\textit{\textk{t}}) ‘die’ \rightarrow l\textcap{\textk{e}}\textcap{\textk{m\textk{e}}}\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘kill O; make O die.’
   e. hm\textcap{\textk{m\textk{o}}}\textcap{\textk{m\textk{t}}}(\textit{\textk{t}}) ‘boil’ \rightarrow hm\textcap{\textk{m\textk{o}}}\textcap{\textk{m\textk{t}}\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘make O boil’
   f. uk\textcap{\textk{u}}\textcap{\textk{l\textk{u}}}p(\textit{\textk{t}}) ‘dive’ \rightarrow uk\textcap{\textk{u}}\textcap{\textk{l\textk{u}}}p\textk{a} ‘make O dive’
   g. utat(\textit{\textk{t}}) ‘be/get lost’ \rightarrow ut\textk{a} ‘make O get lost’

The transitivizing suffix \textit{-nep(\textit{i})}, in free variation with \textit{-nep\textk{a}} , occurs mainly with stems having a bilabial as their last consonant (but \textit{cf. et\textk{t}-nep ‘dream O’}); this includes forms with the intransitive verbalizers \textit{-pam(\textit{i})} and \textit{-lum(\textit{i})} (examples 242g-h):

(242) a. (e)\textcap{\textk{w}}\textcap{\textk{a}}\textcap{\textk{m\textk{a}}}p(\textit{\textk{t}}) ‘sit down’ \rightarrow ahalam\textcap{\textk{m\textk{e}}}p(\textit{\textk{t}})–ahalam\textcap{\textk{m\textk{e}}}\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘sit O down’
   b. ep\textcap{\textk{a}}m(\textit{\textk{t}}) ‘get used.’ \rightarrow ep\textcap{\textk{a}}m\textcap{\textk{e}}p(\textit{\textk{t}})–ep\textcap{\textk{a}}m\textcap{\textk{e}}\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘tame O; make O get used to’
   c. ak\textcap{\textk{t\textk{p}}}(\textit{\textk{t}}) ‘be hard, stiff’ \rightarrow ak\textcap{\textk{t\textk{m\textk{e}}}p(\textit{\textk{t}})–ak\textcap{\textk{t\textk{m\textk{e}}}p\textk{a}} ‘make O hard, stiff’
   d. jasilam(\textit{\textk{t}}) ‘dry up.’ \rightarrow jas\textcap{\textk{i}l\textcap{\textk{a}}}m\textcap{\textk{e}}p(\textit{\textk{t}})–jas\textcap{\textk{i}l\textcap{\textk{a}}}m\textcap{\textk{e}}\textk{p\textk{a}} ‘dry O’
e. ēmēm(ī) ‘enter’ \(\rightarrow\) ēmēmēnēp(ī)–ēmēmēnēpka ‘make O enter.’
f. kenkapam(ī) ‘forget’ \(\rightarrow\) kenkapamnēp(ī)–kenkapamnēpka ‘make O forget’
g. asikapam ‘be/get angry’ \(\rightarrow\) asikapamnēp(ī)–asikapamnēpka ‘make O angry.’
h. tatalum(ī) ‘tremble’ \(\rightarrow\) tatalumnēp(ī)–tatalumnēpka ‘make O tremble’

The verbal root elemi ‘sing’ can occur with -ka and -nēp(ī), but with different meanings:

243) a. elemi ‘sing’ \(\rightarrow\) elemika ‘Pray over O’
    b. elemēnēp(ī) (‘Sing O’

244) Maipuri meleminēp.
    majpuli m-elemi-nēp-ō
    tapir 2A3O-sing-Transvzr-RecPst
    ‘You sang the ‘Maipuri’ (song).’

The transitivizing suffixes -lē and -ma occur in only one example each: the SO verb uika ‘defecate’ (cf. siku-lē ‘urinate on O’) and the verb ińk(ī), respectively:

245) a. ińk(ī) ‘sleep’ \(\rightarrow\) ińkma ‘make O sleep’
    b. uika ‘defecate’ \(\rightarrow\) uikalē ‘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) \textit{Mule inikmapo we\textbar isi ja, lome it\textbar ela.}
mule in\textbar ki-\textbar ma-po w\textbar eli\textbar ji lome it\textbar e-la
child sleep\textbar 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. \textit{Nalimapo.}
\text{\textbf{n-}alima-po-\textbf{O}}
\text{3A3O-throw.O-Caus-RecPst}
‘He/she caused someone to throw O’
‘He/she caused someone to let O fall.’

b. \textit{Nalimanehpo.}
\text{\textbf{n-}alima-neppo-\textbf{O}}
\text{3A3O-throw.O-Caus-RecPst}
‘He/she caused someone to let O fall.’
(*He caused someone to throw O.’)

252) a. \textit{N\textbar lipo}
\text{\textbf{n-}ll\textbar -po-\textbf{O}}
\text{3A3O-make.O-Caus-RecPst}
‘He/she caused someone to make O.’
‘He/she caused someone to have sex with O.’

b. \textit{N\textbar linehpo}
\text{\textbf{n-}ll\textbar l-neppo-\textbf{O}}
\text{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\textsubscript{A} stem ka
‘speak’ takes it (cf. section 5.2 for the morphosyntactic properties of ka ‘say’). The
verbal stem remains intransitive:
253) \( Wikapo \quad eja. \)
\( wi-ka-po \quad e-ja \)
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 -\( (j)(e)me \), 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.\(^{13}\) 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).

\(^{13}\) 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
5.4.4.1. The completive -\textit{kep(i)}. This suffix is typically aspectual in that it makes explicit reference to the completion of an event, \textit{i.e.}, it views the event from within, emphasizing the endpoint of it. Examples of the completive suffix are rare in texts; only two examples occurred in the text database. The examples below show this suffix:

254) \textit{Wipanakmakepji}.
\textit{w-i-panakma-kep-i-ja-he}
1A3O-Them-listen.to.O-Compl-NPst-SapAff
‘I will finish listening to it.’

255) \textit{Wetuhkep}.
\textit{w-\textit{\textbf{t}}-\textit{\textbf{t}}-kep-i-O}
1S1r-have.a.meal-Compl-RecPst
‘I just finished eating.’

256) \textit{Wiikemne} \textit{ipakoloni}.
\textit{w-ill-kep-i-ne} \textit{r-pakolo-nu}
1A3O-make.O-Compl-DistPst 1-house-Pss
‘I finished making my house a long time ago’

257) \textit{Tëmanumkephe}.
\textit{t-tëmanummi-kep-i-he}
T-work-Compl-He
‘(He/she) finished work.’

5.4.4.2. The perfective -\textit{nma}. Following Jackson (1972:57), this suffix is labeled ‘perfective’ though it is not marker of perfective aspect. It occurs only with transitive verbs marking situations where the O is affected in its totality. Only one example of -\textit{nma} is found in the texts (261). The examples below show this morpheme:

258) \textit{Mënmene} \textit{ka kanpê}.
\textit{m-\textit{\textbf{t}}-\textit{\textbf{nma}}-ne} \textit{ka kanpê}
2A3O-eat.meat-Prfct-DistPst Quest smoked.meat
‘Did you eat all the roast that day?’

259) \textit{Wapësinmene}.
\textit{w-apëhi-nma-ne}
1A3O-get.O-Prfct-DistPst
‘I got all of it, long ago.’

-\textit{he} and -\textit{(j)ëmëneja} mark a combination of tense and aspect. No other aspectual distinctions are formally marked in Wayâna.
260) *Ulu wilinma.*
ulu w-ill-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
‘(W) finish digging (it).’ (plantation 006)

262) *Tepesinmai eja.*
t-epēhi-nma-he e-ja
t-Get.O-Prfct-He 3-Erg
‘He/She grabbed all of it.’

5.4.4.3. The resumptive -(j)(ē)mē. The term ‘resumptive,’ implying the re-taking up of an activity after a pause, does not accurately describe the semantics of -(j)(ē)mē. 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 tumēkēmēi Elamakani malē.*
malonme emna t-umēkēmē-he elamakani malē
then 1+3ExcPro T-come-Resumpt-He Elamakani Inclus.with
“Then, we came back (to the village), (me) with Elamakani.”
(After a fishing trip)

264) *Ekēi mule ē, lome nimēmē itu htkak.*
ekēhi mule ē-Ø lome n-nē-jmē-Ø itu tta-kē
shake child bite.meat-RecPST sbut 3SA-go-Resumpt-RecPST jungle among-into
‘The snake bit the child, then it went back to the jungle.’

265) *Itēimējai Bona pona.*
w-Itē-jmē-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 -(f)(ê)mê, all morphophonologically conditioned, are described in section
5.3.1.2.4)

266) Ḫınnelum  weneimêjai  Makapa  po.
   y-่นnelum-Ø  w-ene-jmê-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  wekejêmêjai.
    ulu  w-ekjeju-êmê-ja-he
    manioc.bread  1A3O-make.bread-Resumpt-NPst-SapAff
    ‘I will bake bread again.’

268) Ukuhkêmêjai.
    w-ukuku-jmê-ja-he
    1A3O-try.O-Resumpt-NPst-SapAff
    “I will try it (the mask) again.”
    (After he had tried it once before)

269) Kunanimêmê,  mèkjaa  peiîopît.
    kun-animê-êmê  mèkjâale  peiîopîtî
    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)mîk(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):
5.5. Noun incorporation? Noun incorporation has been described for a some Cariban languages. Some similar process may exist in Wayãna, 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 *uwpim* ‘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) *Jinijinikjahe*  

*jini*-j-inik-fja-he  
Red2-1SØ-sleep-NPst-SapAff a.few

‘I will spend a few days there.’  
(*I’m continuously sleeping)

‘It has boiled several times.’

279) *Titei.*  

tītē-ti-tē-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  Red1-3SØ-defecate-RecPst

‘A child (with diarrhea) defecated here, stopped, defecated there again, then stopped, then again...’  
(*continuously defecating, without stopping).
281) *Wēhawēhamo.*
   wēhē-w-ēh-amo-Ø
   Red1-2SA-Det-cry.O-RecPst
   ‘I cried and I stopped, I cried and I stopped, I cried...’

282) *Wēmēwēmēmjai.*
   wēmē-w-ēmēmj-ja-he
   Red1-1SA-enter-NPst-SapAff
   ‘I always enter.’

283) *Tēētētēumuhe.*
   tēētu-t-w-ēt-umi-he
   puli   puli   puli
   Red1-T-SA-Det-massage.O-He massage snd massage snd massage snd

   *jempatak*  
   hawaa,
   j-empata-kē  huwalē
   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) *Wapēwapēhjai.*
   wapē-w-apēhi-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 interactivity or intensity (examples are repeated from chapter 2, section 2.3.7.2):

286) *Wipkēlēkēlē.*
   w-i-pkēlē-kēlē-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) *Wapkēlēkēlē.*
   w-apkēlē-kēlē-Ø
   1A3O-Them-break.O-Red4-RecPst
   ‘I broke it in small pieces.’

288) *Wiwiwipka.*
   w-i-wi-wipka-Ø
   1A3O-Them-scratch.O-Red5-RecPst
   ‘I scratched someone else continuously’
289) **Këlelepyahe**
    k-ëlep-le-ja-he
    1A2O-make.O.afraid5-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.*, *wekewektejai* (I am making and making bread), *hittatalum* (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 2nd, 1+2nd, and 3rd 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.)

91) **kupēkēhe**
    ku-pēkē-he
    1+2-busy.with-PColl
    'busy with us all'

92) **ēmalēhe**
    ē-malē-he
    2-also-PColl
    'also you all'

93) **ipēkēhe**
    i-pēkē-he
    3-busy.with-PColl
    'busy with them'

94) **Kēpojehe**
    k-ēpo-je-he
    1+2-above-away-PColl
    'above us all'

95) **epojehe**
    0-epo-je-he
    3-above-away-PColl
    'above them all'

joloko amējipa-topo-ō tē-ja-he
evil.spirit call-CircmistNmlz-Pss 3Refl-ObIAgtp-PColl
'(in order) to call the evil spirit (to come) to themselves.'

97) **Kunumusitom ekatau.**
    kunumuhi-tomo ekata-wē
    old.woman-Coll in.area.nearby-in
    'nearby the old women'

98) **Sinkom jau**
    hini-komo ja-wē
    DemInPPrx-Coll inside.of-in
    'inside these'

The collective suffix also modifies the reciprocal prefix:

99) **Etunohe man tot**
    ēt-uno-he mane toto
    Recpr-afraid.of-PColl 3be 3Coll
    'They were all afraid of each other.'
100) *ēhekatawēhe*
   *ēhe-ekata-wē-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) *kuloptawēhe*
   *ku-lopta-wē-he*
   1+2.deep.inside-in-PColl
   ‘deep inside of us all’

102) *inkahpojejēhe*
   *i-mikappo-je-he*
   3.behind-away-PColl
   ‘behind them all’

103) *ekatakēhe*
   *Ō-ekata-kē-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) *istailēhe*
   *i-tta-fēhe*
   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) *kupēkēhela*
   *ku-pēkē-he-la*
   1+2.busy.with-PColl-Neg
   ‘not busy with all of us’

108) *ēhehehela*
   *ē-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 (*lamma* ‘in the center of,’ *ahmota* ‘in the area beside’; in between, *k(u)wa* ‘in water,’ *aktuhpco* ‘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.\textsuperscript{12} The members of each class are shown in Table 7: \textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{12} The labels for two non-spatial sub-classes, relational and experienter, are borrowed from Meira (1999).
\textsuperscript{13} 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 ēhmtak tot ‘They are angry with each other,’ tēkētse ēhmtak ‘They cut one another’.
Table 7
Classes of Postpositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPATIAL POSTPOSITIONS</th>
<th>NON-SPATIAL POSTPOSITIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Container</strong></td>
<td><strong>Surface</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(j)ja</td>
<td>po/mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta</td>
<td>ahpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na</td>
<td>pëk(ë)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hja/hna</td>
<td>opinë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k(u)wa</td>
<td>uhpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hta</td>
<td>uwap(o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lopta</td>
<td>ë/etap(o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>empata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahmota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walipta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M(ï)ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëhna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(w)apta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tallhna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Relational</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opikai</td>
<td>kuptële</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pole</td>
<td>pune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wala</td>
<td>katlp(f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina</td>
<td>kuptë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akëlle</td>
<td>mna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malë</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Experiencer</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eile</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pñwë</td>
<td>uno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uwalë</td>
<td>wake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Grammatical (non lexical)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td>wantë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke</td>
<td>walë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umpoj(e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  
\begin{align*}
\text{tuna} & \quad \text{kwalii} \\
\text{water} & \quad \text{in.water-PtNmlz} \\
\text{‘one in the water’}
\end{align*}

110)  
\begin{align*}
\text{ona} & \quad \text{pono} \\
\text{field} & \quad \text{on.supported-PtNmlz} \\
\text{‘one on the field’}
\end{align*}

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 pek* '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 htalii* '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 fait) (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,’ hjα/hna ‘in the sun,’ k(u)wa ‘in water,’ m(t)a ‘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’. 14

Thus, in the first class, the trajector is inside the landmark, in the second class it is not. Figure 3 schematizes this:

---

14 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 taliha ‘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) \textit{Kasa sakola jau.}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{kasa sakola ja-wē} \\
box bag inside.of-in \\
'The box is inside the bag'
\end{tabular}

112) \textit{Manale jau, ulu.}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{manale ja-wē} ulu \\
sieve inside.of-in bread \\
'The bread is inside the sieve.'
\end{tabular}

113) \textit{Tyiko taun jak.}
\begin{tabular}{l}
t-Yi-kē tawunu ja-kē \\
Them-make-Imp wind inside.of-into \\
'Place it into the wind.'
\end{tabular}
114) *Ulu kopē jau.*
   ulu kopē ja-wē
   bread rain inside.of-in
   ‘(The/a) bread (is) in the rain.’

115) *Upak tokoi éti pena hnē ūu luwe ja ipupuu aile.*
   upake t-oko-he éti pena mē īwū luwe ja t-pupu-li a-ilē
   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) *Mēnilēmegja tūna kwau.*
   mēn-i-lēmeg-ja tūna kuwa-wē
   3certnty-Them-die-NPst water in.water-in
   ‘He is definitly going to die in the water.’ (Imē 036)

117) *Amat kwalit, ka.*
   amat t-kuwa-li t-ka
   river.branch in.water-PtNmlz fish
   ‘(A) fish (is) a river branch creature.’

118) *Palu kwak kuntem.*
   palu kuwa-kē kun-tēmī
   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 jamī tittek, sisi*
   malonme j-amī-Ø t-tē-tē-kē
   then 1-blanket-Pss Them-place.O-SapColl-ProxImp sun

   *hjak, pētopiti.*
   īja-kē pējītopiti
   in.sun-into children
   ‘Then, place my blanket in the sun, my children.’ (Jolokod 650)
120) Tikaptohme, sisi hnak tihe. 
tr-kapi-topo-me hiihi tna-kê tïû-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,’ êmuni ‘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 êhanakuu he lep tot. 
kapu na-kê O-ëh-anaku-O-li he lep toto 
sky in.boundless.loc-into 3-pit.up.above-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss Des Advs 3Coll 
‘They wanted to go up to the sky.’ (Stair 004)

122) Êmuni nau wëtîjai. 
êmuni na-wê w-ëtîj-ja-he 
darkness in.boundless.loc-in 1SA-become-NPst-SapAff 
‘I will be in the darkness.’

123) Tupi nau, kasili. 
i-tupi-Ø na-wê 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-wê 
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 tumëkëmëi pakolo tak. 
maa emna t-umëkt-ëmë-he pakolo ta-kê 
So 1+3ExcPlPro T-come-Resumpt-He house in.permanent.loc-into 
‘Well, we came back to (the) house.’ (Imt 041)

126) Wipanakmane imumkuu hospital tau iwaptau. 
w-i-panakma-ne l-mumuku-li hospital ta-wê l-wapta-wê 
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 tumékémei, monna éhema tak.
emna t-umeky-emé-he mono-na éhema ta-kē
1+3ExclPro T-come-Resumpt-He SpecDistLoc-To trail in.permanent.loc-into
'We came back there far to the path.' (Ekēi, 084)

128) Mule man éwa tau.
mule mane éwa ta-wē
child 3be net in.permanent.loc-in
'(The/a) child is in the baby carrier net.'

129) Tuna etpii tau, měklēe mënětanimja.
tuna etpi-O ta-wē měklēe mën-ět-anmē-ja
water edge-Pss in.permanent.loc-in DemAnnMed 3certnty-Det-take-NPst
'At the edge of the water, he is taking himself (out of the water). (Kaikulē 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 tumékémei itu tuna kwatak.
malonme t-umeky-emé-he itu tuna kwata-kē
then T-come-Non-compl-He 1Pro water in.port-into
' Then, I came back to the port.' (Imē 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(ita) 'in the mouth of,' as indicated in its gloss, takes only
objects referring to an entity with a mouth.  

---

15 It is not known whether or not roots denoting body parts other than mēta '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 Wayãna this is clearly not the case, since the possessive -li and the nominalizer
-li(li) are phonemically and semantically distinct:

ipehnaa ipehna-lī
i-petna-li i-petna-li-li
3-forehead-Pss 3-in.area.of.forehead.of-Ptnmlz
'his/her/its forehead' 'his mask; his bandana (i.e., object in the area of one's forehead)'

imtaa imta-li
i-mēta-li i-mēta-li-li
3-mouth-Pss 3-in.mouth-Ptnmlz
132)  *Eluwa mitau, tami.*
eluwa mítta-wê tami
man in.mouth.of cigarette
'(Th/a) cigarette (is) in (the/a) man’s mouth.’ (Figure. 39)

133)  *Imtau, kaikui oti.*
i-mítta-wê kaikuhi oti
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 ntem tuna loptailé.*
eluwa n-têm-Ø tuna lopt-a-ilê
man 3S-Α-go-RecPst water deep.inside-through
‘The man went deep inside the water’

135)  *Haku loptau.*
haku lopt-a-wê
sack deep.inside-in
‘(It’s) deep inside the bag.’

136)  *Tawake teétīhe iu iloptau.*
tawake t-e-êttî-he ɪwù ɪ-lopta-wê
happy T-S-Α-become-He 1Pro 1-deep.inside-in
‘I got very happy deep inside of me.’ (Alawaka 040)

137)  *Wajana omii loptailé.*
wajana womîl-Ø lopt-a-ilê
Wayâna language-Pss deep.insidep-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-

‘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 akkonu htau, ekēi.
wapot akkonu tta-wē ēkahì
wapoto firewood among-in snake
‘(The/a) snake (was) in the firewood.’

139) Ai, alika opinē, mēklēe ekēi, tan
ai alika opinē-O mēklēē ēkēhi tanē
Then worm.sp under-on DemAnmMed snake SpcProxLoc

huwaat ēti pena malalija psiki htau.
huwalē ēti pena malalija phi ki tta-wē
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).’ (Ékēhi 022)

140) Wajapi htau wehaken.
wajapi tta-wē w-eha-kene
Wajapi among-in 1S\text{A}\text{-be-DistPst}
‘I was among the Wajapi (people).’

141) Malonme mēlēanumalē mēkjaa ipeinom
malonme mēlēanumalē mēkjalē y-pēj-O-nomo
then the.next.day DemAnmMedColl 1-child-Pss-Coll

kuntēm itu htak ulakanumhe.
kun-tēmī itu tta-kē ulakanumī-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) Munēt wapot htau neha.
munētē wapot tta-wē n-eha-Ø
scorpion fire among-in 3S\text{A}\text{-be-RecPst}
‘(A) scorpion was in (the) fire.’

143) Tēhalēi tot ewalu nut htau elamna.
tē-halē-he toto ewalu tta-kē ela-mna
T-Det-take-He 3Coll dark among-into fear-without
‘They went into the dark without fear.’ (Jolokoa 043)

144) Kaikuitomo htau, kunumusí kunehak.
kaikuhi-tomo tta-wē kunumuhī kun-eha-kē
dog-Coll among-in old.woman 3DistPst-be-DistPst
‘The old lady was among the dogs.’
145) *ńék nai wēlihamo *hta*k!*
ńékē nai wēlihi-amo tta-kē
 go-imp intens woman-coll among-into
‘Go to (be) among the women!’

146) *We*we man *i*pī *htau.*
wewe mane i*pī* tta-wē
 tree 3be mountain among-in
‘(The) tree is among the mountain(s).’

