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The Variable Expression of Transitive Subject and Possessor in Wayuunaiki (Guajiro)

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**The Variable Expression of Transitive Subject
and Possessor in Wayuunaiki (Guajiro)**

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

In Wayuunaiki, verbal affixes cross-reference clausal arguments in various ways. Most notably, there are two ways to express transitive subjects, and two ways to express possessors. Much like voice alternatives, the variable expression of subject and possessor impart different perspectives on a situation type, but unlike traditional voice categories, syntactic valence remains equal. This dissertation characterizes these constructions with a specific question in mind: what do these two cross-referencing alternations communicate and what influences their usage? To answer these questions, I consider the linguistic properties observed in the usage of these constructions in narratives (Jusayú 1986, 1994), and informal conversations.

Mosonyi (1975) describes the Subjective and Objective transitive clauses as focus alternatives. Álvarez (1993) discovered that the O in the Objective clause must be definite. Despite the association of definiteness and focus as a central factors, the usage of the alternatives in discourse has not received enough attention. I here conclude that the Subjective variant is the pragmatically marked option, whose primary function is to defocus a 3rd person O that is typically inanimate, new and non-topical. This clause type has the effect of retaining its syntactic valency, but expressing semantically low transitivity.

Álvarez (1990) documents possessor ascension as a construction that involves unrestricted noun incorporation. Matera (2001) adds that the possessor of an

incorporated noun can only assume the role of transitive object or stative subject. In the present corpus exploration, I conclude that the External Possessor construction is the functionally marked clause, whose function is primarily to defocus a possessed nominal that is typically inalienable, inanimate, and non-topical information. Additionally, whole-part relationships frequently participate in incorporation, while kinship relations do so rarely.

These two ways to cross-reference arguments are here interpreted as differential focus assignment on clausal arguments (Dixon & Aikhenvald 1997). They both involve the prefixation of *a-* referring to the transitive subject and the external possessor. I conclude that in these constructions this prefix has the effect of backgrounding an entity and consequently assigning undivided focus to the subject or the possessor.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction	1
1.1 The People.....	2
1.2 Wayuu Geography.....	5
1.3 Wayuu History	9
1.4 Wayuu Economy.....	15
1.5 The Wayuu Language	19
1.6 Wayuu Education	21
2 . Theoretical Framework	26
2.1 Cognitive-Functional Approaches to Language.....	27
2.1.1 Cognitive and Functional Linguistics.....	27
2.1.2 Cognitive-Functional vs. Formal Approaches to Language.....	28
2.1.3 Natural Discourse & Typology.....	29
2.2. Constructions.....	31
2.2.1 Word Classes	32
2.2.2 The Meanings of Constructions.....	33
2.4 Discourse.....	38
2.4.1 Information Flow	39
2.4.3 Focal Prominence	40
2.4.2 Topics and Topicalization	41
2.3 General Methodology.....	43
3 Introduction to Wayuunaiki Grammar	46
3.1 Phonetics and Phonology	48
3.1.1 Vowels and Consonants.....	49
3.1.2 Vowel Harmony	52
3.1.3 The Stress Group	55
3.1.4 The Phonological Word and The Grammatical Word.....	58
3.1.5 The Volatility of Liquids	59
3.1.6 Consonantal Gemination	61
3.1.7 The Orthography.....	62
3.2. Nouns and Noun Phrases	64
3.2.1. Pronouns and Demonstratives	64
3.2.2. Alienability	68
3.2.3 Possessive Noun Phrases & Nominal Compounds.....	71

3.2.4 Specific Noun Phrases	75
3.2.5. The Prenominal Position	78
3.2.6 The Postnominal Position	83
3.3 The Adposition and Adpositional Phrase	87
3.3.1. ¿Preposition, Postposition or Relator?.....	88
3.3.2 Circumstantial Adpositional Phrases	90
3.3.3 Causal Adpositional Phrases	93
3.3.4 Spatial Case Suffixes	95
3.4. Verbs & Verb Phrases.....	98
3.4.1 The Verb Theme and the Verb word	100
3.4.2 The Gender and Pre-gender suffixes.	105
3.4.3 Verb Phrases	112
3.5 The Intransitive Split.....	114
3.5.1 The Stative Clause [\emptyset -V So].....	119
3.5.3 The Active Intransitive Clause [a-V Sa].....	126
4 The Two Transitive Constructions.....	138
4.1 Transitivity	138
4.1.1. Direct-Inverse & Symmetrical Systems	141
4.1.3. The Hungarian System	145
4.2 The Wayuunaiki Subjective and Objective clauses	147
4.2.1. Terminology and Definitions.....	148
4.2.2. Other Morphosyntactic Properties.....	150
4.2.3. Semantic and Pragmatic Properties	152
4.3. Questions & Methods.....	157
4.4 The Findings.....	161
4.4.1 Anaphora and Cataphora	162
4.4.2 Person and Animacy	169
4.4.3 (In)definiteness	175
4.4.4 Cleft Constructions	178
4.5. A Characterization of the Transitive Alternatives.....	181
4.5.1 The Subjective Prototypes	182
4.5.2 The Objective Prototype	184
5 Internal and External Possession in Wayuunaiki Clauses.....	185
5.1 Noun incorporation & Possessor Constructions.....	187
5.2. The Expression of Possession in Wayuunaiki.....	194
5.2.1 Possession in the Noun Phrase	194
5.2.2 Possession in the Verb Phrase	199

5.3 Questions and Methods	214
5.4. The Findings.....	216
5.4.1 Types of Possessive Relationships	217
5.4.2 Alienable and Animate Possession.....	220
5.4.3 Anaphora and Cataphora	223
5.5 Further Uses of External Possessors	227
5.5.1 Possessor as Subject of Intransitive Action?	227
5.5.2 Possessors as Subject of Passive	229
5.5.3 Referential Function	230
5.5.4 Modifying Function.....	232
5.6 A Characterization of the Variable Expression of Possessors.	233
5.6.1. The Internal Possessor	234
5.6.2. The External Possessor	235
6 Discussion and Conclusion	239
6.1 A Comparative Glimpse.....	239
6.2 Summary and Conclusions.....	243

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1-1 Map of the Guajira Peninsula.....	5
Figure 3-1. Permanent States	120
Figure 3-2 The Transitory State	122
Figure 3-3 Accomplishments	128
Figure 3-4 Wayuunaiki Telic Passive	130
Figure 3-5 Activity Contours	132
Figure 3-6 Inceptive Undirected Activity	135
Figure 4-1 Highly Transitive Event Schema	140
Figure 4-2 Frequencies of types of mention per construction type	162
Figure 4-3 Means of Anaphoric Distance per Mention type and per Construction... ..	164
Figure 4-4 Cataphoric Persistence Means per Mention type and per Construction ..	167
Figure 4-5 Frequency of Use of Construction per Direction Domain	169
Figure 4-6 More Frequently Used Construction per Animacy of 3rd Person O.....	172
Figure 4-7 Anaphoric Distance Means, per Animacy and per Construction.....	174
Figure 4-8 Cataphoric Persistence Means per Animacy and per Construction	174
Figure 4-9 The Objective and Subjective Schemas	182
Figure 5-1 Frequency of Incorporation per Relationship	217
Figure 5-2 Frequency of Internal Possession per Relationship	218
Figure 5-3 Frequency of Incorporation per Alienability.....	220
Figure 5-4 Frequency of Incorporation of Animate Nouns	221
Figure 5-5 Schema of Internal Possession Constructions.....	235
Figure 5-6 Schemas of External Possessor Constructions.....	236

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1-1 Wayuu Resguardos in Colombia per Municipality	6
Table 1-2. Language Proficiency from the 1992 Census.....	20
Table 3-1 Vowels of Wayuunaiki	49
Table 3-2 Minimal and Near Minimal Pairs for vowel length.....	50
Table 3-3 Consonants of Wayuunaiki.....	51
Table 3-4 The Vowels of the Personal Prefixes.....	53
Table 3-5 Harmonic Fronting and its Environments	53
Table 3-6 Harmonic rounding and its environments	54
Table 3-7 One Foot Stress Groups and Examples	56
Table 3-8 Two feet Stress Groups and Examples.....	57
Table 3-9 Vowel Elision and Liquid Fortition.....	60
Table 3-10 Diphthong Representation in the main orthographies	62
Table 3-11 Hiatus Representations in the Main Orthographies.....	63
Table 3-12 Glottal stop representation in the Main orthographies	63
Table 3-13 Free Pronouns and Corresponding Prefixes	65
Table 3-14 Demonstratives	67
Table 3-15 Core Kinship Relations.....	69
Table 3-16 Vocative forms	71
Table 3-17 Nouns, the use of -ka 'specific', Alienability, and Possession.....	77
Table 3-18 Core Numerals.....	79
Table 3-19 Units of Ten.....	81
Table 3-20 Spatial Adpositions.....	90
Table 3-21 Spatial Adpositions, Stasis and Motion.....	91
Table 3-22 Temporal Adposition Stems.....	92
Table 3-23 Causally Antecedent Adpositions.....	94
Table 3-24 Causally Subsequent Adposition Stems	95
Table 3-25 Spatial Case on Adpositions and verb	96
Table 3-26 Cardinal Point Terms.....	97
Table 3-27 Spatio-temporal Adverbs.....	98
Table 3-28 Affixal Structure and Associated Systems of the Verb	99
Table 3-29 Affixal Cross-Referencing Patterns.....	104
Table 3-30 The suffix -μ / -waa in nouns, adpositions and verbs.....	105
Table 3-31 Non-Future or Realis Gender-Number Suffixes.....	106
Table 3-32 Irrealis Gender-Number Suffixes & Associated Constructions	108
Table 3-33 Auxiliary Verb Phrase Structure	112
Table 3-34 Realis Incorporated Verb Phrase Structure of (V+N) & (V+Prep)	113
Table 3-35 Irrealis Incorporated Verb Phrase Structure of (V+N) & (V+Prep).....	113
Table 3-36 Arawak Cross-referencing (split ergativity).....	116

Table 3-37. Cross-referencing in Wayuunaiki Affixes.....	117
Table 3-38 Telic and Atelic Actions.....	127
Table 4-1 Comparative Usage of Transitive Alternatives in Non-Local Domains ...	145
Table 4-2 Active Verb types and Valency.....	150
Table 4-3 Omissibility of Arguments in both Clauses.....	151
Table 4-4 Native speaker preferences with lexical vs pronominal expression.....	154
Table 4-5 Possibilities for O Across Clause Types	157
Table 4-6 Core Direction Domains.....	161
Table 4-7 Accessibility Means of A & O per construction	163
Table 4-8 Means Persistence Values of A & O	166
Table 4-4-9 More Frequently Used Constructions per Direction Domain	170
Table 5-1 Ehrman's examples of Stative Complex Themes.....	208
Table 5-2 Emotive Transitive Verbs Used in the 1973 Dispute Negotiation	209
Table 5-3 Independent Variables	216
Table 5-4 Mean Anaphoric distance per Construction	224
Table 5-5 Cataphoric Persistence means per construction	225
Table 5-6 Constructions with Possessum Phrases as So and O.....	234
Table 5-7 Constructions with Possessor as So and O.....	236

CORPUS ABBREVIATIONS

F&C	Conversation between Fernando and Camilo
G&P	Conversation between Guillermo and Pedro
L&E	Conversation between Luisa and Evelina
Y&L	Conversation between Yovana and Luisa
MAJ-A01	Miguel Ángel Jusayú Achikii 1. Nüchiki Paruusa Nümaa Aisapainchi. “The Tale of Parusa And Aisapainchi”.
MAJ-A02	Miguel Ángel Jusayú Achikii 2. Nüchiki Wanee Wayuu Jima’ai Shokulashi. “The Tale of a Lazy Young Man”
MAJ-A03	Miguel Ángel Jusayú Achikii 3. Nüchiki Wanee Worolopai Nümaa Wanee Atpanaa. “The Tale of Hawk and Rabbit”
MAJ-A04	Miguel Ángel Jusayú Achikii 4. Nüchiki Wanee Wayuu Olojüi Sa’wainrü. “The Tale of a Turtle Hunter”
MAJ-A05	Miguel Ángel Jusayú Achikii 5. Nnojotsü Paa’in Jiaya’asa Nnojotsü Amain Jiaya’asa. “It Was not a Cow nor a Horse”
MAJ-A07	Miguel Ángel Jusayú Achikii 7. Nüchiki Wanee Wayuu Epetshi Oo’ulaka Müshia Wanee Epeyüi. “The Tale of a Drunkard and A Jaguar-Man”
MAJ-OP	Miguel Ángel Jusayú Opción. Nüchiki Wanee Wayuu Outa Eerüinchi. “The Story of The Man Whose Wife Died”

MORPHOLOGICAL GLOSS ABBREVIATIONS

♀	feminine animate, inanimate	IMP	impersonal
♂	masculine animate	INCP	inceptive
1P	1 st person plural	INE	inessive
1PL.A	1 st person plural absolutive	INF	infinitive
1PL.E	1 st person plural ergative	INFER	inferred
1S	1 st person singular	INS	instrumental
2P	2 nd person plural	IPFV	imperfective
2S	2 nd person singular	IRR	irrealis
3.O	3 rd person object	LOC	locative
3♀	3 rd per. sing. femin. / inan.	ML	multiple theme
3♂	3 rd person singular masculine	MNR	manner nominalizer
3P	3 rd person plural	N.PSS	non-possessioned
3S.A	3 rd person singular absolutive	NEG	negative
3S.E	3 rd person singular ergative	NMLZ	nominalizer
ABL	ablative	NOM	nominative
ACC	accusative	O	realis definite object
ADJZ	adjectivizer	OPT	optative
AF	agent focus	PAS	passive
AGN	agentive	PAS2	inchoative passive
ALL	allative	PER	periodical
ART	article	PERF	perfective
ASSE	assertive	PERL	perlative
AT	attributive	PL	plural
AUG	augmentative	PLC	place
AUX	auxiliary verb	POND	ponderative
C.EX	counterexpectational	POS	alienable possession
CAU	causative	PRED	predicate marker
CHAR	characteristic	PRG	progressive
CL	pronominal close	PROSP	prospective
CNC	concourse	PRP	purposive
CNSQ	consequential	PRS	present
COL	collective	PRSV	presentative
CPL	completive	PRV	privative
DEM.2.PL	plural near demonstrative	PST	past
DEM.2♀	feminine near demonstrative	PST.IN	intermediate past
DEM.2♂	masculine near demonstrative	PST.RC	recent past
DEM.3♀	feminine distal demonstrative	PST.RM	remote past
DEM.3♂	masculine distal demonstrative	PST.SQ	sequential past
DEM.4♀	feminine far demonstrative	R.I.	realis intransitive
DEM.4♂	masculine far demonstrative	RCIP	reciprocal
DEM.PL	plural proximal demonstrative	REP	repetitive
DEM♀	femin. proximal demonstrative	SDN	sudden
DEM♂	masc. proximal demonstrative	SIM	simultaneous
DEO	deontic	SNG	single theme
DES	desiderative	SORC	source, origin
DETR	detransitive	SPC	specific
DF	definite	TVF	truth-value focus,
DIM	diminutive	DUB	dubitative
DISTR	distributive	UNFR	unfortunate
EACH	each, every	UNINT	uninterrupted
EVID	evidential	VBLZ	verbalizer
EXP	experiential	VOC	vocative
FUT	future	VOL	volitive, intentive
GR	gerund		
HAB	habitual		
IDF	indefinite		
IDF	indefinite		
IM	imminent		
IMMD	immediate		

1. Introduction

This dissertation presents a study of Wayuunaiki, or Guajiro, an Arawak language of the Caribbean coast of Colombia and Venezuela. The study focuses on two types of constructions that involve the alternation of verbal indexation patterns: indefinite person prefix *a-* vs. specific person prefixes. The alternatives considered here are the Subjective and Objective transitive constructions and the two ways of expressing possessive relations as clausal arguments in Wayuunaiki. Just like voice distinctions, these alternatives allow speakers to impart different perspectives on the situations they describe. However, unlike traditional voice distinctions, the syntactic valence of the clause does not change. Instead, the indefinite person prefix *a-* serves to background the nominal that functions as the transitive object or the possessed nominal. As such, they can be described as structures that allow variable ways to focus clausal arguments.

Understanding the structure, distribution, and function of these clause types in Wayuunaiki is essential for documentary purposes, and crucially important to programs of language maintenance and development in Wayuu communities. This descriptive and explanatory work is presented under a cognitive and functional linguistic lens, which has the effect of emphasizing language use and the meanings of constructions.

The dissertation is the result of a 13-month visit in 2016-17 to the Colombian department of La Guajira. There, I was fortunate to meet community members and educators, and to work with excellent translators. During the visit, I gathered conversations that serve as the primary data for this study. I was privileged to work with two ethno-educators Ángel Barros (Wouliyuu) and Octavio Ponce (Epieyuu), and to learn and practice much of the language with many others in the municipalities of Riohacha, Maicao and Manaure. In addition to the conversations, I analyzed narratives written by Miguel Ángel Jusayú as secondary data. The experiences of gathering and processing the corpus, and of visiting Wayuu

communities grounds the observations and conclusions presented in the grammatical sketch as well as in the two quantitative studies.

In the next section, I provide an overview of the Wayuu people §1 present the Wayuu people together with brief descriptions of their geography, history, economy, education and their current linguistic reality. Chapter.2 begins with the dissertation questions and then presents the relevant theoretical framework that guides the study. Chapter 3 presents a grammatical sketch of the language, including features of its phonology, phonetics, word classes, syntactic phrases, and intransitive clauses. The fourth chapter describes the Subjective and Objective transitive constructions and describes their prototypical uses. Similarly, Chapter 5 characterizes the internal and external possessor constructions. Both of these chapters look at the semantic and discourse-pragmatic patterns observed in the usage of the alternatives. Lastly, Chapter 6 provides a brief comparison of these conclusions and ends with a summary of the findings.

1.1 The People

The name **Guajiro**¹ appears to be a Hispanicization of *washirü* [wa'ʃiri] ‘rich’ (Jusayú & Olza 2006). This name was first attested in 1626 during a period that seems to follow the adoption of animal husbandry, which caused substantial changes in Wayuu social structure (Guerra Curvelo 2002). Today, in Venezuela, the name ‘guajiro’ appears to refer exclusively to Wayuu people. On the Colombian side, the peninsula was historically known as La Guajira, which motivated the use of ‘guajiro’ also for *alijuna* or ‘non-wayuu’ people, now native of the peninsula (Jaramillo 2014). Since at least the second half of the 20th century, their endonym **Wayuu** or ‘Guayú’ [wa'ju:] ‘human’ has come to be commonly used in both countries to specify the indigenous people.

According to the 1992 Wayuu Binational Census (henceforth, the 1992 census), the Wayuu people number about 298,000 people; 57% in Zulia, Venezuela and 43% in La Guajira, Colombia (OCEI 1995). Yet the combined data from the 2002

¹ The term “Guajiro” is also used in modern Cuban Spanish to refer to ‘peasants’. It is not known whether the Taíno language had a cognate word that was borrowed into Spanish.

Venezuelan census and the 2005 Colombian census gives an estimated total of 481,000 people; 49% in Zulia and 51% in La Guajira (Ministerio de Educación Nacional [MEN] 2009). It is likely that the proportion of the Wayuu population in the Colombian side is higher now given that over the last decade many Wayuu who were established in Venezuela have ‘re-migrated’ away from the economic crisis the country faces.

The Wayuu have a strong tradition of matrilineal descent and their residence is matrilocal. The clans or *e'irukuu* are associated with mythical ancestral origins and totem animals (birds, insects or mammals). Today, there are less than twenty clans of uneven status, wealth, power and population. The smaller clans are more exogamic whereas the most numerous ones are less exogamic (Picon 1996:309). The Wayuu kinship system is comparable to that of the Crow type (Goulet 1981). The main set of relatives are a person's matrilineage *apüshii*. Its main members include *eiwaa* ‘mother’, *a'laülaa* ‘mother's brother’, *asipüü* ‘man's sister's child (niece/nephew)’. This primary family unit includes the immediate people of the clan with whom the individual shares a set of benefits and duties. Under traditional law, every community is represented by an *a'laülaa* ‘maternal uncle’, but his power or influence is commensurate to his prestige and wealth. This elder uncle cares for the collective interests of his sister's community. He is responsible for coordinating collective work, maintaining order within the Rancheria, as well as in any situation that involves other Wayuu or *Alijuna* people (Guerra Curvelo 2002:80). On the other hand, the ‘father’ *ashii*, his *o'upayuu* ‘father's maternal relatives’ and his *asanuaa* ‘father's paternal relatives’ include a secondary set of people with whom the person shares a lesser number of rights and responsibilities.