147) *Kalipono ku*htawēhe *kune*hak.*
kalipono ku-tta-wē-he kun-eha-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 -Ø ‘Specific event,’ most frequently, and also with -nē ‘Generic Event’ in reference
to time.

148) *Ta* mīke *pa* ēwot *elepīli* *htau?*
ta mī-ka-ja pa ēw-otī-Ø elepī-Ø-li 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, Ŭmē ukali* *htau, tītē*
malonme Ŭmē uka-Ø-li tta-wē ti-w-ē-he
then farm set.O.on.fire-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss at-in T-SA-go-He

*Sulalapana Ŭmē lamnaka.*
sulalapana Ŭmē 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* *Tīh kanē* *htau* *imenot.*
malonme tēw-e-lama-he tīh ka-nē tta-wē i-myenotī-Ø
then T-SA-Det-turk.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 *i*pī ‘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, état(j) ‘hammock’ is another potential object for ena).

151) \[ \text{Malonme, ténépméi ténau eja.} \]
\[
\text{malonme t-énep1-témē-he \quad t-ēna-wē e-ja}
\]
then T-bring-Resumpt-He 3Refl-in.middle.of.supported-in 3-Erg
‘Then, (he) brought (her) in his own lap.’ (Snake 100)

152) \[ \text{Wewe man ipi ehenau.} \]
\[
\text{wewe man e1pē1 ēh-ena-wē}
\]
\[
\text{tree 3be mountain Recpr-in.the.middle.of.supported-in}
\]
‘Trees are (all) on the side of the mountain’. 

153) \[ \text{Ehenau man tot.} \]
\[
\text{ēh-ena-wē manetoto}
\]
\[
\text{Recpr-in.middle.of.supported-in 3be 3Coll}
\]
‘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). 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) \[ \text{Epī pakolo waliptaau.} \]
\[
\text{epī pakolo walipta-wē}
\]
\[
\text{stair house in.area.behind-in}
\]
‘(The) stair is behind the house.’ (The stair is leaning on the wall of the house) (Figure 58)

155) \[ \text{Mēsin wīwī waliptaau.} \]
\[
\text{mēhini wīwī Y-walipta-wē}
\]
\[
\text{DemlnanProx ax 1- in.area.behind-in}
\]
‘Here (is the) ax, behind me.’ (The ax is on the ground.)

156) \[ \text{Ipī waliptaau tuna pētukuu pepta.} \]
\[
\text{ipī walipta-wē tuna pētukuulu pepta}
\]
\[
\text{mountain in.area.behind.-in water beautiful big}
\]
‘Behind (the) mountain, (the) water (is) beautiful, a big one.’

---

16 The variant walipta has been attested in the speech of Renato, a Wayâna speaker living in Suwisuwimín.
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).17

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) *Putoputoli lampa ekatau.*

Putoputoli lampa *ekata-wē*

nail light.bulb in.area.nearby-in

‘(The) hook is nearby the lamp.’ (Figure 50)

164) *Malonme, kawē inē nai toma tētuhoi apsikila Siluluhma ekatak.*

malonme kawē jnē nai toma tē-w-ētuhoi-he apsikila la hīlulupma *ekata-kē*

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.’ (Kaikui 2 015)

165) *Numēkēmē nai jekatak.*

n-umēkē-ēmē-Ø nai j-ekata-kē

3S-A-come-Resmpt-RecPst Intens l-in.area.nearby-into

‘(He/She) came close to me.’

166) *Éutē ekatau iu.*

éwtē *ekata-wē ţwu*

village in.area.nearby-in 1Pro

‘I (was) nearby (the) village.’

167) *Ekatalilom.*

Ø-*ekata-llīl-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) *Mēsin hapa pētukuu jempatak.*

mēhinī hapa pētukulu j-*empata-kē*

DemInanProx machete beautiful 1-front.of-into

‘This machete (placed) in front of me is good.’

169) *Som nika Anakali empatau.*

som ni-ka-Ø anakali *empata-wē*

stand.up snd 3S-A-do-RecPst Anakali in.front.of-in

‘He/She stood up in front of Anakali.’

170) *Meku empatau.*

meku *empata-wē*

monkey empat-a-into

‘in front of the monkey’

---

17 Two other consultants used *ekata* ‘in nearby’ to describe Figure 38.

18 This postposition is derived historically from *emi* ‘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.\(^{19}\) 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) Inéleë titei imë lamnak.
    inéleë t-w-ité-he imë lamna-kë
3AnaphPro T-SA-gó-He farm in.center.of-into
    ‘She went to (the) center of (the) farm.’ (Sulalapana 079)

172) Mék pista lamnau.
    mékî pista lamna-wë
DemAnmDist airstrip in.center.of-in
    ‘That one, in (the) center of (the) airstrip.’

173) Upakatonom upak itu lamnau léken.
    upake-ato-nomo upake itu lamna-wë léken
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 manetuna 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.
    johineti etati-Ø n-eha-Ø kajilentomo lamna-wë
Josinete hammock-Pss S3a-be-RecPst mosquito.net-Coll in.center.of-in
    ‘Josinete’s hammock was between (two) mosquito nets.’

176) Pakolo man ñi lamnau.
    pakolo mane ñi lamna-wë
house 3be mountain in.center.of-in
    ‘(The) house (is) located in between (two) mountains.’

\(^{19}\) 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(î)ta ‘mouth’.
177) Josinetsitom lamnau.
josineti-tomo lamna-wē
Johineti-Coll in.center-in
‘in between (two) of Josinete’s people’

178) Élewee mēk weve lamnau.
ēlewēlī mēkī weve lamna-wē
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) Tipēhnak tipimthe eja jolok pitpē.
tī-pēhnakē tī-pēmī-he e-ja joloko pitpē-Ō
3Refl-in.area.of.forehead.of-into T-tie.O-He 3-Erg evil.spirit skin-Pss
‘He tied (the) evil’s spirit’s skin to (the) area of his forehead.’

180) Pakolo apulu ja tikūhe ipehnalī.
pakolo apulu-Ō ja tī-kū-he i-pēhnā-liī
house cover-Pss Erg T-take.O.from-He 3-in.area.of.forehead.of-PtNmlz
‘(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) Moloinē emna kunekilima Jalaki patak.
Moloinē emna kun-e-kilima jalaki pata-kē
then 1+3ExclPro 3DistPst-Det-leave.O Jalaki in.place.of-into
Then, we left to Jalaki’s village.’

182) Maa, moloinē, umēkēmēne Tēpu pona, ipatak.
maa moloinē w-umēkē-ēmē-ne tēpu po-na t-pata-kē
so then 1S-A-come-Resumpt-DistPst Tēpu on.supported-to 1-in.place.of-into
‘So, then, I came to Tēpu, my land.’

183) Molona tilēmēi ipatak.
mol-ona t-illēmē-he i-pata-kē
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
type under-inside-in tree
‘(The) tree (grew) inside (the) house.’

185) Etahmotau
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) Mīn ahmotalix.
mīnī apmota-li
DemIinanDist 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 -lili, 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?
talihna-wē ka j-epe-∅
in.the.open-in Quest 1-friend-Pss
‘(Am I) exposed, my friend?’
(Lit.: ‘Am I in the open, my friend?’)
(Jolokoa 104)
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,’ *uwapo* ‘ahead of,’ *é/etap(o)* ‘on the hammock of,’ *opiné* ‘under,’ and *pek(e)* ‘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 elī* ‘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 pek(è) ‘on (unsupported) below).  

191) Kopu mesa po. 
kopu mesa po-Ø 
cup ≠ table on.supported-on
‘(The) cup (is) on (the) table.’ 

192) Ijala epiin polo iwenhanuktopom. 
i-jala 0-epi-nu po-lo i-w-ē-h-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 kukaniptē inelēē pisikleta po inē. 
malonme Red6?-kun-iptē inelēē pihikleta po-Ø jnē 
then Red6?-3DistPst-go.down 3AnphPro bicycle on.supported-on from
‘Then, he came down from the bicycle.’ (Pear 016) 

194) Tēpı̄pai ejahe kumaka po. 
t-epı̄-pa-he eja-he kumaka po-Ø 
T-stair-GiveVrbzlz-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 pek ětěk Alimina pona. 
hikola pekē ětě-kē alimina po-na 
school busy.with go-Imp Alimina on.supported-to
‘Go to Alimina get busy with school.’ (Walema 044) 

197) Mon mei ěti pena amat etato po. 
mono mēhi ěti pena amatı̄ 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) 

---

20 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 pek(è) is whether a referent is located on a horizontal or vertical surface. In Wayana the primary difference is whether that referent is supported or not (see below).
198) Titẹi nuké pona lèken.
T-w-ỉtẹ-he nuké po-na lèken
T-S₃-go-He ant.hill on.supported-to only
'(He) went only onto (the place of) ant hills.' (Tukusimule 010)

199) Witejai Josineti pona.
W-ỉtẹ-ja-he josineti po-na
1S₃A-go-NPst-SapAff Josineti on.supported-to
'I am going to Josinete's house.'

200) Lome oki pona lèken tumékeméi iu.
lome woki po-na lèken t-umékí-itimethe 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) Uluk euhkatop pona tinkii epuu pona
ulu ewuku-ka-topo-∅ po-na tinkiihi epulu-∅ po-na
manioc sap-PrivVbrblz-CircmstNmlz-Pss on.supported-to manioc.juicer pole-Pss on-to
tēwakamemēi.
t-ēwakame-itimethe
t-Sit.down-Resumpt-He
'To the place for taking juice from manioc, to the tinkii pole, she sat down again.'
(Jolokoa 212)

202) Uhpak wenene kaikui wapuhpan po.
Upake-h w-en-ene ne kaikuhi wapu-ppe-anu po-∅
long.ago-AvIntens 1A3O-see-DistPst jaguar palm.tree.sp-ExistantAvlz-PtNmlz on.supported-on
'Long ago, I saw a jaguar, at the place where there is wapu (fruit).'(Sapotoli 037)

203) Wawa lo mo.
w-awa-∅ lo mo-∅
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):
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 pēk ‘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) Òewasii jetumhakan pona ka òewalu?
òew-ewahi-lì jetu-mhkâ-ewa-po-na ka òew-ewalu-Ø
2-lower.leg-Pss hurt-ModAdvзов-Disntlmz on.supported-to Quest 3A2O-burn-RecPst
‘Did (he/she) burn you on your hurt leg?’

208) Emit po inê, emit tipikai.
Ø-emit-tì po-Ø inê Ø-emit-tì tipi-ka-he
3-face-Pss on.supported-on from e-face-Pss T-skin-PrivVrbz-He
‘From its face, (they) skinned its face.’ (Joloko075)

209) Moloinê, kunteime tipupuu polo asimna.
moloinêkun-tê-jmê-Ø tip-pupu-Ø po-Ø ahi-mna
then 3DistPst-go-Resumpt-RecPst 3Refl-foot-Pss on.supported-along fast-without
‘Then, (he) went by foot, slowly’ (Pear 031)
perceived as having a ‘back,’ as this postposition is clearly derived from *api* ‘back’ and
*po* ‘on (supported)’ (cf. 6.4.4):

210)  
*Jahpo alimi walejai.*  
\[ j\text{-}appo\text{-}\Omega \]  
1-on.back.of-on monkey.sp 1A3O-take.O-NonPst-SapAff  
‘I’ll take the alimi (monkey) on my back.’

211)  
*Malonme emna tumêkêmêi tuna kwatak*  
malonme emna t-umêk-êmê-he tuna kwata-kê  
then 1=3ExclPro T-come-Resumpt-He water in.port-into

\[ imumku\text{-}lu psik malê jenau katali jahpo. \]  
1-woman’s.son little Inclus.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-\Omega  
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-\Omega  
hat 3b man on.top.of-on  
‘(The/a) hat is on top of (the/a) man’ (i.e., ‘On his head’).

214)  
*Têpu uhpo, epil.*  
têpu uppo-\Omega epî  
stone on.top.of-on tree  
‘(There is a) tree on the top of the stone.’

215)  
*Mêlé uhpolo nma hemele têlêi.*  
mêlé uppo-lo nma hemele t-êlê-he  
DemInanMed on.top.of-along Intens now T-take.O-He  
‘A lot more than that (they) took now’ (Jolokod 576).

216)  
*Tanme éuhpolo psik.*  
tanme éw-uppo-lo phikî  
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*  
Ø-*uwapo* n-eha-Ø  
3-ahead.of 3SA-be-RecPst  
‘He/She/it was in ahead of him.’

218)  
*Witéjai*  
*w-ité-jai-he*  
Ø-*uwapo*-Ø-he  
1S-Go-NPst-SapAff 2-ahead.of-on-Coll  
‘I will go ahead of you.’

219)  
*Juapola*  
*j-*uwapo-Ø-la n-eha-Ø  
1-ahead.of-on 3SA-be-RecPst  
‘(It) was not ahead of me.’

The postposition *étap(o)/etap(o)* indicates that a referent is located inside of a hammock. As this form is obviously derived historically from the noun *e/état(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)  
*Méllë*  
*étap* eikë!  
méllë *étapo*-Ø ehi-ke  
DemInnanMed on.hammock.of-on be-IMP  
‘Be in that hammock!’

221)  
*Jetamna*  
*j-étap-o* na hek mana!  
1-on.hammock.of-to only 2be  
‘Darn, (avoid) being in my hammock!’

222)  
*Tétapoho*  
*kune*  
to.*t-étap-o*-he kun-eha-ke  
3Ref-on.hammock.of-on-PColl 3DistPst-be-DistPst 3Coll  
‘They were in their own hammocks.’
The postposition *pék(e)* 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) *Pamplal ewe pék.*

*pamplia ewe péké-Ø*

paper tree on.unsupported.on

‘(The) paper (is) on the tree trunk.’

224) *Ipuhtop man iklakun pék.*

i-puht-Ø mane i-klaku-nu péké-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 pék.*

anonu upo péké-on

paint cloth on.unsupported-on

‘(The) paint (is) on the cloth.’ (i.e., letters on a shirt) (Figure 68)

226) *Upo man tahmit pék.*

upo manet-ahmiti-Ø péké-Ø

clothing 3be 3Ref1-support-Pss on.unsupported-on

‘(The) clothing was (hanging) on its support (i.e., on a rope).’ (Figure 37)

227) *Sakola pék ewaa.*

sakola péké-Ø Ø-ewa-li

bab 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 *pék(e) ‘on (unsupported)’* (white circles) and *po ‘on (supported)’* (dark circles):
The postposition *pēk(e)* 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 -nē ‘Generic Event’ (examples (229) and (231), respectively) (cf. section 4.2.2.1.2 for a discussion of these morphemes):

228) *Ulu pēk kunhak ipēinom kajama psik.*
ulû pēkë kun-e-ha-kē i-pēi-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) *Tēhepi emna emna kaimotaa pēk.*
t-ēh-epa-he emma emma kajimo-ta-Ø-li pēkë
T-Det-teach-He 1+3ExclPro 1+3ExclPro game-PssNIntrVrblz-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss about
‘We learned about our killing.’ (Jolokod 624-625)

230) *Ée, uwa, paluu pēk pitē emna nitējai.*
ée uwa palu pēkë pitē emma n-ītē-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.’ (Kaiku 010)

231) *Uwanē pēk wai.*
uwa-nē pēkë wahi
dance-GenEvntNmlz about 1be
‘I am dancing.’ (Lit. ‘I am about dancing.’)

The postposition *opinē* ‘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 mělē kamisa opinē.
hupu mělē kamīha opinē-Ø
spoon DemNanMed 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) Ekolot man kapu opinē.
ekolot 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(ê) ‘into’ (taken by the forth one), and no occurrences of path markers (cf. 6.1.2.1.2).21

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)

21 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) ṭi ṭi epoi mutom.
ṭi 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 mikahpo.
pakolo mikappo-je
house behind-away
‘(He/she/it) (is) behind (the) house’

240) Pola kaikui mikahpo neha.
pola kaikuhi mikappo-je n-eha-∅
bail dog behind-away 3Sb-be-RecPst
‘(The) bail was behind (the) dog.’

241) mkahpo neha.
mikappo-je n-eha-∅
1-behind-away 3Sb-be-RecPst
‘(He/she/it) was behind me.’
242) *Pola alma* kanawa mikappona.
pola alma-Ø kanawa mǐkappo-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 *aktuho* ‘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 *aktuhoi* but not for *ameta*, although presumably that would also be possible.

243) Witujaik aktuho.  
w-itē-ja-he O-aktuho-na
1SA-go-NPst 3-up. river.of-to
‘I will go up river.’

244) Enma tǐtēi ametak, Sapotoli pēk.  
enma t-w-itē-he O-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 O-ameta-je m-eha-Ø
why? 3-down. river.of-away 2SA-be-RecPst
‘Why were you down the river?’

246) Ajamuwaka aktuhoi.  
ajamuwaka aktuhoi-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(ẹ). It seems the case that the first group is derived historically from *po/mo* ‘on (suptored),’ while *ameta* is derived from *ta* ‘in permanent location,’ and thus they take -k(ẹ) 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 Wayána 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 aile ‘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 pēk ‘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,’ kuptēlē ‘following,’ pune ‘fitting; suitable,’ kaptēr(i) ‘like,’ kuptē ‘each,’ mna ‘without,’ the Inclusive malē ‘with,’ and the Comitative akēlē ‘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 nīhe ūlimak opikai.
kuje t-ill-he ūlimake opikaj
spoon T-place.O-He plate under
‘(He/She) placed the spoon under the plate.’

248) Topikai nīlī kalakuli.
t-opikaj n-ill-O kalakuli
3Refl-under 3A3O-place.O-RecPst money
‘(He/She) place (the) money under himself/herself.’

249) Jala opikai mupē nēha.
jala opikaj mupē n-eha-O
floor under rat 3S2-be-RecPst
‘(The/a) rat was under (the/a) floor’
250) Min opikai ka mitène.
mīnī opikaika m-rā-ne
DemInanDist under Quest 2SA-go-DistPst
‘Have you been in that (cave)’?

251) Oha opikai nili asii.
oha opikaj n-īī-o
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 kunepolepkaime ūtu pole hle.
emna kun-e-polep-ka-īmjē ēwtē pole tle
1+3ExclPro 3DistPst-Det-go.through snd Snd Vrblz-Resumpt village towards Authentic
‘We went right towards the village.’

253) Kapau tiitei emna pole.
kapaw tī-w-ītē-he emna pole
deer T-SA-go-He 1+3ExclPro towards
‘A deer came towards us.’ (Pène 124)

254) Pakolo pole numēk ēkēti.
pakolo pole n-ūmēk-ī-O ēkēhi
house towards 3SA-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) Ikutē wala tiitei iu.
i kutē wala t-ītē-he īwu
lake around T-go-He 1Pro
‘I went around (the) lake’

256) Īwala neha wewe.
ī-wala n-ēha-O wewe
1-around 3SA-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) *

259) *

260) *

261) *

The postposition *kuptêlé* means 'following'. It co-occurs with verbs of motion only and is only attested taking human objects.

262) *Malonme Pêneimê kuntêm ikuptêlé.*

263) *

264) *

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 tihe emna ja emna niktop pune leken.
pakolo phik' t-fl'he emna ja emna nikh-topo pune leken house small T-make-He 1+3ExclPro Erg 1+3ExclPro sleep-CircmsntNmlz fitting only 'We made a little house suitable as the place of our sleeping.' (Pêne 062)

266) Jupo pune man.
j-upo-Ø pune mane 1-clothe-Pss fitting 3be 'It fits as my clothing.'

267) Ŭnumkuu talë tehamoi mewihi nei
1-mumuku-li talë te-w-ê-he mewini
1-womans.son-Pss NspcProxLoc T-SA-Det-cry-He a.lot

cinco dia pune ispunak.
cinco dia pune ispunak-h five day fitting very.much-Intens 'My son cried so much here for whole five days.' (Alvina 035)

268) Ïpune wiñjai.
1-pune w-fl'ja-he 1-fitting 1A3O-make-Npst-SapAff 'I'll make it to fit me.'

The postposition katip(t) '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 hrê katip mëhamojai.
mule nhê katipí m-ê-he child still like 2SA-Det-cry-Npst-SapAff 'You are crying still like a child.'

270) Ïpoke nna mamak katip.
îpoke nna mamako katipí good Intens mother like 'She is nice like my mother.'

271) Kulum katip neha.
kulumí katipí n-ê-ha-Ø vulture like 3SA-be-RecPst 'It was like a vulture (i.e., it looked like one).'

272) Peptame tuna têttihê hemele ikutpê katip.
pepta-me tuna tê-w-êttih-he hemele ikutpê katipí big-Attrib water T-SA-become-He already lake like (The) water was huge already, like a lake. (Pêne 102)
The involvement without exception of the individual members of a set is expressed by \textit{kuptê} ‘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, \textit{etc.}) and a set whose members are not all identifiable (‘years,’ ‘mornings’) does not.

The postposition \textit{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, \textit{-mna} presents the properties of an adverbializing suffix (7.2.1.1.3) 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)  \textit{Imnahe neha.}  
\begin{align*}
&\text{i-mna-he n-eha-Ø} \\
&3\text{-without-PColl } 3S_{A}\text{-be-RecPst} \\
&\text{‘They weren’t there.’}
\end{align*}

279)  \textit{Emna neha.}  
\begin{align*}
&\text{è-mna n-eha-Ø} \\
&2\text{-without } 3S_{A}\text{-be-RecPst} \\
&\text{‘You weren’t there’}
\end{align*}

280)  \textit{Imna neha.}  
\begin{align*}
&\text{y-mna n-eha-Ø} \\
&1\text{-without } 3S_{A}\text{-be-RecPst} \\
&\text{‘I wasn’t there.’}
\end{align*}

281)  \textit{Mèkèlèe nai man immato.}  
\begin{align*}
&mèkèlèe naj mane i-mna-to \\
&DemAnmMed \text{ Intens } 3\text{be } 3\text{-without-PtNmlz} \\
&\text{‘That one is the one without any of it.’}
\end{align*}

The postpositions malè and akélè frequently seem to be synonymous, with the
meaning of ‘with’ as in the examples below:

282)  \textit{Nitèm tokon malè.}  
\begin{align*}
&\text{n-ıtèm-a-Ø t-okono-Ø malè} \\
&3S_{A}\text{-go-RecPst } 3\text{Refl-sibling.of.same.sex-Pss with } \\
&(\text{He/She) went with his/her own brother/sister.’}
\end{align*}

283)  \textit{Tokon akélè nitèm.}  
\begin{align*}
&t-\text{okono-Ø akélè n-ıtèm-a-Ø} \\
&3\text{Refl-sibling.of.same.sex-Pss with } 3S_{A}\text{-go-RecPst} \\
&(\text{He/She) went with his/her own brother/sister.’}
\end{align*}

284)  \textit{Talè nila malè mesa po.}  
\begin{align*}
&talè nila malè mesa po-Ø \\
&\text{NspcProxLoc Nila with table on, supported-on} \\
&\text{‘(I am) here \textbf{with} Nila at the table.’ (Alvina 003)}
\end{align*}

285)  \textit{Emna kaimo emna akélè.}  
\begin{align*}
&\text{emna kajimo-Ø emna akélè} \\
&1+3\text{ExclPro game-Pss } 1+3\text{ExclPro with} \\
&\text{‘Our game (was) \textbf{with} us.’ (Pène 068)}
\end{align*}
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 *akélé* is only going along for the ride. The examples of *malè* below, glossed as ‘together with,’ confirm this:

286) *Moloine, elésiwé malè tèhanukhe* Sulalapana.
moloine eléhiwé malè tè-wè-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) *Kopè telen pokn tikai tawun malè.*
kopè telenu pokn tì-ka-he tawunu malè
rain huge rain snd T-do-He wind with
‘(The) rain went heavily together with **together with** the wind.’ (Pène 065)

288) *Anakali Xamore malè ka nelemi.*
anakali Xamore malè ka n-elemi-O
Anakali Xamore also Quest 3SO-sing-RecPst
‘Did Anakali sing **together with** Xamore?’

tì-ka-he inamolo tì-mìnëlumí-Ô malè 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, *akélé* occurs only with intransitive verbs in the database; and almost all of its occurrences are with (*j*)lé(*mi*) ‘go’ and *e(s)i* ‘be,’ and only with a comitative meaning, thus its gloss ‘with’.22 The postposition *malè*, 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 *malè* participates in the event equally with the participant expressed by the direct object of the verbs. The whole

---

22 This may also be the case for other Cariban languages. The examples given in the sections discussing the cognate forms of *akélé* in Tiriýó (Meira, 1999: 411) and Hixkuryána (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 kajikuhi malë
iguana 1A3O-tell-NPst-SapAff jaguar with
‘I will tell (about) Iguana and also (about) Kaikui’. (Iguana 001)

291)  Eluwa wene kunumust 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 anîmkë.
j-etàtt-Ø malë nahek anîm-kë
l-hammock-Pss with just anîmkë
‘Just get it together with my hammock’

Thus, the semantic difference between akélë 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 Wayãna form to the English ‘and’
(‘John and Mary went,’ ‘I saw John and Mary). The postposition akélë, on the other
hand, merely marks accompaniment, not equal participant in the event.23

Both postpositions occur rarely with personal prefixes. In texts, the postposition
akélë 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 *ētili* ‘become’ (with the exception of *uno* ‘be afraid of,’ discussed below). The six attested experiencer postpositions are *eile* ‘angry at,’ *pìnwē* ‘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 *ëile* ‘angrily, bravely, fiercely’ (7.1.1.3.1).

293) *Talala man jeile.*
   talala mane j-ejile
   let.be 3be 1-angry.at
   ‘Let him be angry at me’

294) *Eweile teéitihe inélée.*
   ëw-ejile të-w-ëtili-he inélélë
   2-angry.at T-SA-become-He 3AnaphPro
   ‘He/She got angry at him/her/it’

The postposition *pìnwē* ‘caring for; jealous of’ expresses feelings of possessiveness and emotional attachment towards the object.

295) *Émnelum pìnwē léken!*
   ê-mnélimi-Ø pînwë léken
   2-husband-Pss caring for only
   ‘You care too much for your husband!’ (Kaikui 018)

296) *Épínwē man Kan.*
   ê-pînwê mane kanu
   2-caring.for 3be God
   ‘God cares for you.’ (Walema 130)

297) *Inepii pìnwē hela wai.*
   l-n-ep-t-lit pînwê he-la wahe

---

23 Meira (1999: 468) states that *malê* and *akēlē* are sometimes synonymous, but does not offer the specifics: ‘...malê 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 Tiřiyō, *malê* is a particle.
The postposition *uwalé* ‘knowing of’ indicates knowledge or familiarity about the object. The adverbial correspondent to this postposition is *tuwalé* ‘knowingly’.

(7.1.1.3.2).

298) *Ehet uwalé wai.*
Ø-ehe-ti’ uwalé wahe
3-name-Pss knowing.of 1be
‘I know his name’

299) *Énik uwaléla.*
éniké uwalé-la
who knowing.of-Neg
‘(I do) not know who.’ (Jolokoc 446)

300) *Emna kaimotaa uwalé.*
emna kajimo-ta-Ø-ll uwalé
1+3ExclPro game-PssNtrVrlz-SpeEvntNmlz-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 tewepci kopini htak alimi uno.*
malonme emna te-w-epe-he kopini tta-ké 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 mewihne tatata tikai emna alimi uno huwaa.*
ela-mhaké mewiiné tatata ti-ka-he emna alimi uno huwalé
fear-ModAdviz 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) *Kaiku uno kunehak.*
kaikuhi uno kun-eha-ké
jaguar afraid.of 3DistPst-be-DistPst
‘He/She was afraid of (the/a) jaguar.’

304) *Elamhaké nma tettihhe iu jolok uno.*
elamhaké nma te-w-ëtit-he ñwu 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) ḥwake lê nai eikê.  
į-wake lê naj ehi-kê  
1-wary.of Emph Intens be-Imp  
‘Beware of me!’

306) Ehewake nai man tot.  
ēh-ewake naj mane toto  
Recpr-being.against Intens 3be 3Coli  
‘They are all against each other.’

307) Ewakehela nai wai.  
c-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) Titjio womi he hkuu wai, lome Wajana womi he hnê.  
ti̍ti̍jo womi he kkulu wahe lome wajana womi he hnê  
Tiliyó language Des Intens 1be but Wayana language Des also  
‘I really like the Tiriyo language, but I also like the Wayana language.’

309) Ewê  
ē-uwe-0-lî  he tle n-eha-Ô  
2-kill-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss Des Authentic 3SA-be-RecPst  
‘It truly wanted to kill you.’ (Kaikui 089.)

310) Masike tinnepiïtom  
manike ti-n-epil-ii-tomo  
With.that 3Refl-ObjNmlz-eat.soft.food-Pss-Coll Des-Neg  
‘With that, (she) (does) not want her food.’ (Maria 007)

311) Ewemsikom nai neha êhe.  
ēw-emhi-li-komo naj n-eha-Ô ê-he  
2-daughter-Pss-Coll Intens 3SA-be-RecPst 2-PColl  
‘Your daughter wanted you.’ (Tamopoale 070)

312) Ihi, ise wai.  
ēhi 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, *unpoj(e)* marking the cause of an event, *wantê* marking volition, and *walê* 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)  
\[ \text{Pija mumukê têpêihe epe ja.} \]
\[ \text{pija mumukê-Ø têpêhi-he Ø-epe-Ø ja} \]
\[ \text{eagle animal.offspring T-grab.O-He 3-friend-Pss Erg} \]
\[ '\text{His friend grabbed (the) eagles chick.' (Eagle 030)} \]

314)  
\[ \text{Lome wai apsik lêken tuwalê} \]
\[ \text{lome wahe aphikê lêken tuvale} \]
\[ \text{but 1be little only knowingly} \]
\[ \text{juutoponpii kunitomo ja.} \]
\[ \text{j-ulu-topo-ntîr-Ø kun-tomo ja} \]
\[ \text{l-talk.to-CircmtNmlz-Dvl-Pss grandmother-Coll OblAg} \]
\[ '\text{I am knowledgeable (of the) my grandmas told me.' (Sulalapana 003)} \]

315)  
\[ \text{Sisi ja tahalammaniphe aptau, tukukhe ejahê.} \]
\[ \text{hihi ja t-ahalapi-nilpi-he wapta-wê t-ukuku-he e-ja-he} \]
\[ \text{sun OblAg} \text{T-dry-Caus-He when-in T-try-He 3-Erg-PColl} \]
\[ '\text{When it (was) sun dried, they tried (it).’ (Jolokoa 086)} \]

It also marks dative participants (recipients and experiencers), shown in examples (316) to (318), and causes, shown in example (319).

316)  
\[ \text{Masike, êwê ekalêja kan éja?} \]
\[ \text{mahike ëwê ekalê-ja kanu ê-ja} \]
\[ \text{With.that what give-NPst God 2-Dat} \]
\[ '\text{With that, what is God going to give to you?’ (Walema 155)} \]

317)  
\[ \text{Tykai ololi ja, kaikui.} \]
\[ \text{t'-ka-he ololi ja kajikuhi} \]
\[ \text{T-say-He iguana Dat jaguar} \]
\[ '\text{Said Jaguar to Iguana.’ (Iguana 020)} \]
318) Malè ihpoke nma kunehak ija.
    malè ipoke-h nma kun-e-ha-kè y-ja
Also good-AVIntens Intens 3DistPst-be-DistPst 1-Dat

sir̂pîime iiveitop.
hir̂p̂î-me i-w-e-hi-topo-Ø
ugly-Attrb 1-SA-be-CircmstNmlz-Pss
'Also, my being ugly was very good to me' (Walema 013)

319) Mauu walépo Pipinè ja.
mawulu w-alè-po-Ø pipinè ja
cotton 1A3O-take-Caus-RecPst Pipinè Causee
'I made Pipinè 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 'in-to 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, ema tiitei ijumi ja.
malonme ema t-t-w-e-të-he i-jumî-Ø ja
then 1-3ExclPro T-SA-go-He 3-father-Pss Allative
'Then, we went to her father.' (Kaikui2 081)

321) Ehmelè tolōpit tumèkhe lep eja.
émelë-h tolōp̂tî t-umèkht-he lep e-ja
all-AVIntens bird T-come-He Advrs 3-Allative
'All birds came to him, however.' (Eagle 057)

322) Malonme tiitei kulûmi ja.
malonme t-t-w-e-të-he kulûmi 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.\textsuperscript{24} As in many Cariban languages (Aparai (Koehn and Koehn 1995:31; Tiriyó (Meira 1999:382), and Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985:18), \textit{ke} marks instruments (323-324) and the cause/source of an event or state encoded in the main verb (326-331).

323) \textit{Kapau tuwēi eja alakapuha ke.}\n\textit{kapaw t-uwē-he e-ja alakapuha ke}
deer T-kill-He 3-Erg shot.gun \textit{Instr}'He killed (the/a) deer with (the/a) shotgun.'

324) \textit{Tēhjoptēi kupeta ke.}\nt-ēh-jo-ptē-he kupeta \textit{ke}
T-Det-cover-Provide\textit{Vrbzlz-He} kupeta \textit{Instr}'I covered myself with a blanket.'

325) \textit{Ett kela, tēlephe kaikui.}\nēt' \textit{ke-la t-ēlepy-he kaikuhi}
what \textit{Instr-Neg} T-make.afraid-He jaguar
'(They) scared the jaguar without (using) a thing.' (Kaikui 105)

326) \textit{Malonme Siluhma tēwētuhmoi weve telen pona,}\nmalonme hilulupma tē-w-ētupmo-he weve telenu po-na
then Silulupma T-SA-fall-He wood huge on.supported-to
\textit{alimi unonopīi ke.}\nalimi uno-no-pī-ī\textit{ ke}
monkey.sp afraid.of-PtNmlz-PpNVrbzlz-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss \textit{Source}'Then, Siluhma fell over a huge log from being afraid of the monkey(2).' (Monkey 024)

327) \textit{Jamoo jetumhak tokolom katop ke.}\nj-amoo-lī jetu-mhakē tokolom ka-topo \textit{ke}
1-hand-Pss hurt-ModAdvlz paddling snd do-CircmnstNmlz \textit{Source}'My hand hurt from the paddling. (Alawaka 061, 062)

328) \textit{Talanme tilēkhem ke tilomohe.}\ntalanme tī-ūk-he-mi\textit{ ke} tī-lomo-he
maybe Prtc-be.sick-Prtc-PtNmlz \textit{Source} T-die-He
'Maybe from sickness they died... ' (Jolokod 730)

329) \textit{Kēmī ken wai kopē ke.}\nkēmīj ken wahe kopē \textit{ke}
cold else 1be rain \textit{Source}'I am cold from the rain.'

\textsuperscript{24} Though \textit{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 adverbialex function, as is the case of nouns followed by \textit{ke}.
330) **Inéélée asiphak tétttîhe jemna ke.**
inéélée ahí-phaké tè-w-ëftî-he jemna ke
3AnaphPro hot-ModAvlz T-SA-become-He fever Source
‘He became hot from the fever.’

331) **Okt jetun ke téhnampteëi inéélée.**
wokí jetun ke tè-w-ëft-name-ptë-he inéélée
beverage strong Source T-SA-Det-drink.O-ProvideVrblz-He 3AnphPro
‘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) **Jekita kulumjek ke.**
je-kî-ta kulumjék? ke
1ISO-pet-GetVerbalizer bird.sp Instr
‘I got a pet, a kulumjek (bird).’
(Lit. I pet-got by means of kulum)

333) **Tëwalimteí ejahi mauu ke.**
t-ëwa-ll-më-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) **Okt will napi ke.**
wokí w-tîl-Ø napi ke
beverage 1A3O-make.O-RecPst potato Instr
‘I made beverage by means of (the/a) napi (potato).’

335) **Tumëkhe emna ja wewe ke témjahe.**
t-umëktî-he emna ja wewe ke témjahe
T-come-He i+3EecIPro 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) **kañneilu ke têkikem kuntém ekatak aîlê.**
katneîlu ke t-ëkî-ke-mî kun-tëmî Ø-ekata-kê ajîlê
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, mèklée umpoi léken, uwétẹpinipè umpoi
lome mèklēèl mumpoje léken uwē-tē-plmpē-tēlpē ummpoje
but DemAnMlMed Cause only kill-GenModAvlz-PrivNmlz-Dvl Cause

lēken, huwaa mènētījīa.
lēken huwālē mēn-ḕll-ja
only as.such 3cēnntyi-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) Mēje tami tēlijēmi ija,
mēje tami t-ēll-jēmē-he y-jā
away.distal cigarret T-ingest.fluid-Resumpt-He 1-Erg

Masike mēlē umpoi ńtēnutpē
mahike mēlē mumpoje tīṭ-ē-nu-tpē
With.that DemInMlAnMed Cause make-GenModAvlz-nuPtNmlz-Dvl

jakēlepmla kunehak.
j-akēlepma-Ō-la kun-ehe-kē
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 tıtīē.
j-upomoje tī-w-ēlē-he
1-Cause T-SA-go-He
‘(He/She) went because of me.’

The postposition wantē ‘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 panēk ‘because’.

340) Ēhewanté panék ulaphak tēwesii jau.
ēhe-wantē panék ulaphakahē tē-w-ēhi-Ō-ľy ja-wē
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.’ (Sulalapana 076)

341) Kwantē neha.
wantē n-ehe-Ō
1-by.one’s.will 3SA-be-RecPst
‘It was by my own fault.’

342) Twantē tıtīē.
ti-wantē tī-w-ēlē-he
3Refl-by.one’s.will T-SA-go-He
‘(He/She) walked by his/her own will.’
The postposition walé ‘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 walé as a postposition (Jackson (1972:74) lists iwalé 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, iwalé, and the SAP forms are used in the same fashion, signifying the uncertainty of the proposition as a whole. The third person form iwalé, 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 iwalé.
kalipono h-enatukaja i-walé
non.Wayana 1+2A3O-be.finished-kaTransvzr-NPst 3-Uncertainty
We will finish non-Wayana people up, maybe. (Jolokob 292)

344) Ekéi ene iwalé eluwa.
ékéhi ene-Ø i-walé eluwa
snake see-RecPst 3-Uncertainty man
‘Maybe (the/a) man saw (the/a) snake.’

345) Elemijai iwalé.
é-lemi-jache i-walé
2-sing-Npst-SapAff 3-Uncertainty
‘Perhaps you will sing’

346) Uwamela iwalé.
uwame-la Y-walé
healthy-Neg 1-Uncertainty
‘He is sick, I think’

347) Witéjai iwalé.
w-ité-jache Y-walé
1sA-go-NPst-SapAff 1-Uncertainty
‘I’ll go, I think’

342
6.3. The de-verbal postpositionalizer -tihwē ‘Postiority’. 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 -tihwē 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 enetihwē uwējai.
ipolli ene-tihwē w-uwē-ja-he
mythical.river.being see-Postiority 1A3O-kill-NPst-SapAff
‘After seeing (an) ipoo, I’ll kill it.’

351) Mēlē ēuthhwē, helēp kunka.
mēlē ēwu-tihwē helēp kun-ka
DemlnanMed take.away.from-Postiority moving.head.snd 3DistPst-do
‘Then, when (she) took his hat away, (he) gave a head shake.’ (Pear 024, 025)

352) Mamak lamapithhwē timnelumtai.
mamako lamap-tihwē tī-minelumī-ta-he
mother die-Postiority T-Husband-PssN Intr Vrblz-He
‘After mother died, (I) got married.’

353) Tītēthhwēhe, wēlhiham tēpai ejahe.
tī-w-ītē-tihwē-he wēlhi-amō t-ēpā-he e-ja-he
3Refl-S A-go-Postiority-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 tumosiptētāhwē, pilī tētētīhe.*
    *molo t-umohiptē-thwē pilī tē-w-ētēnī-he*
‘There after (being) left, (she) stood up there.’ (Jolokoa, 203, 204)

355) *Tuwantathwē Opolana man opalan pēkēnme he.*
    *t-uwantathwē opolana manan 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 epūnkatthwē, molo tētēnīhe inēlēe mihen.*
    *mahike Ø-epū-nu-ka-thwē molo tē-w-ētēnī-he inēlēe mihen*
With.that 3-stair-Pss-PrivVrbz-Posterity SpcMedLoc T-S-A-become-He 3AnphPro poor

  kumaka amat po.
  kumaka amatı 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- ‘3rd reflexive’. 25

357) (*j)a ‘inside’
   1 a. j-a-wē
e 2 b. ēw-a-wē
e 1+2 c. k-ē-wē
e 3 d. Ø-a-wē
e 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-ilē ‘one inside of it’
    i. ēt-a-ilē ‘(come) out together’

25 The forms with k- and t- resemble those of nouns starting with /w/ and having /ē/ as their second vowel. See section 4.1.1.1.1 for a comparison.
Some forms show a defective paradigm. The postposition *talithna* ‘in the open’ is listed as a postposition because it takes morphology unique to postpositions (such as the spatial suffixes *-w(e), -k(e)*, and the nominalizing suffix *-li(li)*), but it does not, however, take objects.

The postposition *ē/etap(o)* ‘on the hammock of’ takes spatial suffixes (*-na, -ilē*), 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 (*ētatl* ‘on a hammock’). This postposition is clearly derived from the root for ‘hammock’ which has both a possessed (*etal(li)*) and an unpossessed form (*ētal(li)*). The noun must have historically fused with *po* ‘on (supported)’ resulting in a new postposition, as the deletion of /tt/ 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. 7.2.1.1.3)*.

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(e)* ‘in’ and the nominalizing suffix *-li(li)*. The parseability of *-w(e)*, 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 *tewaptau* do not occur.26

---

26 This scenario seems different in the Wayãna spoken in Surinam. A quick glance at the gospel of Luke (Schoen & Schoen, 1979) reveals that forms such as *iwaptau* and *tewaptau* 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. t-wapta-u ‘when I; if I’
2 b. 6-wapta-u ‘when you; if you’
1+2 c. ku-wapta-u ‘when us; if us’
3 d. *l-wapta-u (when he/she/it; if he/she/it’)
3Refl e. *tē-waptau (‘when 3rd self; if 3rd 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 pek temamine kuwaptau
kalipono pēkē tēmamine ku-wapta-wē
enemy busy.with have.work 1+w-SA-if-in
‘If we get busy working on the enemy...’ (Jolokob 288)

360) pasitume eitop tumosiptēi aptau,  
pahaitu-me ehi-topo t-umohiptē-he wapta-wē  
pastor-Attrb be-CircmsntNmlz Prtc-leave.O-Prtc when/if-in

ipokela eitop lēken wapēhjai malalē.  
ipoke-la ehi-topo lēken w-apēhi-ja-he malalē  
good-Neg be-CircmsntNmlz 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, tallilimamhe aptau...
 t-onop-he t-aililimam-he wapta-wē  
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* pêmit tikahpok!
    malonme *aptaω* pêmiti ti-kapï-po-ke
    ‘Then, therefore basket(kd.) Them-hand.craft.O-Caus-ProxImp’ (Vulture 018)

What we see here is a continuum from the more prototypically postpositional forms of (*w)a*pta, *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
    DemIninanMed around-AvIntens
    ‘All around it’ (Pêne 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 *îwala* ‘around me,’ *êwala* ‘around him/her/it,’ and *êëtê* 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) *tunaheta
   i-tuna-he-ta
   ISO-water-Des-PssNIntrVrbiz
   '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 -tihwe ‘Postiority’. 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) *ahpo ‘on the back of’< apī ‘back’ + po ‘on’
366) *uhpo ‘on top of’< upu ‘head’ + po ‘on’
367) *empata ‘in front of’< emī ‘face’ + pata ‘land, place’
368) *etap(o) ‘on hammock of’< etat(t) ‘hammock’ + po ‘on’
369) *lamna ‘in the center of’< lamī ‘belly’ + na ‘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 état(t) ‘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, īpī ‘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’ (*īpī upu or *īpī uputpē).
7. ADVERBS.

The Wayána 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 Wayána 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 4.2.2.2.2 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(lik), 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 (*petuku* ‘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) \[ \text{Welhi ene ipok} \]
\[ \text{welhi ene-}O \text{ ipoke} \]
\[ \text{woman see.}O\text{-RecPst well} \]
\[ '\text{He/she/it saw the woman well'} \]

2) \[ *\text{welhi ipok ene} \]

3) \[ \text{Welhi ipokan ene} \]
\[ \text{welhi ipoke-anu ene-}O \]
\[ \text{woman good-}Pt\text{Nmlz see.}O\text{-RecPst} \]
\[ '\text{He/she/it saw the good woman'} \]

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 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.1

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.