As of 1992, the largest clan was the *Epieyuu*, with more than 26,000 members (OCEI, 1995). The eight most numerous clans comprise almost 80% of the Wayuu population. These are *Aapiishana*, *Epieyuu*, *Epinayuu*, *Ipuana*, *Ja'yaliyuu*, *Juusayuu*, *Püshaina* and *Uliana*. It should be clarified that these clans identify a mythological common ancestry for the people, but the actual socio-political rights and responsibilities apply to the immediate maternal relatives, or *apüshii*. There are then two levels in the meaning of the Wayuu clan, and only the immediate members of the clan come close to the idea of a polity represented by an *a'laülaa*. Some of these

‘elder uncles’ excel in their ability to lead and solve conflicts within and across clans and go on to become a *pütchipü’üi* ‘word-smith’. The *pütchipü’üi* then becomes a key figure who is regarded as the highest authority in Wayuu law, and is frequently sought after in order to solve major inter-clan conflicts. In sum, the Wayuu people are organized as a flexible and dynamic federation of a large number of local and dispersed clans.

This decentralized form of social organization has been troublesome for national governments throughout the colonial and republican histories of both countries. I believe that this has been a crucial property of the Wayuu that has allowed them to resist numerous colonizing and assimilating attempts, and to substantially maintain their ways of life, including their language. However, modern legislation in both nations seeks to repair historical wrongdoings, and identifying the beneficiaries of these new laws embodies the most recent challenge towards Wayuu unity (Jaramillo 2014). For instance, over the last couple of decades, Colombian legislation has sought to improve issues such as the health and education systems of the Wayuu as a collective. This has had the effect of generating an unsettling competition for who among the Wayuu has the authority to communicate their collective voices.

The people’s respect and deference to their local clan or *apüshii* is evident in their traditional judicial system, which is based on compensation. Breaking a traditional law may result in the compensation of the victim’s maternal relatives by the offender’s maternal family. The *o’upayuu* or father’s maternal relatives have no right to such a payment, which usually consists of animals and jewelry. This is also the case in their traditional system of collective work *ayanamajaa*, where people are eager to help their *apüshii*. I personally witnessed the building of a house, where at least nine relatives co-built a home in a remarkable short period of time. Wayuu homelessness in the municipality of Riohacha is virtually non-existent (Mejía & Ramos 2014:50) due to this custom of generously assisting matrilineal clan members. During my extended stay in that city, I personally witnessed the non-existence of Wayuu homelessness. This can be attributed to the fact that they share land outside of town with their maternal *apüshii*, and that they retain an inspiring sense of solidarity for their immediate clan members. Besides collective work, their clan solidarity can

also be witnessed via the tradition of *ekirawaa*, sharing the harvests, and *asüüijaa*, giving inheritance or gifts of affection (Ibid:47)

1.2 Wayuu Geography

The Wayuu ancestral territory, or their *Woumainpa'a*, is located in the Guajira peninsula, which measures approximately 15,000 square kilometers; roughly 12,000 lie in Colombia, and 3,000 in Venezuela (Guerra Curvelo, 2002). In Spanish, the peninsula is conceived in a north to south basis as the Alta, Media and Baja Guajira. In Wayuunaiki, the peninsula is conceived of in four directions: *Wüinpümüin* ‘northeast and east’ (lit. ‘toward the water’), *Palaamüin*, ‘north, northwest’ (lit. ‘toward the sea’), *Wopümüin*, ‘west, southwest’ (lit. ‘toward the path’) and *Uuchimüin* ‘south, southeast’ (lit. ‘toward the mountains’).

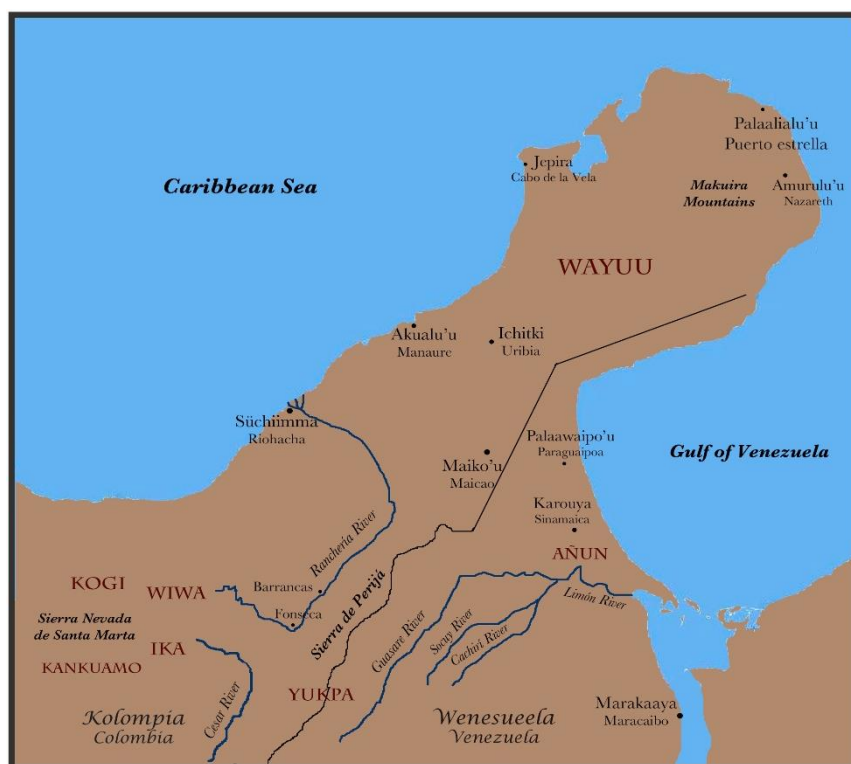


Figure 1-1 Map of the Guajira Peninsula

In general, the whole region can be characterized as an arid semi-desert with the major exceptions of the Makuira mountains to the northeast, as well as lush piedmonts of the Sierra de Perijá to the south and the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta to the southwest. The southwestern Guajira is hydrated by the Ranchería river, while the southeastern Guajira is hydrated by the Limón river and its tributaries Guasare, Socuy

and Cachirí. These valleys provide relief to Wayuu farmers, who primarily grow corn, manioc, beans and watermelons. The map in Figure 1-1 shows the rivers that flow perennially and not the seasonal streams in the north.

The international border dissects the northern half of the land rather artificially because it is simply an imaginary line in the sand. However, in the south, the northern end of the Central Andes known as the Sierra de Perijá does constitute a geographical boundary that physically divides the nation-states. Between 1984 and 2001, the Colombian state granted 17 *resguardos* to the Wayuu. The Alta and Media Guajira is a single *resguardo* that amounts to 99.1% of the total 10,771 square kilometers granted (roughly 2.6 million acres). Contrastingly, in the fertile southern end of the peninsula, the Wayuu were granted sixteen small pieces of land. Table 1-1 lists the seventeen Wayuu reservations in Colombia by municipality and land area.

MUNICIPALITY	RESGUARDO	KM ²
URIBIA, MANAURE, MAICAO, RIOHACHA	Alta y Media Guajira	10,675
RIOHACHA AND MAICAO	Soldado Parate Bien	6
MAICAO	Okochi	2
ALBANIA	Cuatro de Noviembre	5
RIOHACHA	Las Delicias	2
	Mañature	6
	Monte Harmón	.4
	Una Apuchon	.5
HATONUEVO	Cerro de Hatonuevo	2
	Wayuu de Lomamoto	16
BARRANCAS	El Zahino-Guayabito-Muriaytuy	12
	Provincial	4
	San Francisco	.6
	Trupfogacho-La Meseta	23
FONSECA	Mayabangloma	10
DISTRACCIÓN	Caicemapa	5
	Potrerito	.4
Total		10,771

Table 1-1 Wayuu Resguardos in Colombia per Municipality (Arango & Sánchez 2004)

As of 1992, only 15% of the Colombian Wayuu lived in urban centers, while in Venezuela that proportion is 64% (OCEI 1995). The Wayuu in Venezuela have been waiting for decades to obtain land titles to their ancestral territories in the state of Zulia, a situation that still awaits a political resolution. Most Wayuu communities are located in the municipalities of Guajira (previously called Páez) and Mara. Yet

there are Wayuu people living in seventeen municipalities of Zulia, such as Jesus Enrique Lossada, Maracaibo, San Francisco, Machiques, and San Carlos.

Based on data from the 1992 census, Picón (1996:309) estimates that the population density in the peninsula is five people per squared kilometer. This measure excludes a very large animal population, and thus constitutes a relatively heavily populated semi-desert in Colombia. The historical scarcity of resources combined with the adoption of a pastoralist economy further explain why the contemporary Wayuu live in numerous and dispersed small communities. Today, there may be over a thousand of these types of *rancherías* across the peninsula, and this settlement pattern prevents excessive competition for grazing lands and water sources. Most *rancherías* are accessible by donkey, mule, horse, or by foot. Additionally, trucks, which can by-pass the paved road, have been used by the Wayuu at least half a century now. In modern Wayuu society, owning a truck is a sign of prestige.

The only permanent river in the Wayuu ancestral territory west of the Perijá mountains is known as *Süchii* in Wayuunaiki and *Shirriwa* in the Damana language of the Wiwa. In Spanish, it is now known as Ranchería². The river is only 248 km long, and it emerges at 3,875 meters above sea level in the Chirigua Alpine Tundra of the Santa Marta Sierra Nevada, and ends in the Caribbean Sea at the city of Riohacha. The upper Ranchería basin is traditional to the Wiwa and Kogi, whereas the Middle and Lower Ranchería is traditional to the Wayuu. To the Wiwa and Kogi, the river contains five sacred sites that delimit their ancestral territory, and that must be visited periodically to make offerings or ‘payments’. To the Wayuu, the Ranchería is associated with a great double headed snake called *Jerakanawa*, and is one of the homes of *Pülowi*, a hyperfeminine being who is the owner of natural resources, and who possesses great power over hunters and fishermen (Guerra Curvelo 2013).

But today the Ranchería basin is also inhabited by many other people, such as numerous Creole and Afro-Colombian communities, rice and sugar-cane farmers, coal miners, and the Colombian army. Additionally, during at least the last four decades, guerrilla members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC),

² In the historical records it went by Río de la Hacha, Calancala, Seturma, Yaro, and Hermo (Guerra Curvelo 2013:73).

and paramilitary groups of the Colombian Self Defense (AUC) have taken turns making their uninvited presence in the Upper Ranchería (Ibid 2013).

To add to the misfortune, in the 1970's the Wayuu learned that underneath their ancestral Middle Ranchería valley, lie Latin America's largest coal deposits. In 1977, Exxon and Carbocol began to explore, construct and operate the Cerrejón mine. This project also included a 150-km railway and a dedicated seaport. In the 1980's, the Colombian government made sure to grant to the Wayuu only 72 squared kilometers of the middle Rancheria valley as dispersed small tracts of land (Arango & Sánchez 2004). During the construction, the Cerrejón mine displaced about two hundred Wayuu families. By 1983, the Wayuu protested government construction by building over one thousand homes on the proposed path of the railroad, which effectively, but only temporarily, halted railroad construction (Chomsky 2008:270).

The mine was first operated by the Colombian state coal company Carbocol and a subsidiary of the U.S. corporation Exxon named Intercor. Decades later, the concession was bought by three mining giants: Xstrata of Switzerland, BHP Billiton of the United Kingdom, and Anglo-American of Australia. The environmental impact is disgraceful. It is the largest open pit mine in the world; coal dust gets blown by the wind and contaminates the river, the air, and the sea, not only near the mine, but also along the railroad and around the seaport. Additionally, the contrast between the extreme poverty found in the peninsula and the enormous profits of the multinational corporation is stark and devastating. The municipalities adjacent to the mine, such as Barrancas and Albania, receive royalties from the mine, but that money seamlessly disappears into the hands of politicians (Piedrahita 2013). East of the Perijá mountains, in Venezuela, the three main tributaries of the Limón River: Guasare, Socuy and Cachirí also flow above enormous coal deposits. Fortunately, as of now the Venezuelan state has held back from mining the coal from those areas. The situation is fragile however, since the Wayuu communities of the area are still waiting for their land titles.

In sum, it can be said that the now polluted waters of the Ranchería river continue to be highly disputed, while most Wayuu are victims of thirst in the dry semidesert of the north. Even in the wetter center and south, numerous Wayuu

communities lack access to clean water. In the municipality of Riohacha alone, where Colombian governmental presence is strongest, only 1% of Wayuu homes have an indoor toilet (Mejía & Ramos 2014). In many communities, the lack of the water is fatal. I personally witnessed an elderly woman drinking sea water to quench her thirst.

Several years of drought over the last decade have exacerbated the thirst of the Wayuu people. Additionally, many Wayuu communities in Colombia, such as Nazareth, have long depended on cheaper food items bought in Venezuela. But now food scarcity in that country no longer allows such imports. The detrimental effects to the people of the peninsula are most evident in an alarming rate of malnutrition deaths among Wayuu children. The issue of malnutrition in the Guajira has also placed the spotlight on the 17, 000 cubic liters of water consumed by the mine every day, and on the recently developed Cercado dam in the upper Ranchería, which gives water priorities to the mining operations. In 2015, The Wayuu NGO *Shipia Wayuu* placed a petition to the Organization of American States for precautionary measures to be issued given the disturbing rate of infant mortality in the Colombian Guajira. The petition had specified that in the previous eight years, 4,770 Wayuu children had died of malnutrition (Inter-American Commission of Human Rights [IACHR] 2015). The same year, the commission issued the precautionary measures demanding that the Colombian State provide the necessary aid to prevent the deaths of Wayuu children. However, the IACHR concluded that there was not enough evidence to directly link the water used in coal mining with the high rate of infant mortality downriver.

1.3 Wayuu History

Oral traditions have it that *Juya* ‘Rain’ impregnated *Mma* ‘Earth’, and she gave birth to humans. *Juya* ‘Rain’ later impregnated *Si’ichi* ‘Guamacho Cactus’ and she gave birth to twin boys *Mayui* and *Ulapüle*. They lived in Macuira Mountains at a place called *Itujolu*, where *Juya*’s daughter, *Wolunka* also lived. However, *Wolunka* had a toothed vagina that prevented her from getting pregnant. After, many tribulations, the twin boys managed to knock off her vagina teeth with arrows made of sheep horn. And after that achievement, *Wolunka* multiplied the Wayuu (MEN 2009:22).

Archeologists hypothesize that the pottery tradition known as ‘hornoid’ corresponds to the arrival of Arawak peoples to the middle Ranchería valley, the upper Cesar and the Venezuelan Guajiran coast. The oldest ‘hornoid’ style pottery is dated to be approximately 2,500 years old (Oliver 1990:106). The most distinctive characteristic of this tradition regards the use of red and/or black against a white or cream-colored background (Ardila 1996:177). The main populations who made this pottery were settled in the middle Ranchería and upper Cesar valleys. This style is also found in the Venezuelan states of Lara, and in the Orinoco plains to the south. This pottery tradition also included evidence of ample consumption of manioc, dispersed small communities, matriarchy, and common ancestry cemeteries. These properties are shared by contemporary Wayuu, and differ from those found to correspond to the neighboring Tayrona traditions. The Tayrona are believed to be the ancestors of the Kogi, Wiwa, Ika and Kakuamo.

Approximately 1,300 years ago, the ‘hornoid’ style was replaced by a different type of pottery known as ‘Ranchoid’, but there is no indication of a violent invasion to account for this replacement (Ibid :185). The Wayuu were based on both sides of the Perijá Mountains: in the middle Ranchería and upper Cesar, as well as on the upper Guasare and upper Socuy rivers (Ibid :190). The archeological record points to continuous environmental changes in the Ranchería basin turning forests into savannahs. These changes are apparently related to the centuries of intensive slash and burn indigenous practices (Guerra Curvelo 2013:76). This decrease in natural resources may have motivated a more mobile population. The pottery records provide evidence that the ‘ranchoid’ potters spread throughout the Guajira peninsula, and even travelled on the sea to the Paraguaná peninsula and Curaçao (Ardila 1996:192). They also left behind evidence of extensive consumption of corn. The two pottery traditions, ‘hornoid’ and ‘ranchoid’, point to the existence of two different large populations primarily based in middle Ranchería valley. However, the two different traditions imply some type of cultural blend or evolution that gave rise to the historical Wayuu and Añun.

Complementarily, the high concentration of structurally divergent Arawak languages is taken to be quite indicative that the region between the Rio Orinoco and Rio Negro is the ancestral home of the Proto-Arawak (Aikhenvald 2006). The

Caribbean Arawak peoples left Northern Amazonia and traveled the Orinoco plains to arrive to the northern coasts of South America as early as 2,500 years ago.

The Añun, Wayuu, and Kaketío people ended up taking a northwestern route, whereas the Taíno, Lokono, Iñeri, and Shebayo went northeast following the lower Orinoco river. Today, only Wayuunaiki and Garífuna³ are amply spoken, while Lokono (Arawak) continues to be used, albeit with a much smaller population.

Marie-France Patte (1978, 1981, 1987, 1989) provided important descriptions of the Añun language, which is the closest relative of Wayuunaiki. Today, about 21,000 people identify as Añun or Paraujano, but there is only one speaker⁴ of the language left. Nevertheless, some Añun communities, as in Santa Rosa de Agua, San Rafael el Moján, Laguna de Sinamaica and the Island of Maraca are taking steps to teach the language to their younger generations.

The Kaketío language was spoken over a large geographical area. Besides having been spoken in the states of Falcón, Lara, Yaracuy and Apure (Ven.), it was also used in the islands of Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire. This language did not survive the first century of the Spanish invasion of the region, however, there was no linguistic documentation. It is likely that the Kaketío held significant commercial and political relations with the Añun and Wayuu prior to the Spanish invasion to the area, as evidenced by the ‘ranchoid’ style of pottery found in both areas.

It is not known for certain whether the mysterious Kosina (Cocina) people spoke Wayuunaiki, or had their own language. They are documented as residing in the peninsula in the 16th century, and described as the “savage” hunter-gatherers of the peninsula. Picon (1996:313) writes that existence of the Kosina people was “a political device to deceive the Spaniards”. In his analysis, the Kosina were an imaginary enemy, whose “existence” was useful to the Wayuu in pretending to be

³ The Garífuna language (a.k.a. Iñeri, Kaliphuna, Island Carib, Black Carib, Cariff) has changed dramatically over the last centuries. This can be at least partly attributed to forced displacement and the adoption of the language by Carib and African peoples via mixed marriages. Given the documented differences between modern variety and that spoken in the Antilles, some authors understandably consider them separate languages. Despite its rapid and sudden changes, though, I like to highlight their formidable continuity by considering them different stages of a single language.

⁴ During Patte’s fieldwork in Zulia, she saw the speaker population of the language shrink dramatically. One of the elderly speakers with whom Patte worked, Carlota Márquez managed to teach her grandson Yofri Márquez before she passed away.

defending the interests of the Spanish, and for blaming after the raids the Wayuu themselves would conduct.

As for the languages of the Arawak peoples that continued a northeastern route of migration, today Lokono or Arawak is spoken by numerous but small communities along the coastal areas of northeastern Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname and French Guiana. The Garífuna language, was originally spoken in Saint Vincent, Dominica and Saint Lucia, where it was documented as ‘Island Carib’ by Raymond Breton in the 17th century. After the forced displacement to Central America in 1796, today the language of the ‘Black Caribs’ thrives in the coasts of Honduras, Guatemala, Belize and Nicaragua. Lastly, the Taíno language was spoken in the islands of Puerto Rico, Hispaniola, Cuba and Jamaica. It was the first language encountered by the European invaders, but became extinct within the first century of contact.

The most accepted hypothesis regarding the sub-branching of Caribbean Arawak involves the main division between Garífuna and Ta-Arawak (Taylor 1958:156; Payne 1991:366–367; Aikhenvald 1999:69). In the former, Garífuna is the sole member as the oldest split of the branch, whereas Ta-Arawak is comprised of Lokono, †Taíno, Wayuu and Añun. Ta-Arawak languages are the only ones in the whole Arawak family that have *ta-* as 1st person singular, all others have a nasal *nu-*. Wayuu and Añun are also commonly grouped as a Guajiro group, which includes the most recent split in the branch.

Preliminary comparative analyses of the languages in Caribbean Arawak suggests that the two proposed routes of migration are consonant with two separate diachronic paths of sound changes. For instance, only the Ta-Arawak languages of the west show a significant amount of root-initial *k deletion, and ample palatalization of *t, *d and *l before /i/. Contrastingly, only Garífuna and the Ta-Arawak languages of the east show widespread retention of *k, the sibilantization of *k before /i/, or the weakening of intervocalic *d into a flap [ɾ].

Beyond the Caribbean branch, the Orinoco group of languages appear to be near relatives. These are Warekena of Xié (Baniva of Guainía), †Yavitero and †Maipure. Payne (1991:367), Aikhenvald (1999:70), and Ramírez (2001:499) agree

on grouping these three languages, even though there is no consensus on whether it is a sub-branch of North Amazonian, or its own branch. If the near relationship is true, it would corroborate the hypothesis of the origin of the Caribbean Arawak in the Orinoco basin.

The historical documents of the colonial period describe numerous failed attempts at conquering the Guajiran peninsula. Alonso de Ojeda founded Santa Cruz de Cocinetas on the eastern coasts of the peninsula in 1501, only to be driven out within the first year. This was meant to be the capital of Coquibacoa (Pérez 2006:409). In 1538, the desire for the pearls found at the mouth of the Ranchería River lead the Spanish to found Riohacha. Strengthened by having established alliances and commercial relations with the Dutch, the English, and the ABC islands, the Wayuu resisted the Spanish in two periods of warfare: 1539 to 1620, and 1760 to 1790. After the Dutch settled in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, the Wayuu traded goods such as animals, timber, weapons and munition (Pérez 2006:410; Ramírez Boscán 2008:22).

After independence, the peninsula was split between the interests of Colombia and those of Venezuela. During the 19th century, the Colombian side was renamed to the province of Padilla, which the governments of turn were unable to control. The Venezuelan side was first named the province of Maracaibo and later renamed the state of Zulia. During these years many Wayuu became slaves to Zulian landowners (Pérez 2006:418).

In the 1930's, Venezuela began exploiting petroleum from Maracaibo Lake, and this resulted in the rapid urbanization and globalization of Zulia. For many Wayuu, this represented an opportunity to shift from a subsistence economy to the adoption of wage labor. As a result, Zulia's development motivated waves of Wayuu migration into its towns and cities, and perhaps the beginning of today's urban Wayuu subculture. As of 1992, 63.8% of the Wayuu in Venezuela lived in urban areas (OCEI 1995). This figure was only 14.8% for the Wayuu in Colombia. In Colombian, coal began to be mined at massive scales in the 1980's, which also changed the economic realities of the Guajira department, but unlike in Zulia, it has caused little development on the Colombian side. The petroleum, coal and natural gas exploitation

have become sources of political tension and environmental degradation due to their negative effect on the land and its waters.

The 1990's witnessed the rewriting of constitutions (Colombia 1991, Venezuela 1999), which brought about many new rights to indigenous peoples. Significantly for the survival of the Wayuu language and culture was the legalization of traditional indigenous law⁵. In 2010, the UNESCO declared the Wayuu Normative System was designated the status of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity⁶. Conflicts between Wayuu clans occur often and can get seriously violent. Mejía C. & Ramos (2014) document that, at least in the municipality of Riohacha, the biggest fear the Wayuu have are clan conflicts. This is highly significant given that Colombia is a country that suffers many types of violence. I recall in this regard, making friends with a young mother of four whose husband had recently been assassinated over a land dispute, and with a young man who confided to me about his paralyzing fears of being attacked by a neighboring clan.

Nevertheless, the Wayuu people count on the availability of the *pütchipü'üi* 'wordsmith'. These men are specialists in conflict resolution who have attained the prestige, influence and power to convince clans to take peaceful paths towards reconciliation. By using an elaborated mix of dialogue, ritual and a symbolic compensation and reparation system, the *pütchipü'üi* manages to get the parties in conflict to consensually return to being friends. The fact that the procedures and rituals only stop after the parties come to an agreement, contrasts substantially with Western law where the parts must abide by a decision by the judge (Guerra Curvelo 2002:203). In other words, the *pütchipü'üi* is not like a judge who determines a penalty. Instead, he serves as the traditional antithesis to the unending cycles of vengeance, by ensuring a peace that is constructively built by the parties in a dispute.

⁵ Article 246 of the 1991 Colombian Constitution:

Las autoridades de los pueblos indígenas podrán ejercer funciones jurisdiccionales dentro de su ámbito territorial de conformidad con sus propias normas y procedimientos, siempre que no sean contrarios a la constitución y leyes de la república. La ley establecerá las formas de coordinación de esta jurisdicción especial con el Sistema judicial nacional.

Article 260 of the 1999 Venezuelan Constitution

Las autoridades legítimas de los pueblos indígenas podrán aplicar en su hábitat instancias de justicia con base en sus tradiciones ancestrales y que solo afecten a sus integrantes, siempre que no sean contrarios a esta constitución, a la ley y al orden público. La ley determinará las formas de coordinación de esta jurisdicción con el Sistema judicial venezolano.

⁶ <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/wayuu-normative-system-applied-by-the-putchipuui-palabrero-00435>

1.4 Wayuu Economy

Some of the traditional economic activities that have sustained the Wayuu for centuries include hunting, fishing, farming, salt-mining, fruit gathering, weaving among others. However, the adoption of pastoralism in the 17th century brought about great changes in their economic system, where today animals hold great value. In this section, I briefly present how these activities associate with their modern social realities.

Water is a precious resource in peninsula. The Wayuu gather water from wells, ponds, communal pools, windmills, rivers or creeks. The fortunate communities have relatively simple access to a windmill, which is a Wayuu luxury, especially in the deserts and savannahs. Many Wayuu live too far from a windmill, and must walk long distances to gather water from some hand-dug well, or from a pond. Nevertheless, all water sources are significant social centers, where people from neighboring communities end up interacting while bathing, washing clothes, or quenching the thirst of their animals.

The Wayuu collectively build their own homes. The typical material for the wall structure are the dried interiors of the pitaya cactus trunks (*Stenocereus griseus*), known as in the region as *yotojolo*. Their walls are made of wattle and daub. The roofs are either thatched or they buy a zinc sheets. The primary domestic group is made up of sisters and their mother as permanent residents, whereas brothers and husbands are temporary visitors. Together with the men of his group, a husband is expected to build the home of his wife. The husband will visit his wife periodically, but he must also be present and attend to the needs of his sister(s). Even though this is sort of an idealized situation in the culture, in actual practice this is a tendency, not a rule (Picón 2016:310). The degree of commitment or dedication that a man has for his wife or his sister(s) varies; at times he's a great husband, at others he's a great brother. Similarly, a wife may move to the husband's community because of a more favorable economic situation.

As expected from a human group having roots in river valleys and today being surrounded by the Caribbean Sea, Wayuu fishermen possess ancient knowledge

of riverine and marine life. Today, fishermen are considered ‘poor’ because their catch only allows them to survive, but they can not guarantee food as much as pastoralist can. Nevertheless, communities that overwhelmingly depend on fishing such, as Mayapo in the municipality of Manaure, do not share this social attitude (Ortega et al. 2000). The Wayuu marine expertise is reflected in their terminology for ocean, wind and sky phenomena, marine life and types of fishing tools. For instance, foundational for ocean travel, the Wayuu fishermen distinguish eight types of winds, according to their origin: *palaapajatü* ‘northern’, *palaijatü* ‘northwestern’, *wopujeejetu* ‘western’, *uuchajatü* ‘southern’, *aruleechi* ‘southeastern’, *jouktai* ‘eastern’, *jepirachi* ‘north northeastern’, and *jepiralujutu* ‘east northeastern’ (Guerra Curvelo 2015:45). Similarly, before casting a net out in the ocean, Wayuu divers observe the fish movement and their habitats. This has also motivated a recognition of 15 categories of ocean floors and a vast vocabulary for marine life, with which they distinguish fish as migratory, edible, or taboo. I was fortunate to live near the beach fish market in Riohacha. Every afternoon, Wayuu and ‘Alijuna’ fishermen arrive in launch boats while their wives set up booths to prepare and sell their husbands impressive catch. The scene turns into a lively market where both Spanish and Wayuunaiki are used.

Besides providing numerous varieties of fish, ray, and shark, the ocean currents also conspire to funnel large amounts of salt into the coast of Manaure. That salty water is pumped out of the ocean into large salt flats, which is then sun-dried. Much of the salt is sold to the Colombian interior. This has been one of the economic resources that has shaped the culture of the Wayuu from Manaure.

However, for over four centuries, the adoption of pastoralism has had the biggest impact to their economic system. By the 17th century, the Wayuu had managed to resist the takeover of land by ranchers, and instead had become skilled pastoralists (Guerra Curvelo 2013:78). They have become expert caretakers of goat, sheep, donkeys, mules, horses and cattle. Each clan has a branded iron to mark cattle, horses and mules. Sheep and goats get earmarked. The graphemes used to mark animals represent the main set of symbols adopted by the Wayuu to communicate clan ownership. Together with woven designs, these clan symbols demonstrate the most widespread type of Wayuu literacy. Animals hold great value in the culture. Today, “debts, alliances and funerals are thought of and expressed in terms of

animals” (Picón 1996:310). Wayuu socialization requires animals, given that “power is directly related to wealth, and animals are wealth”. That is, a Wayuu without animals can manage to survive but he or she will lack a “social existence”. Even though domestic animals have been the granters of prestige, today it competes with wage labor and commerce.

According to a social capital survey performed in 6 *resguardos* of Riohacha (Mejía & Ramos 2014), the most widespread economic activity today is the production of hand-made crafts or *artesanías*, which mostly involves weaving. Fully 44% of the 365 participants indicated that this is how they made money. Another 23% of the participants reported being pastoralists, and 17% of them reported being farmers of traditional crops like manioc, corn, beans, squash or watermelon. The final 9% of participants included 6% who were wood loggers and 3% were fishermen in this coastal and riverine municipality. In the recent past, Wayuu weavings have attracted quite a lot of attention in mainstream Colombian and Venezuelan cultures. Many weavings, like the *katto 'uwi* ‘side bag’ as well as *mantas* ‘dresses’ have become fashionable and thus important in the national markets. This activity contributes directly to the Wayuu women’s economies and may also reflect their contemporary pursuit to access the national markets.

However, a visit to Riohacha’s *mercado nuevo* reveals that the emergence of an economy of Wayuu weavings is not necessarily a good situation. Everyday, to this multicultural market, countless Wayuu women travel to sell their weavings to a large number of business people. Many of these re-sellers take advantage of the women’s desperation and blatantly underpay them. For instance, for a *katto 'uwi* bag, the most popular bag type in the market nowadays, the weaver obtains about US\$6. To make a *katto 'uwi*, the experienced weaver takes about 40 hours, and they must pay for the raw materials and travel costs. This means that the market pays them about US\$0.15 cents an hour. Nevertheless, considering many other troublesome choices available in the region such as participating in the Venezuelan gasoline trade, or collaborating with guerrilla or paramilitary groups, the Wayuu appear to value the market for their weavings as a decent opportunity.

One of the factors that allowed the Wayuu to resist the conquest of their territory was the taking advantage of the conflict between European powers and the strategic

geographical location of the Guajira peninsula. This allowed the Wayuu to become one of the first human groups in the Americas to have engaged in international trade and international relations. Together with their adoption of a pastoralist lifestyle, trading with their enemies was a strategy that supported the successful resistance against the forceful occupation of the Spaniards. This sequence of events resulted in the de-facto establishment of a Wayuu economic system, which was the newly independent states stigmatized as “contraband” or *bachaqueo*. Even though such unfolding of events benefited the Wayuu for centuries, it continues to be seen as an issue by the Colombian and Venezuelan states and it constitutes a major source of instability for the Wayuu.

Colombia and Venezuela have historically ensured that the beneficiaries of development projects exclude indigenous peoples as well as those of African ancestry. Traditional policies that nurtured such legal exclusion from economic benefits caused the building of a marginalized, yet independent ‘Guajiro’ territory. As has been the case with peoples of Africa (Brenzinger 2009:41), those Wayuu who have survived discrimination and marginalization show a robust maintenance of language and culture. Mejía & Ramos (2014) also attribute the Wayuu retention of cultural principles such as reciprocity, mutual help and solidarity to their contemporary marginalization and poverty.

However, contemporary constitutions have cast light on such racist norms, and consequently have forced governments to abandon such antagonistic relationships with the people of the land. Instead, the winds today blow towards new relationships based on cooperation and coordination. Additionally, recently passed legislation favorable to the people together with current technologies such as social media, have made the Wayuu more visible than ever.

During the colonial and republican centuries, the Wayuu came to embrace an identity inextricably related to the adoption of pastoralism and the defense of the territory, but never with a centralized leadership (Picón 1996). To be beneficiaries of modern legislation, however, the Wayuu probably face the largest pressure in their history to unite all twenty-seven clans and articulate a single message and thus begin a new era of inclusion in economic projects across borders and robust cooperation with Colombia and Venezuela. The contemporary Wayuu suffer from overpopulation in a

land with limited resources at a time of high visibility. Therefore, issues like infant mortality due to malnutrition no longer go unnoticed. This historical stage appears to be headed in a single direction, whereby many Wayuu will be absorbed into mainstream economic systems. This critical transition must be taken with care, as we know that urbanization and global capitalism can have negative effects on the well-being of their culture. It is during this time where the new Wayuu generations will need “good economic and cultural reasons for keeping their ancestral languages as vital media in natural everyday communication with their offspring” (Brenzinger 2009:48).

In other words, the explicit goal of achieving intercultural and bilingual indigenous communities must involve processes of native economic development that foster greater value for using Wayuunaiki. Achieving a balanced bilingualism is the same as achieving a comparative value for using both languages and both cultures. This can only come about if the inclusion of governmental benefits means a strengthening of the Wayuu economic system, and not solely greater availability of employment in Alijuna ventures. I foresee that besides continuing with traditional economic activities like pastoralism, fishing and salt mining, new industries like solar energy, water desalinization and eco-tourism can have a very positive impact on the general well-being and the sovereignty of *Mma Wajjirajatü* ‘Guajira Nation’.

1.5 The Wayuu Language

Wayuunaiki [wa'ju:naiki] is the official name of the language in both nations. It is a nominal compound that can be roughly translated as the ‘people’s voice’. It is composed of *Wayuu* ‘people’ and *-nüiki* ‘voice’. It is the most spoken indigenous language in both nations. There are two commonly cited mutually intelligible dialects, *arriberro* and *abajero*, which roughly correspond to a northeastern and southwestern parts of the peninsula. The most commonly cited trait that distinguishes the dialects is the highly frequent 3rd person feminine prefix *sü-* in the southwest vs. *hü-* in the northeast. The initial consonant of the prefix was historically an aspirated alveolar stop *t^h, as it is still today in Lokono. Pérez van-Leenden (1998:27) also documents an additional third dialect from *Jalaala*, a region of Uribia (Col.).

The statistics presented here are gathered from the 1992 census (OCEI 1995) and the 2010 sociolinguistic self-assessments performed by the Wayuu⁷ in Colombia (Bodnar 2013). The linguistic vitality of Wayuunaiki is high across the both nations. The proportion of the Wayuu population in Colombia who spoke the language well in 1992 was 96.5%, and in 2010 it was 92.6%. In Venezuela, the 1992 census reports that 85.8% spoke the language.

In general, the Wayuu have experienced isolation and abandonment in Colombia, and economic shift and urbanization in Venezuela. This is reflected in the asymmetrical levels of proficiency in both languages which largely correlate to rural and urban histories. Monolingualism in Wayuunaiki in Colombia was reported to be 67.9% in the 1992 census. In 2010, this proportion was 53.1%, even though in this survey the question was only applied for heads of households. In Venezuela, the 1992 census reports only 10.3% reported being monolingual in Wayuunaiki. Bilingualism in Venezuela was 88.6% in Venezuela, but only 32.1% in Colombia. These numbers reflect differences in historical access to education between the two nations. Table 1-2 summarizes these data on language proficiency.

	Colombia	Venezuela
Total Population	128.727	168.727
Wayuunaiki speakers	96.5%	85.8%
Monolingual in Spanish	3.4%	14.2%
Monolingual in Wayuunaiki	67.9%	10.3%
Bilingual in Wayuunaiki-Spanish	32.1%	88.6%

Table 1-2. Language Proficiency from the 1992 Census

The engagement in wage-labor in the cities of the region has been one of the answers to the overpopulation of the peninsula. As of 1992, 23% of the Venezuelan Wayuu lived in Maracaibo (Ven.). In a sociolinguistic survey performed in the *Chino Julio* neighborhood of Maracaibo, Morillo (2009) reports that 85% of the 27 Wayuu participants reported “never holding long conversations in Wayuunaiki”. This may be indicative of the shrinking of usage domains for urban Wayuu.

⁷ In Bodnar’s study, 21,618 Wayuu were interviewed.

Contrastingly, 44% of the participants reported “sometimes reading or writing in Wayuunaiki”. This exceeds what one might expect to find among urban Wayuu in Colombia, or anywhere else in the peninsula. Their adoption of residence in the cities shows a decrease their domains of use, but also an increased interest in Wayuunaiki literacy.

Paola Mejía (2011) describes the domains of use of Spanish and Wayuunaiki in the highly bilingual community of El Pasito, Riohacha. For this, she interviewed 60 members of this community. El Pasito is only separated from the city by the Ranchería river, but does not count with electricity or running water.

Interestingly, 100% of the interviewees reported learning Wayuunaiki before Spanish, 56% always dream in Wayuunaiki, while 34% of them dream in both languages (Ibid:104). Mejía concludes that Wayuunaiki is the preferred language of choice when interacting in traditional spaces, such the home and the neighborhood. On the other hand, Spanish is preferred in the typical social environments of the Alijuna, such as the school or the church. Additionally, Mejía considers that the strong retention of Wayuunaiki in El Pasito is at least partly influenced by the inaccessibility to this community during the rainy months of the year.

1.6 Wayuu Education

The 1992 reports that 5.4% of the Wayuu in Colombia had completed at least one grade of secondary school. This proportion was 11% in Venezuela. The 2010 sociolinguistic self-assessment reported that the proportion of the Wayuu in Colombia who had completed elementary schools was about 5% (Bodnar 2013:273). Although the questions slightly differ, completing at least one grade in secondary school is just above completing all elementary school. Yet the proportion stays at around 5% for the Wayuu in Colombia. This figure provides a sense of how inaccessible formal education has been and continues to be for the Wayuu in Colombia. The 1992 census also reports that the proportion of Wayuu literate in Spanish is was 29% in Colombia and 65% in Venezuela. These educational statistics provide a background from which to view the educational goals for the 21st century in the peninsula.

Recent legislation in both Colombia and Venezuela establishes as educational goals the forming of intercultural and multilingual citizens in regions with indigenous populations. In 1994, the Colombian Congress passed the General Law of Education, which includes the requirement that indigenous communities enjoy an ethno-education. Article 55 affirms that these educational programs “*must be linked to their (the people’s) environment, their productive processes, their socio-cultural processes, and hold respect for their beliefs and traditions.*” Article 57 further specifies that “*in their respective territories, the teaching of ethnic groups who have their own linguistic tradition shall be bilingual, taking as educational foundation the mother tongue of the respective group, without detriment to their learning of Castilian*”.

In 2009, the Venezuelan Assembly passed the Organic Law of Education. Article 27 reads that “*intercultural Bilingual Education is obligatory and inalienable in all schools located in regions with indigenous populations*”. In 2016, the Assembly passed the Law of Intercultural Bilingual Education. Article 17 mandates a balanced bilingualism, which implies increasing the number of usage domains of the indigenous languages. It states that “*in the teaching and learning process, the balanced use and practice of indigenous and Castilian languages is guaranteed, it must not cause the subordination, nor the displacement of the indigenous language*”.

These laws in both countries are undoubtedly the fruit of decades of indigenous activism within both nations, but have also been largely influenced, or complemented by the intercultural bilingual education programs taking place in fourteen other Latin American Countries (López & Jung 1998:13). In Trillos Amaya’s words (2004:45), ethnoeducation “seeks to confer students at least with bicultural and bilingual competence, as well as with proper knowledge about the central values of the cultures present in the school, (intercultural) tolerance, and about the equal opportunities available for ‘minoritized’ peoples”.

Significantly, 90% of the Wayuu heads of households reported feeling that their schools should teach **both** Wayuunaiki and Spanish (Bodnar 2013: 287). In other words, most contemporary Wayuu agree that the future of their descendants involves Wayuunaiki-Spanish bilingualism. This takes place at a time when Wayuunaiki enjoys co-official with Spanish in both La Guajira (col.) and Zulia (ven.).

However, some ethno-educators also must face parents who do not value their efforts in teaching Wayuunaiki to their children, either as L1 or as an L2. There are still others who even question why Wayuu culture should be included in education. Tobar and Pimienta (2002: 242) acknowledge that besides these problematic attitudes, bilingual ethnoeducation in La Guajira has been hindered by the lack of methodologies and resources for teaching either of the languages as an L2, or Wayuunaiki as an L1. There is a crucial need for pedagogical materials that address the grammatical, conceptual on cultural discrepancies between the languages and cultures, as well as methodologies for second language teaching. Additionally, professors Pimienta and Tobar assert that the lack methodologies for teaching “in and about Wayuunaiki”, forces ethno-educators in the Guajira to resort to Spanish as the language of instruction.

Although these educational projects are not yet in their best shape, there is enthusiasm and momentum for establishing a newly designed educational system in accordance to the people’s collective plan of life. For the numerous Wayuu communities in Colombia, the two leading organizations making this project a reality on are *Yanama* and *Wayuu Araiirayuu*. As of now, there is little information available about the character of the programs being implemented as Intercultural Bilingual Education in Zulia, Venezuela.