---

1 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/kə/</th>
<th>Adverbs ending with /kə/ or /Ce/</th>
<th>Adverbs starting with /t/ and/or ending with /Ce/ or /Ië/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kə/</td>
<td>walunlåk(ë) ‘evening’</td>
<td>Tala ‘how’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ulalak(ë) ‘soft; malleable’</td>
<td>tan(ë) ‘here (specific)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tånu ‘fearful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tê ‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tiklena ‘together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ta ‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lë/</td>
<td>aïlé ‘truthful’</td>
<td>taptêlë ‘round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anualë ‘tomorrow’</td>
<td>tuwalë ‘knowingly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hemalë ‘today; now’</td>
<td>tîlëlë ‘different’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mënßanumalë ‘day after tomorrow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mêléanumalë ‘on the next day’</td>
<td>tâlë ‘here (Nspe)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>huwa(lë) ‘as such’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>malalë ‘same’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mîja(lë) ‘thither’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wannë(lë) ‘later; afterwards’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>malë ‘also; too’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/në/</td>
<td>êkëmnë ‘behind’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mê(w)lnë ‘nearby’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mê(w)lnë ‘a lot’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/he/</td>
<td>hekehe ‘happy’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jeklawahe ‘clean’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ne/</td>
<td>jahpine ‘thin; shallow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kokone ‘yesterday’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mënßokone ‘day before yesterday’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ke/</td>
<td>ehewake ‘happy’;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ipok(e) ‘good’;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lomok(e) ‘low; short’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>upak(e) ‘long ago’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ahmek(e?) ‘bothersome; nauseating’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ehahe ‘cracked’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/le/</td>
<td>ejale ‘close’;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kôlë ‘many; a lot’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ulale ‘disgusted’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ëlle ‘angry; fierce’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pëtule ‘beautiful’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/je/</td>
<td>ahpoj(e) ‘much’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hej(e) ‘undefined med. loc.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mêj(e) ‘undefined dist. loc.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-me/</td>
<td></td>
<td>Talimene ‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tunatlam(e) ‘head down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tëhme ‘quiet; still’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tekme ‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tîhpëpuume ‘brown skinned’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-he/</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tîpìnahe ‘abandoned’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-ne/</td>
<td></td>
<td>Têmamîne ‘with work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Têmêne ‘stealing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tîpîne ‘dearly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>apsik(l) ‘small; little’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pëwej ‘alone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pëkëna ‘alone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jakwe ‘sweet; salty’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kawë ‘high; tall’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pëtuklu ‘beautiful; well’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imnë ‘without’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molo ‘there (medial)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mon(o) ‘there (distal)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mijë ‘thither’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sija ‘thither’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>poptë ‘more or less’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pîtëna ‘at hunt’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kupepsik(t) ‘short’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data in Table 1 show the many recurrent segmental sequences among primitive adverbs.² 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 /kel/, /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 4.2.2.2.2). Some end with /phakē/ /mhekē/ and like the discontinuous adverbializer i-phak(e)i-mhak(e) 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.

² The final vowels of ahmek ‘bothersome; nauseating’ and pēwēl ‘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 /el/. As for pēwēl, 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]←/kaikuh/.
### Classes of monomorphemic non-primitive adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/me/, /pe/</th>
<th>amolime</th>
<th>'next time'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ihme</td>
<td>'existent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kupime</td>
<td>'long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uwame</td>
<td>'healthy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wijome</td>
<td>'crooked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>howoime</td>
<td>'light weight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>malkam(e)</td>
<td>'bitter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pfume</td>
<td>'hanging'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ahpe</td>
<td>'untrue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imulikuhpe</td>
<td>'short-waisted'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| /t?-ke/ | tamecheke | 'careful' |
|         | tikoloke  | 'white'   |
|         | tupke     | 'deep'    |
|         | telenijke | 'worried' |
|         | tawake    | 'happy'   |
|         | tewantepanek(e?) | 'by oneself' |
| /t?-le/ | timile    | 'bloody'  |
|         | takpile   | 'red'     |
|         | tapile    | 'open'    |
|         | timulihule| 'long-waisted' |
|         | tumhelule | 'long-haired' |
| /t?-je/ | thule     | 'a while' |
|         | tifule    | 'blue; green' |
|         | tomotai(e) | 'head down' |
| /t?-he/ | teklewej(e) | 'slippery' |
|         | temjah(e) | 'in hand' |

| /phake/, /mhake/ | amolephak(e) | 'fast' |
|                 | jephak(e)   | 'sharp (blade)' |
|                 | tkipak(e)   | 'lazy' |
|                 | ememhak(e)  | 'greedy' |
|                 | etakuluhmak(e) | 'ugly' |
|                 | ankohemak(e) | 'at mid-day' |
|                 | ulaphak(e)  | 'disgusted' |
|                 | akelahak(e) | 'far' |

#### 7.1.1.3. Complex non-derived adverbs

Evidence of internal complexity of monomorphemic adverbs, other than the sole recurrent phonological sequences in their beginning or end, exists in various degrees. In many cases, what may have been the root occurs in several stems with related meanings, and the possible old forms of adverbializers can be traced (*-ke, *-le, *je, *-ne, *t-, etc.).

---

3 The last vowel of tewantepanek is not known.
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(ē) ‘disgusted’, and *pētule alternates with *pētuku(lu) ‘beautiful; well’. Though the morpheme *-phak(ē) exists marginally in the language today, no evidence for the morpheme *-le (or *ku(lu)) is found. Another similar case is that of *ēhewake ‘happy’ versus *tawake ‘happy’ (which can be compared with verbal root *ewakta ‘laugh; be happy’ and *ewakma ‘attract love from O’) where /ēh/ seems to be the remains of *ēh(e)-, the still operative ‘Reciprocal’, and /ti/ a reflex of an old *t- adverbializer (thus, *tawake seems to be a form displaying *t- rather than *-ke). It seems that *ula, *pētu, and *e/āwake 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 *ēh(e)- and -ta ‘Possessive Verbalizer’ and -ma ‘Give Verbalizer’ all inflect nouns.

A more complex case is that of adverbs *ipok(e) ‘good’, *pōptē ‘more or less’ (adverb), and *ipophak(ē) ‘lucky, good at hunting’. They are all formed with /po/ which clearly meant ‘good’ and, it seems with *-ke, *-ptē (unattested), and -phak(ē). /po/ is also found morphemes that belong to different speech classes such as *ipōptē ‘bad one; violent one’ (noun), i-V-*pophak(ē) ‘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 ēile ‘fierce; angry’ and ahpoj(e) ‘much’ have postpositional equivalents, ēile ‘angry at’ and ahpo ‘over’. For ēile vs. ēile, 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’ (/api+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 méj(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 méje may have been both internally complex. The syllable /he/ may have had the meaning of ‘proximal’ (cf. /hi/ in sija and sin(i)), and /mé/ the meaning of ‘distal’ (cf. /mi/ 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)  - tēi       meha
tē-je       m-cha-O
where-away  2S-α-be-RecPst
‘Where away were you?’
5) - he'i weha
   heje w-eha-O
NspscMedLoc 1SA-be-RecPst
'I was around there'

6) - Tëti mumëk? wikane eja.
   tëë-je m-umëkti-O wi-ka-ne e-ja
where?-away 2SA-come-RecPst 1SA-say-DistPst 3-Dat

   - Hei, kunka inëlëë.
   heje kun-ka inëlëë
NspscMedLoc 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 (aëk mule ja
'take it to the child').

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>undefined location</th>
<th>proximal/medial</th>
<th>distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>motion</td>
<td>sija</td>
<td>miia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>sin(i)</td>
<td>min(i)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.1.1.3.2. /t/ and /t_ Ce/ adverbs. Among these are two adverbs with pospositional
equivalents, tuvalë 'knowingly' (vs. uvalë '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 témamine 'with work', for which the source,
maminu 'work', still exists.

Some adverbs more clearly show reflexes of a discontinuous morpheme. For
instance, timulihule 'long-waisted' seems to be formed with *muli 'waist(?)' plus *hu
'long (?)', and with adverbializer *t-N-le (compare to imulikuhpe 'short waisted' and
tumhelhule 'long-haired', and /tumhe/ 'hair'). Also, tipinahe 'abandoned', seems to be
formed with *t-N-he. Cf. adverbs tipine 'dearly' and pinaophak(e) '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. mĩu* ‘blood’), *rikoloke* ‘white’ (*ewu ekolokit* ‘white part of the eye’), *ekololĩ* ‘(white) bread crumbs’, *koloka* ‘clean it off’, and *akoloka* ‘clear brush’.

Finally, *tēwantēpanēk* ‘by oneself’ seems to be formed with the postposition *wantē* ‘one’s will’ and the intensifying particle *panēk*, and possibly *t*-.* The adverb is nominalized with -an(u) (*tēwantēpanēkan* ‘one (who does it) by himself’), but the particle may not be nominalized (*panēkan*).

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 *mēlē*, and *mon(o)* resembles the distal pronoun *mēn(t)*.

The adverb *kawē* ‘tall, high’ seems to have had a nominal correspondent (*cf. kawemhak(ê)* ‘tall’ and *kawemna* ‘not tall; short’, with de-nominal adverbializers -mhak(ê) and -mla). *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 *ikîphak(ê)* ‘lazy,’ which may be compared to *î-ki-pēm* ‘I was lazy’ (with verbalizer -pam(t)). No other form with *(t)ki* (lazy) is found, however.

The adverb *kupepisk(i)* ‘short’ seems to be composed of *kup*V ‘long (?)’ (*cf. kupime* ‘long’, *kupV* plus the morpheme *-me*) and *psik(t)*. An obvious candidate as the source for the second element is the particle *psik* meaning *little* or *small*. Synchronously,
however, while no nominalizing suffixes may follow \textit{psik}, this adverb may be nominalized with \textit{-an(u): kupepsikan(u)} ‘the short one’. Thus, \textit{psik} cannot be synchronically parsed in this form.

The adverb \textit{ihme-ihpe} ‘existent; having’ has a suffixal correspondent, the denominal adverbializer \textit{-hme/-hpe}. Both the adverb and the suffix are nominalized with \textit{-an(u)}:

\begin{enumerate}
\item a. ihme-ihpe ‘There is; there exists’
\item b. ihman ‘one that has (it)’
\item c. wapu-hpe ‘There is wapu’
\item d. wapu-hpan. ‘one that has wapu (palm tree (sp.))’
\end{enumerate}

The relative distribution of \textit{ihme} and \textit{hme} is somewhat analogous to that of nominal and postpositional phrases where third person prefixes are in complementary distribution with nominal possessors or objects (\textit{i-pêk} ‘about \textit{it}, \textit{ulu pêk} ‘about \textit{bread}’). Though no synchronic function can be assigned to \textit{i/i} in \textit{ihme}, it is conceivable that \textit{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 \textit{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, \textit{mna} will be exactly parallel to \textit{(i)hme}. The particle \textit{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.\(^4\)

The adverbs *mīnkoke* ‘day before yesterday’, *mīnānumalē* ‘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)).\(^5\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>kokone</th>
<th>‘yesterday’</th>
<th>wantē(lē)</th>
<th>‘later; afterwards’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hemalē</td>
<td>‘now; today’</td>
<td>upak(e)</td>
<td>‘long ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anumalē</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
<td>amolime</td>
<td>‘next time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>walunak</td>
<td>‘evening’</td>
<td>tfhule</td>
<td>‘a while’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ankombak(ē)</td>
<td>‘mid day’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sizes, shapes, dimensions</td>
<td>apsik(e)</td>
<td>‘small; little’</td>
<td>taptēlē</td>
<td>‘round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jahpine</td>
<td>‘thin; shallow’</td>
<td>kupime</td>
<td>‘long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lomok(e)</td>
<td>‘short; low’</td>
<td>wijome</td>
<td>‘crooked’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kawē</td>
<td>‘high; tall’</td>
<td>tupke</td>
<td>‘deep; full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weights, measures, quantities</td>
<td>kole</td>
<td>‘many; a lot’</td>
<td>mē(w)ihnē</td>
<td>‘a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tekme</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
<td>ahpoj(e)</td>
<td>‘much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kupepsik</td>
<td>‘short (not long)’</td>
<td>poptē</td>
<td>‘more or less’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>howoime</td>
<td>‘light weight’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^4\) The adverb *apsik(tj)* 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/.

\(^5\) 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Direction of Motion Location</strong></th>
<th><strong>mɪja</strong></th>
<th>'thither'</th>
<th><strong>şija</strong></th>
<th>'hither'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>deictic</strong></td>
<td>tan(é)</td>
<td>'here (Spc)'</td>
<td>mé(w)ihmë</td>
<td>'nearby'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>talë</td>
<td>'here (Nspc)'</td>
<td>ékëmnë</td>
<td>'behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molo</td>
<td>'there (medial)'</td>
<td>ejale</td>
<td>'close'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mon(o)</td>
<td>'there (distal)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heje</td>
<td>'non-spéc. med. loc.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mëje</td>
<td>'non-spéc. dist. loc.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Qualities</strong></th>
<th><strong>physical attributes</strong></th>
<th><strong>psychological attributes/evaluations</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ulalak(é)</td>
<td>aïlé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tüklojëwej(ë)</td>
<td>hekehe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jephak</td>
<td>tawake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jeklawehe</td>
<td>ëhëawë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ttipëpuume</td>
<td>tameheke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ttimulihule</td>
<td>ëmëhmëhë(ë)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imulikuhpe</td>
<td>tëlëntëfë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jakwe</td>
<td>ipoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maikam(e)</td>
<td>pëtukulu(ë)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uwame</td>
<td>malalë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tawële</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tiwële</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tipëne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>témëme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ahmëke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tiwëfë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>conditions/situations/physical orientation</strong></th>
<th><strong>sensations/emotions/cognition</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tipëna</td>
<td>ulale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>témëmine</td>
<td>ulaphëk(ë)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitëna</td>
<td>eîle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piïle</td>
<td>tuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tëwantëpanëk(ë?)</td>
<td>tuwalë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikëna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëwëi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëkëna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuntulam(e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomotaje(ë)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tëmëme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timlë</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Question</strong></th>
<th><strong>huwa(lë)</strong></th>
<th>'as such'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>të</td>
<td>'where?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>'what?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Other</strong></th>
<th><strong>huwa(lë)</strong></th>
<th>'as such'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imma</td>
<td>'without'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ihme</td>
<td>'existent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amolephak(ë)</td>
<td>'fast'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.⁶ These adverbs are shown in Table 4 (inanimate pronouns are added for illustrative purposes):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbs</th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>well defined location</td>
<td>tan(é)</td>
<td>molo</td>
<td>mon(o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loosely defined location</td>
<td>talé</td>
<td>hēj(e)</td>
<td>mēj(e)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The adverb *tan(é)* 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
    tané 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 tané psik kunehak;
    hu ipoli tané phikī kun-eha-kē
    hu! mythical.river.being here(spc) little 3SgsDistPst-be-DistPst
    ‘Uh, the ipoo was just right here (where I am pointing)’ (Kaikui2 079)

---

⁶ Jackson (1972:68) uses the label ‘definite place’ versus ‘general area, indefinite’ for *tan(é)* as opposed to *talé* and for *molo* as opposed to *hēj(e)*. I chose not to use these labels, because, as discussed below, *talé* refers to a definite place, one always accessible to both the speaker and the hearer.
11) tan wai jetumhak jetaa pēk
    tanē wahe jetu-mhakē j-eta-lī pēkē
    here(spc) 1be hurt-ModAdvz 1-kidney-Pss about
    ‘I am hurting here, by my kidney’

12) ai, alika opinē, mēklēē ēkēi tan
    ai alika opinē mēklēē ēkēhi tanē
    Then worm.sp under DemAnnMed snake SpcProxLoc

    huwaal ētī pena malalija psikī htau
    huvalē ētī pena malalija phikī tta -wē
    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 adeictic 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(ē) ‘here’. She would have failed if she had used moto ‘there’ (see below), because it would mean that that location was somewhat distant from her.

An extended use of tan(ē) is that of functioning together with a hand gesture to indicate measurement (how tall or how much):

13) tanē psik inēlēē pepta me psik;
    tanē phikī inēlēē pepta me phikī
    SpcProxLoc little 3Pro.Anph big Attrib 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-umū-ka-he phikī emna ja
    T-root-PrivVrblz-He little 1+3ExclPro Erg

    tanē psik
    tanē phikī
    SpcProxLoc little
    ‘We unearthed (it) about this much’ (Lit.: ‘We unearthed here little’) (Kaikui2 014)

Of all the deictic adverbs, tan(ē) is the only one not to occur with -na ‘Goal’ and the particle inē ‘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(e) 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 iti witené akename
malonme tanë liw w-itë-ne akena-me
then here(spc) 1Pro 1S,go-DistPst first-Attrb
‘So, (from) here I myself went (ahead) first’ (Pëne 005)
(‘So, here I (was); I had gone (there) previously’)

16) mołoinë tan emna
mołojinë tanë emna
then here(spc) 1+3ExclPro

kunelamainë lep.
kun-e-lama-jmë lep
3S,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(e), 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 umékëmëne
seis dia-me aptawë w-umëkët-ëmë-ne
six day-Attrb when 1S,come-Resumpt-DistPst
talëna helë pakolo tak.
talë-na helë pakolo ta-kë
NspcProx.Loc-to Prsnv house in,permanent.loc-into
éhepinëtop tak,
ëh-epi-nëp-topo-Ø ta-kë
Det-medicine-Transvzr-CircmsntNmlz-Pss in,permanent.loc-into

ituw akīi pakolon tak;
itu akfiir-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  tı-pupo-ka-he  alawata
NsPcProxLoc  a.minute T-body.hair-PrivVrbz-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  kunevak  emna
   duas ola aptawë  talë  kun-eha-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  wi-te-me-jai
    malonme  talë  jnë  w-të-jmë-ja-he
    then NspcProxLoc Source 1Sa<go-Resumpt-NPst-SapAff

    aptau, ipatak;
    aptawë  t-pata-o-kë
thenfore 1-village-Pess-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) piipe  aptau  tan  eikë
    phi-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 \textit{talê}, 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. \textit{tan(ê)} may occur with them only when the clause refers to the past tense (24) and (25); \textit{talê}, on the other hand, may occur with the demonstratives in the present tense, again with the meaning of an enduring location (27) and (28).\footnote{The distal demonstrative pronoun \textit{mek(ê)} 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.}

\begin{verbatim}
23) tan  mèi
    tanê  mèhe
    SpcProxLoc DemAnnProx
    'This one (is) here (with me)'

24) tan  mèklê
    tanê  mèklê
    SpcProxLoc DemAnnMed
    'That one (was) here (close to me)'
    (*That one is here)

25) tan  mèk
    tanê  mèkî
    SpcProxLoc DemAnimDist
    'That one far away (was) here (close to me)'
    (*That one far away is here)

26) talê  mèi
    talê  mèhe
    NspcProxLoc DemAnnProx
    'This one (is) here (always by my side)'

27) talê  mèklêê
    talê  mèklêê
    NspcProxLoc DemAnnMed
    'That one (is always) here' (in the village)

28) mèk  talê
    mèkî  talê
    DemAnimDist NspcProxLoc
    'That one far away (is) here'
    (According to the speaker's judgement this refer to a person that is always inside his home)

29) talê  ka  pa  man
    talê  ka  pa  mane
    NspcProxLoc Quest Quest 2be
    'Are you (living) here?'
\end{verbatim}

The translation in (29) above corroborates with the idea that \textit{talê} refers to a non well-defined location. If a person \textit{lives} in a place, she will be moving around in there, and not necessarily be in a unique place. However, though \textit{talê} does not refer to a well defined location as does \textit{tan(ê)}, it still conveys the sense a stable, enduring one, as
indicated by the examples above. The conclusion to this is that *tan(e)* refers to temporary location and *tal(e)* 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* \( \begin{array}{ll} \text{man} & \text{perpetua} \text{ funai po} \\ \text{mane} & \text{perpetua} \text{ funai po} \end{array} \)

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* mumkē \( \begin{array}{ll} \text{man} & \text{molo} \\ \text{mane} & \text{molo} \end{array} \)

eagle animal.offspring \ 3be \ SpcMedLoc

*Masike* kēkimē \  hapēta

mahike k-ēkY-0-me h-apēhi-ta

With.that 1+2-pet-Pss-Attrib 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* \( \begin{array}{ll} \text{apalai} & \text{po} \text{ wehaken;} \\ \text{apalaj} & \text{po} \text{ w-e ha-ken} \end{array} \)

SpcMedLoc Aparai at 1S-1A-be-DistPst

‘There, in Aparai (village) I was’ (Alvina 013)

(Speaker is in Macapa city)
33) \[molo\ \text{tipalumke}\ \text{wehaken}\]
\[molo\ \text{ti-palum}^{\text{-ke}}\ \text{w-eha-ken}\]
SpcMedLoc Having-son.in.law-Having 1S\text{\_be-DistPst}
‘There, I had a son-in-law’ (Walema 099)

In fact, \textit{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) \[\text{\textit{èhnela\ \text{têéthihe.\ \textit{molo\ \text{lepi\ \text{inlélèt\ \text{lep}}}}}}\]
\[\text{èh-en-e-la\ \text{tê-w-i{ê\text{-he\ \textit{molo\ \text{lepi\ \text{inlélèt\ \text{lep}}}}}}}}\]
Det-see.O- Neg T\text{-S\_become-He SpcMedLoc Advrs 3Pro.Anph Advrs
\[\text{\textit{lome\ \text{èhnela\ \textit{esike,}}}}\]
\[\text{\textit{lome\ \text{èh-en-e-la\ chike}}\\text{\textit{but}}\ \text{Det-see.O-Neg because}}\]
‘(He) became invisible. But, he was \textit{there}, contrary to the odds, but (it was (i.e., it looked as if he wasn’t there)) because he was invisible’
(Jolookoa 095, 096, 097)

This shows that, in the narrative of past events, the use of the medial \textit{molo} is the only option. The choice of the distal \textit{mon(o)} over \textit{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 where not vividly happening right there, on the stage. In this case, \textit{molo} still refers to a well defined location in the sense that that is where the action happens. It still contrasts with both \textit{mon(o)} and hej(e) (see below).