In the next paragraphs, I will briefly describe the programs being implemented in the Colombian Guajira by *Yanama*. This program is called *Ana Akua’ipa* ‘good behavior’, which is a concept comparable to the ‘*buen vivir*’ principle of Andean cultures. This educational plan was consensually produced by Wayuu ethno-educators and traditional authorities representing ten municipalities of the Colombian Guajira (MEN 2009). For every grade and for both elementary and secondary school, students learn the following nine subjects: 1) Territory, 2) Tradition and Worldview, 3) Wayuunaiki, 4) *Alijunaiki* (L2 Spanish), 5) Development, 6) Games, 7) Medicine 8) Mathematics, and 9) Science. Crucially every single subject is to be first understood as perceived in traditional knowledge, while western frameworks are then learned as secondary. Similarly, much of the content is expected to be taught in Wayuunaiki, but ethno-educators continue to lack the necessary resources and methodologies to do so (Tobar & Pimienta 2002). To get a sense of the content, objectives and resources that

guide these themes or subjects, I will describe subject #3 Wayuunaiki and #5 Development.

For language in general, the program emphasizes the need to establish a solid foundation in oral skills before jumping into any reading or writing. For Wayuunaiki, the students must learn traditional stories, *jayeichi* ‘song-stories’, and *ashantajirawaa* ‘traditional riddles’. Eventually the modality of writing in Wayuunaiki is to be taught with “an emphasis on its grammar”. But the students are expected to first be able to recreate traditional songs, narratives, riddles, and eventually produce original material. At the appropriate level, the student is expected to make use Wayuunaiki structure, by producing original written texts. As resources, the ethno-educators are expected to primarily make use of elders from the community, and when available, other texts and documents written in Wayuunaiki. Interestingly, the educator is also expected to teach students to use the hand press, a type of manual “stamp-like” printing machine. This follows the fact that most education centers do not have electricity.

By way of example, the following are characteristics of the subject titled “Development” (MEN 2009:69). The main topics are meant to be traditional economic activities, regional economic activities, and processes of cooperation with the Colombian State. The student must be able to relate the different economic activities, appropriate the necessary elements to allow an adequate articulation of the national development, and gain depth in the comparison of Colombian and Wayuu law. As resources, the ethno-educator is supposed to make use of the community, Wayuu legal norms, and the Colombian constitution.

Although I find the project exemplary, there are large obstacles that still need to be addressed. During my visits to indigenous schools in both nations, in 2012 and 2016, I witnessed that some schools lack running water and bathrooms. This not only affects student’s attendance but also the teachers’ commitment to working in the schools. Additionally, The University of Guajira, is the only public institution in Colombia that trains ethno-educators. Over the last decade, I have also witnessed a very chaotic situation there, primarily stemming from financial troubles, for which

many blame the *cachacos*⁸ in Bogotá. As a public institution, the university is financed by the Colombian government, and given the high levels of poverty in the department, most students also receive subsidized grants from the state. Many of these students are Wayuu hoping to become ethno-educators. So, while it is true that the government is often late with financial disbursement, it is also true that there is an extreme lack of transparency in the management of university funds, including the management student grant monies.

This chapter has introduced the Wayuu people from several different angles hoping to describe the ecology in which the language exists. This has briefly included their geography, their social organization, their kinship system, their prehistory, their history, their economies, their monolingualism and bilingualism, their educational hardships, and their dreams of a new balanced bilingual education system. This overview is intended to form the background for the presentation of Wayuunaiki in chapters 3, 4 and 5. Before this presentation of the language, I will summarize in Chapter 2 the research questions, the theoretical background and the methodologies.

⁸ The term ‘cachaco’ is largely used in the Colombian Caribbean region sometimes referring generally to Andean Colombians, or sometimes more specifically to people of the region surrounding Bogotá.

2 . Theoretical Framework

This dissertation has two parts. The first part presents a sketch of the grammar of Wayuunaiki as a background to the second part which presents corpus studies of two constructions, a transitive construction and a possessor construction. The grammatical sketch is intended to provide a foundation from which to grasp the corpus studies. The common characteristic of the constructions investigated is the optional use of an ‘indefinite’ person prefix *a-* as an alternative to one that specifies person in indexing the transitive subject or the possessor. These cross-referencing alternatives function much like voices by allowing speakers to impart different construals on the situations they describe. However, unlike the passive, applicative, and causative constructions, the valency of the clause in these constructions does not change.

The overarching question of this dissertation is then:

What is the nature of these two valency-stable constructions?

The two more specific questions are:

1. What is the nature of the two transitive constructions? and
2. What is the nature of the two possessor constructions?

Before delving into the specifics of Wayuunaiki, this chapter first describes usage-based theoretical concepts and ends with a general methodology. §2.1 presents general principles of the cognitive and functional approaches to language, §2.2 presents notions relevant to construction grammar, §2.3 continues with definitions of topic and focus, then, and lastly §2.4 ends the chapter with the general methodology used in the study.

2.1 Cognitive-Functional Approaches to Language

The linguistic problem in this dissertation is addressed via corpus analyses of informal conversations and narratives. The study of monologues, dialogues or any language in context is one of the principles followed by Functional and Cognitive approaches. In the next paragraphs I briefly compare these two schools of thought, and then compare them together and Formal theories.

2.1.1 Cognitive and Functional Linguistics

Both Cognitive and Functional linguistics assume that grammar emerges from language use (Hopper 1998, Bybee & Hopper 2001, Bybee 2006 *inter alia*). The continuum of words and constructions are constantly molded via the collaborative negotiation of form and meaning. The canonical speech event in which these negotiations take place involves a speaker and a hearer in an exclusive domain out of which experience is verbalized. As Bybee (2006: 730) puts it: *“Language can be viewed as the complex system in which the processes that occur in individual usage events.... with high levels of repetition, not only lead to the establishment of a system within the individual, but also lead to the creation of grammar, its change and its maintenance within a speech community”*.

Cognitive and functional linguistics differ primarily in emphasis. Cognitive linguistics places larger emphasis on semantic depth, including the relationship between cognitive abilities and grammar, whereas Functional theories place a larger emphasis on discovering the linguistic variation and change that takes place in actual language use. Cognitive linguistics focuses on discovering how human cognition is used to learn, express and comprehend the meaningfulness of both schematic and specific notions of grammar. Instead, Functional linguistics primarily aims to discover how usage events shape and change grammatical structure, in particular it aims to discover the relation between frequency and structure.

Both approaches are quite complementary in that their combination involves in-depth description of the semantics and pragmatics of structure, and the awareness of linguistic and extra linguistic factors influencing structural variation and change. The

resulting description is more holistic and more useful for the production of pedagogical materials.

2.1.2 Cognitive-Functional vs. Formal Approaches to Language

Cognitive-Functional and Generative linguistics take cognition as a basis for linguistic abilities, but they differ in their foundational assumptions. To Cognitive linguists, language is an instance of general cognition, and it hypothesizes that cognitive abilities used in language are also used in many other human functions, including visual perception, reasoning, motor activity, and so forth. As Croft and Cruse (2004: 2) put it, “*Language is the real-time perception and production of a temporal sequence of discrete, structured symbolic units. This particular configuration of cognitive abilities is probably unique to language, but the component cognitive skills required are not.*” Conversely, Generative linguists subscribe to the hypothesis that language has a dedicated and exclusive cognitive faculty. The linguistic faculty is taken to be autonomous with respect to the rest of our cognitive abilities.

The theories differ significantly in their explanation on how children learn language. In Generative thought, children are born with an innate universal grammar, and so the child only needs to learn words and idioms and then link them up to innately known abstractions. For Cognitive-Functional linguistics, children learn grammatical abstractions together with the lexicon and idioms via linguistic experience and general human cognitive processes (Tomasello & Abbot-Smith 2002:6).

The notion of emergent grammar emphasizes “grammaticalization” over a static sense of “grammar”. This usage-based notion refers to the dynamic nature of linguistic regularities. These grammatical regularities “come out of discourse and are shaped by discourse” (Hopper 1998: 156). Generative theory sees language as a single delimited system, as a module. All phenomena associated with usage are taken to be posterior to the genetic disposition of grammar. The Cognitive-Functionalists instead look at language as “an open-ended collection of forms that are constantly being restructured and re-semanticized in actual use”. In this view, language is a set of

conventions that have been routinized out of the more frequently occurring ways of saying things (Ibid 159,163).

In Cognitive-Functional perspective, language is taken to consist of only two poles that always occur together in actual communication. The phonological pole subsumes the traditional notions of phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax, whereas the semantic pole subsumes the traditional notions of semantics and pragmatics. We can therefore talk about the syntax and semantics of a construction, but to fully describe we must understand their symbolic relation. This is crucial for the purpose of language description and pedagogy. Generativists work on the assumption that grammatical form is independent from semantics and pragmatics, which promotes an apprehension of part of language.

Cognitive-Functionalists assume that every construction is a symbolic whole that expresses a concept whose construal plays a key role in communication. This approach is specifically interested in discovering how variables observed in the use of language relate to conventionalization. In this sense, like Sociolinguistics, Cognitivists and Functionalists are concerned with the effects that contextual configurations of the interactants (age, gender, social class, L2, education etc.) may have on conventions of the linguistic sign. This position switches the emphasis from an idealized individual linguistic knowledge to an experientially-based interactional linguistic knowledge. It is then dialogue what motivates the dynamic nature of linguistic structure. This concern goes counter to the relegation of both *langue* and *parole* to a lesser level of importance.

2.1.3 Natural Discourse & Typology

Saussure (1916) defines *langue* as “a social system, a set of collective conventions, a common code shared by a community”. On the other hand, *parole* refers to “an individual, psychological activity that consists of producing specific combinations from the elements that are present in the code”. I interpret these two concepts as complementary to each other as they cover highly significant aspects of language which include collective conventionalization and individual performance respectively. However, formal linguistics proposes that linguistic competence, or

what an individual knows about the language they speak, must be the sole focus of linguistics, with performance assigned to the fields of psychology and/or sociology. This meta-knowledge is taken to be the closest we can get to observing reflections of the genetic endowment of grammar. Following the trend in many western sciences of the continuous isolation and compartmentalization of phenomena, formal linguistics ends up disregarding the way speakers use the language (performance), as well as the complex social contexts in which communication takes place (*langue*). Given this position, the strongest form of linguistic evidence becomes the native speaker's intuitions which are usually gathered via elicitations.

In contrast, Cognitive-Functionalists stress the need to find evidence in naturally occurring discourse. The actual usage event is then treated as the most important instantiation of the emergent nature of linguistic structure. This higher emphasis on natural language, coupled with the availability of data-processing technologies, have influenced the emergence of corpus linguistics. To Hopper (1998: 166), the linguist's task is to study "the range of repetition in discourse", and seek out structure as a "spreading of systematicity".

Cognitive-Functional approaches also emphasize the crucial nature of typological research. Typology is concerned with classifying languages according to grammatical structure. It aims at positing hypotheses concerning universal characteristics of underlying grammatical categories and structures, and inter-relationships between them (Dixon 2010a:242). Like other comparative disciplines, such as genetic and contact linguistics, typology is completely dependent on the production of reliable grammars. Therefore, holistic descriptions of grammatical phenomena benefit the discipline, while typological discoveries also facilitate the task of language description. This mutual relationship makes the Cognitive-Functional approaches highly compatible with typology. Aikhenvald (2015:6) reminds us that, "the lasting comprehensive grammars are cast in a typologically informed framework based on cross-linguistic inductive analysis of numerous languages". This framework has been recently given the name of Basic Linguistic Theory (see Dixon 2010a, 2010b, 2012). Dixon's work in 'basic linguistic theory' aims to "to describe each language in its own terms, rather than trying to force the language into a model based on European languages" (Dryer 2006).

In sum, I take that studying the usage of linguistic phenomena allows us to provide realistic and reliable findings that can be useful for both the community of speakers and the comparative disciplines. Modern finding in typology also allows us to approach the description of a language with an eagle-eye view. Linguists have historically used languages like Latin, Greek or Sanskrit as the standard of comparison to describe all other languages. But today it is impossible to ignore new standards of comparison grounded in actual variation that occurs across the earth.

This first subsection of the chapter has positioned the present study within linguistic theories place contextualized language, including its variation and frequencies, as central evidence for linguistic generalizations. The next sections present basic notions associated to constructions (3.2), conceptualization (3.3), and discourse (3.4).

2.2. Constructions

The term ‘construction’ refers to the combination of simpler symbolic structures to form a complex one. The specialized study of morphosyntax within a cognitive framework has been given the name of “Construction Grammar”. One of the characteristics of this framework is the treatment of grammatical “rules” as constructional schemas that refer to conventionalized patterns for putting together a symbolic assembly. All current theories of Construction Grammar are based on three fundamental hypotheses (Croft and Cruse 2004 §10):

- (i) The basic unit of grammatical representation is a pairing of form and meaning.
- (ii) The generalized notion of construction provides a uniform model of grammatical representation, ranging from “syntactic rules” to “the lexicon” - also known as the syntax-lexicon continuum
- (iii) Constructions are organized in a network including at least taxonomic relations.

Additionally, some Construction Grammar theories also subscribe to a fourth hypothesis:

- (iv) The existence of constructions is a function of frequency and similarity in form and meaning - the usage-based model. (Croft 2001:254-57)

This subsection is dedicated to two central considerations for the study of morphosyntax that have important implications for the analysis presented in this dissertation. First, I will present how I treat the notion of word classes and then present some of the construal operations that form the basis of the first two hypothesis, which include the claim that constructions are meaningful.

2.2.1 Word Classes

Word classes are taken to be symbolic categories which are most consistently identifiable by the constructions they occur in. These include the morphological categories the word combines with as well as considerations regarding its syntactic behavior. Additionally, word classes are also taken to be associated with semantic prototypes and cognitive schemas.

The use of morphological categories like case, number, gender, classifiers are highly indicative of noun status, whereas others like person, tense, aspect, modality are indicative of verb status. There may also be other categories that demonstrate that a word belongs to other word classes. Even though these grammatical categories are strong indications for word classes, one must be conscious that not all categories are exclusive of a word class (Aikhenvald 2015:82).

Word classes also interact with syntactic function in various ways. It is typical for verbs to function as predicates, for nouns to function as referential arguments, and adjectives to function as modifiers of referents. But these classes and functions may interact in different ways. Languages differ on how much they allow words to occur in more than one function, and how much they require morphological derivation for these purposes.

Additionally, the cognitive processes associated with word classes can further help us understand them. For instance, a noun is a product of “grouping” and “reification”, while a verb relies on the “apprehension of relationships” and “sequential scanning” (Langacker 2008:107-112). These properties relate to the

further specified notion that a noun profiles “a set of interconnected entities”, while a verb profiles “a complex relationship that develops through conceived time”. In the last definition, ‘development’ is understood as a sequence of states. For Wayuunaiki, the latter applies only active verbs. The definition of verbs as dynamic excludes stative verbs. Langacker appears to have missed a type that profiles a relationship that ‘holds’ over time.

The cognitive ability of summary scanning allows us to distinguish adjectives, adverbs and adpositions from active verbs. The schemas of adjectives and adverbs are atemporal relationships that confer focal prominence to a noun, or a verb, respectively. Adpositions are also atemporal relationships, but these accord focal prominence to two participants. These atemporal relationships are further identified according to number of temporal instances in which the configuration is manifested. Simplex ones involve adjectives and simple adpositions, like *good* and *in*, while complex ones involve adpositions such as *into*, or *onto*.

Languages differ and the amount of morphological derivation they make use of. In many cases, languages allow for significant flexibility in their derivational possibilities. For instance, in Wayuunaiki, *yonna* ‘dance’ is an alienable noun, which derives the verb as *a-yonna-ja-* ‘dance’, goes back to referential function as an infinitive *ayonnaja-a* ‘to dance’. This last form may occur as a clausal argument and may take nominal morphology, such as the feminine specifier *ayonnajaa-kaliü* ‘the dance’. The conceptual content of all these forms is highly similar, if not equal, but their morphological structure and syntactic behavior profile different parts of that content.

2.2.2 The Meanings of Constructions

Linguistic expressions are taken to contain conceptual content and a construal imposed on it. Construal operations allow us to go beyond truth-value semantics. It is by means of construal operations that words or constructions of roughly equal semantic content can be expressed and understood with distinct contextualized meanings (Croft & Cruse 2004:103). Construal refers to the alternate means with which speakers portray a situation. Even though there are numerous construal

operations used in language, the ones relevant to the dissertation will be briefly defined in the next paragraphs. These are related to the Attention, Prominence and Perspective. I begin however by defining the foundational semantic notions of categories and schemas.

2.2.2.4 Categories and Schemas

Categories are ubiquitous in language. It could be argued that the difference between lexicon and grammar is one of specific and general categorization. Categorization involves “the apprehension of some individual entity, some particular of experience, as an instance of something conceived more abstractly that also encompasses other actual and potential instantiations” (Croft and Cruse 2004:74)

Even though lexical categorization is more specific than that of grammatical notions, the lexicon itself is highly relative on this scale; some words can be superordinate categories (types), whereas others could be more specific (tokens). Lexical types or classes will be here presented as generic, and will be later equated with the Wayuunaiki bare noun phrase. Generic reference appears to be a common discourse phenomenon. In fact, Sheibman (2007: 117) notes that in her conversational corpus, a relatively small percentage of tokens were referentially specific.

Further, categories consist of numerous individual instance, but not all members are thought to be central. For instance, the category of TREE is conventionalized within cultures, its mental representation is a function of repeated experiences with particular trees. For instance, in La Guajira, the *trupillo* “mesquite tree” may be judged as the prototypical tree, in terms of categorical centrality. In New Mexico, the *álamo* “cottonwood” is the prototypical tree. This conventionalized centrality will be referred to here as the prototype of a category. Langacker claims that conceptual archetypes grounded on experience reflect people’s representation of prototypes.

On the other hand, a schema is “an abstract template representing the commonality of the structures it categorizes, which thus elaborate or instantiate it” (Langacker 1987:54). The components of such a template can be either general (syntactic) and/or specific (lexical). Generative syntax, in contrast, is chiefly

concerned with very general rules, like a sentence is composed of a verb phrase and a noun phrase $S \rightarrow [VP NP]$. These are also schemas, but given that the generative tradition clings to the hypothesis of the autonomy of syntax, the less specific (syntactic) notions are not allowed to combine with the more specific (lexical) ones. By adopting the scalar nature of specificity in grammar and allowing the combination of specific words and syntactic categories, Cognitive linguistics can have much more freedom to be accurate in its descriptive discipline by acknowledging tendencies in the intersection of grammar and lexicon.

This difference in theory leads to a difference in methodology. For formalists, grammatical categories are defined by their morphosyntactic behavior; for cognitive-functionalists, grammatical behavior is symptomatic but not explanatory. A full explanation must be grounded in principles of cognitive processing. As Langacker (1987: 56) puts it, “meaning is therefore sought in the realm of cognitive processing. It does not reside in objective reality”. By way of example, our ability to identify a transitive clause will be grounded on morphosyntactic properties, but our ability to understand a transitive clause lies in “the experiential archetypes of time, space, force and physical objects”, its prototype is “an energetic agent-patient interaction”, whose schema is a “unitary process” (Langacker 1995:17).

2.2.2.1 Attention and Prominence

Attention refers to our ability to single out one entity at a given moment. Besides language, this cognitive ability is also used in visual perception. For instance, we can look at a specific person in a roomful of people by directing our gaze to him. Attention is intimately related to salience or prominence. The characteristics of some entities in the world can easily call our attention. The realm of attention is the locus whence several construal operations allows take place. I will define profiling, focus alignment, foreground background, mental scanning. Additionally, I will briefly mention the notion of perspective.

The notion of prominence or saliency is relevant for the description of asymmetries in language structure. This involves the focusing of attention or the deliberate foregrounding of elements within conceptual content, which may very well

be motivated by perceived salience. For instance, difference in size, color, material, loudness and so forth can influence our assignment of differential prominence in the linguistic signal. The two concepts that deserve explanation are profiling and focus alignment.

PROFILE AND BASE

Every expression singles out the **profile** of a conceptual **base** (also frame). An expression's conceptual base consists of the set of concepts evoked by the linguistic signal that permits the understanding of the selected or profiled elements. Profiling then refers to the focusing on an element of the conceptual frame. For instance, the Wayuunaiki word *ta'laüla* 'my maternal uncle' profiles a single person within a conceptual base of kinship that includes at least, the reference person, a parent and a sibling. On the other hand, the word *ka'laülashi* 'have maternal uncle' evokes the same conceptual content but profiles the reference person, the 'uncle' and the relationship between them. Put another way, Croft & Cruse (2004: 14-15) state that concepts have a profile-frame organization. A profile "refers to the concept symbolized by the word in question", while the base is "that knowledge or conceptual structure that is presupposed by the profiled concept."

FOCUS ALIGNMENT

Every relationship that involves two participants include at least transitive verbs, possessive noun phrases, and adpositional phrases. It is the nature of linguistic structure to assign differential focal prominence to the two referents. Rendering elements of an expression's meaning as prominent is central to communication. Langacker calls this differential focal prominence 'trajector-landmark' alignment, but I find the descriptive terms 'primary' and 'secondary prominence' more useful. The assignment of focal prominence is a matter of construal that is motivated by the fact that "we can not attend to everything equally and simultaneously" (Langacker 2008:365). He then adds that allocation of attention for a given structure may vary.

The grammatical systems for assigning differential focal prominence to referents varies, in relation to transitive clauses this distinction is manifested in the world's languages as systems labeled nominative-accusative, absolutive-ergative, among others. In a transitive clause, the A and the O have different degrees of focal

prominence, with distinct implications for the immediate needs of the interactants. The alteration of the prototypical uses of syntactic relations reflect adjustments to the interactants' intentions in the usage event. A construction like the passive grants primary focal prominence to the O or 'patient' like referent, which would otherwise simply receive secondary prominence. For instance, "she cooked the manioc" and "the manioc was cooked by her" share the same conceptual frame, but the speaker's directing of attention differs.

The notions of profiling and focus-alignment can be distinguished with the example, *kasiipiushi* 'have sororal niece/nephew' and *ka'laülashi* 'have maternal uncle'. Both contain the same conceptual content, and both profile the whole relationship, but they are distinct only because they differ in focus alignment. The same also takes place with the prepositions 'before' and 'after'; focus alignment is what makes them distinct.

FOREGROUNDING

The conceptual content of an expression may also be arranged as foreground-background (figure vs ground). This involves any case where one conception precedes and in some way, facilitates the emergence of another (Langacker 2008:58). Important here, is the temporal implications of preceding language forming part of the background. Two main uses of this concept, involve discourse and compositions. In ongoing discourse, the current expression is foregrounded against the background of the preceding clauses. In composition, a symbolic composite structure is the foreground of the component elements. That is the meaning the whole is foregrounded against the meaning of the parts. When the composite structure is fixed or idiomatic, the components parts may not even be evoked in the background.

MENTAL SCANNING

Mental Scanning refers to the idea of tracing mental paths. Two types are attested. Via summary scanning, we apprehend the concepts of noun and nominalizations, such as *canoe*, *every canoe* and *fishing*. Much like a picture, summary scanning refers to a single and complex attentional instance. Sequential scanning, is much like a motion picture, refers to a series of attentional instances characterized by its temporal nature.

Via sequential scanning, we apprehend the concepts of verbs and the quantifier “each”, as in “my father went fishing”, or “each morning, my father goes fishing”.

A natural path refers to a series of sequential conceptions. Given the special status of the speaker as a human that’s always accessible in the discourse, natural paths often begin from speaker, and project some “distance” in various dimensions, e.g. speaker > hearer > other. For possessive relationships, the natural paths go from whole to part, or from human to thing (Langacker 2008:501). Yet in linguistic expression, we sometimes must take the “unnatural” path mental access, as with: “bus driver”: a thing possessing a human. But the processing efficiency achieved by co-aligning natural paths with the order of expression, influences linguistic structure. For instance, the conception of a scale has an inherent directionality; from absence to presence of a property. Therefore, the word “more” is easier to process than “less”, and grammatically “more” alternates with “-er”, while “less” has no alternating suffix.

The fundamentals of cognitive grammar discussed in this section: constructions, construal, categories and schemas, and prominence, serve as the basis for the analysis of Wayuunaiki transitive and possessor constructions in Chapters 4 and 5. In trying to determine the functions of these constructions and the use of one alternative vs the other, I examine the way that they allow the speaker to construe a scene and their use in expressing prominence. This analysis is based on the use of these constructions in discourse; the following section presents a summary of research principles and methods in discourse analysis, with a particular focus on information flow and on grammatical structure related to topic and focus.

2.4 Discourse

The notion of focus and topic are used in many ways in the various approaches to linguistics. These notions play significant roles in the constructions analyzed in chapters 4 and 5 and as such they are operationalized here. In this subsection I will first describe briefly notions of information flow, follow with descriptions of focus and topic phenomena.

Chafe (1994:29) defines the ‘consciousness’ as the limited activation process in which the mind can focus at any given moment, and describes its ‘periphery’ as

containing semi active information where entities are accessible to attention. These definitions are consonant with treating the current expression in discourse as ‘foregrounded’ and ‘focused’, and the previous ones as backgrounded. Therefore, the use a definite marker or pronoun is frequently caused by our assessment that such focused referent is ‘given’ information that exists in hearer’s periphery of consciousness.

2.4.1 Information Flow

Given that the findings in §§4, 5 originate in the discourse analyses, it follows that there need to be a description of concepts related to information flow. The notion of information flow (Chafe 1994) relates to anaphoric notions like accessible, given, new as well cataphoric notions like persistence. These provide relative scales from which to judge the notion of topicality. Information flow relates to the phenomena involved in the speaker’s conveying of information to the hearer and its reflection in linguistic structure. The basic premise is that information embedded in linguistic expressions differs as to how accessible or how easy it is to process. As Cumming and Ono (1997: 116) describe it: “from the speaker’s point of view, we can think of information which is in and out of attention,” whereas “from the addressee’s point of view, we can think in terms of information which is more or less expected or predictable given the setting and the previous discourse”.

Information flow has repercussion for grammatical coding since there is a negative correlation between the accessibility or predictability of information with the size or weight of linguistic material. Givón (2001:418-9) observes that the relative continuity of a referent correlates choices in linguistic expression. Specifically, the use of anaphoric zero and unstressed anaphoric pronouns occur in context maximal referential continuity, whereas stressed pronouns and full NP’s are associated with referential discontinuity. Chafe (1994: 90-91) categorizes referents by the combination of anaphoric and cataphoric characteristics. Light referents are either given, or new and trivial information, while heavy referent is new and holds some discourse importance. Using these categories, Chafe notes that English subjects overwhelmingly tend to be light referents.

Crosslinguistically, the usage patterns of full NP's and new information relate to the expression of argument structure. Dubois calls this Preferred Argument Structure (2003:34) and can be summarized as four preferential syntactic and pragmatic avoidances.⁹ Speakers generally avoid expressing: (1) more than one core argument lexically, (2) lexical arguments in the A role, (3) more than one new core argument¹⁰, and (4) new information in the A role. Although the constraints highlight what does not occur for the transitive subject A, its positive counterpart would be that speakers prefer to code new information as full NP's and as S or O.

2.4.3 Focal Prominence

The term 'focus' is used here in the sense of 'focus of attention' (Cornish 2004). It is here defined as the interactive directing of attention to specific elements in the linguistic signal. This differs from the information structure sense of focus where the element under focus is new information. Instead, focus of attention refers to the element that is already being concentrated on, and consequently it may also be topical. Even though focus of attention can have a scope larger than that of referents, in the present study, focus will only be applied to nominals. Therefore, by argument focus alternative, I mean a construction that differs from another in the focal prominence assignment of its clausal arguments.

In Cognitive Grammar, every relationship (e.g. adjective, adverb etc.) involves one focal participant, but some, like adpositions and transitive verbs, evoke two. The focal prominence assigned to the two referents in for instance, and adpositional phrases, will be unequal. This differential focal prominence is called trajector-landmark alignment. Langacker (2008:365) states that the assignment of focal prominence is a matter of construal that is motivated by the fact that "we can not attend to everything equally and simultaneously". He then adds that allocation of attention for a given structure may vary. The grammatical systems for assigning focal prominence to arguments are manifested in the words languages as normative-accusative, absolutive-ergative and others. In a transitive clause, the A and the O have different degrees of focal prominence, with distinct implications for the

⁹ In Dubois' study these constraints were shown hold for English, Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, French, Japanese, Hebrew, Sakapultek and O'odham.

¹⁰ This is in Accord with Chafe's one new idea constraint (1994)

immediate needs of the interactants. The alteration of the prototypical uses of syntactic relations reflect adjustments to the interactants' intentions in the usage event.

Dixon and Aikhenvald (1997: 71) propose four types of "argument-determined constructions". The first type, 'Argument-Transferring', covers the traditional concepts of valency decrease (voice) and increase (diathesis), while the other three types differ in that they do not undergo valency changes. Of these valency-stable types, the most relevant here is the second one, which is labeled 'Argument-Focusing'. The main characteristic of this type is that in each construction, one argument is brought into focus, and it differs from other types by having no indication of derivation, or alteration of syntactic relations (Ibid :101-2). This construction type is quite often exemplified with Philippine languages (cf. Klaiman 1994). The authors give examples from Jarawara (Arawá) and Cebuano (Phillipine).

2.4.2 Topics and Topicalization

Like the concept of focus, topic and topicality need to be operationalized given that these notions are used in the analysis in the studies in §§ 4, 5. Topic also has several senses in the linguistic literature. It is therefore important to specify how topic is understood here.

A topic is what the speaker is centrally talking about. Chafe (1994: 121) defines it as "an aggregate of coherently related events, states, and referents that are held together in some form in the speaker's semi-active consciousness". Chafe distinguishes active from semi-active consciousness as the mental locus where highly vs medially anaphoric information is retrieved from. Topic status is only relevant to a stretch of discourse, in which it resides.

Even though topic and focus are different concepts, they can overlap. Unlike focus, topics are not expected to be mentioned in every clause, but if the topic is mentioned topic it is necessarily focused. Even if the linguistic tendency is to refer to topical referents via minimal formal substance, that topic is still under focus. As Chafe (1994: 121) puts it: "A topic is "available for scanning by the focus of consciousness". Givón (2001: 230), presents the following conditional associations

about a stronger form of focus: information under contrastive focus is always an anaphorically accessible topic, but a topic is not necessarily contrastive

Explicit mention of the topic can take place as focal clausal participant (S, A, O), or as a separate clause or sentence. The explicit expression of the topic evokes a stretch of discourse and its associated knowledge. As a Reference Point the topic is what guides the hearer to the Target: a proposition about that topic.

Although topics tend to be given and anaphoric, they do not need to refer to specific entities. In fact, conversation participants frequently engage in categorizing and evaluating people, places, things, activities etc. Based on conversational analyses of American English, Scheibman (2007) found that subjects with general reference are often used to evaluate classes of entities, and to build intersubjective stances.

In some languages, grammaticalized topics encode both specific and generic reference. For instance, the initial position in Mandarin Chinese clauses is reserved for the topic. The topic can be interpreted as definite or generic, but not indefinite. In the following examples, the predicate indicates that the topic is definite in (1a) “the dog”, but generic in (1b) “cats” (Lyons 1999:234).

(1). Topic & Reference in Mandarin Chinese

	O	A	V
a)	Gǒu	wǒ	yǐjīng kàn-guo le
	Dog	I	already see-EXP PERF
	The dog I have already seen		
	A	V	O
b)	Māo	xǐhuān hē	biú-nǎi
	Cat	like drink	cow-milk
	Cats like to drink milk		

A topic may also grammaticalize as a syntactic pivot (Dixon 2010a: 172). The syntactic pivot manifests as constraints on the linking of monovalent and divalent clauses with coreferential arguments. For instance, in English, the coreferential argument is taken to be topic must be S or A, while in Dyirbal (Pama-Nyungan) it must be S or O.

The division of indefinite nominals as specific or vague is concomitant with topicality. Specific indefinites are introduced in order to become topics, for at least a short stretch of discourse. Specific indefinites share with generic entities the fact that they evoke the conceptualization of a virtual entity. For instance, Langacker (2008: 313) mentions that the English pronoun *one* with the meaning of “generic person” is always a virtual referent. As such, both specific indefinites and generic nominals are identifiable, and consequently it may share coding properties with definite nominals, e.g. definite marking in Spanish, as in *me gustan [los tacos]* “I like [tacos]”. On the other hand, vague indefinite nominals can not function as discourse topics; their vagueness alone is concomitant with their discourse irrelevance.

2.3 General Methodology

In this section, I lay out in some detail the methods used this study.

The first task in this journey involved compiling the linguistic literature on Wayuunaiki. Many works were accessed thanks to the collections at Zimmerman Library (University of New Mexico), the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection (University of Texas), and the Centro de Información Sobre Grupos Étnicos (University of La Guajira). Besides these institutions, I had the opportunity to visit Maracaibo, Venezuela in 2012. Here I met Dr. José Álvarez who was kind and generous enough to share a significant number of electronic files, that included not only of numerous works he had authored, but also many transcriptions of Jusayú’s narratives in the ALIV orthography, morphological analyses of narratives and elicitations, and numerous M.A. theses authored by his students at the University of Zulia.

Additionally, I visited the Colombian Guajira in 2007, 2010, 2012 and 2016. In this last visit, I spent 13 months with my wife and two boys. During these trips I became familiar with the linguistic ecology of the Wayuu. I traveled to many rancherías in the municipalities of Riohacha, Manaure, Uribia and Maicao. There I made many Wayuu friends. I was fortunate to experience the glory of sleeping in hammocks hung in ramadas at the beach, and to taste their many traditional dishes based on goat meat or fish. I also got to sweat profusely many days under the

powerful sun, and to wink my eyes frequently against their powerful winds. I also got to bathe next to the windmill, and to experience the difficulties people endure at rancherías where walking on sand under harsh heat is the only medium of transportation. But I also got to enjoy the fresh air felt by traveling on truck beds filled with people. In fact, I learned much Wayuunaiki traveling on those truck beds.

The second large task in the journey was gathering informal conversations. After assessing the literature, I felt that this was the largest gap in documentation. It was not difficult to find speakers willing to record conversations. These took place in 2016 in several rancherías and the apartment where we were staying in Riohacha. I only asked two speakers at a time to share what they felt comfortable sharing regarding their everyday simple realities or about Wayuu culture and/or cultural change. Once they agreed on some potential topic(s), I would press record and give them their space. Besides the prior topic brainstorming, the conversations were largely improvised.

Later, I went on a search to find translators literate in Wayuunaiki. This was a much harder task, not because of a lack of bilingual speakers, but mainly because very few of the Wayuu people I encountered were skilled at writing in Wayuunaiki **and** had access to a computer¹¹. Nevertheless, I persevered and found my biggest allies in this journey: the ethno-educators Octavio Ponce (Epieyuu), Angel Barros (Wouliyuu).

For the present study, I focused on analyzing about 4 hours of those conversations. These were recorded by 7 speakers (4 males and 3 females) from two rancherías located within the municipality of Maicao, Colombia. One speaker was over 60 years old, two were in their 30's and four were in their 20's. They are primarily speakers of *abajero* or Southwestern Wayuunaiki, but after detecting some *arribero* features in their speech, several of them revealed their ancestors had migrated south several decades ago. The speakers in their 20's were fluent bilinguals in Spanish, and the others spoke Spanish less fluently. The conversations covered a wide range of topics. Among others, these included personal anecdotes, daily events, food dynamics and traditions such as animal husbandry, food gardening, puberty

¹¹ In fact the vast majority of Wayuu do not have access to electricity.

rituals, weddings, as well as opinions regarding, for example, the conflict between evangelical concepts and their cosmology.

After the translations were done, I engaged in the task of organizing them first by topics and further information was added to the transcriptions like pause lengths, overlaps, and a whole punctuation system. These texts were then added to a Fieldworks database, where further segmentation was performed. After much ambivalence regarding the choice of intonation units vs complete turns, I opted for the latter. Commas and periods were then added to each conversational turn according to the semantic continuity, i.e. a change of reference, or a direct quote was marked by a period. Indirect quotation is extremely rare in Wayuunaiki. Instead, speakers constantly re-perform what people say as 1st and 2nd persons. For the sake of comprehensibility, direct quotes were then separated via periods.

However, the “looseness” of conversational data was complemented by the “tidiness” written narrative. Therefore, I added seven narratives written by Miguel Angel Jusayú (1986, 1994), who represented more of the *arribero* or Northeastern Wayuunaiki. These included “The Story of Parusa and Aisapainchi”, “The Story of a Lazy Young Man”, “The Story of a Hawk and a Rabbit”, “The Story of a Turtle Hunter”, “It was not a Cow nor a Horse”, “The Story of a Drunkard and a Jaguar-Man”, and “The Story of the Man whose Wife Died”. After the conversations and narratives were all added to the database, every word was morphologically glossed. To complement the findings from the discourse data, numerous elicitation sessions were performed. The primary consultants with whom I am deeply indebted were Octavio Ponce (Epieyuu), Angel (Wouliyuu), Maribel Epieyuu and Betty Iipwana in La Guajira.

This chapter has presented the background for the study, including an overview of the theoretical approaches adopted by this study, a look at issues like focus, topic and information flow, and a summary of the methods used in this study. In the next chapter, I provide a grammatical sketch of Wayuunaiki as further background to the analysis of focus constructions laid out in Chapters 4 and 5.

3 Introduction to Wayuunaiki Grammar

This chapter presents a sketch of Wayuunaiki grammar. It begins describing the phonological system, highlighting issues of stress groupings and vowel harmony. Then, we proceed with a description morphosyntax of nouns, adpositions, and verbs. The chapter concludes ends with a brief description if the two types of intransitive clauses.

This grammatical sketch is based on my own fieldwork with speakers of the language in Colombia, but it takes special account of previous descriptions of the language. There is a long history of description of the language of the Wayuu, and yet there is still so much more to discover. To date, there are very few instances of linguistic description based on discourse¹², or interpretations of the frequency of its constructions. Additionally, no one has attempted to provide in-depth semantic descriptions of its grammatical categories. These next paragraphs briefly detail the protagonists in the history of Wayuunaiki description.

Three members of the Catholic order of Capuchin friars based in Riohacha were the first to undertake the task of describing the grammar and lexicon of the “Guajiro” language. These are Rafael Celedón (1878), Esteban de Uterga (1895) and Ángel de Carcagente (1940). During this first phase of Wayuunaiki documentation, other authors were describing the lexicon (Ernst 1870, Calcaño 1886, Yepes 1886, Oramas 1913, Jahn 1927). These first descriptions hold an immense historical significance, even though the depiction of grammatical categories was cast with excessive reliance on Romance, and particularly, Spanish structures, which obscured their meaning and function.

A new a new wave of description of the language of the Guajira peninsula began in the mid 20th century. The Swedish linguist Nils Holmer published the first English description of “Goajiro (Arawak)” (1949). Then, the Peruvian linguist-politician

¹² The only discourse based analyses are presented in Mansen and Mansen (1979), Mansen (2005) and Dorado (2008). The Mansens first described the structure of the sentence and the paragraph base don one narrative, then Mansen looked at the frequency in which *aa'in* ‘heart’ is used in dispute negotiation, while Dorado analyzed topic continuity in one narrative.

Martha Hildebrandt published three articles in the “*Boletín Indigenista Venezolano*” (1958, 1965, 1966) and a dictionary (1963). In these articles, she provides insightful observations on the structure of the Wayuunaiki verb. In 1969, a fourth member of the Capuchin order, Camilo Múgica de Torrano, publishes a pivotal work in the discipline of Wayuunaiki linguistics: *Aprenda el Guajiro*. His linguistic sensitivity is felt in the quality of his description. In 1972, Susan Ehrman (1972) wrote the first doctoral dissertation focusing on the grammar of Wayuunaiki. Influenced by the tagmemic approach, Ehrman provided significant discoveries, particularly on the verb phrase. But more generally, there were many imprecisions in her work.

The linguistic legacy of Wayuunaiki attained great significance when a wise Wayuu man began to publish his unparalleled wealth of knowledge. His name was Miguel Ángel Jusayú¹³, his clan is pronounced [‘hu:sayu:]. He published an enormous amount of knowledge on the grammar (1975), the lexicon (1977) and traditional stories (1986, 1989, 1992, 1994, 1995). Additionally, with his biggest ally, Jesús Olza Zubiri, Miguel Ángel published three editions of a highly insightful grammar (1978, 1986, 2012), and two editions of the most authoritative dictionary (1988, 2006).

The Summer Institute of Linguistics also left a mark in the documentation of the language. Richard and Karis Mansen contributed by publishing on the structure of sentences and paragraphs (1979), and a pedagogical grammar (1984). Richard Mansen also wrote a doctoral dissertation (1988) on the properties of conflict resolution discourse, and a brief article on the use of ‘emotive verbs’ in such contexts (2005).