This is not to say, however, that \textit{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 ëhtë le emna kuninik
    ee mono ëttë le emna kun-imkë
Excl SpcDistLoc Where Intens 1+3ExclPro 3SpDistPst-sleep
  'Ee, there far, where really (was it?), we slept' (Pêne 059)

36) ope ja ténei, té upakhapak akëlephak taakanë léken som léken,
   Ò-epe-Ò ja t-ëne-he té upakhapak akëlephakë taakanë léken som léken
3-friend-Pss Erg T-see.O-He té? ? far taakanë? only stand.up snd only
   ëhewa nma tëëtanimhe, kilim kahe inëlëë,
ëhewa nma t-e-wët-anim-he kilim ti-ka-he inëlëë
by.oneself Intens T-S,Det-take-He inert snd T-do-He 3Pro.Anph

mon tuleleka,
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 inë ‘source’, since /molo-inë/ (‘from there’) has developed into
moloinë ‘then’, a discourse marker:

37) telëi iu, molona;
   t-ëli-he iwu molo-na
T-take-He 1Pro SpcMedLoc-to
  '(He) took me there (lit.: ‘to there’) (Sapot 010)
38) tikai moloínê ololi
tê-ka-he moloínê ololi
T-say-He then iguana
‘Said, then, Iguana’ (Iguana 064)

39) moloínê tumêkhe pija
moloínê t-umêkî-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
talê, hej(e) encodes a location where the object may be moving around.

40) - tôe pa ne kaiku;
têe pa ne kajikuhi
where? Quest ? jaguar

- mëk toma enekêt hei hnê hapon nai man wewe po;
méky toma O-ene-kêfî heje tnê haponu naj mane wewe po
DemAnmDist Verit 3-see.O-InLmp 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) ênîk pena man hei ihpe.
ênikî pena mane heje ippe
who Hesitative 3be NspcMedLoc Exist

Maipuli mumkê wenene.
maipuli mumukê-O w-ene-ne
tapir animal.Oﬀspring-Pss 1A3O-see.O-DistPst
‘Someone exists there somewhere. I saw a tapir cub’ (Tamopoale 040, 041)
While *hej(e)* encodes a medial location, it may be used idiosyncratically to refer to a location where the speaker is. In the passage below from a historical narrative, a woman who is starting to turn into a monkey talks to her husband. He is trying to convince her to come down from a tree in the jungle and go back with him to the village. She refuses and tells her husband that she will live now around where she is, in the trees in the jungle. This is an exceptional example, because the woman refers to the place where she is (the jungle) by means of the medial *hej(e)*, instead of by means of the expected proximal *talé*.

```
2SA-fall-NPst-SapAff Intens
"You are going to fall." (husband)
"I am really not going to fall" (wife)

*jepamjai* heje
j-epamj:-ja-he *heje*
1SO-get.used.to-NPst-SapAff 'NspcMedLoc
'I am going to get used to around here’ (Lit.: 'somewhere around there,’
i.e., to the jungle’s whereabouts)

*mija* nai wai etiléméla
*mija* naj wahe étill-èmè-la
thither Intens 1be become-Resumpt-Neg
'I will not turn out to be thither again’ (i.e. to be in the village’s whereabouts)
(Woman 069, 070, 071, 072)
```

This interesting example suggests that, by taking the perspective of a person in the village, the woman detaches herself from her actual location and talks as if she herself was in the village. When in the village, the speaker refers to it as a whole only by means of the proximal *talé*, while whereabouts in the jungle are more frequently referred to by means of *hej(e)*. Therefore, the use of *hej(e)* is subject to how a speaker views a situation.

In the world of the narrative, *hej(e)* may function like *molo* in that it may refer to a location where the events are taking place. In the example below, the distance between two characters is contrasted by the use of *hej(e)* versus the distal *mēj(e)*. In this passage,
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 méj(e):

but DemAnmMed Erg T-see,O-He
NspcDistLoc-PtNmlz friend Erg

........................................
lome mëkelë enenela
lome mëkelë ēn-ence-la
thus DemAnmMed 3Neg-see,O-Neg

hejelon talihnalii,
heje-lonu talitna-liii
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 inē ‘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.\(^8\) All examples taking -na in the database mark a definite location, frequently a named one (amat pona ‘onto the branch of the river).

44) nētuhamo nai heje inē kawē inē
n-ētupmo-O naj heje jnē kawē jnē
3S\(_4\)-fall-RecPstIntens NspcMedLoc Source high Source
‘It fell from somewhere around there, from above’ (Kaikui2 032)

45) malonme, hei inē tēkētse pēwēina
malonme heje jnē tē-kēt-He pēwējna

\(^8\) 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 méj(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 éhtë le emna kunìnik
    ee mono éttë le emna kun-lnikì
    Excl SpcDistLoc Where Intens l+3ExclPro l+3SgDistPst-sleep
    ‘Ee, there far, where really?, we slept.’ (Pène 059)

47) méjë wena lëken emna kunmékëmë
    méjë wena-Ø lëken emna kun-unëkë-ëmë
    DemInnanMed river.shore-Pss only 1+3ExclPro 1+3SgDistPst-come-Resumpt
    hummm mon man
    hummm mono mane
    hummm SpcDistLoc 3be
    ‘Only (on) that shore (of the Kuleiuku river), we came. It is very far.’ (Pène 090)

48) papa, ipoo toma mëk mon
    papa ipolë toma mëkë mono
    father mythical.river.being Verit DemAnmDist SpcDistLoc
    ‘Father, river being (is) truly 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) tîtëi monona lëken
    tî-w-të-he mono-na lëken
    T-Sg-go-He SpcDistLoc-to only
    ‘(It) went only to far over there’ (Sapot 024)

50) emna tumëkëmëi, monna èhema tak;
    emna t-umëkëi-ëmë-he mono-na èhema 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)

374
The other member of the distal pair, *mēje* 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 teēna nma pa toma kuptēja.
   maa heke tī-ka-he ĭwu tē-na nma pa toma kup-tē-ja
   So only T-say-He 1Pro Where-to Intens Quest Verit 1+2SO-go-NPst

*mēje* nma ka toma ne tikai iu,
*NspcDistLoc* Intens Quest Verit ? T-say-He 1Pro

lome amat ĭninomtala emna kulieuku
lome amatī ĭn-i-nomta-la emna kulijewuku
but branch 3Neg-Them-leave.O-Neg 1+3ExclPro kulijewuku

ēninomtala
ēn-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.'
(Pêne 087, 088, 089)

In a pattern parallel to that of medial *hej(e)*, *mēj(e)* occurs with *īnē* 'source', but no examples with -*na* 'goal' are found in the database.

52) mēje lēē inē
mēje lēē jnē
*NspcDistLoc* *Emph Source*
‘Really far away’

An exceptional combination is *mon(o)* plus *mēj(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 tèétanimhe, mon
malonme emna tê-w-ét-anîmi-he mono
then 1+3ExclPro T-SA-Det-take-He SpcDistLoc
mêi, jakêtëma po, muhunu amikhe, alika amikhe;
mêje jakêtëma po muhunu amik-he alika amik-he
NspcDistLoc Jakêtëma at bait get-PurpMot worm.sp get -PurpMot
‘Then, there far at Jakêtëma we went (around) in order to get bait, alika’ (Snake 021)

54) lome, elamhak iu ametai estike;
lome ela-mhakê  twu Ø-ameta-je ehiike
but fear-ModAdvlz1Pro 3-to.down.river-away because

mon mêi.
mono mêje
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 mêi, êtî pena amat etato po.
mono mêje êtî pena amatì 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 mêje psik.
mono mêje phîkî
SpcDistLoc NspcDistLoc little
‘‘There a little far (she is)’’ (Tamopoale 083)

57) emna kunêhepolemê mon mêje psik
emna kun-êh-epoli-êmê mono mêje phîkî
1+3ExclPro 1+3SADistPst-Det-find.O-Resumpt SpcDistLoc NspcDistLoc little
‘We found ourselves somewhere very far away’ (Pène 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(ê) 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 *mēje* because it too stable and everyone knows where it is. However, it will be referred to with *talē*, 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(ē)*, 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 *inē* ‘Source’. As for the other deictic adverbs, they all take *inē* (this needs to be confirmed for *mon(o)*), but they do not all take -*na*. This the case of adverbs *hej(e)* and *mēj(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(ē)* and *talē*, 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:

```
    ↑    ↓
       -----------→-----  ----------- ←-----  mija  'hither; motion away from the speaker'
       ↓    ↑
speaker  sija  'hither; motion in the direction of the speaker'
```
The examples below exemplify this:

58) pola sija alimak rubi
   pola hija alima-kē rubi
   ball hither throw-ProxImp
   ‘Throw the ball towards here, Rupi’

59) pola mija alimak rubi
   pola mija alima-kē rubi
   ball thither throw-ProxImp
   ‘Throw the ball that way, Rupi’

60) enepkē sija
   Ø-enep-kē hija
   3-bring-ProxImp
   ‘Bring it towards here’

61) mija alēk
   mija Ø-alē-kē
   thither 3-bring-ProxImp
   ‘Take it that way’

62) *mija enepkē

63) *alēk 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 kunētakupjaka hemele mija tütei.
   emna kun-ēt-akupjaka hemele mija tī-w-ĭtē-he
   1+3ExclPro 1+3SA DistPst-Det-split now thither T-SA-go-He
   ‘We went away (from the path). We went thither.’ (Pēne 106)

65) malonme, ēkēmē tütei
   emna hemele mija
   malonme ēkēmēnē tī-w-ĭtē-he emna hemele mija
   then later T-SA-go-He 1+3ExclPro soon thither

   napi umkai;
   napi uml-ka-he
   potato root-PrivVrblz-PurpMot
   ‘Then, latter we went thither (from the village) in order to unroot potatoes’ (Ĭmē 018)

66) moloinē, emna kunmēkēmē sija,
   moloiinē emna kun-umēkī-ēmē hija
   Then 1+3ExclPro 3DistPst-come-Resumpt thither
   ‘Then, we came this way’ (Alawaka 013)’
   (The speaker is telling about one of his trip back to the village where he is now).
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 *umēk(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)tē* ‘go’ (74-75).
71)  **moloinē emna kunelamaimē sija**
    moloinē emna kun-e-lama-jmē **hija**
    Then 1+3ExclPro 1+3Sə-DistPst-Det-turn.O-Resumpt hither

    **lēlē le kanawa jak.**
    lēlē le kanawa ja-kē
    Emph Intens canoe container.like-into
    ‘Then, we came back hither to the canoe.’ (Mopelu 025)

72)  **uhpak huwaa tētēkhe emna**
    upake-h huwalē tē-wētilk-he emna
    long.ago-AvIntens as.such T-Sə-become-He 1+3ExclPro

    **sija,**
    **hija**
    hither
    ‘(It has been a) long time we have been (moving) hither.’ (Pêne 045)

73)  **tala aptau kalipono sija ni-ka-ja**
    tala aptawē kalipono **hija** ni-ka-ja
    how when non.Wâyana hither 3Sə-do-Npst
    ‘When are the non-Wâyana people doing (business) hither?’
    (i.e., approaching here) (Jolokob 299)

74)  **uwa, witējai sija asiki kum**
    uwa w-itē-ja-he **hija** ahikë kumē
    Neg 1Sə-go-NPst-SapAff' hither Ahikë mouth.(of.river)

    **tak**
    ta-kē
    in.permanent.loc-into
    ‘No, I will go there to the Asiki mouth’ (Kaikui2 005)

75)  **asimhak, sija tītēi**
    ahi-mhakē **hija** tl-w-itē-he
    fast-ModAdvlx hither T-Sē-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 hnē mija,**
    w-ukuku-ja-he tnē mija
    1A3O-try-NPst-SapAff still thither
    ‘I will try until the end’ (Walema2 131)

77)  **mihja wipohnēmne,**
    miha-h w-i-pohnēp-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  téwepei  mija  tmé  pona
      emna  tē-w-epe-he  mija  tmé  po-na
1+3ExclPro  T-Sₐ-flee-He  thither  farm  on-to

ihjan  pona,
ihjanu  po-na
newlnan  on-to
‘We fled thither to a plantation, to a new one.’ (Monkey 012)

79)  mija,  etpilt  stak  tumosiptēi  inēlēē
      mija  O-etpilt-Ø  tta-kē  t-umohiptē-he  inēlēē
    thither  3-edge-Pls  among-into  T-leave.Ø-He  3Pro.Anph
‘Thither, to the edge (of the village), (he) left her’ (Jolokoa 201)

80)  kopē  tamuu  ailē  emna
      kopē  tamulu  ajīlē  emna
    rain  mighty  right  1+3ExclPro

tēwemekēmēi  sija  pakolo  tak
  tē  -w-emek-ēmē-he  hiia  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, thither, 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.\footnote{Adverbial nominalization is discussed in section 4.2.2.2.2.}

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/.\footnote{Discontinuous adverbializers are common in the languages of the Cariban family. For a discussion see Gildea 1998:140.} 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. -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
not seem to add any meaning (84-88), and it seems to function solely to put an item into
the periphery, as an adverb.11

83) a. étanme neha
etatté-me n-eha-Ô
hammock-Attrb 3S₄-be-RecPst
‘It was hammock-like, as a hammock’
c. kapau-me
deer(sp.)-Attrb
‘brownish’ (i.e., deer-like, as a deer)

84) peptame tunu teétihe hemele ikutpe katif,
pepta-me tunu tē-w-ettir-he hemele ikutpe katip
big-Attrb water T₃S₄-become-He already lake alike
‘(The) water was huge already, like a lake.’ (Pêne 102)

85) paluun peptame neha
palulu pepta-me n-eha-Ô
banana big-Attrb 3S₄-be-RecPst
‘(The) bananas were big’

86) paluul pepta inalëe;
paluul pepta t-n-alé-li'
banana big 1-ObjNmlz-take-Pss
‘The one I brought (were) big bananas
(Kaiku 045)

87) pțsi
pîhi
shame
‘Shame’

88) wîțem pțipoe
w-Îțem-Ô pîhi-pe
1S₃-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) iptme esiike
i-pî-thîme ehiike
3-wife-Pss-Attrb because
‘because she is his wife’

---

11 Glossing this morpheme as ‘Attributive’ is now a tradition within the Cariban family (cf. Gildea
90) **wanté** *ipakolonme*
wantèlé *t-pakolo-nu-me*
later/afterwards 1-house-Pss-Attrb
‘Later (it will serve) as my house’

91) **Isela... Isela ka man őwekime?**
i-he-la i-he-la ka mané ęw-ekyll-0-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 këkime hapêita**
mahike k-ekyll-0-me h-apêhi -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 tiîhe**
moloinjënt-oit-0-me t-îî-he
Then 3RefI-meat-Pss-Attrb T-make-He
‘Then, (he) prepared (it) as his own meal’ (Tamopoale 066)

94) **ise neha tipatunme**
i-he n-eha-0 tî-patu-nu-me
3-Des 3S=be-RecPst 3RefI-pan-Pss-Attrb
‘She wanted it as her pan’

95) **Pasi psik lëken ikaimome**
pahi phîkî lëken i-kajimo-0-me
rodent(sp.) small only 3-game-Pss-Attrb
‘Only (a) small agouti (was) his game’ (Tukusimule 012)

96) **masike helë katîp wikei nila nipanakmaame**
mahike helë katîp wî-ka-ja-he nila n-i-pakanma-li-me
With.that PrsntvPro alike 1S=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 téhemme**
poptè t-ë-he-mî-me
more.or.less Prte-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  țihe  ilasilamtohme
hihi  tna-kê  t-ți-he  i-lahilami-topo-O-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  nìtem
topme  n-nìtem]-O
why  3Sa-go-RecPst
‘Why did he go?’

7.2.1.1.2. -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).12

100)  
upak  kunehak  tamusihme
upeke  kun-eha-kê  tamuhi-pme
long.ago  3Sx,DistPst-be-DistPst  old.man-ExistentAvlz
‘A long time ago there were old men.’ (Jolokod 728)

101)  
mituhpe  esiike,
miwu-ppe  ehiike
blood-ExistentAvlz because
‘because there was blood (on it)’ (Jolokoc 419)

102)  
kumuhpe  manai
kumu-ppe  mana-he
palm.tree(sp.)-ExisttentAvlz  2be-SapAff
‘You have kumu (fruit)’ (Lit.: ‘kumu-existing you are’)

103)  
tèhemihpe  wai
t-è-he-mi-ppe  wahe
Prtc-eat.meat-Prtc-PtNmlz-ExisttentAvlz  1be
‘I have meat’ (Lit.: ‘meat-existing I am’)

---

12 This suffix has a corresponding free form, ihpe/-hme ‘Existent; having’. It takes allomorph -an(u) of the
‘Participant Nominalizer’.
104)  
\[ ulu \text{-} \text{pme} \quad \text{wa} \text{i} \]
\[ \text{ulu} \text{-} \text{pme} \quad \text{wa} \text{he} \]
\[ \text{manioc} \text{-} \text{bread} \text{-} \text{Exist} \text{ent} \text{Avlz} \quad \text{1} \text{-} \text{be} \]
'I have manioc bread' (Lit.: 'manioc bread-existing I am')

105)  
\[ tinkle \text{-} \text{pme} \quad \text{wa} \text{he} \]
\[ \text{manioc} \text{-} \text{juicer} \text{-} \text{Exist} \text{ent} \text{Avlz} \quad \text{1} \text{be} \]
'I have manioc juicer' (Lit.: 'manioc juicer-existing I am')

The existential suffix occurs frequently with unpossessed nominal stems, even when the noun in question belongs to the optionally possessed category as in examples (101), (104), and (105) above. A comparison with the attributive -me/-pe reveals that the existential suffix seems more restricted in its distribution. While the attributive occurs with any noun, including forms possessed with SAP and the third person reflexive suffix, examples with the existential suffix on nouns with SAP prefixes are marginally accepted (108-109) and examples with third person reflexive prefix t(i)- are unattested. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the existential suffix is that it may occur on nominal stems inflected with a non-referential possessive (?) prefix i- (106) and (110). This prefix is glossed here as 'third person' because, as seen in the next sections with other adverbilizers, it presents the same allomorphy as the third person possessive prefix. Example (94) is repeated here for comparative purposes.

106)  
\[ i \text{-} \text{pi} \text{p} \text{i} \text{p} \text{i} \text{i} \text{hme} \quad \text{man} \]
\[ \text{i} \text{-} \text{pi} \text{p} \text{i} \text{p} \text{i} \text{hme} \quad \text{mane} \]
\[ 3 \text{-} \text{skin} \text{-} \text{Pss} \text{-} \text{Exist} \text{ent} \text{Avlz} \quad \text{3} \text{be} \]
'(lt) has skin (as opposed to having scales)

107)  
\[ (? \text{tpi} \text{p} \text{i} \text{p} \text{i} \text{hme} \quad \text{man}) \]

108)  
\[ j \text{-} \text{epa} \text{-} \text{ponu} \text{-} \text{ppe} \]
\[ 1 \text{-} \text{teach} \text{-} \text{Pst} \text{Agt} \text{-} \text{Exist} \text{ent} \text{Avlz} \]
'I have my former teacher (there)'

109)  
\[ *j \text{kep} \text{p} \text{i} \text{hme} \quad \text{wai} \]
(I have my patient)

110)  
\[ i \text{-} \text{pu} \text{pu} \text{lo} \text{hpe} \quad \text{wai} \]
\[ i \text{-} \text{pu} \text{pu} \text{lo} \text{hpe} \quad \text{waihe} \]
\[ 3 \text{-} \text{foot} \text{-} \text{Pss} \text{-} \text{Exist} \text{ent} \text{Avlz} \quad \text{1} \text{be} \]
'I have feet'
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 adverbilizing 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.
7.2.1.1.3. -mna 'without'. Like the attributive -mel/-pe, -mna can occur with all noun classes, including both possessed and unpossessed stems. 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-mnna mane jaguar-without 3be ‘There is no jaguar’ (Kaikui 026)

b. mamakomna wai mamako-mnna wahe mother-without 1be ‘I do not have a mom (i.e., she has died)’

c. iumna manu wai lwu-mnna manu wahe 1Pro-without Irrealis 1be ‘I wouldn’t be here’ (Snake 026)

d. kunimna kuni-mnna grandmother-without ‘Grandma is not here’

e. Lome, imëmna lome lmë-mnna but farm-without ‘But (there was) no farm’ (Sulalapana 025)

With possessable nouns -mna behaves similarly to -hpel/-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. In co-referential contexts, such occurrences are dubious. Besides not being found at all in texts, such SAP inflected stems are

---

1 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.

14 Again, as with stems with the existential -hpel/-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 \textit{t(i)-}, a prefix that is obligatorily co-referential with the sentences subject, were not accepted (114 e, 115 e). Instead, one finds that performing this semantic function are forms inflected with third person \textit{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 \textit{i-}.