¹³ Miguel Ángel Jusayú was born in 1933 in Yalüyalü near Nazareth in the northeastern end of the Peninsula. At the age of 12 years of age, he unfortunately became blind. At 17, he was taken to the Venezuelan Institute of the Blind in Caracas where he studied for about six years and became literate in the Braille method. He then returned to the Guajira, inspired to begin his career as an author. During his late twenties he wrote “El Tratado de La Lengua Guajira”, but it was not until his late thirties someone took notice of his brilliance. As professor at the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, Jesús Olza Zubiri went to the Guajira to research Wayuunaiki. In his autobiography, Jusayú (2005:174) recounts how Olza came to meet him in Machiques, Zulia where he was living at the time. After reading his work, father Olza was so persuaded that he offered Jusayú a research position at the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello. Soon after, at 42 years old, Jusayú launches his career as an author by publishing “El Tratado de La Lengua Guajira” under the new name “Morfología Guajira” (1975). In the following two decades, he became such a prolific author that in 1998, the Universidad del Zulia conceded him the title of Doctor Honoris Causa. In 2009, at 77 years of age, Miguel Ángel passed away, leaving behind an immense legacy for his people.

Additionally, the great Venezuelan linguist Esteban Emilio Mosonyi first published brief but strong article on grammar (1975), two others about external factors relevant to the use of Wayuunaiki social (1976, 1979), and lastly a more substantial yet concise description of the grammar (2000:342-397).

Today, the expert in the field of Wayuunaiki linguistics is José Ramón Álvarez. For over two decades, his work has been of great importance to Wayuu communities and to academia. His publications on the morpho-phonology (1992, 2005c, 2006), and the morphosyntax (1990, 1993, 1996, 2004, 2005a, 2006b, 2017) of Wayuunaiki have taken the discipline to a higher level. He has also trained numerous linguists at the University of Zulia where he has also left a great mark on the legacy the institution has in Wayuunaiki studies. But even more admirable is his contributions to Wayuu education programs in both nations. In particular, the fruits of his collaboration with Yanama, on the Colombian Guajira have energized the regularization of the orthography and the expansion of the lexicon, and has increased educators' awareness of the grammatical structures of Wayuunaiki.

The present sketch is presented in five subsections. Section 3.1 begins describing phonetic and phonological properties, highlighting properties of vowel harmony, stress groupings, the orthographies, among others. Section 3.2 is devoted to referential forms, such as pronouns, demonstratives, nouns, noun phrases. Section 3.3 then describes the adpositional structures. Section 3.4. provides a description of the verb and the verb phrase. This includes the morphology of both stative and active verbs, with special mention of the gender-number suffixes, noun and adposition incorporation, as well as the auxiliary construction. Finally, section 3.5 offers with a description of the intransitive clauses.

3.1 Phonetics and Phonology

The most important works on the sound patterns of Wayuunaiki are Álvarez (1992, 1994, 2005c, 2006) Mansen (1967), and Mosonyi (2000). These next pages begin with a brief description of the vowels and consonants, continue with vowel harmony, and the stress groupings, and ends with brief notes on the volatility of liquids, gemination and the orthography.

3.1.1 Vowels and Consonants

There is near unanimous agreement in the literature that the Wayuu language has six phonemic vowels and fourteen phonemic consonants. The only controversy in the literature is the question of whether the sounds [ɲ] and [β] should be taken as rare allophones of the phonemes /ɲ/ and /v/, which are briefly discussed below.

VOWELS

In Table 3-1 below, the IPA symbols of the vocalic inventory are displayed. The orthographic characters for the vowels coincide with their corresponding IPA symbol except for [ɯ] /ü/, and long vowels which are written as doubled as in [a:] /aa/, [e:] /ee/, and so on. The phoneme /ü/ is a high unrounded vowel and has been documented as central [ɨ] (Hildebrandt 1963, Mansen 1967) or back vowel [ɯ] (Mosonyi 2000, Álvarez 2017). My impression is that it tends to be more back [ɯ] than central [ɨ], but there may also be some variation. To me, the most salient feature is its unroundedness, which clearly opposes the rounded high back vowel [u] /u/.

This roundedness opposition plays a major role in the vocalic system. Rounded vowels only occur as back phonemes [o] [u], while unrounded vowels distinguish a front [e] [i], from a non-front [a] [ɯ].

	UNROUNDED		ROUNDED
	FRONT	NON-FRONT	BACK
High	i i:	ɯ ɯ:	u u:
Mid	e e:		o o:
Low		a a:	

Table 3-1 Vowels of Wayuunaiki

Besides [ɯ] /ü/, the vowel qualities are roughly comparable to the five vowels of Spanish. All vowels can be short and long, which is displayed in the orthography as one and two vocalic symbols respectively. Vowel length is meaningful. Long vowels occur within a root, across morphemes, and as the doubling of the morphological

mora¹⁴ (Álvarez 2005c). Table 3-2. shows minimal and near minimal pairs for vowel length.

SHORT		LONG	
a- apa -a	‘to hear, give’	a- apaa -waa	‘to grab’
kenaa	‘firefly’	keena -a	‘to spill’
a- chita -a	‘to hit’	a- chiita -a	‘to defecate’
polo	‘guaicum tree’	po’ loo	‘ten’
- yü	‘recent past’	yüü	‘nothing, never’
- juna -	‘throw’	juuna	‘loom’

Table 3-2 Minimal and Near Minimal Pairs for vowel length

The rising vocalic sequences (ai, ei, ai, ou) or the fronting ones (üi, ui) appear to vary in their pronunciations as monosyllables or disyllables. As single syllables the final high vowel off glides, whereas as disyllables it is fully pronounced. For instance ‘my feet’ may be heard as [‘**tou**?ui] or [‘**to.u**?ui], and ‘big hammock’ as [‘**süi**] or [‘**sü.i**]. On the other hand, rising sequences involving a long low vowel plus a high one (aai, ooi), are never heard as diphthongs, as in [a.‘**no**:i] ‘savannah’. Additionally, many of the final /i/’s in these sequences result from liquid elision, and some suffixes can cause the reemergence of that liquid. For instance, the plural *-irua* in [‘**tou**?u.**li**:ru.a] my feet, or the compounding of *-ru’u* ‘in’ in [sü.‘**li**.ru?u] ‘in the hammock’. All falling vocalic sequences (i.e, i.a, u.a, u.o) are hiatuses, as in [pi.‘**a**.ma] ‘two’, [a.‘**ku**.a] ‘path’. It is in fact very likely that all hiatuses also emerged from the elision of approximant onsets /y, w/. Given the important relationship between the syllable and stress in the language, Álvarez encourages the use of the approximant onsets in writing, which facilitates syllabification.

CONSONANTS

There are three bilabial consonants: /p/ /m/ and /w/, and a fourth one, /v/, has been posited by some authors. De Uterga (1895:8) states that *Liviichon* ‘Luisito’ is the only word in Wayuunaiki with a /v/. Hildebrandt (1963:8) describes it as a voiced bilabial fricative [β] and adds *nevii* ‘steer’, *eviitaa* ‘to whistle’ and *eveetaa* ‘to emerge’, while Mosonyi (2000) describes it as an extremely rare phoneme. However, Álvarez (2017:18) notes that [β] only occurs in between front vowels. This condition is

¹⁴ Moraic doubling will be presented as in section 3.2. as a marker of ‘non-possession’ of inalienable nouns, in 3.3. as marker of uninflected adpositions, and in 3.4 as a marker of infinitive verbs, as well as in the expression of notions ‘reciprocal’, ‘reflexive’, ‘progressive’ when the doubling takes place in the thematic suffixes.

confirmed in the tokens identified in the corpus, and as such I consider it an allophone of /w/, although its realization may also be a dialectal feature.

	bilabial	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosive	p	t			k	ʔ /ʻ/
nasal	m	n				
trill		r				
flap			ɾ /l/			
fricative		s	ʃ /sh/			h /j/
affricate			tʃ /ch/			
approximant	w			j /y/		

Table 3-3 Consonants of Wayuunaiki

There are four alveolar consonants: /t /n/ /r/ s/, and three post-alveolar ones [ɾ] /l/, [ʃ] /sh/, tʃ /ch/. I categorize the flap [ɾ] /l/ as post-alveolar, but it freely varies between post-alveolar and retroflex position. This consonant contrasts with the alveolar trill. There is dialectal evidence that the fricative [ʃ] /sh/ and the affricate [tʃ] /ch/ emerged from the palatalization of /s/ and /t/ before /i/ and /e/. For instance, Jusayú and Olza (2006) have the following variation for the active verbs ‘to want’ *-cheka* ~ *-teka*, ‘to search’ *-chajaa-* ~ *-tejaa-*, and ‘to prevent’ *-chia-* ~ *-tia-*. The 3rd person feminine prefix *sü-* from the southwestern dialect also participates in variation based on palatalization. If the roots first vowel is /e, i/ the prefix becomes *she-* and *shi-* respectively, for instance *shi-i* ‘her mother’ and *she-echi-n* ‘her husband’. Similarly, one of the alienable possession suffixes varies dialectally between *-se* and *-she*. The latter form maybe associated with the central Guajira.

The palatal approximant [j] /j/ is accepted unanimously, but there’s widespread disagreement on the status of the palatal nasal [ɲ] /ñ/. It has been interpreted as a phoneme by most authors (de Uterga 1895, de Carcagente 1940, Hildebrandt 1963, Mansen 1967, Múgica 1969, Mosonyi 2000, Jusayú 2002), but no one has presented a minimal pair. The inalienable form of ‘water’ *-aña* is usually presented as an example of the phoneme, without mention that it contains the possessive suffix *-ya*, and its possible original form was *-wüin-ya*. Mansen (1967:52) presents a near minimal pair *müññasü* ‘be thirsty’ and *wüna’apü* ‘forest’. The state of ‘being thirsty’ appears to be a verbalization of the same *-wüin-ya-*. In fact, there is also a variant form of *müññasü* where the alveolar nasal [n] precedes the palatal approximant

wüinyaasü. The only other word I know, where the /ñ/ is attested is the verb *aa'ñajaa* 'to hang hammock' (Jusayú & Olza 2006). However, in Captain and Captain's dictionary (2005) the form is listed as *aa'inyajaa*. To me, that the sound [ɲ] is used in the language is unquestionable, but it belongs to a tendency to fuse the sequence /ny/, or possibly /iny/. Consequently, I consider [ɲ] to be an allophone of /n/, which occurs when the nasal precedes a palatal approximant /ny/, and also when it follows a high front vowel [i] /iny/.

There is only one velar consonant /k/ and two glottal ones [ʔ] /ʔ/ and [h] /j/. The glottal stop ʔ /ʔ/ can be found in words like *ta-che'e* 'my ear', *to-'u* 'my eye', *chü'lüü* 'be wet' or *ee'irajaa* 'to sing'. A characteristic of the glottal stop is that it only occurs word-medially. In most cases, it occurs intervocally. In many cases where the glottal stop is preceded by a consonant [VʔC], there is also a variant with a vowel separating them [VʔVC], for instance 'to show' is *ei'yataa* or *ei'iyataa*. This strongly suggests an underlying restriction for the glottal stop to only occur intervocally. Lastly, the glottal stop ʔ /ʔ/ can also have a very soft pronunciation; often reducing to creaky voice. This stop affects stress placement, and as such, the stress group make this phoneme more salient. In this next section I'll turn to a description of vowel harmony.

3.1.2 Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony in Wayuunaiki refers to the bidirectional spread of vocalic features from the first vowel of a word's root to its affixes. Harmony occurs at least with prefixes, the thematic suffixes, the specific suffix, and the moraic increase to mark the 'infinitive' verb or the 'non-possessed' inalienable noun or adposition. To be brief, I will concentrate on how the person prefixes are affected. These eight inflectional prefixes communicate the possessor of nouns, the object of adpositions, the transitive (A) and intransitive (Sa) subjects of active verbs.

Table 3-4 shows in bold the form of the prefixes used when harmony is blocked and next to those all the forms they assume when harmony applies. The vowels /a/ and /ü/ are then the only two 'default' vowels. 1st person singular and plural and 3rd person plural use /a/, while 2nd person singular and plural, as well as 3rd person

singular feminine and masculine use /ü/. However, when harmony applies, /a/ only changes to /e, o/, while /ü/ changes to any of the six vowels /ü, i, u, a, e, o/.

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	ta-	te-, to-	wa-	we-, wo-
2	pü-	pi-, pu- po-, pa-, pe-	jü-	ji-, ju- jo-, ja-, je-
3♀	sü-	shi-, su- so-, sa-, she-	na-	ne-, no-
3♂	nü-	ni-, nu- no-, na-, ne-		
INDEFINITE IMPERSONAL	a-	e-, o-		

Table 3-4 The Vowels of the Personal Prefixes

Many phonological processes take place in Wayuunaiki vowel harmony. Álvarez (1994) gives a lengthy description of these. In the next paragraphs, I will describe the two most encompassing of processes: harmonic fronting and harmonic rounding. These two processes affect both vowels, while many others apply only to /ü/ prefixes.

	PREFIX	V	(C) (NON-CORONAL)	V FRONT
FRONTING	ü→ i a→ e	/ _____	p, m, w, k, j, ’	i e
NO FRONTING	ü a	/ _____	CORONAL t, n, r, l, s, sh, ch	i e

Table 3-5 Harmonic Fronting and its Environments

Harmonic fronting, shown in Table 3-5, refers to the effect that the /e, i/ of a word’s root causes on the prefixes. A front vowel in a root causes the prefixal vowel to front (ü→ i) (a→ e), when there is no consonantal onset, or when the root’s onset is a non-coronal consonant (bilabial, velar or glottal consonants). For example, *te-miirua* ‘my younger sister’ and *pi-miirua* ‘your younger sister’. However, a coronal consonant (t, n, r, l, s, sh, ch) as the root’s onset blocks such vocalic fronting, as in *ta-che’esa* ‘my earrings’ or *pü-che’esa* ‘your earrings’ (Álvarez 1994).

On the other hand, harmonic rounding refers to the effect that a round vowel /u, o/ in the word's root has on the prefixal vowel. A root's round vowel causes rounding in the prefixal vowel ($\ddot{u} \rightarrow u$) or ($a \rightarrow o$), when the root does not have a consonantal onset, or when that onset is a glottal consonant. For example, *to-'unuin* 'that I go' and *pu-'unuin* 'that you go'.

There appears to be some variation as far as the sets of consonants that allow partial harmony and the ones that block it, and whether these may also be stylistic. The environments presented here are based on my corpus observations, and therefore preliminary. When a root begins with a velar or alveolar consonant, rounding occurs only if there is a match in vowel height between the root vowel and the prefixal vowel. That is, the root vowel /u/ only affects / \ddot{u} /, as in *ta-chuntüin* 'I asked it', but *pu-chuntüin* 'you asked it', while the root vowel /o/ only affects /a/, as in *to-lojüin* 'I hunted it', but *pü-lojüin* 'you hunted it'. Table 3-6 summarizes the conditions and environments of harmonic rounding.

	PREFIX	V	(C) (GLOTTAL)	V ROUNDED
FULL ROUNDING	$\ddot{u} \rightarrow u$ $a \rightarrow o$	/ _____	j, '	u o
VELAR-ALVEOLAR				
PARTIAL ROUNDING	$\ddot{u} \rightarrow u$ $a \rightarrow o$	/ _____	k, t, l, s	u o
BILABIAL-POSTALVEOLAR + N				
NO ROUNDING	\ddot{u} a	/ _____	m, p, sh, ch, n	u o

Table 3-6 Harmonic rounding and its environments

Roots that begin with bilabial (p, m), alveolar (n), and postalveolar (sh, ch) block harmonic rounding. Consider the bilabial onset /m/, as in *ta-mojüin*, 'that I damage', *nü-mojüin* 'that he damages', or in *ta-poloo* 'my hip', *sü-poloo* 'her hip'. Similarly, the postalveolar fricative /sh/ and the affricate /ch/ also block harmonic rounding, as in *ta-shotojüin*, 'I shucked it' and *nü-shotojüin* 'he shucked it', as well as in *ta-chon* 'my child' and *pü-chon* 'your child'. Lastly, the nasal /n/ was the only alveolar consonant that was also observed to interrupt the rounding process, as in *ta-noujüin* 'I believe it', and *pü-noujüin* 'you believe it'.

The vowel /ü/, which used for 2nd persons, and 3rd person singular feminine and masculine, also undergoes several more phonological processes. Álvarez (1994) gives processes that affect all /ü/ prefixes such as “lowering”, which assumes the values of roundedness [ü→ e, o, a] (e.g. *pa-apüin* ‘you gave it’, *pe-’ejena* ‘your vehicle’, *po-’oojüin* ‘that you bathed’), and “adjustment” [ü→ i, u] (e.g. *pu-wala* ‘your sibling’ *pi-ya’lajüin* ‘you bought it’). The author also gives processes that only affect 3rd person singular feminine include, such as “palatalization” [sü, se → shi, she] (e.g. *shi-i* ‘her mather’, *she-’ejena* ‘her vehicle’) and “syncope” 3rd [sü → s] (e.g. *s-tuma* ‘by her’, *s-püla* ‘for her’, *s-chiki* ‘her story’). Lastly, he gives one that only affects 2nd person singular: “interlabial syncope” [pü → ø] (e.g. *ø-müin* ‘to you’, *ø-püla* ‘for you’, *ø-maa* ‘with you’).

Having presented at least two important phonological process of vowel harmony, we turn to another central phonological property of Wayuunaiki: the stress group.

3.1.3 The Stress Group

In Wayuunaiki, vowel duration is fully independent from stress. Stress is then described as primarily realized as a high pitch prominence (Mansen 1967, Álvarez 1994). But so far, I am not fully convinced. Instead, it seems that it is primarily realized as an intensity prominence. Whichever it is, primary stress is very difficult to miss.

The stress patterns can be generalized via the following three conditions: (i) a word-initial heavy syllable keeps the stress, (ii) whereas a word-initial light syllable causes stress to fall on the second one, unless (iii) there is glottal stop in between the first two light syllables, which causes stress to fall on the third syllable.

The only monomoraic words in the language are the proximal demonstrative triad: *tü* ‘this ♀’, *chi* ‘this ♂’, *na* ‘these’. Besides their spatial demonstrative function, these forms frequently behave like article words, and as such are often translated via Spanish definite articles (*la, el, los*) instead of the demonstrative (*este, esta, estos*). The fact that they are never affected by vowel harmony makes the case that these are separate phonological words. However, when used in modifying function these forms

contain two moras: *tüü* ‘this ♀’, *chii* ‘this ♂’, *naa* ‘these’. This may indicate that in their highly frequent demonstrative/article function their form may have reduced. Besides this demonstrative triad, the minimal word must contain at least two moras. These are very infrequent in Wayuunaki and appear to consist of nouns only, as in *laa* ‘pond’, or *shii* ‘her mother’, *koi* ‘papaya’, or *wei* ‘blue runner (fish sp.)’. Only when the two moras share vocalic quality can these words be considered consistently monosyllabic. When the vowels differ, syllabification appears to be flexible, as in *süi* ~ *sü.i* ‘big hammock’ and *tei* ~ *te.i* ‘my mother’. Altogether, their dimoraic nature and the syllabic flexibility justifies their inclusion as a special kind of foot.

Most of the lexicon is at least disyllabic. Words longer than one syllable follow a weak-STRONG stress sequence. There are two of these patterns that can be considered types of the Wayuunaiki iambic foot. The disyllabic foot is probably the most frequent type, and consists of an initial unstressed syllable followed by stressed one that can be monomoraic or dimoraic. If it is monomoraic, it must end with an aspiration, as in *i.pa^h* ‘stone’, *m.ma^h* ‘land’, *ji.me^h* ‘fish’. This final aspiration is not found when the strong syllable is heavy, as in *wa.yuu* ‘person’, or *sü.maa* ‘with her’. The trisyllabic foot only differs from the disyllabic one in adding an initial extrametrical syllable that consists of an unstressed single mora closed by a glottal stop [μ?]. (Álvarez 1994). Consider for instance <a’>.i.kaa ‘to teach’ or <ni’>.i.ra ‘his cry’.

	SYLLABLE		MORA				Final mora <μ>?
1	σ	2	μμ	laa ‘pond’	naa ‘these’	shii ‘her mother’	ii.<wa> ‘spring’
2	σ.σ	3	μ.μ	i.pa ^h ‘stone’	m.ma ^h ‘land’	ka’i ^h ‘sun’	je.pi.<ra> ‘cabo de la vela’
			μ.μμ	wa.yuu ‘person’	mo.juu ‘be bad’	ma.pan ‘after’	su.lu’.<u> ‘in it’
3	<σ>.σ.σ	4	<μ>.μ.μ	<shi’>.i.pa ‘piece of it’	<ni’>.i.ra ‘his cry’.	<she’>.e.jü ‘its flavor’	<te’>.i.ru.<ku> ‘my clan’.
			<μ>.μ.μμ	<a’>.a.jaa ‘to burn’	<a’>.i.kaa ‘to teach’	<a’>.a.naa ‘to weave’	<ta’>.ya.taa.<in> ‘my work’

Table 3-7 One Foot Stress Groups and Examples

Additionally, this primary stress group can also take a final unstressed mora. I here tentatively analyze this final mora as extrametrical too, as in *Je.pi.<ra>* ‘Cabo de la Vela’, *su.lu’.<u>* ‘in it’. If the analysis is correct, some words may contain extrametrical syllables on both ends, as in <te’>.i.ru.<ku> ‘my clan’. In sum, what I

am here calling the primary stress group must contain at least 2 moras and at most five moras (i.e. 1 to 4 syllables). Table 3-7 summarizes this analysis and gives examples for each combination.