The \textit{i-} inflected forms have also a non co-referential meaning, but that is not preferential (114 b, 115 b). In sum, \textit{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. \textit{épatunumna wai} \\
\hspace{1cm} \textit{ékalakunumna wai} \\
\hspace{1.5cm} \textit{é-patu-nu-mna wahe} \\
\hspace{2cm} \textit{é-kalakuli-nu-mna wahe} \\
\hspace{2.5cm} \textit{2-pane-Pss-without 1be} \\
\hspace{3.5cm} \textit{2-money-Pss-without 1be} \\
\hspace{4.5cm} \textit{‘I do not have your pan’} \\
\hspace{5.5cm} \textit{‘I do not have your money’}

114) a. \textit{patumna wai} \\
\hspace{1cm} \textit{ipatunumna wai} \\
\hspace{1.5cm} \textit{patu-mna wahe} \\
\hspace{2cm} \textit{i-patu-nu-mna wahe} \\
\hspace{2.5cm} \textit{pan-without 1be} \\
\hspace{3.5cm} \textit{3-pane-Pss-without 1be} \\
\hspace{4.5cm} \textit{‘I do not have a pan’} \\
\hspace{5.5cm} \textit{‘I do not have a pan/her pan’}

---

15 The third person reflexive prefix is obligatory when the possessed noun is co-referential with third person subject. In the cases of non-coreferentiality, \textit{i-} occurs:

\begin{align*}
nitém & \quad \text{tipakolon} & \quad \text{tak} \\
n-\text{nitém}-Ø & \quad \text{ti-pakolo-nu} & \quad \text{ta-kë} \\
3\text{SA-go-RecPst} & \quad 3\text{Refl-house-Pss} & \quad \text{Spc.loc-into} \\
‘\text{He}, went to his\text{, house}’ & & \end{align*}

\begin{align*}
nitém & \quad \text{ipakolon} & \quad \text{tak} \\
n-\text{nitém}-Ø & \quad \text{i-pakolo-nu} & \quad \text{ta-kë} \\
3\text{SA-go-RecPst} & \quad \text{3-house-Pss} & \quad \text{Spc.loc-into} \\
‘\text{He}, went to his\text{, house}’ & & \text{‘*He, went to his\text{, house}’}
\end{align*}

16 There are no examples of non-coreferential \textit{i-} with third person subject (\textit{?i-kalakuli-mna neha ‘he, did not have his\text{, money}’}), but based on the examples with SAP subjects, this is presumably also true.
c. ?tpatunumna wai
   ('I do not have my pan')

d. ?tpatunumna manai
   ('You do not have your pan')

e. *tpatunumna man

115) a. kalakulumna weha
    kalakuli-mna w-e-ha-Ø
    money-without 1SA-be-RecPst
    'I did not have money'

b. ikalakulinumna weha
   i-kalakuli-nu-mna w-e-ha-Ø
   3-money-Pss-without 1SA-be-RecPst
   'I did not have money/his money'

c. ?tkalakulinumna wai
   ('I do not have my money')

d. ?tkalakulinumna manai
   ('You do not have your money')

e. *tkalakulinumna man

116) a. éumna kunehak
    éwu-mna kun-e-ha-kê
    eye-without 3S,DistPst-be-DistPst
    'He/She/it did not have eyes'

b. eulumna man
    Ò-ewu- tł-mna mane
    3-eye-Pss-without 3br
    'He/She/it does not have eyes'

117) a. épimna wai
    épi-mna wahe
    medicine-without 1be
    'I do not have medicine'

b. epitimna wai
    Ò-epi-t tł-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) ijamimna wai
    i-jum-t-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, -li is the only overt allomorph of the genitive
suffix to occur, and only with certain nominalizers, as -∅ ‘Specific Event’ and n- ‘Object Nominalizer’. Both of these display -lī when occurring with -mna:

120) ipohnépilimna  man mêlé
    i-potnépt-∅-II-mna  mane mêlé
    3-know-SpecEventNmlz-Pss-without 3be DemInanMed
    ‘That it not known’ (Jolokoc 438)

121) *ipohnépilimna man mêlé

122) inenepilimna  kunehak
    i-n-enepI-II-mna  kun-eha-kē
    3-ObjNmlz-bring-Pss-without 3S,DistPst-be-DistPst
    ‘He/She did not have a thing to be brought’

123) *inenepilimna kunehak

Unfortunately, no non-coreferential examples with nominalizations are found in the data, but one expects that if they follow the general pattern, examples like the one below are presumably acceptable:

124) (??) inenepilimna  kunehak
    i-n-enepI-II-mna  kun-eha-kē
    1-ObjNmlz-bring-Pss-without 3 S,DistPst-be-DistPst
    ‘He/She did not have my thing to be brought’

Thus, i-N-mna is on its way to becoming a discontinuous morpheme, as seems to be already the case in contexts where one would expect prefixes that are coreferential with the subject of the sentence to occur. The possessive genitive suffixes, however, still mark the nominal stem.

To conclude, a discussion on the status of -mna as an adverbializing suffix is in order. Though it presents the characteristics of suffix including inseparability and occurring only with nouns (see section 3.1), it behaves differently from most adverbializers in that it does not take a nominalizing suffix. In looking at its distribution, it is clear that -mna is in some sort of complementary distribution with mna ‘without’, a postposition (see section 6.2). The postposition takes personal prefixes but never occurs with a full nominal object. The potential corresponding postpositional forms with a nominal object are the ones with the suffix -mna. The two, however, are distinct in that
while the postposition takes a nominalizer and a collective suffix (*inmato* ‘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 -hel/-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(ê)* ‘Modifier’ (with their respective allomorphs).

7.2.1.1.2.1. t-N-k(ê)/t-N-le/t-N-je ‘having’. This ambifix occurs only with undervived possessible 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. pilē ‘arrow’
    b. iile ‘his arrow’
    c. tīleke ‘having an arrow’
126) a. 'mē ‘farm’
    b. itupi ‘his farm’
    c. tītupihe ‘having a farm’
127) a. pīptē ‘scales’
    b. ipīptē ‘its scale’
    c. tīpīptē ‘having scales’
128) a. tumeli ‘clay bowl’
    b. iūmelin ‘his bowl’
    c. tūmelik ‘having a bowl’
129) a. hapatu ‘shoe’
    b. ihapatun ‘his shoe’
    c. tihapatuk ‘having a shoe’
130) a. panu ‘ear’
    b. ipanna ‘his ear’
    c. tipanake ‘having ear(s)’
131) a. 'ēpī ‘medicine’
    b. tēpipi ‘his own medicine’
    c. tēpīje ‘having medicine’
132)
133) a. ēu ‘eye’
    b. tēu ‘his own eye’
    c. tēule ‘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.
Thus, differently from the adverbializing suffixes -mel-\textit{pe}, -\textit{hpe}/\textit{hme}, and -\textit{mna}, \textit{t}\textit{-N-}\textit{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 \textit{\textit{i-}}.

As for the different allomorphs, they are all lexically conditioned, with \textit{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, \textit{t-N-le} and \textit{t-N-je}, are few. All the attested ones (in the addition to the ones presented above) are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>a.</th>
<th>b.</th>
<th>c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 137 | a. 
  | pampila | 'paper; book' | tipampilak | 'having paper, book' |
| 138 | a. 
  | hapatu | 'shoes' | thapatuk | 'having shoes' |
| 139 | a. 
  | kamisa | 'cloth' | tikamisak | 'having cloth' |
| 140 | a. 
  | omo | 'hand' | tomole - tomooke | 'having a hand' |
| 141 | a. 
  | ipupuu | 'one's foot' | tipuple | 'having foot' |
| 142 | a. 
  | ewaa | 'one's rope' | tweale | 'having rope' |
| 143 | a. 
  | ekii | 'sting of an animal' | tekije | 'having a sting' |
| 144 | a. 
  | jakii | 'my farm animal/parasite' | takije | 'having a farm animal/parasite' |
| 145 | a. 
  | imumkuu | 'her son' | tifumkuje | 'having a (woman's) son' |

7.2.1.1.2.2. \textit{i-N-phak(\textit{e})}/\textit{i-N-mhay(\textit{e})} \textit{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, \textit{i-}, and no genitive suffixes in the nominal stem. All examples occurring in the present database are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>a.</th>
<th>b.</th>
<th>c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 146 | a. 
  | ikat | i-ka-\textit{tf} | ikaphak | wai |
| 3-fat-Pss | ModAvlz-fat-MdAvlz | 1be | 'I am fat' |
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. apētmhak  ‘mighty; strong’  
b. apētumna  ‘weak’  

155) a. umosiphak  ‘jealous’  
b. umosila  ‘not jealous’

156) a. akēlephak  ‘far’  
b. akēlela  ‘not far’

17 The form apētumna ‘weak’ is not attested in the present database, but it is found in Camargo’s Lexico Wayána-Português (1997b:11)
157) a. jamephak  'happy; in a good mood'
b. jamea.  'not happy; not in a good mood'

For two pairs of homophonic stems, a difference in meaning is triggered by the occurrence of either of the two allomorphs of the adverbializer. In all four, either -phak(ê) or -mhak(ê) can be replaced by either -la or -mna, with the choice of the negative suffix also triggering a difference in meaning.

158) a. jumhak  'peppery'
b. jula  'not peppery'
159) a. juphak  'bright (light); lit'
b. jumna  'not bright (light); not lit'

160) a. asiphak  'hot'
b. asila  'not hot'
161) a. asimhak  'fast'
b. asimna  '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(ê)/-mhak(ê) 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(ê)/i-N-mhak(ê) as a synchronic morpheme.

This pattern suggests that, in a different stage of Wayâna history, -phak(ê)/-mhak(ê) was indeed a suffix, which later grammaticalized into an ambifix with i-. There exists, thus, a continuum of transparency with regard to -phak(ê)/-mhak(ê) 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 (kawemhak~kawemna, 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(ē)/-mhak(ē) is sometimes ‘negated’ with -mna (Jackson’s view point (1972:61-2)). This analysis is not adopted here because -phak(ē)/-mhak(ē) 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(ē)/-mhak(ē) 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(ē)/-mhak(ē) occurs productively with negative suffix -la (jumhakēla ‘not peppery’).


7.2.1.2.1. -tē ‘Generic Modifier’ and -tse ‘Specific Modifier’. Jackson (1972:71) describes both -tē 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.  

18 Jackson (1972:71) states that -tse and -tē are ‘used frequently with e-si ‘be’’, a question that must be further investigated.
Both -tse and -tê 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 -tê and -tse seems to be one of a special, particular attribute versus a usual one. Thus, in (165), -tê 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).

"Can't you really see?" (Kaikui2 072)

163) panakmatê
   panakma-tê
   listen-GenModAvlz
   'able to listen'

164) itetêla
   ñë-tê-la
   go-GenModAvlz-Neg
   'not able to go'

165) uwêtê
   mana-he
   kill-SpcModAvlz 2be-SapAff
   'You are able to kill.'

   '(The) forest (is) good at making unhappy.' (Pêne 133)

167) moloinê ékêmê psik uwêtse
   têêìhe
   inêlêe
   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) ēkalêtse
eitoh
   pêk wēlîlêmêne.
   ēkalê-the
   ehi-topo pêkê w-êìlíf-êmê-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

---

19 In fact the gloss Jackson has given to both -tê and -tse is 'by continually doing it.'
‘constantly working hard’

Despite the similarities, the two morphemes present distinct morphological properties: -tē 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 -tē 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 -tē) 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’, umēk(i) ‘come’, etomam(i) ‘wake up’, etapam(i) ‘animal sing’, etc. Examples of intransitive verbs with -tē were usually not accepted with the exception of two SA verbs, umēk(i) ‘come’ and (i)tē(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(e), 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. imilikpophak
    i-miliki-pophakē
    Effective-write-Effective
    ‘good for writing (paper; book)’

172) a. ipokpophak
    i-pokē-pophakē

b. imilikpola
i-miliki-pola
Defect-write-Defect
‘not good for writing’

b. ipokpola
i-pokē-pola
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).”\(^{20}\) This conservative function is found for most cases in Wayana (176-178), but other functions are also attested: a change of state (with *etili ‘become’) (179) and an event (when part of an adverbial clause) (180).\(^{21}\) A few examples of cognate

\(^{20}\) 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.

\(^{21}\) 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 *esîke* ‘because’ and *apâw(e)* ‘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-onopí-he n-eha-∅ 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) etatínpikom kuptēē tot
Ø-etatí-npít-∅-komo kuptēē toto
3-hammock-Dvl-Pss-Coll aligned 3Coll

ti-lomo-he ehiike
Prtc-die-Prtc because
‘They (had) their hammock aligned because they were dead.’ (Jolokob 360-361)

178) nitêm têwepihe
n-nilêmi-∅ tê-w-e-pí-he
3SA-go-RecPst Prtc-SA-Det-bathe-Prtc
‘He went bathed.’

179) têpêephe têetîhe iu
ntêpêepepí-he tê-w-êntî-he ñwu
Prtc-hungry-Prtc T-SA-become-He 1Pro
‘I became hungry’ (Pêne 035)

180) tukukhe ejahe,
t-ukuku-he e-jâ-he
T-try-He 3Post-Erg-PColl

sisi ja tahalapnaniphe aptau,
hiih ja t-ahalap-npí-he aptawê
sun Erg Prtc-dry-Caus-Prtc when
‘They tried (it) when the sun dried (it out).’ (Jolokoa 086-087)

181) malomme koko tikohmamhe aptau,
malomme koko ti-kopmamí-he aptawê
then night Prtc-go.from.day.to.night-Prtc when
těhâléi tot ewalunu htak elamna.
ti-lê-alé-he toto ewalunu tta-kê elâ-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 lightened’)

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. ahpele 'not untruthful'
- c. hekehela 'not happy'
- d. ipokela 'not good'
- e. talëla 'not here'
- f. uwamela 'not healthy'
- g. apiskëla 'not little; not a few'
- h. ēmënhakëla 'not greedy'

Adverbs derived with -me 'Attributive', t-N-ke 'Having' (and its allomorphs), -mhak(ē) / -phak(ē) 'Modifier', -të 'Generic Modifier', and t-V-he ‘Participle’ all take -la:

183)
- jepemela 184) mulemela
  j-ep-O-me-la
  1-friend-Pss-Attrb-Neg child-Attrb-Neg
  'not my friend; not like my friend' 'not a child; not like a child'

185)
- tipalekela 186) tipupela
  tf-pale-ke-la
  Having-daughter.in.law-Having-Neg Having-foot-Having-Neg
  'not having a daughter-in-law' 'not having foot'

187)
- timukujela
  tf-mumuku-je-la
  Having-woman's.son-Having-Neg
  'not having (a woman's) son'

188)
- asimhakëla 189) ikaphakëla
  ahi-mhakë-la
  fast-ModAdvz-Neg ModAdvz-fat-ModAdvz-Neg
  'not fast' 'not fat'

190)
- panakmatëla 191) umëktëla
  panakma-të-la
  listen-GenModAdvz-Neg come-GenModAdvz-Neg
  'not able to listen' 'not able to come'

192)
- tēpējephela 193) tēpuihela
  t-ēpējepi-he-la
  Prtc-be.hungry-Prtc-Neg Prtc-be.fat-Prtc-Neg
  'not hungry' 'not fat'

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)

401
‘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 ailêla witêjai.
    kahu a-jê-la w-Îê-ja-he
    car inside.of-along-Neg 1SA-go-NPst-SapAff
    ‘I won’t go by car.’

195) kupêkêhela
    ku-pêkê-he-la
    1+2-about-PColl-Neg
    ‘Not about all of us’

196) êhekatiplêla
    êhe-katipli-la
    Recpr-like-Neg
    ‘Not like each other’

197) yêkêla
    y-pêkê-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 the the class of postpositions with a grammatical meaning. There are no attested examples of this morpheme occurring with mna ‘without,’ walê ‘Uncertainty,’ m(t)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 -(i).

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>a. /i-pampila-nu/</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ipampilan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. /i-ka-†/</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ikat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. /O-elinatu-†/</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>elinatuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. /a-womi-†/</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>awomii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f. /e-wahi-†/</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ewasii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 7.2.1.1.3). 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.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>a. i-pampila-la</td>
<td>‘without paper’</td>
<td>b. *ipampilan(u)la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. l-ka-la</td>
<td>‘without fat’</td>
<td>d. *ikat(f)la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e. Ø-elinatu-la</td>
<td>‘without a plate’</td>
<td>g. *awomiiila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f. a-womi-la</td>
<td>‘without language’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h. e-wasi-la</td>
<td>‘without a lower leg’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-. Depending on the context, these forms may be interpreted as having either an eventive or an attributive meaning.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>itenkapamila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>ilasilamila</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

22 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 -tě or -tse only occur in their back grade (ēne-tě-la ‘blindly’, ēne-tse ‘always looking/watching’ see section 7.2.1.2.1).
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 èn- for third person participants (also occurring with forms bearing -pîn(i)/mîn(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 èn- (217).
210) Enala wai  
Ø-ene-la wahe  
Ø?·see·O·Neg 1be  
'I am not examined.'

211) Ipanakmala man  
i-panakma-la mane  
iʔ·hear·O·Neg 3be  
'He/she/it cannot hear.'

212) Ka ipkélēla neha  
ka i-pikëlē-la n-eha-Ø  
fish iʔ·cut·O·Neg 3S·be·RecPst  
'(The) fish was uncut.'

213) Ha, ihī, hapa, jakēṭila, nila, ispunaka.  
ha ihī hapa jakēṭi-la nila ipunaka-h  
ha yes machete i-cut·O·Neg Nila Advrs·Av·Intens  
'Ha! Yes, the machete did not cut me, Nila, contrary to the odds.' (Kaikui2 044)

214) Jakēlehmala meha.  
jakēlepma-la m-eha-Ø  
l·help·O·Neg 2SA·be·RecPst  
'You did not help me.'

215) ēwenela ka neha  
ēw-ene-la ka n-ehe-Ø  
2·see·O·Neg Quest 3SA·be·RecPst  
'Did he see you?'

216) ēmnelum ēnekuptēla manai  
ē·mnelumɨ-Ø ēn·ekuptē-la mana-he  
2·husband·Pss 3Neg·stop·O·Neg 2be·SapAff  
'You do not hear your husband.' (Kaikui 007)

217) uwanma emna ēnapēnuka  
uwanma emna ēn·apēnu-ka  
Neg·Intens 1+3ExclPro 3Neg·answer.to·O·Neg  
'No. Nobody answered us.' (Pene 079)

Another interesting feature 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) Enenelahe wai  
ēn·ene-la-he wahe  
3Neg·see·O·Neg·PColl 1be  
'I did not see them'
219) Enipanakmalaha weha  
ën-i-panakma.O-la-he wahe  
3Neg-see.O-Neg-PColl 1be  
‘I did not hear them’

220) Kenelahe inélée  
k-énc-la-he inélélê  
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)ê (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 nna mihen tot tumëkëmëi  
lome uwa nna mihen toto t-unëkei-emë-he  
but Neg Intens poor 3Coll T-come-Resumpt-He  
ënopollá.  
ën-epoli-la  
3Neg-find.O-Neg  
‘However, no, they came back without finding (game)’ (Alawaka 007)

222) imelekala nna manai.  
l-meleka-la nna 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.\(^{23}\)

223) a. upak ‘early; long ago’ b. uhpak ‘a long time ago’
   c. miŷa ‘thither’ d. mhja ‘really thither’
   e. tīwee ‘different’ f. tīwee ‘really different’
   g. kole ‘a lot, many’ h. kohle ‘a real lot; very many’
   i. molo ‘there (medial)’ j. molo ‘really there (medial)’
   k. ipok ‘good’ l. ihpok ‘really good’
   m. hemalē ‘now; today’ n. hehmale ‘just today’

Some adverbs cannot take -h- for phonological reasons. The adverb āile (ʔeːjle/) ‘fierce; angry’, for instance, presents a [VC.CV] which does not allow -h- to occur. First, only one consonant can occur as coda (thus, *eːjłe), and second there is a constraint disallowing /h/ to occur in word final position (thus, *eːje).\(^{22}\)

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) tē man? tē man?
   tē mane where? 2be
   ‘Where are you?’
225) tēi meha?
tē-je m-eḥa-Ø
   where?-away 2SA-be-RecPst
   ‘Where away were you to?’

226) lampata mesa epoi
    lampata mesa epo-je
    light.bulb table above-away
    ‘The light bulb is (hanging) above the table’

227) ametai wehaken
    O-ameta-je w-eḥa-kene
    3-down.river-away 1SA-be-DistPst
    ‘I was down river (somewhere in the south)’

---

\(^{23}\) There is at least one example of this morpheme with a postposition: /uwala+h/→ uhwala ‘all around it’.
The adverbs *hej(e)* and *mēj(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 (*talē*, *molo*, and *mon(o)*) and the adverb *tē* ‘where’ take –*na*. It marks the endpoint of motion.

228) tumēkēmēi
emna
t-umēkī-ēmē-he
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
tumēkēmēi,
uu
malonme emna t-umēkē-ēmē-he uu mono-na
then 1+3ExclPro T-come-Resumpt-He oh! SpecDistLoc-to
‘Then, we (started) coming back, oh, there far’ (Snake 089)

231) tēna
mitēja
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) jēlemījai
mījami-jalē
j-elemi-ja-he Red1-mījalē
1SO-sing-NPst-SapAff Red1-again
‘I will sing again and again’

233) phētu-topo
psik
aphapsik
ikpe
1-w-ētuu-topo-Ø
phikē Red1-apikē ippe iwu
1-SA-talk-CircmastNmlz-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 Wayāna 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-wē  
    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 7.2.1.1.2 and 7.2.1.1.3, 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(ē)/-mhak(ē), 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:

Prefix+suffix-----------------\rightarrow Ambifix

i-N-Pss-\textit{hpe} \quad i-N-la
i-N-Pss-\textit{mna} \quad i-N-\textit{phak}(\check{\text{e}})

Finally, figure 1 presents a tentative internal reconstruction of Wayâna’s adverbializing morphology. Based on recurrent formative elements of monomorphic adverbs and on synchronic morphology, it is possible to hypothesize a process leading to the system as we see today.

Monomorphic adverbs show recurrent sequences that seem to have been once adverbializing suffixes (see 7.1.1.3). These are either a \textit{CV} syllable (as for instance, \textit{*-ne}, \textit{*-he}, \textit{*-ke}, \textit{*-le}, \textit{*-je}, \textit{*-me}, etc.), a \textit{*t-} prefix (\textit{/tv/} adverbs in Table 1 (7.1.1.1), or a combination of the two (\textit{*t?-ne}, \textit{*t?-he}, \textit{*t?-ke}, \textit{*t?-me}, etc.). It is possible that the source for \textit{*t-} was the third person reflexive suffix. Evidence for this comes from the fact that \textit{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.\(^1\) 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’, *kumëlamkom(o)* ‘we all’, *ëmë* ‘you’ and *ëmëlamkom(o)* ‘you
all’. As for the dual inclusive *kumë* ‘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)  \(\text{Sesu malijan.}\\ 
\text{sesu malija-nu}\\ 
\text{Sergio knife-Pss}\\ 
\text{‘Sergio’s knife’}\\

2)  \(\text{Sesu ailên malijan.}\\ 
\text{sesu ajilê-nu malija-nu}\\ 
\text{Sergio truthful-PtNmlz knife-Pss}\\ 
\text{‘The knife of the truthful Sergio’}\\

3)  *\(\text{Sesu ailê 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

---

\(^1\) 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 Wayãna.
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) Malietapatunka?
malijetapatunu
Malieta
Pan-Pss Quest
‘Is this Malieta’s pan?’

5) *Malieta ka patun.

6) a. Paluु he ka man.
    palulu he kamanu
    banana
    Des Quest 2be
    ‘Do you want banana?’

b. *palu ka he man.

7) a. Asii anoma ka.
asili
    anoma-O
    smoke, O-RecPst Quest
    ‘Did (she) smoke fish?’

b. *asii ka anoma.

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 kunmē ‘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-O
3-game-Pss
‘his game’

10) Mēk kaimo
méki
kajimo-O
DemAnmDist game-Pss
‘that distant one’s game’

11) Œnēk kaimo?
ëniki
kajimo-O
who game-Pss
"whose game?"

12) Emna kaimotaa.
    emna kajimo-Ø
    1+3ExclPro game-Pss
    'our game'

13) Kunmë akon.
    kunmë akono-Ø
    1+2Pro sibling.of.same.sex-Pss
    'our sibling (of same sex)'

14) *Inelëe kaimo.

15) Iw, jakon.
    iw j-akono-Ø
    1Pro 1-sibling.of.same.sex-Pss
    'my sibling (of same sex)'

16) *Iw akon.

17) Emëe, éwakon.
    emëë éw-akono-Ø
    2Pro 2-sibling.of.same.sex-Pss
    'your sibling (of same sex)'

18) *Emë 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 kunmë ‘dual (inclusive)’. The third person anaphoric pronoun inelë(lë) ‘third person anaphoric’ also cannot occur as the postpositional object. The same pattern holds for forms with de-verbal postpositionalizer -tihwë (6.3)
19) *Ipo.
i-po-O
3-on.supported-on
'on it'

20) *Ate po.
ale po-O
leaf 3-on.supported-on
'on a leaf'

21) *Ipo.
y-po-O
1-on.supported-on
'on me'

22) *Iu po.

23) *Ipanakmatihwe.
i-panakma-thwē
3-hear.O-Posteriority
'after the hearing of him/her/it'

24) Mēk panakmatihwe.
mēk’ panakama-thwē
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, sipitli ‘ugly is a descriptive noun, and in example (27) kupiman ‘long one’ is a nominalized adverb.

25) Alimime tanukta
ai
wajana welii

monkey.sp-Attrb T-transform into.animal-He wajana woman
'A wayana woman transformed into a monkey.' (Woman 001)
(Lit.: like a monkey (self)transformed a person a woman.)

26) Kaiku sipitli tumëkehe.
kaikuhi hitpif t-umëk't-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 mitja leë umhepë kupimankom.
t-uwakkom-he mitja lëë umhe-tpë 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 the hair long-one)

28) Tiihe kawehmakanutpë kolanutpë,
t-tii-he kawe-mhakë-anu-tpë kole-anu-tpë
T-make-He tall?-ModAdvz-anuPtNmlz-Dvl many-anuPtNmlz-Dvl
'They arranged the many tall ones.' (Jolokoc 500)

29) Akulipoti tënatkai kolankom,
aku lipoti t-ënatu-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 *-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 y-ja
    child T-find.O-He 1-Erg
    ‘I found the child.’

31) *Oki melijai.*
    oki m-ell-ja-he
    beverage 2A3O-drink.O-Npst-SapAff
    ‘You drink beverage.’

32) *Nene Alinawale.*
    n-ene-O alinawale
    3A3O-see.O-RecPst Alinawale
    ‘Alinawale saw it’

    [O  V]

33) *Hapakala ene Alinawale.*
    hapakala ene-O alinawale
    lizard.sp 3A3O-see.O-RecPst Alinawale
    ‘Alinawale saw the *hapakala* lizard’

    [O  V]

34) *Imumkuu naleza wai.*
    i-mumuku-lu ən-ale-la w-a-he
    1-woman’s.son-Pss 3Neg-take.O-Neg 1SA-be-SapAff
    ‘I did not take my son.’

35) *Iwakam.*
    t-wakam-Ø
    1SO-sit.down-RecPst
    ‘I sat down’

36) *Wepei.*
    w-epe-Ø
    1SA-flee-RecPst
    ‘I fled.’

37) *Nelemi tipakolon tau.*
    n-elemi-Ø tî-pakolo-nu ta-wê
    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 tipakolun tak.
 aliko alt-Ø anakali tt-pakolo-nu ta-ke
 Aliko take.O-RecPst Anakali 3Refl-house-Pss in.permanent.loc-into
 ‘Anakali took Aliko to his house’
 (*’Anakali took Aliko to his 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 nilémep
‘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, pèk(e) ‘about; busy with’, etc.:

39) *Kwipkélë malija ke.
 ka w-i-pkélë-Ø malija ke
 fish 1A3O-Them-cut.O-RecPst knife Instr
 ‘I cut fish with a knife.’

40) *Wekalajai wapu Tateu ja.
 w-ekalé-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 pèk tèpai ejahe.
 Kanu womil-Ø pèkè tèpai 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 and 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).
   tanē w-a-he
   SpcProxLoc 1SA-be-SapAff
   'Here I am'

43) *Wai tan.

44) Ehewake (weha).
   ehewake w-ëha-Ø
   happy 1SA-be-RecPst
   'I was happy'

45) *Weha ehewake.

46) Apalai po (wehaken).
   mono po- Ø w-ëha-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) **Iu wai Mopelu.**
   ëwu w-a-he mopelu
   IPro 1SA-be-SapAff Mopelu
   ‘I am Mopelu.’ Mopelu1 003

49) **Nila neha ulumin.**
   nila n-eha-Ø Ø-ulu-Ø-µinh
   Nila 3SA-be-RecPst NegAvlz-manioc.bread-NegAvlz-Def-PrivNmlz
   ‘Nila was the one without manic bread.’

50) **Malalé eluwa neha pétukulumu hnë.**
   malalë eluwa n-eha-Ø pétukulu-nu tnë
   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-ppe manu
   canoe-ExistentAvlz 3be
   ‘There is a canoe’

52) **Tuna sitpili molo man.**
   tuna hitpili molo manu
   water bad SpecMedLoc 3be
   ‘Bad water is there.’

53) **Kapu nau man Kan.**
   kapu na-wé manu Kanu
   sky in.boundless.loc-in 3be God
   ‘God is in the sky.’

54) **Tijumke**
   ñj-ñumke man
   HavingAvlz-father-HavingAvlz 3be
   ‘He/she has a father’
55) Telesa neha onopēn.
    Telesa n-eha- onopē-tē-nu
    Thereza 3SA-be-RecPst paint.O-GeModAvlz-PtNmlz
    ‘Thereza was the painter.’

56) Eile man mēklēē.
    ējile mane mēklēē
    angry 3be DemAnmMed
    ‘That one is angry’ (Walema 093)

57) Imijatame kunehak inēlēē.
    imijata-me kun-eha-ke inēlēlē
    boy-Attrib 3SADistPs-be-DistPst 3AnaphPro
    ‘He was like a boy.’

58) Mēlē katip man ēpeinom.
    mēlē katip' mane ē-pej-nomo
    Dem1nANmed 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 uwalē wai.
    kumu uwalē w-a-he
    palm.tree.sp knowing.of 1SA-be-SapAff
    ‘I know the kumu tree.’

61) Wewe pēk wai.
    wewe pēkē 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 mēkjaa.
    ijohi mēkjalē
    lizard.sp DemAnmMedColl
    ‘They are the lizards.’
    ‘(Look) it’s the lizards!’
63) * ljoia mēkja man.

64) Mēi  

mēhi  
DemAnmProx father
papak.  
papakono  

‘This one is my father.’
‘(Look) it’s my father!’

65) * Mēi papak man.

66) Telesa  
onoptēn.  

teresanono  
Thereza paint.O-PtNmlz
‘Tereza is the Painter.’

* Teresa man onoptēn

The verb of a simple predicate is subject to elision, as is normally the case for the copula ‘be’ in copular predicates.

67)  

Lome, kapatila mēlē ulu.  
lome kapatila mēlē 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 wēkētjai hapa ke.  
wewe wēkētja-he hapa ke
wood 1A3O-cut.O-NPst-SapAff machete Instr
‘I will cut the wood with a machete.’

69)  

Lome ulu wikitjai hemałēe.  
lome ulu wikitja-he hemałēe
but manioc 1A3O-grate.O-NPst-SapAff now
‘But, I will grate manioc now.’
70)  
Mon kohmë pëtipit nekalë.
mono kōmē pētipīti n-ekalē-∅
SpecDistLoc perhaps children 3A3O-tell.O-RecPst
'Over there, perhaps.' The kids told it.' (Woman 013)

71)  
Kola ekalë epe ja.
kola ekalē-∅ Õ-epe-∅ 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', mën- '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 pre-
verbal 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)  
Mëneneja.
mën-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 pilasi.
n-enepi-∅ pilahi
3A3O-bring.O-RecPst basket.kd
'He/she brought a pilasi basket.'

76)  
  a. Kunene.
kun-ene
3A3O DistPst-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 kunmē 'we (dual) and emna 'we (exclusive)' is discussed above, at the beginning of this section.

77)  Sulalapana eitoponpē hemalēē wekalējai
sulalapana ehi-topo-npē-Ø hemalēē w-ekalē-ja-Ø
sulalapana be-CircmstNmlz-Dvl-Pss now 1A3O-tell.O-NPst-SapAff
'I am going to tell the story of Sulalapana.' (Sulalapana 005)

78) a. Ėuu ka mumka hemele, kami?
ěw-ulul-Ø ka m-umī-ka-Ø hemele kami
2-manioc-Pss Quest 2A3O-root-PrivVrblz-RecPst already younger.relative
'Have you already unearthed your manioc, darling?' (Sulalapana 134)

b. Upo sisī hnak wili.
upo hihi tna-kē w-llt-Ø
clothing sun in.sun.into 1A3O-place.O-RecPst
'I place the clothing in the sun.'

79)  Īu, jene inēlēē.
Īwu j-ene-Ø inēlelē
1Pro 3A1O-see-RecPst 3AnaphPro
'Me, he/she/it saw me.'

80)  Ėmēē, ēwene.
Īwu ēw-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) Talanne juh mopoa ja kapu ja.
   talanne j-upmo-po-ja kapu ja
   maybe 3A10-kill.O-Caus-NPst sky Causee
   'Maybe he is going to make the sky kill me.' (Iguana 109)

82) Ilimona ekéi uh mopoa.
   ilimona ekéhi upmo-O
   Ilimona snake kill.O-RecPst
   'Ilimona had a snake killed.'

83) Étélë wekaléne hepi eja.
   étélë w-ekalé-ne hepi e-ja
   belongings 1A30-give.O-Dpst habitual 3-Dat
   'I always gave her/him things.'

84) Étélë wekaléne.
   étélë w-ekalé-ne
   belongings 1A30-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:

85) Iu, \textit{jot} \textit{welepjai}.
   lwu \textit{1-otj-Ø} \textit{w-welepja-he}
   1Pro \textit{1-meat-Pss 1A3O-make.O.afraid-NPst-SapAff}
   ‘Me, I scare my meat.’ (Iguana 037)

86) Iu, \textit{wakpile} \textit{melē}.
   lwu \textit{w-akpile-Ø} \textit{mēlē}
   1Pro \textit{1A3O-make.O.red-RecPst DemInnanMed}
   ‘It was me who painted it red.’

87) Sinkom \textit{wewe} \textit{munomumopka}.
   hinē-komo \textit{wewe mumo-m-umopka-Ø}
   DemInnanProx-Coll \textit{wood Red2-2A3O-make.O.fall-RecPst}
   ‘You made these (pieces of) wood fall again and again.’ (Iguana 116)

88) Jepe \textit{walē} \textit{ka welθi?}
   j-epe-Ø \textit{w-alē-Ø} \textit{ka welθi}
   1-friend-Pss \textit{1A3O-take.O-RecPst Quest woman}
   ‘My friend, did I take the woman?’ (jolokoa 219)

89) Hemele \textit{wenene} \textit{kan} \textit{womii}
   hemele \textit{w-ene-ne} \textit{kanu womiill-Ø}
   then \textit{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:

\[
((\text{Pro}NA) \quad \text{inverse-V-TAM} \quad ((\text{Pro}NA))
\]

\[ ([V] \quad mn) \quad ([A]) \]

\[ 90) Molo \quad jepaimène \quad më \quad toto.
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{molo} \quad j-\text{epa-jmë-ne} \\
\text{SpecMedLoc} \quad 3A1O-\text{teach.O-Resumpt-DistPst} \\
'\text{Emph} \quad 3\text{Coll}
\end{array}
\]

'There, they taught me again' (walema 189)

\[ ([V] \quad mn) \quad ([A]) \]

\[ 91) Mèlè \quad katip' \quad ëwelikë \quad ëpawanaa.
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{mèlè} \quad katip' \quad ëw-ëpë-ka-ja \\
\text{DemInnanMed} \quad \text{alike} \quad 3A2O-\text{stair-PrivVerblz} \\
'\text{2-partner-Pss}
\end{array}
\]

'Like that your friend will deprive you of a stair.' (Eagle 034)

\[ ([A] \quad mn) \quad ([V]) \]

\[ 92) K'ai ku \quad naï \quad këjëa.
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
kajikuhi \quad naï \\
\text{jaguar Intens} \quad 3A1+2O-\text{eat.meat-NPst}
\end{array}
\]

'The jaguar will eat us.' (kaikui2 026)

\[ ([A] \quad mn) \quad ([V]) \]

\[ 93) Mëkièe \quad jalene \quad mëja \quad psik.
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
mëkleë \quad j-\text{alë-ne} \\
\text{DemAnnmMed} \quad 3A1O-\text{take.O-DistPst} \\
'\text{thither little}
\end{array}
\]

'He took me a bit thither.' (Pëne 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:

\[ 94) \]

\[ a. \quad * \text{fu jenep} \quad ('\text{Me, he/she/it saw me}') \\
b. \quad * \text{fu enep} \quad ('\text{Me, he/she/it saw me}') \]
95) a. *Émē ēwenep. (‘You, he/she/it saw you’)  
b. *Émē 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 kunmē ‘1+2\textsuperscript{nd} pronoun’.

There are a few examples in our database where this pronoun co-occurs with the prefix $k(u)$- ‘3\textsuperscript{A1}+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 kunmē, as they do not inform, for instance, whether kunmē 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 kunmē can occur in complementary distribution with the prefix $k(u)$- ‘1+2’ in possessive constructions (kunmē pakolo-n ‘our house-gen’ vs. ku-pakolo-n ‘our-house-gen’), a complementary distribution between a pre-verbal kunmē and $k(u)$- ‘3\textsuperscript{A1}+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 kunmē kéne.  
kulahi kunmē k-ēne-Ø  
rooster 1+2Pro 3\textsuperscript{A1}+2O  
‘The rooster saw us’

97) Kunmē kumeleka.  
kunmē ku-meleka-Ø  
1+2Pro 3\textsuperscript{A1}+2O-touch.O.-RecPst  
‘(He) touched us.’

98) Mēk kunmē wipka.  
mēkē kunmē 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 *i*
‘first person pronoun’ and *émé(lé)* 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.

    *émélé  kuw-ene-Ø
    2Pro  1A2O-see.O-RecPst
    ‘You, I saw you’

100) *i*wu,  *kuwene.
    *i*wu  kuw-ene-Ø
    1Pro  1A2O-see.O-RecPst
    ‘Me, I saw you.’

101)  *Éméé,  *këne.
    *émélé  k-ëne-Ø
    2Pro  2A1O-see.O-RecPst
    ‘You, you saw me.’

102)  *i* *i* *u  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’, è ‘eat O’, and the prefix n- ‘3A3O.

103) a. kaikui n-è-ja akuli. (OAV)
b. kaikui akuli è-ja (AOV)
c. kaikui n-è-ja akuli (AVO)
d. akuli è-ja kaikui (OVA)
   ‘(The/a) jaguar will eat (a/the) agouti.’

104) a. ??n-è-ja akuli kaikui (VAO)
b. ??n-è-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 inélélé, a pronoun marking a central character in discourse, which cannot occur in the OV order.

105) Mélié èja inélélé (OV)
mélié è-ja inélélé
DemAnmMed eat.O-Npst 3AnpPro
‘He/she/it will eat that one.’

Finally, the first person exclusive emna ‘1+3rd’ 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 preverbally otherwise third person A is inferred.

106) a. Emna kunupi.
   emna kun-upi
   1+3Pro 3A3ODistPst-fnd.O
   ‘We found it’
b. emna ene
   emna ene-O
   1+3ExclPro see.O-RecPst

107) Kunupi emna.
    kun-upi emna
    3A3ODistPst-fnd.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) *i* *u* *wi-* *ka-* *ja-* *he*
   *i*wu 1SA-say-NPst-SapAff
   ‘Me, I spoke.’

109) *alonme* *, ité-* *jai* *i* *u* *lé-* *ken*.
   *malonme* w-*ité-*ja-*he* *i*wu *lé-* *ken*
   then 1SA-go-NPst-SapAff 1Pro only
   ‘Then, I will go, only me’ (kaikui 025)

110) *Molo* *kunehak* *i* *nélée*.
    *molo* kun-eha-kè *i*nélélè
    SpcMedLoc 3SADistPst-be-DistPst 3AnpPro
    ‘He was there.’

111) *Inélée* *kunehak* *molo*.
    *inélélè* kun-eha-kè *molo
    3AnpPro 3SADistPst-be-DistPst SpcMedLoc
    ‘He was there.’

112) *Nika* *mamak*.
    *ni-*ka-*Ø* *mamako
    3SA-say-RecPst mother
    ‘Mother said.’

113) *Mamak* *nika*.
    *mamako* *ni-*ka-*Ø*
    mother 3SA-say-RecPst
    ‘Mother said.’

The pronoun *emna* must occur pre-verbally, or third person is assumed.

114) *Emna* *kunméké-* *mè*.
    *emna* kun-umékè-*tèmè*
    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 3rd 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 2nd 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)  Ėwinikta!
      ēw-īmik-ta
      ‘Go (there) to sleep.’

116)  Kaikē  le!
      kaji-kē  le
      do-Imp  Intens
      ‘Do (it) again.’

      [O]          [V]
117)  Elemitop    ipanakmak.
      elemi-top    i-panakma-kē
      sing-CircmstNmlz  Them-listen.to.O-ProxImp
      ‘Listen to the singing.’

      [V]          [O]
118)  Enek  mēi    miphak  japētumu    po.
      ene-kē  mēhi  miphakē  j-apētumu-lī  po-Ø
      see-ProxImp  Dem-Anm-Prox  ant.sp  1-upper.arm-Pss  on.supported-on
      ‘Look at this ant here on my shoulder.’

      [O]          [PP]          [V]
119)  Upo,  ewaa  ke,  ipimikē.
      upo  O-ewa-lī  ke  i-piml-kē
      clothing 3-rope-Pss  Instr Them-tie.O-ProxImp
      ‘Tie the clothing with rope.’

      [O]  2ndPart [O]
120)  Ka  hek  ekalēk,  pilasisi.
      ka  hek  ekalē-kē  pilahlhi
      fish  only  give-Imp  Pilasisi
      ‘Only give fish, Pilasisi!’
121) *Kunikisi*  *hkuu.*
k-ímí-hi  *kkulu*
1+2SO-sleep-ProxHort  Intens
'Let's really sleep.'

122) *Kétukui.*
k-étuku-hi
1+2SA-have.a.meal-ProxHort
'Let's have a meal.'

123) *Ulu hek henepia,*
     *Jamai.*
ulu  hek  h-enep-ta  jamai
manioc  only  1+2A3O-bring.O-HortAblat  Jamai
'Let's go get manioc, Jamai.' (kaikui2 003)

124) *Heneta mêlée.*
h-ene-ta  mêlée
1+2A3O-see.O-HortAblat  Dem1nanMed
'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.*
kupanakma-Ø  naj
1+2A3O-listen.to.O  Intens
'Do not listen to it.'

126) *Éwepe nai kupanakma.*
ëw-epe-Ø  naj  kupanakma
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*  téméipai  ejahe.
    joloko  t-téméipa-he  e-ja-he
evil.spirit  T-call-He  3-ErgPts-PColl
'They called the evil spirit.' (Jolokoa 042)

[V]  [S]
128) Malonme  têvelamaimëi  wêlîi.
     malonme  tê-w-e-lama-jmê-he  wêlîhi
     then  T-SA-Det-turn.O-Resumpt-He woman
     'Then, the woman came back.' (Jolokoa 202)

129) Tikai  têpe  ja.
     tê-ka-he  tê-pe-Ø  ja
     T-say-He  3Refl-friend-Pss  Dat
     'He said to his friend.' (Jolokoa 003)

130) Moloinë,  tipît  tipîmihe  eja.
     molojinë  tî-pl-tî  tî-plîmi-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 lastest stages of the development, the copula is optional and rare:

S  (Aux)  V
131) Wêlî  nai  t-tê-e
     woman  3:be  Compl-go-Compl
     'The woman went.'

O  (Aux)  V  [ A ]
132) Wêlî  nai  t-eeka-e  ëkëi  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 phikī w-a-he
Prte-cut.O-Prte 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 an oblique phrase. The examples show the translation as the speaker uttered it in Portuguese:

134) Ulakanumhe tītēi kunehak.
ulakanum-he tī-w-ilē-he kun-e-ha-kē
hunt/fish-MotPurp Prtc-SA-go-Prte 3Dpst-be-Dpst
'He had gone hunting.'