However, there are also many phonological words longer than one foot. Words of two feet are also very common, but only the first foot will take primary stress (Álvarez 1994). In other words, primary stress gravitates towards the second mora of the first foot. The fact that second foot does not take a primary prominence makes it evident that words consisting of two feet are still one phonological word. Secondary stress has not been studied yet, but it is possible that this is a property of the second foot. The second foot differs from the first one in that it can only be monosyllabic or disyllabic.

This leaves us with six attested foot combinations, summarized and exemplified in Table 3-8. For instance, the two feet could be monosyllabic as in *(aa).(paa)* ‘to give’, or consist of the sequences syllable-disyllable as in *(yaa).(mü.in)* ‘toward here’, disyllable-syllable as in *(yo.lu).(jaa)* ‘ghost’, or with an extrametrical syllable as in *<a’>.(ya.la).(jaa)* ‘to cry’. Lastly, there are also structures of two disyllabic feet as in *(ya.la).(pü.naa)* ‘through there’, or with the extrametrical syllable as in *<a’>.(ya.la).(jü.shi)* ‘he cried’. In sum, these two-foot sequences appear to delineate the maximal phonological word, which consists of 4 to 7 moras (i.e. 2 to 5 syllables).

				SECOND FOOT				
				SYLLABLE		1	2	
						σ	$\sigma.\sigma$	
						2		3
$\mu\mu$	$\mu.\mu$	$\mu.\mu\mu$						
FIRST FOOT	1	σ	2	$\mu\mu$	$\mu.\mu$	$\mu.\mu\mu$		
			<i>(aa).(paa)</i> ‘to give’	<i>(yaa).(mü.in)</i> ‘to here’	<i>(at).(pa.naa)</i> ‘rabbit’			
	2	$\sigma.\sigma$	2	$\mu.\mu$	$\mu.\mu$	$\mu.\mu\mu$		
			<i>(yo.lu).(jaa)</i> ‘evil spirit, ghost’	<i>(a.li).(ju.na)</i> ‘creole’	<i>(ya.la).(pü.naa)</i> ‘through there’			
			3	$\mu.\mu\mu$	$\mu.\mu$	$\mu.\mu\mu$		
	<i>(wa.yuu).(kaa)</i> ‘the woman’	<i>(wa.yuu).(ka.na)</i> ‘the people’	<i>(a.lii).(ka.jaa)</i> ‘to step’					
	3	$<\sigma>\sigma.\sigma$	3	$<\mu>\mu.\mu$	$<a’>.\mu.\mu$	$<a’>.\mu.\mu\mu$		
			<i><a’>.(ya.la).(jaa)</i> ‘to cry’	<i><a’>.(ya.la).(jü.shi)</i> ‘he cried’	<i><a’>.(ya.la).(jü.shii)</i> ‘they cried’			
4	$<\mu>\mu.\mu\mu$	4	$<\mu>\mu.\mu\mu$	$<\mu>\mu.\mu\mu$	$<\mu>\mu.\mu\mu\mu$			
		<i><e’>.(i.taa).(waa)</i> ‘to put, to place’	<i><ta’>.(a.lee).(wa.in)</i> ‘my friend’	<i><o’>.(o.noo).(sü.kat)</i> ‘the migrants’				

Table 3-8 Two feet Stress Groups and Examples

The overall stress patterns are so regular that loanwords adopt Spanish stress only as long vowels. For example, ‘beer’ [ser. 'be.sa] becomes [se'ru.wee.sa], while ‘television set’ [te.le.βi. 'sor] becomes [te.'le.wi.soo.rü]. Additionally, lexical stress appears to be independent of sentential prominences. Preliminary observations of cleft constructions for instance, show that stress does not associate with the focused constituents. Lastly, verbs can consist of more than two feet, in which case some suffixes appear to head another primary stress group consisting solely of suffixes. But, I here emphasize that secondary stress and third feet need to be studied in depth. These topics remain to be explored, even though it is clear that grammatical words may be longer than phonological words.

3.1.4 The Phonological Word and The Grammatical Word

My sense is that the beginning of the phonological word is delineated by the combination of stress grouping and vowel harmony, and other cues like final vowel devoicing or elision.

Since the harmonic system is a word-internal notion, a good number of vocalic sequences only occur across word boundaries. For instance, within the word /i/ can only precede /i/, as in *süi* ‘big hammock’. There any other vowel following *ü* delineates a word boundary. The feminine proximate demonstrative *tü* ‘this ♀’, for instance remains unaltered whatever the root initial vowel is. Consider for instance, *tü uujoṭkolu* ‘the corn drink’, *tü aikalü* ‘the manioc’, *tü eküülükalü* ‘the food’, and *tü oorokolu* ‘the gold’. Similarly, the vowel /a/ can only precede /i/ or /ü/ within the word. Therefore, /a/ preceding other vowels are word boundary cues. For instance, *na o'onoosükalü* ‘the migrants’, *na uuchije'ewalii* ‘the southern people’, or *na eejetükalüirua* ‘those who were there’. Proximal demonstratives are the only words with monomoraic structure. Their word status is justified by their non-participation in vowel harmony, as well as in belonging to a demonstrative paradigm that involves twelve other dimoraic forms. Nevertheless, this triad challenges the dimoraic condition for the minimal word found in the rest of the lexicon.

However, vowel harmony typically affects only one or two suffixes, while all others have fixed vowel qualities. The end of the phonological word is then delineated by the stress group. These may consist of one or two feet with only one primary stress in the first foot. The phonological word may then consist of 1 to 5 syllables long with various moraic structures.

A grammatical word minimally consists of a lexical root and its affixes. Inflections make words complete and thus able to stand alone. There is only one monomoraic prefixal position allowed for inalienable nouns, adpositions and active verbs. No other words may take prefixes. Therefore, for inalienable nouns, adpositions and active verbs, the beginning of the grammatical word is identifiable as the second mora. For all others, it is the first mora. The end of the grammatical word is cued by inflectional suffixes, such as the gender-number suffixes complete a grammatical noun and a verb. For instance, the feminine gender suffix in *ama-ka-lü* ‘the horse’, and the masculine one in *e-kü-shi* ‘he ate, give completion to the word as it contextualizes the referent and the action respectively.

The last two subsections have presented what I believe are the two fundamental notions in the prosody of Wayuunaiki: vowel harmony and the stress groupings. After having done so, I have proposed properties of the phonological word and the grammatical word. This next and last section of the phonology of the languages briefly describes other important phonological processes. These include those that affect liquids and those that cause consonantal gemination.

3.1.5 The Volatility of Liquids

The two liquid consonants in Wayuunaiki /l, r/ are highly unstable and subject to many phonological processes. One of these processes involves re-syllabification and liquid fortition. This is a two-step process that entails two syllables becoming one. For instance, ‘young woman’ *ma.ja.yü.lü* is commonly pronounced as *ma.ja.yüt*, while ‘the young woman’ *ma.ja.yü.lü.ka.lü* is heard as *ma.ja.yüt.kat*. Although the change appears to be drastic, there is no change in the moraic structure. In both pronunciations of these examples, the noun contains four moras, while the specific suffix contains two. Instead the change consists of disyllables becoming single syllables due to vowel elision and liquid fortition.

Álvarez (1994) describes this as two phonological rules. First, a liquid onset causes the elision of its vocalic nuclei when preceding an onset obstruent /p, t, k, s, sh, ch/ or /n/. This causes the liquid onset to become the coda of the previous syllable. Then, in this second process, an onset obstruent /p, t, k, s, sh, ch/ causes a preceding liquid coda /l r/ to undergo fortition to /t/, unless the onset is /n/, which causes a preceding liquid coda /l r/ to undergo fortition and nasal assimilation to /n/. As examples one can show how the final syllable of *kuluu.lu* ‘fabric’ is reduced and merges with the preceding one in *taku.luut.se* ‘my fabric’, or how the final syllable of *washi.rü* ‘rich’ also merges with the preceding one after receiving the ‘collective’ suffix *wa.shin.nüü* ‘rich’. Table 3-9 summarizes this 2-step process.

	σ		σ		σ	
	C V (V)		C V		C V	
	STRESSED	UNSTRESSED	UNSTRESSED	UNSTRESSED	OBSTRUENT	ANY
I. HIGH NON-FRONT VOWEL ELISION	$\ddot{u}, u \rightarrow \emptyset$ /		l r _____		Stops Fricatives Affricates Nasal	
II. LIQUID FORTITION	l, r \rightarrow t, n /		l r			

Table 3-9 Vowel Elision and Liquid Fortition

Beyond this process liquids also undergo other sound changes. Álvarez (1994) also describes liquid elision, tensing and dissimilation. In liquid elision, the postalveolar flap /l/ is elided when it precedes a monomoraic /i/. For example, *a.lii* ‘to hurt’ becomes *a.i.sü* ‘it hurts’, while *a.yuu.lii* ‘be sick’, becomes *ayuuikai* ‘the sick one’. This phonological process occurs in word final position or when preceding an obstruent. The application of this process and its environments may also vary dialectally.

In liquid tensing [l \rightarrow r], a front vowel /e, i/ causes a following flap /l/ to become a trill /r/. This leads to the unattested sequences /el/ and /il/ in the language. For instance -*lu'u* ‘in’ retains the initial flap when the preceding vowel is not a front one, as in *paii-lü'ü* ‘in the house’, but a front one causes it to become tense, as in *tale'e-ru'u* ‘in my stomach’.

Lastly, liquid dissimilation [l₁l₂ \rightarrow r₁l₂] is a regressive type of process where flap initial suffix /-l/ causes a previous /l/ to tense to /r/ if separated by a single non-front mora (a o u ü). For instance, from the verb *a-tula-a* ‘to weave’, one derives the

form *a-tura-lü* ‘weaver’, and from the noun *to-’ula* ‘my hammock’, we get *to-’ura-lu’u* ‘in my hammock’. This anticipatory dissimilation causes the non-existence of two consecutive light syllables with flap /l/ onsets.

After having present the processes of fortition, elision, tensing and dissimilation that affect the realization of the liquids in Wayuunaiki, this next section briefly depicts the phonological processes at work that cause consonantal gemination.

3.1.6 Consonantal Gemination

Consonantal gemination results from first mora elision, glottal stop metathesis or coda insertion. First mora elision appears to be primarily a diachronic process, but there are some words that have not undergone first mora elision. This may be dialectal variation. For instance, the unstressed initial mora /i/ of the Spanish for *dinero* ‘money’ was elided, while the initial /d/ underwent nasal assimilation to /n/, giving rise to the Wayuunaiki word *n.nee.rü* ‘money’. This is surely a diachronic process comparable to other conventionalized lexical items where the initial vocalic mora is gone, such as *n.naa* ‘here, take it’, *m.ma* ‘land’, or *n.no.joo* ‘no’. However, the stative verb ‘be afraid’ does vary between *mo.mo.luu* ~ *m.mo.luu*, but I do not know whether this variation is dialectal or stylistic.

Glottal stop metathesis refers to a phenomenon related to the initial extrametrical <V?>.V The nature of the variation is unknown but its effects are highly noticeable. In this process, the extrametrical and intervocalic glottal stop [V?V] becomes the glottal coda of an initial diphthong [VV?]. After this happens, the coda glottal stop assimilates to the following stop and becomes geminate. For instance the concessive connective word ‘even though’ may be heard as *ja’.i.ta.i.rü*, *jai’.ta.i.rü*, or *jait.ta.i.rü*. In a sense, the extrametrical syllable merges with the second syllable as one heavy and unstressed syllable. Crucially, this process does not affect the primary stress on the third syllable, nor does it change its moraic structure. The initial three moras remain equal despite metathesis and gemination. Other examples can be the verbs ‘to put’ *e’.i.taa.waa* ~ *eit.taa.waa*, ‘to teach’ *e’.i.kaa* ~ *eik.kaa* ‘to teach’, and ‘to take’ *e’.i.ka.ja.waa* ~ *eik.ka.ja.waa*.

The last process I will mention here is similar, but it takes place in word initial stressed syllable. This coda insertion process also frequently leads to consonantal gemination. Consider, for instance, ‘to sit’ *ai.ka.laa* ~ *aik.ka.laa*, or ‘shaman’ *ou.tsü* ~ *out.tsü*. The second syllable of the last example displays a complex onset /ts/, which is caused by unstressed mora deletion. Sometimes coda insertion takes place with a different stop consonant, as in ‘wind’ *jou.tai* ~ *jout.tai* ~ *jouk.tai*. Unlike the gemination caused by glottal metathesis in words with trisyllabic stress, gemination via coda insertion adds weight to the initial stressed syllable as one extra mora.

This ends the description of Wayuu phonological processes. This next and last subsection of the phonology, will briefly describe issues related to orthographic conventions.

3.1.7 The Orthography

Even though the phonemic inventory of the language is relatively simple, the complex prosody has motivated several orthographic conventions that have obscured the description of the language. The orthographical challenge has come about primarily from the special behavior of the glottal stop combined with the independence of vowel length from stress. The two most important conventions are known as MAJ (Miguel Ángel Jusayú) and ALIV (Alfabeto de Lenguas Indígenas de Venezuela). The MAJ conventions had several shortcomings that posited undue burdens on the reader and learner, and as such now, the ALIV orthography is the modern standard used in both nations. In this study, I use the ALIV conventions, but given the literary and historical significance of the work of the illustrious Miguel Ángel Jusayú, I’ll briefly compare some of the most challenging differences.¹⁵

IPA	Rising Vowel Sequences						Fronting Vowel Sequences		
	ai	ei	au	au:	ou	ou:	üi	ui	u:i
ALIV	ai waa	ei yajaa	laü laa	aüü ttawaa	jou tai	anou ui	süi	too’ ui	pitsh uu ise
MAJ	ái uá	éi ajá	láü lá	aü htawá	jóu tai	anou hi	süi	tó uu i	pítsh uh ise
English	hurt	cure	old	tie	wind	savannah	hammock	my feet	bean

Table 3-10 Diphthong Representation in the main orthographies

¹⁵ The interested reader can refer to Álvarez (1994, 2017) for a complete comparison of the orthographies.

Table 3-10 compares the representation of rising sequences and fronting ones. It includes a few examples of trimoraic vowel sequences, such as to *tie*, *savannah* and *bean*.

Table 3-11 displays the representation falling hiatuses. Any high-low vocalic sequence in Wayuunaiki is pronounced as two syllables, which may explain why they are often unmarked. These sequences are likely to be diachronic reductions that have led approximant /y, w/ elision. In fact, much of the modern ALIV representation uses the approximants in the orthography. This adds ease to the process of syllabification, but so far, it is not used across the board. Some words appear to resist the writing of the approximant, e.g. the 2nd person singular pronoun **pia** *you*. The examples in Table 3-11 show what a consistent writing of the approximants would look like.

IPA	i.e	i.a	i.o	u.a	u.o
ALIV	a'ttiyee	piyama	a'liyo'u	achiiruwa	uwomu
MAJ	a'ttié	pia'ma	a'liou	achírrua	uo'mu
English	harvest	two	guest	behind	hat

Table 3-11 Hiatus Representations in the Main Orthographies

Lastly, Table 3-12 below presents a comparison of the representation of glottal stops. This is perhaps the most problematic part the MAJ orthography. In this system, the apostrophe represents a glottal stop only when it occurs as the coda of the first syllable and in between different phonemes. When in between vowels, it is placed after the second one, as with *seed*, but when in between a vowel and a consonant it is placed in between, as with *maternal uncle*. Beyond the first syllable, the apostrophe represents stress. The word *buy*, for instance, is coincidentally equally represented, but the apostrophe in the MAJ does only intends to express stress. Lastly, when a glottal stop occurs in between vowels of different length, as in *bathe* and *sing*, it is unmarked, regardless of whether the vowels differ in quality or not.

schema	V.ʔV		Vʔ.C		V.ʔV:	V:ʔ.V
IPA	aʔu	eʔe	aʔɿ	aʔɿ	oʔo:	a:ʔu
ALIV	a'ü	e'ejena	a'laüla	aya'lajaa	o'oojoo	ee'irajaa
MAJ	ai'	eeje'na	a'láüla	aya'lajá	oójó	éirajá
English	seed	vehicle	maternal uncle	buy	bathe	sing

Table 3-12 Glottal stop representation in the Main orthographies

In this initial section of chapter §3 has presented central notions of the phonology. These topics include vowels, consonants, syllables, vowel harmony, stress patterns, some phonological processes and the orthography. We now turn to words and phrases. §3.2 is devoted to the description of nouns and noun phrases, §3.3 then presents the adposition and adpositional phrases, and §3.4 continues with verbs and verb phrases, while §3.5 describes the intransitive clause.

3.2. Nouns and Noun Phrases

Nominal inflection in Wayuunaiki categorizes their referents as alienable or inalienable, generic or specific, and feminine, masculine or plural. A noun can be the head of a noun phrase, as well as the head of an intransitive stative predicate. Nouns may also take on other functions, but these must be derived. For instance, to function as NP modifiers, nouns take ‘adjectivizer’ *-ja*, plus gender-number suffixes *-tii* ♀, *-chi* ♂, *-na* PL, whereas to function as an active verb, an alienable noun must derive a verb via the combination of a prefix and thematic suffix *-ja*.

In these next pages, I will begin describing the pronouns and demonstratives, continue with alienability, before delving into four types of Wayuunaiki noun phrases: possessive, specific, quantified and modified.

3.2.1. Pronouns and Demonstratives

The ground involves the people present in the speech event, called 1st and 2nd persons. 3rd persons are different because their referents do not need to be physically present during the usage event. When not present they need to be lexically established in the discourse, and then they used anaphorically.

Wayuunaiki has eight personal pronouns. The ground distinguishes singular and plural number: *taya* ‘I, me’, *waya* ‘we, us’, *pia* ‘you’, *jia* ‘you all’. 3rd person distinguishes gender for the singular: *nia* ‘he, him’, *shia* ~ *jia* ‘she, her’, ‘it’, but not the plural *naya* ‘they, them’. There is also an optional plural marker *-irua* that attaches to nouns, pronouns and demonstratives. *shia* ~ *jia* is by far the most frequently used pronoun, given its functions in anaphora and spatial reference, as well as ‘generic’

meaning. The variable pronunciation of the fricative indexes geographical origin. *Shia* is used in *Wopumüin* ‘southwest’, while *jia* is used in *Wüinpumüin* ‘northeast’.

The eighth pronoun, *aya* ‘one’ has an impersonal meaning, but it is rarely used independently. The prefix *a-* appears to have two uses: an impersonal and an indefinite. The ‘indefinite’ use of *a-* is central to the studies presented in chapters 4 and 5. All eight independent pronouns are pronounced as one iambic foot. The prefixes associated with the independent pronouns index subjects of predicates in their roles as A or Sa, possessors of nouns, and objects of adpositions. There are no possessive pronouns. Table 3-13 summarizes the pronouns and their associated prefixes. The prefixes index the possessor of nouns, the subject of verbs and the objects of adpositions.

	singular		Plural	
	Pronoun	prefix	pronoun	prefix
1	taya	ta-	waya	wa-
2	pia	pü-	jia	jü-
3♀	shia ~ jia	sü-	naya	na-
3♂	nia	nü-		
IMPERSONAL	aya	a-		
INDEFINITE	∅			

Table 3-13 Free Pronouns¹⁶ and Corresponding Prefixes

Throughout this work I use the icons ♀ and ♂ to distinguish the feminine and masculine genders expressed by affixes and 3rd person pronouns. This is primarily motivated by the need to highlight their importance in this study, as their non-alphabetic form may make them more salient. In general, the ‘masculine’ gender (♂) is functionally marked as it refers to males, specific or “dear” entities, such as deities or things for which the speaker holds affection (Olza & Jusayú 1986:19). Contrastingly the ‘feminine’ gender (♀) is functionally unmarked as it refers to females, inanimate, or and generic entities. The opposition is therefore complex because it combines biological gender, genericity and affection¹⁷.

¹⁶ Olza (1985:243) posits *-ya* as an inalienable base for all personal pronouns, which is cognate the emphatic element *-ya* used in personal pronouns in Warekena of Xié (Aikhenvald 1998).

¹⁷ This gender opposition is comparable to the one found in Lokono (Pet 2011:14). It appears that the Caribbean Arawak Branch has flipped the more common Arawak pattern feminine/non-feminine to one of masculine non-masculine. That is, inanimate and generic entities align with the masculine gender in most Arawak languages (Aikhenvald 1999:84)

The examples in (1) show how prefixal gender can express the genericity of a group of humans. In (1a), the 3rd person feminine prefix underspecifies the gender of the people and thus communicates that it is any group of people. This can also be interpreted as a group of people to whom the speaker feels distant. In (1b), the 3rd person masculine communicates that it is specific group of people, which can be a mix of men and women. This can also be interpreted as the speaker holding some affection to these people.