135) Inēlēē tē-kētē-s neha Anakali ja malija ke.
inēlēē tē-ēkētē-he n-e-ha-ō 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-e-ha-kē tēlē-he josineti ja
lime 3SADistPst-be-DistPst Prtc-take.O-Prte Josinetie ja
'Josine 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) Umumkulu psik tanīmhe ūja.
t-mumuku-lī phikī t-anīmī-he ū-ja
l-woman's.son-Pss little T-take.O-He 1-Erg
'I took my little son' (kaikui 038)

138) Tipit tonomai eja.
tī-pī-tī 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 were 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 nna ténéphe psik kunehak tolopiii
uwa nna t-ënëi-he phikë kun-ëha-kë tolopiii
Neg Intens Prtc-bring-Prtc small 3DistPst-be-DistPst bird

ptile lëken.
ptile lëken
tiny only
‘Not really, only a little was brought, a tiny bird.’ (alawaka 009)

140) Imumkuu tiitëi pitenä kunehak.
t-mumku-lë ti-w-itë-he pitenä kun-ëha-kë
l-woman.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 Wayâna speakers. In the examples below, apukuita ‘paddle’ and apëi ‘take
O’:

141) a. Apukuita mujale ja t-ëpëi-he (OAV)
b. Mujale ja apukuita t-ëpëi-he (AOV)
c. T-ëpëi-he Mujale ja apukuita (VAO)
d. T-ëpëi-he apukuita Mujale ja (VOA)
e. Mujale ja t-ëpëi-he apukuita (AVO)
f. Apukuita t-ëpëi-he Mujale ja
   ‘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 inëlë(le) 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 mëlē Table 1 shows these pronouns, and examples are given after:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Set I prominal forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[S]

142) Tikai inêlêē, tî -ka-he inêlêē
T-say-He 3AnphPro
'He said.' (Jolokoa 069)

[O]

143) Mija etpîlî stak tumosiptēi inêlêē,
mija O-etpîlî-O tta-kê t-unmoihtî-he inêlêē
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) Têhalêî tot ewalunu htak
tê-halê-he toto ewalunu tta-kê
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) Ma mîmîmhe tot
maa tî-mîmî-he toto
So T-scoop.up.O-He 3Coll
'Then, they scoop them up.' (Jolokob 348)

[A]

146) tîpêhnak tîpîmîhe eja jolok
(tî-petna-kê tî-pîmrî-he e-ja joloko
3Refl- in.area.of.foreheadPts-into T-tie.O-He 3-Erg evil.spirit

pipé,
pipē-O
skinPss
'He tied the evil spirit's skin to the area of his forehead.' (Jolokoa 091)
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 ekalé ‘give O’, the first -ja is understood as the A and the second -ja is understood as the recipient:

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) \[ \text{Alakapuha te kalépoi Tateu ja Polonildo ja.} \]
\[ \text{alakapuha t-ékalé-po-he tateu ja polonildo ja} \]
\[ \text{shot.gun T-give.O-Caus-He Tateu Erg Polonildo Causee} \]
\[ \text{‘Tateu had Polonildo give the shotgun (to someone else)’} \]

154) \[ \text{Patu te kalépoi Konsa ja Nila ja Avina ja.} \]
\[ \text{patu t-ékalé-po-he konsa ja nila ja avina ja} \]
\[ \text{pan T-give.O-Caus-He Konsa Erg Nila Causee Avina Dat} \]
\[ \text{‘Konsa had Nila give a pan to Avina’} \]

Cases with both \textit{ja} phrases pre-verbally were considered confusing:

155) \[ \text{??Pintutu ja Avina ja patu tékélepói.} \]

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 \textit{-nē} ‘generic event nominalizer’ or \textit{-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) \[ \text{Apésii pék wai.} \]
\[ \text{O-apëhi-Ø-lī pékē w-a-he} \]
\[ \text{3-hold.O-SpcEvtNmliz busy.with 1SA-be-SapAff} \]
\[ \text{‘I am holding it.’} \]

157) \[ \text{Kokone upo akuwa \_ pék weha} \]
\[ \text{kokone upo akuwa-Ø-lī pékē w-eha-Ø} \]
yesterday clothing wash.O-SpceVntNmlz-Pss busy.with 1SA-be-RecPst

Josinéti mëkîli htau.
Josinéti mëki-O-ly tta-wë
Josinete come-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss among-in
‘Yesterday I was washing clothing when Josinete came.’

158) Moto wehaken opalan elaimaa pek.
molo w-eha-kene opalanu elajma-O-ly pëkë
SpcMedLoc 1SA-be-DistPst airplane wait.for.O-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss busy.with
‘There I was waiting for the airplane.

159) Etuunë pek wai.
et-ulunë pëkë w-a-he
Det-talk.to.O-GenEvntNmlz busy.with 1SA-be-SapAff
‘I am talking.’

160) Jelemii pek weha.
j-elemi-O-ly pëkë w-eha-O
I-sing-SpcEvntNmlz-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) I’mnelumtala kunehak.
i-m‘nelumt-ta-O-la kun-eha-kë
NegAvlz-husband-PssNIncoVrblz-NegAvlz-Neg 3SADistPst-be-DistPst
'She did not get married.'

162) Imelekala nma manai.
    1-touche.O-Neg Intens 2be-SapAff
    'You are not touching me.' (Jolokoa 171)

163) Kanija kala tekulephe, kaikui.
    kanija ka-la t-ekulep-i-he kajikui
    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 en- 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 enéla wai.
    wajana en-é-la w-a-he
    people 3Neg-eat.meat-Neg 1SA-be-SapAff
    'I do not eat people.' (walema 053)

The postposition pekë 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 pek(ë) 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) Helé neha
    helé n-eha-Ø
    PrsntvPro 3SA-be-RecPst

    īmekémëtoponpii pëk,
    1-mekë-ëmë-topo-npili-Ø pêkë
    1-come-Resumpt-CircmstNmlz-Dvi-Pss about
    'This (story) was about my past coming back.' (alawaka 064, 065)

166) Tëhepai emna
    t-ëh-epa-he emna
    T-Det-teach.O-He 1+3ExclPro

    emna kaimotaa pëk.
    emna kajimo-ta-O-lë pêkë
    1+3ExclPro game-PssNIncoVrblz-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss about
'We learned about our getting game.' (jolokod 625, 624)

167) Wepohnép jepane pék.
w-e-potněp·O j-epa-ne·Ø péke
ISA-Det-think.O-RecPst l-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 pék(e) 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 -né 'Generic Event'.

The whole 'construction' conveys an apectual 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 elicititation, 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 pék(e). Of all the postpositional clauses, this is the best construction for a candidate for a new verbal construction.

168) Molo tikohmamhe tot
molo ti-kopmam·he toto
SpcMedLoc T-go.from.day.to.night-He 3Coll

akuwaa pékee mé pola.
Ø-akuwa-O-li péke Vmē pola
3-wash.O-SpcEvtntNmlz-Pss busy.with Emph Defect

445
‘There they went into the night washing it in a hard way.’ (Jolokod 563)

169) Tamusi man, upētī pēk. tamuhi mane O-upētī-O-lī pēkē
old.man 3be 3-pick.fruit-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss busy.with
‘The old man was picking it (i.e., fruits).’ (Pear 019)

170) Enee pēk kunehak tamusi
e-ene-O-lī pēkē 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) eh-alènè pēk kunehak.
eh-alè-nè pēkē 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 pētī pēk.
t-ēpēle-mī pētī-O-lī pēkē
NAdvlz-fruit-having-PtNmlz pick.fruit-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss busy.withPts
‘I saw a man picking up fruits.’ (Pear 003,004)

173) Wene Alina pakolo pēk.
w-ene-O Alina pakolo pēkē
1A3O-sec.O-RecPst Alina house busy.with
‘I saw Alina building 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 mthēn iistikai
koko elahi-mhakē mthēn i-hiku-ta-he
night fear-NAdvlz poor Them-urine-PssNlncoVrblz -PurpMot
kaikui uno.
kajikuhi uno
jaguar afraid.of
‘At night (I go) to urinate, afraid of the jaguar’

175) Ewenei witējai.
ēw-ene-he w-ītē-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 ipikēlei.
n-ītēm-Ω i-pikēlē-he
3SA-go-RecPst 3-cut.O-PurpMot
‘He/she went to cut it.’

177) Nitēm kopin pikēlei.
n-ītēm-Ω kopinī pikēlē-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) Me. jelapila nma.
mē j-elepi-la nma
So 1-make.afraid-Neg Intens
‘So, it does not scare me at all.’ (iguana 033)

180) Malomme immelum amēipaimēhe lep.
malomme i-mīnelumī-Ω amēji-pa-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 Tiriyó
take O prefixes, a pattern that could not be confirmed for Wayãna 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.

181) Mamak, muleme iwaptau, elemihe inipanakmaame.
        mamako mule-me i-wapta-wê elemi-he i-n-i-panakma-li-me
‘When I was a child, mother used to sing as the thing I would listen to.’

182) Kai kuni.
        ka-he kuni
say-HabPst grandmother
‘Grandma used to say.’ (Tukusimule 047)

183) Kuni ekalei.
        kuni ekale-he
grandmother tell.O-HabPst
‘Grandma used to tell it.’

184) Ipanakmai lu.
        i-panakma-he ywu
Them/3?-hear.O-HabPst 1Pro
‘I used to hear it.’

185) Upakaptaw umêkhe talêna kanawa aîlé.
        upakapataw umêkî-he talê-na kanawa a-jlê
long.ago come-HabPst NspcProxLoc-to canoe inside.of-through
‘Long ago, (one) used to come here by canoe.’

186) Upakaptaw, kaikui pitpê alêi tot katelu ja.
        upakaptaw kaikuih pitpê-O alê-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: 2

187) Nitêm ipanakmai.
    n-itêmi-∅ i-pakma-he
    3SA-go-RecPst 3-hear.O-PurpMot
    ‘He/she went in order to hear he/she/it’

188) Nitêm timnelum panakmai.
    n-itêmi-∅ tî-mînelum-∅ panakama-he
    3SA-go-RecPst 3Refl-husband-Pss hear.O-PurpMot
    ‘I will go in order to paint my husband.’

189) Malija enei hek witêm.
    Mary ene-he hek wîtêm-∅
    Mary see.O-PurpMot only w-itêmi-RecPst
    ‘I only went to see Mary.’

190) *Malija hek enei witêm.

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 ên-, 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 ênekalêla ka neha ēja.
    upo ân-ekalê-la ka n-ehe-∅ ē-ja
    clothing 3Neg-give.O-Neg Quest 3SA-be-RecPst 2-Dat
    ‘Didn’t he/she give clothing to you?’

192) *upo ka ênekalêla neha ēja.

193) Mêkliêlêlênenela.
    mêkliêlêlê n-enê-la
    DemAnmMed 3neg-see.O-Neg
    ‘(He/she/lf) did not see that one’

2 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)  *Epelit* he wai.
     epelit* he  w-a-he
     fruit  Des 1SA-be-SapAff
     'I want fruit.'

195)  *Kaikui* neha jéé he.
     kajikuhi n-eha-Ø  j-é-Ø-íí  he
     jaguar 3SA-be-RecPst 1-eat.meat-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss Des
     'The jaguar wanted to eat me.' (kaikui 116)

196)  *Jelemii* he nma wai.
     jelemi-Ø-íí  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)  *Numwé* enee he wai
     numwe  ene-Ø-íí  he  w-a-he
     moon  see.O-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss Des 1SA-be-SapAff
     'I want to see the moon.' (*I want him/her/it to see the moon)

199)  *Numwé* enee he wai Anakali ja.
     numwe  ene-Ø-íí  he  w-a-he  anakali ja
     moon  see.O-SpcEvntNmlz-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 ‘Specifi event’ and -né ‘Generic event’, as in all the
examples above. The only other eventive suffix, the circumstantial -top(o), to co-occur
with the postposition he in the database only appears in examples making reference to
entities. Cf. section 4.2.2.1.5 for a description of -top(o) as a nominalizer that can derive
forms encoding either a referent or an event.

200) *ípkeletop he wai.
i-plkélét-topo-Pss he w-a-he
3-cut.O- SpcEvntNmlz-Pss Des 1SA-be-SapAff
‘I want the cutting instrument.’

8.3.1.8. ka ‘say, do’ clauses. All the verb phrases described above are cases of
constructions with transitive verbs where there exists a bound between a preposed
nominal and the verb. There exists, however, one case of a phrase involving an
intransitive verb: a sound symbolic (which are grammatically nouns (4.4.4)) plus the
intransitive SA verb verb ka ‘say, do’ in any of its forms (Set I form, t-V-he, negative
form, nominalizations, etc.). This construction displays a bound that parallels that of
other verb phrases. As with other verb phrases, members of form classes other than nouns
cannot occur between the preceding nominal and the verb, e.g., no adverbs, or
postpositions) and the second position particles must occur after the two elements.
Compare (201) to (202). An additional feature of this phrase is that it presents a rigid
word order, the sound symbolic word-ka; the order ka-sound symbolic word is
ungrammatical (204-206). Examples with Set I (5.3.1) and t-V-he (5.3.4) verb forms are
presented below:

201)  Pokn  nika  ka.
pokn  nǐ-ka-Ø  ka
rain.snd  3SA-do-RecPst  Quest
‘Did it rain a lot?’
(Lit. ‘Did it go “pokn”[=heavy raining]’)

202)  * pokn  ka  nika.
8.3.2 Subordinate clauses. All subordination in Wayãna is restricted to nominalized or adverbialized verb forms. The only unusual exception is that of verbal forms inflected by the postpositionalizing suffix –tihwēé ‘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:

207) Wewe apēkatpon tikai.
    wewe apēka-tponu tī-ka-he
    wood get.O-PstAgt Prtc-say-Prtc
    ‘The one who had gotten the wood said’ (stair 020)

208) Ipoke īweitop kunmēk.
    ipoke ī-w-ehi-topo-Ō kun-umēktī
    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:
209) Eiat alètonu ja tê nei inéléé.
O-ehatt-O alè-tponu-O ja t-êne-he inéléé
3-hammock-Pss take.O-PstAgtNmlz-Pss Erg T-see.O-He 3AnphPro
The one who had taken his hammock saw him.’

210) Jepane étuutop ekalène.
j-epa-ne étulu-topo ekalè-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) Hemalée wenejai
hemalé é w-ene-ja-he
now 1A3O-see.O-NPst-SapAff

[ O ]
uwamela iweitop mihen.
uwame-la i-w-ehl-topo-Ø mihen
healthy-Neg 3-SA-be-CircmstNmlz-Pss poor
‘Now I see her being unwell, poor (one).’ (Maria 036, 037)

[ O ]

212) Inekalée wipanakma.
i-n-ekalè-Ø-li 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 easy 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) Elluwa, ekēi nētpiš tilēmpēhe.
eluwa ekēhi nē-Ø-tōpīy-Ø tilē-mēpī-he
man snake ObjNmlz-bite.Ø-
‘The man who was snake-bitten died.’ synt150

214) Helē malija ipun pikēlētop.
helē malija i-punu-Ø pikēlē-topo-Ø
PrsnvPro knife 3-meat-Pss cut.Ø-CircmstNmlz-Pss
‘This (is) the knife that cuts meat.’

215) Mēklēē jenēton tūtēi.
mēklēē j-e-ne-tonu-Ø tū-tē-he
DemAnmMed 1-see.Ø-PstAgt-Pss T-go-He
‘That one came, the one who saw me’ synt151

216) Luwe tanuptēi
luwe t-anuptē-he
flute T-play.instr-He

[      ]
jolok amēipatop tējahe.
joloko amējipa-topo-Ø tē-ja-he
evil.spirit call.Ø-CircmstNmlz-Pss 3Refl-OblAgt-Coll
‘They played the flute, the thing used by them to call jolok.’ (Jolokoa 040, 041)

217) Lome mēklēē ja tēnei mējeleone epe ja.
lome mēklēē ja tē-ne-he mēje-λoni epe ja
but DemAnmMed Erg T-see.Ø-He NspcDistLoc-PtNmlz friend Erg
‘But, that one, the distant friend, could see.’ (Jolokoa 126)

218) Malonme tēpītikom tihe hemele
malonme t-ēpī-ti-komo t-ūri-he hemele
then 3Refl-medicine-3Refl-Coll T-make.Ø-He soon

[      ]
kaliṇo ekālēne.
kaliṇo ekālē-ne
non.Wayāna give.Ø-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 –tīhwē
‘posteriotiy’ clause, and one clause type with –me ‘in oder to’ clauses.

8.3.2.3.1, ke ‘because’ clauses. The postposition ke marks underived nouns as intruments
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 ipimikē.
0-ewa-l' ke i-plmi-kē
3-rope-Pss Instr Them-tie.O-ProxImp
‘Tie with its rope.’

220)  
Tokn    kanē    ke    hek.
tokn    ka-nē    ke    hek
shoot.snd do-GenEvntNmlzInstr only
mekjaa    emna    pēk    itētpii'tom
mekjale    emna    pēk    i-tē-Ø-tplif-Ø-tomo
DemAnimMedColl 1+3ExclPro about 3-go-SpcEvntNmlz-Dvi-Pss-Coll

tipanakmai    emna    ja.
t'panakma-he    emna    ja
T-hear.O-He 1+3ExclPro Erg
‘Because of the shooting, we heard those who had gone after us.’ (Pêne 127, 128, 129)

221)  
Ikiliitom    ekaleē    ke,    umxk.
ɨ-kiliɨ-Ø-tomo ekale-Ø-l' ke w-umxky-Ø
1-thing-Pss-Coll give.O-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss Instr 1SA-come-RecPst
‘I came because they were giving away my things.’

222)  
Jamoo    jeto'hak
j-am-o-l' jeto-mhakē
1-hand-Pss hurt-ModAdvlz

tokolom    katop    ke.
tokolom    ka-topo    ke
paddling.snd do-CircmstNmlz Source
‘My hand (was) hurt from the paddling.’ (Alawaka 061, 062)

223)  
Tikai,    melē    enee    ke.
ti-ka-he    melē    ene-Ø-l'    ke
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) Moloinê têhanukhe inêlê. 
    molojnê tê-wêh-anuku-he inêlêlê
    then T-SA-Det-put.up.above-He 3AnphPro

Imnelum mîhen eulumna esike.
    i-mînelum-ê-Ø mîhen ê-ewu-hit-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 tunà pepta esike, nîtem inêlê ka apeiêtse.
    Molo tunà pepta ehiike n-îtem-ê-Ø inêlêlê ka apeiêty-he
    SpcMedLoc water big because 3SA-go-RecPst 3AnphPro fish get.fish-PurpMot
‘Because big water exists there, he went to fish.’

226) Ûmêkêmê he mëwîhênë
    umêki-êmê-ê-Ø he mëwîhnë
come-Resumpt-SpcEvntNmlz Des really:

ùmumkuu he ìwesike lêken
    ù-mumkuu-ït he ù-wêhi-ît-ke lêken
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-wê
cotton among-in
'In the middle of the cotton (balls).'

228) Imékili
htau
uwa meha.

ỳ-mékî-Ø-ì
nta-wè
uwa m-eha-Ø
1-come-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss among-in Neg 2SA-be-RecPst

‘When I came you were not (here).’

229) Ta
mike
pa

ta
mì-ka-ja
pa
what
2SA-do-NPst

Quest

Éwot
elepîlî

htau?

èw-ôtì-Ø
elepì-Ø-ì

nta-wè
2-meat-Pss
make.O.afraid-SpcEvntNmlz-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,
têwelamai,

malonme
tê-w-e-lama-he

then
T-SA-Det-turn.O-He

Immenot.

thin
kanè

htau,

immenot.

thin
ka-nè
nta-wè

i-ùmnenotì-Ø

alone
do-GenEvntNmlz
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 thin=being alone, his mother in law)

231) Kan
womii
witõkëi

sisi
meki

htau.

kanu
womii-Ø
w-i-tipka-he
hihi
mékî-Ø-ì

nta-wè

God
word-Pss
1A3O-Them-read.O-SapAff
sun
come-SpcEvntNmlz-Pss among-in

‘I read the word of God when 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 esitike, a zero nominalized form of esi ‘be’ plus the postposition ke.

Like with aptau clauses, discussed above, the form esitike takes SAP prefixes (234), but not third person one.

232) Kalipono
mêjela

aptau,

kalipono
mêje-la

apta-wè

non.Wayana NspcDistLoc-Neg

when-in

Épi,
muhule

tëetupuse.

Épi
muhule
tê-w -êt -uputì-he

medicine
alluring.amulet
T-SA-Det-fill.O-He

457
‘When the non-Wayâna were not far, the medicine, the alluring amulet, would start filling up.’  
(Jolokob 307, 308)

233) Elamhak aptau numêkêmê.  
ele-mhk apta-wê n-unêkê-êmê-Ø  
fear- when-in 3SA-come-Resumpt-RecPst  
‘When (he) was scared, he came back.’ synt140

234) Muleme éwaptau, kaikui uwêne.  
mule-me éw-aptâ-wê kaikuhi w-uwê-ne  
child-Attrib2-when-in jaguar 1A3O-kill.O-DistPst  
‘When you were a child, I killed a jaguar.’

8.3.2.3.3 Posternity —tihwé clauses. Posternity clauses indicate that another event will follow. Formally, the posternity clauses are postpositions derived from verb stems with the postpostionalizing suffix —tihwé ‘Postery’ (cf. section 6.3.), but they refer semantically to specific events. The marking of participants on these forms is parallel to that in other postpostional 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 —tihwé form is obliquely marked as in the case of nominalizations by the postposition ja ‘AgtObl’ (235synt131).

235) Éwenetihwé éje ja, tawake nma wetîjai.  
éw-enê-tihwê é-je-Ø ja tawake nma w-tîjai-ja-he  
2-see.O-Postery 2-mother-Pss OblAgt happy Instens 1Sa-become-NPst-SapAff  
‘After you mother sees you, I will be so happy.’

236) Ītētihwê wepijai.  
i-tē-tihwê w-epi-ja-he  
3-go-Postery 1A3O-eat.soft.food-NPst-SapAff  
‘I will eat after he comes.’

237) Mêklêe umpoi, mêklêe ītētihwê leken,  
mêklêe umpoje mêklêe hê-tihwêle leken  
DemAmmMed cause DemAmmMed go-Postery only  
moloine, tumkai eja hemele.  
molojine t-umî-ka-he eja hemele  
then T-root-PrivVbrlz-He 3-Erg now  
‘Because of that one, only after that one went, then, (she) unearthed (it) now.’  
(SSulalapan 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 postpostional 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 (–té ‘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 hapëtiila’
mahike k-ëkë-Ø-me h-ëpëhi-ta
With that 1+2-pet-Pss-Attrb 1+2A3O-get.O-HortAblat
‘With that, ‘Let’s go get it to be our pet!’ (Eagle 014)
(Lit: ‘... as our pet.’) synt138

239) Meklēē pek epën tūhe ejāhe
meklēē pekkē Ø-epj-nu t-īłt-he e-ja-he
DemAnmMed about 3-stair-Pss T-make-He 3-Erg-PColl
apētohme.
Ø-apēhi-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) Moloinē sisi hjak tūhe
molojnē hihi hjak-kē t-īłt-he
Then sun in.sun-into T-make-He
i-lasilamtohme.
i-lahilami-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 mēi nila nipanakmaame
mahike mēhi nila n-i-panakma-li-me
With that DemAmnProx 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-jmé-ne-O-me
mother Des 1be 1-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.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bowerman, Melissa (1992). *Topological Relations* (ms.).


Tavares, Petronila (1993). *A Fonologia e a Posse Nominal da Lingua Wayâna (Karibe)*. Universidade Federal do Pará, Belem pará, Brazil. Trabalho de conclusao de curso (TCC). In the text?


______ (1999a). Wayâna fricatives and phonological change: limitations of a synchronic analysis. (ms.)

______ (1999b). The organization of discourse information in Wayâna narratives.ms.