(1). Masculine as Specific Gender

- a. Sü-nüiki wayuu
 3_♀-voice person
 The people's voice (anyone's)
- b. Nü-nüiki wayuu
 3_♂-voice person
 The people's voice (specific group)

Olza and Jusayú write that when ‘the sun’ and ‘the moon’ are “treated in a familiar, appreciative or friendly manner”, they are expressed as masculine. But when they are treated less intimately or indifferently, they are expressed as feminine. It is likely that the functionally marked reference to the sun, the moon and others like ‘the rain’ are rooted in myth, as is common in Amazonia (Aikhenvald 2012:283-4).

(2). Masculine as the ‘intimate’ Gender

- a. Chi wunu'u-chon-ka-i
 DEM.♂ tree-DIM-SPC-♂
 The little tree
- b. Chi ka'i-ka-i
 DEM.♂ sun-SPC-♂
 the sun, the day
- c. Chi kashi-ka-i
 DEM.♂ moon-SPC-♂
 the moon
- d. Chi juya-ka-i
 DEM.♂ rain-SPC-♂
 the rain

However, the communication of “affection” via ‘masculine’ markers only appears to take place with inanimate entities. It is not clear whether masculine markers are at

all used to express affection towards a single woman. This is probably only expressed lexically, as with the vocative *uutan* ‘sweetie’.

Wayuunaiki demonstratives communicate four levels of spatial distance from the speaker. These are used as determiners, pronouns and adjectives, as in (3) below. As determiners, the most proximal set stands out because of their high frequency of use, their reduced form (*tü, chi, na*), and the weakening of their spatial meaning (Álvarez 2007:60).

Demonstratives					
			♀	♂	plural
1	PROXIMAL		tü(ü)	chi(i)	na(a)
2	MID-PROXIMAL		türa	chira	nala
3	MID-DISTAL	LOCATIVE	tüsa	chisa	nasa
		CISLOCATIVE	tüse	chise	nase
4	DISTAL		tia	chia	naya

Table 3-14 Demonstratives

In their function as pronouns and adjectives, they are expressed conform to the minimal word restriction of consisting of two moras (*tüü, chii, naa*), and their use appears to be restricted to contexts where the referent is physically present. The function of general anaphora is fulfilled the 3rd person feminine pronoun *shia ~ jia*, in opposition to the most distal feminine demonstrative *tia*.

(3). The Functions of Demonstratives

- a. A-yurulaa-sü [tü wunu'u-ko-lu]
 IDF-stretch-♀ DEM.♀ tree-SPC-♀
 This tree / the tree grew
- b. A-yurulaa-sü [wunu'u-ko-lu tüü]
 IDF-stretch-♀ tree-SPC-♀ DEM♀
This tree grew
- c. A-yurulaa-sü [tüü]
 IDF-stretch-♀ DEM♀
 This one grew

The third distance from the speaker, which I tentatively label ‘mid-distal’ also distinguishes whether the entity is in place or moving towards the speaker, as in *Juyakai chise* ‘next year’, lit. the coming year.

After having presented the personal pronouns and the demonstratives, we now turn to lexical nouns. The main grammatical categories that apply to nouns are whether they are alienable or inalienable, and then generic or specific. This next subsection deals with the first opposition.

3.2.2. Alienability

Alienable nouns are free morphemes whereas inalienable ones are bound. Therefore, the nominal morphology is distinctive for both types. Alienable nouns without any marking expresses ‘generic’ reference, while inalienable are always specific (Olza 1985). Inalienable nouns are almost always possessed, whereas possessed alienable nouns are less frequent. However, a possessed alienable noun is marked via one of the possessive prefixes *-se*, *-in*, or *-ya*. This formal opposition in nominal morphology has been documented as possessed and unpossessed nouns (Mosonyi 1975:103), relative and absolute nouns (Olza & Jusayú 1978) and inalienable and alienable nouns¹⁸ (Álvarez 1994). In this subsection, I will begin describing the semantic content of they two types of nouns, then present their distinctive structures. Lastly, I mention briefly how derived nouns participate in the system.

Almost all body parts, and plant parts and kinship terms are expressed via inalienable. The formal dependency on the expression of possessors of inalienable nouns is iconic with their complete conceptualization. Among the many body part terms, I could give *ta-japü* ‘my hand’, *ta-le’e* ‘my stomach’, *te-kii* ‘my head’, *ta-sa’a* ‘my leg’, *ta-anükü* ‘my mouth’, *ta-müla* ‘my throat’ or *to-’u* ‘my eye’. Among plant parts, I could give *sü-sii* ‘its flower’, *su-urala* ‘its root’, *sü-tüna* ‘its branch’ or *sü-’ü* ‘its seed’.

The kinship system is comparable to that of the Crow type (Goulet 1981). The most general terms are *ta-püshi* ‘my maternal relative’, *to-’upayuu*. ‘my father’s maternal relative’ and *ta-sanua* ‘my paternal relative’. Many kinship terms take the suffix *-irü* ♂, or *-ichi* ♀ ‘almost’ to express a more distant relationship¹⁹, as in *ta-wala*

¹⁸ All Arawak languages distinguish alienable from inalienable nouns. The core of inalienable nouns is bdy parts and kinship relationships (Aikhenvald 1999:82)

¹⁹ Note that this suffix is homophonous with the verbal suffixes for the ‘imminent’ tense-aspect.

‘my sibling’, *ta-wala-irü* ‘my female maternal cousin’, or *te-i* ‘my mother’, *tei-irü* ‘my mother’s sister’. These last examples can also be translated as ‘my almost sibling’ and ‘my almost mother’. Even though most kinship terms do not distinguish the gender of ego, many sibling and affinal relations do. For instance, only males say *ta-shunu* ‘my younger sister’, or *ta-siipü* ‘my sororal nephew/niece’, while only females say *te-mirua* ‘my younger sister’ or *ta-shiuu* ‘my brother’. Table 3-15 exemplifies terminology used by both genders and covering five generations. *Ta-laüla* ‘my maternal uncle’ is a culturally privileged relationship; he is treated almost like a third parent.

GENERATION	WAYUUNAICI	ENGLISH
+2	to-ushu	my grandmother
	ta-tuushi	my grandfather
+1	te-i	my mother
	ta-shi	my father
	ta-'laüla	my maternal uncle
0	ta-wala	my sibling
	te-paiya	my older sibling
	te-mülia	my younger brother
-1	ta-chon	my child
-2	ta-lüin	my grandchild

Table 3-15 Core Kinship Relations

There are other inalienable terms that express other types of relations that are not as easy to categorize. These include *-kua'ipa* ‘form, behavior, culture’, *-nülia* ‘name’, *-chiki* ‘story’, *-nüiki* ‘voice, word’, *-'ira* ‘song’ *-maiwa* ‘time’, *-lia* ‘value’, *-pülee* ‘skill’, *-kua* ‘path’, *-yoluje* ‘appearance’, *yaakua* ‘image’, *-manee* ‘kindness’, *-noula* ‘faith’, *-ejuu* ‘smell’, *-'ejü* ‘flavor’.

ALIENABLE NOUNS

Alienable nouns are an open set of words. Alienable nouns are inherently more autonomous; they do not belong to possessive relationships in their default sense. They denote terms related to the physical environment, as in *mma* land, *jasai* sand, *palaa* sea, *luwopu* ‘stream’, *süchii* ‘river’. Alienable nouns also denote plants, as in *yosu* organ-pipe cactus, *jamüche'e* ‘nopal cactus’, *aipia* ‘mesquite’, *ichii* ‘dividivi’. Animals are also expressed via alienable nouns, as in *walirü* fox, *ama* ‘horse’, *wüi* snake.

Alienable nouns are commonly expressed in its non-possessed bare form, but when they are possessed they must be marked via one of the possessive suffixes *-se*, *-in*, or *-ya*. The suffix *-se* has a palatalized dialectal variant *-she*, which is characteristic of the speech of the central area of the peninsula around Jalaala. Specific nominals conventionally associate with one of the three suffixes, although some accept more than one. Álvarez & Urdaneta (2005) state that *-ya* is the least frequent suffix and it does not have strong semantic correlations. Instead the authors found robust indications of haplology being related to the choice of possessive suffix. The possessive suffix is almost always *-se* when final syllable of the nominal root is heavy or dimoraic. They also note that in 23% of their 450 tokens, both *-se* and *-in*, were used. In this case, they consider that the degree of intimacy may be a factor influencing the choice of suffix but this remains to be confirmed (ibid:136).

Owned possession is typically expressed via alienable nouns. These include animals like *kaa'ula(-in)* 'goat', *anneerü(-se)* 'sheep', *(')ama(-in)* 'horse', *pülikü(se)* 'donkey', *jime(in)* 'fish'. They also include cooking or eating utensils such *lepü(-ya)* 'spoon', *(i)ita(-in)* 'totuma bowl', *rüli(-ya)* 'knife', other tools like *polu(-in)* 'ax', *chajaruta(-se)* 'machete', music instruments like *maasi(-in)* 'reed flute', *kaasha(-in)* 'drum' clothing like *she'(e)(-in)* 'dress', *si'ira(-in)* 'sash', and other important property like *(')anuwa(-in)* 'canoe', *kakuuna(-se)* 'jewels', or *nneerü(-se)* 'money'. However, some property is inalienably possessed. I have identified *te-'ejena* 'my vehicle' or *ta-'apüla* 'my bow, gun', *ta-jatü* 'my arrow', *-püya / -pia* 'house', *to-'ula* 'my hammock'

Other exceptional alienable nouns include ones that denote human relationships like *'aleewa(-in)* 'friend', *wairü(-in)* 'man's maternal male cousin', 'spouse' *(')wayuu(-se)*, 'wife' *(ji)erü(-in)*, and 'husband' *(i?)echi(-in)*. The only body-part identified as alienably possessed is 'bone, which has two forms: *(ji)ipü(-se)* denotes that the bone is in the possessor's body, whereas *jiipü(-in)* refers to bones possessed by someone, but belongs in a different body (Olza and Jusayú 2006:90)

Alienable nouns are also used as proper nouns. For instance, *jepira* is 'a tree sp'. and the name of the village 'Cabo de la vela', *shüliwala* is 'star' and the name of a woman, on *süchii* means 'river' or the 'Ranchería river'. Proper nouns behave like alienable nouns in that they are never possessed, but they differ in having specific

reference. Proper nouns are also derived from nominal compounds such as *Maiko-'u* the city of 'Maicao' or 'corn color'/'corn kernel', noun-adposition compounds like *Akua-lu'u* the town of 'Manaure' or 'at the path', or from verbs, as in *jolot-sü* 'Venus' or 'shiny'.

Kinship, other human nouns, and proper names may also take a vocative suffix that is realized as *-a*, *-e* or *-waa*. Nouns whose final syllable is heavy simply take *-waa*, but the form for those whose last syllable is light is determined by the frontness of the final vowel. Final front vowels become /e/ and take *-e*, while non-front vowels become /a/ and take *-a* (Álvarez 2017:264). Kinship relations are possessed in their vocative forms. Table 3-16 shows some examples of the vocative forms.

LIGHT FINAL SYLLABLE				HEAVY FINAL SYLLABLE			
Jintüi	Boy	Jintüle-e	Boy!	Antüree	Andrés	Antüree-waa	Andrés!
Ta-wala	My sibling	Tawala-a	Sibling!	Te-i	Mother	Te-i-waa	Mother!
To-ushu	My grandma	To-usha-a	Grandma!	Te-erü-in	My wife	Te-erü-in-waa	Wife!
Ta-tuushi	My grandpa	Ta-tuushe-e	Grandpa!	Ta-chon	My child	Ta-chon-waa!	My child!

Table 3-16 Vocative forms

This subsection has presented the semantics and morphology of alienable and inalienable nouns. It has been stated that inalienable nouns typically communicate whole-part and kinship relationships, whereas alienable nouns are typically express referents that are not possessed or if so they may express ownership, or other types of relationship. This next subsection will describe the possessive noun phrase and nominal compounds.

3.2.3 Possessive Noun Phrases & Nominal Compounds

In a possessive noun phrase, the possessor is expressed via a person prefix that attaches to the possessed nominal, and it may additionally be expressed as a second word. Given that the possessive relationship is expressed in the noun phrase alone, this nominal structure [possessed possessor] is characteristic of what I call internal possession in chapter 5.

However, this phrase is frequently expressed as a single word, as in (4a). If the possessor is a speech act participant, it will only be lexically needed for emphasis.

The two-word phrase is more frequently used with third persons, as in (4a-e). The possessive phrase can be longer than two words, as in (4c) below (Múgica 1969). Even though, the possessor is usually human, it may also inanimate as in (4e).

(4). The Possessive Noun Phrase [pr-**PM** (PR)].

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|------------------------|--------|
| a) | Te-pia | | |
| | 1S-house | | |
| | My house | | |
| b) | Ni-pia | Peetut | |
| | 3S [♂] -house | Pedro | |
| | Peter's house | | |
| c) | Ni-pia | nü-'laüla | Peetut |
| | 3S [♂] -house | 3S [♂] -uncle | Pedro |
| | Peter's uncle's house | | |
| d) | Su-u'ulia | yosu | |
| | 3S [♀] -plant.of | organ.pipe | |
| | Organ-pipe cactus | | |
| e) | Jü-pa'a | watchuwa | |
| | 3S [♀] -surface | clear.land | |
| | The surface of the land | | |

Additionally, several possessive noun phrases function as partitive expressions. Nouns like *apüshii* 'part, member', *o'uutkuu* 'some', *e'ipaa* 'piece', *ayatapiünaawaa* 'half', all function as partitive heads of possessive noun phrases, as in (5a-c).

(5). The Partitive Phrase

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| a) | Su-'uutku | wayuu-ko-lu-irua |
| | 3 [♀] -some | person-SPC- [♀] -PL |
| | Some of the people | |
| b) | Shi-'ipa | mürüt-ka-lü-irua |
| | 3 [♀] -part | animal-SPC- [♀] -PL |
| | Part of the herd | |
| c) | Shi-yatapünaa | ai-ka-t |
| | 3 [♀] -half | night-SPC- [♀] |
| | Midnight (middle of the night) | |

Nominal compounds are like possessive noun phrases in that the possessed nominal must be inalienable. However, the order switches to [possessor-possessed], the possessed nominal loses its prefix and its primary stress. Olza & Jusayú (1986: 49) mention that compounding is common practice to refer to parts of plants, as in *aipia-tüna* ‘mesquite branch’, *maiku-urala* ‘corn root’, or *ichii-sii* ‘dividivi flower’. The inalienable noun *ou’uliaa* ‘plant’ has acquired a collective meaning when compounded *-u’ulia* ‘group of plants’. Some foods are also compounded, as in *kaliina-shiku* ‘chicken egg’, *wülaa-ira* ‘soursop juice’, *paa’a-iruku* ‘beef’ (cow-meat).

(6).Nominal Compounding

- a) *mma-pa’a*
land-surface
‘sandy place’
- b) *Wo-uma-in-pa’a*
1PL-land-POS-surface
‘wayuu territory, Guajira peninsula’
- c) *yosu-u’ulia*
organ.pipe-plant
a group of organ-pipe cactus

Other morphemes are not used as independent nouns (anymore), and so appear to have become suffixes. For instance, *-ima* ‘border of’, *-ma’a* ‘juice of, shake of’, *-pala* ‘place of’, *-palee* ‘place of’. Olza and Jusayú (1986 §63) give *pala-ima* ‘coast’ (sea border), *monku-ma’a* ‘mango shake’ (mango-juice), *nneet-pala* ‘wallet’ (money-place), and *wüin-palee* ‘pond bed’ (water-place).

INALIENABLE NON-POSSESSION

Both Ehrman (1972:31) and Olza (1978:436) commented on the difficulty of eliciting unpossessed inalienable nouns, both agreeing that speakers do not conceptualize inalienable nouns in isolation. Though less frequently used, inalienable nouns are indeed expressed as unpossessed in pragmatically marked situations. Olza (1985: 243) elaborated on the usage of non-possessed inalienable nouns, most crucially asserting that these are “singular” or definite even if not possessed.

Instead, it is the possessor that is expressed as indefinite, but human. Inalienable nouns are listed in their non-possessed form as the headwords in dictionaries and there is even a book title using such a form: *A-chiki-i* ‘stories’ (Jusayú 1986), which given the content of the book, the possessor is understood as the Wayuu people.

The non-possessed suffix can be schematically represented as $[\cdot\mu\text{-}\mu] \sim [\cdot\mu\mu\text{-}\mathbf{waa}]^{20}$. The weight of the final syllable of the nominal root determines the choice of suffix. Monomoraic final syllables duplicate the final vowel (e.g. *a-shi-i* ‘someone’s father’, *o-ushu-u* ‘someone’s grandmother’, *a-le’e-e* ‘someone’s stomach’), while dimoraic final syllables take *-waa* (e.g. *e-kii-waa* ‘someone’s head’, *a-chon-waa* ‘someone’s child’) (Álvarez 2005c:7). This non-possessed form is the one listed as the head entry for inalienable nouns in dictionaries (Hildebrandt 1963, Jusayú 1977, Jusayú & Olza 2006, etc.).

According to Olza (1985: 243-244), inalienable nouns are always “singular” (=definite), even when expressed as non-possessed. In such a case, the possessed is definite and the possessor is indefinite, yet always human. Alienable nouns on the other hand, can be both definite or indefinite. In 6b) the indefinite possessor of the hammock is marked as indefinite and non-possessed where it plays the role of transitive object (O), while in 6c) the indefinite possessor of ‘cargo, postage’ is marked the same way, but this time it is the subject of a stative clause (So).

(7). Non-Possessed Inalienable Nouns as Arguments

- a) To-usitü-in wanee o-’ula-a
 1S-find-O one IDF-hammock-N.PSS
 I found someone’s hammock (Olza 1979: 440).
- b) Nnaa wanee a-chisa-a
 Here♀ one IDF-cargo-N.PSS
 Here’s someone’s package (Olza & Jusayú 2012:67)

Olza & Jusayú (2012:66) describe the pronoun *aya* as comparable to the Spanish *uno, una* ‘one’. The use of this pronoun is rare, but its expression solely via

²⁰ Aikhenvald (2013:15) mentions that in many Arawak languages the suffix used to mark unpossessed inalienable nouns is also used to mark deverbal nominalizations. In Wayuunaiki, the “heavy” suffix is also used to mark infinitive verbs and uninflected prepositions, e.g. *a-’yataa-waa* to work, *a-nta-a* “to arrive”, *o-’oojo-o* “to bathe”; *a-püla-a* for someone, *a-müin-waa* to someone. Additionally, inalienable nouns, prepositions and active verbs must also take the indefinite person prefix *a-* to become full words.

possessor prefix is less so. The examples in (7) differ from the ones in (6) in that the nouns do not take the non-possessed suffix. The roots *-shi* ‘father’ and *-’ula* ‘hammock’ simply take the prefix *a-*. (7a) consists of two intransitive clauses where the possessor in the first is the subject of the second one which is expressed with the impersonal pronoun. The authors explain that the possessor of *a-shi* and *o-’ula* is understood to be the speaker.

(8). Impersonal possession as clausal argument

- a. Ayuui-shi **a-shi** makata-kalaka **aya**
 sick-♂ IDF-father stay-CNSQ one
 Since one’s father is sick, one stays (Olza & Jusayú 1986:114)
- b. A-shijaa-nü-sü **o-’ula** ju-tuma tü laülaa-ka-lü
 IDF-wash-PAS-♀ IDF-hammock 3S♀-by DEM.♀ elder-SPC-♀
 One’s hammock is washed by the old woman (Olza & Jusayú 1986:114)

The impersonal noun is homophonous with the indefinite noun. The ‘indefinite’ noun form is the one used in incorporation (Álvarez 1993:71). It is possible to tell the two uses apart primarily by their distinctive combinations with verbal gender-number suffixes. The sibilant suffix set (*-sü* ♀, *-shi* ♂, *-shii* PL) is only used in impersonal expressions. Noun incorporation will be explained in detail in chapter 5 as it pertains to external possession. Additionally, the possessive noun phrases are also used in quantification, and in predicative function, this is described in §3.2.5. ‘quantified phrases’ and in §3.5.1 ‘The Stative Clause’ respectively. The next subsection on the noun phrase deals with the marking of definiteness.

3.2.4 Specific Noun Phrases

It is unsurprising that the first of the four Capuchin missionaries who tried to find the Wayuunaiki article found none (Celedón 1878:10). I am sure it was because he noticed that there is not an equivalent to the Spanish article. De Uterga (1895:10) claimed that the definite article is expressed by *-kalü* ‘feminine’, *-kai* ‘masculine’, *-kana* ‘plural’. Múgica (1969:38) further clarified that besides these suffixes, it is of common for the noun to be preceded by one of the proximal demonstratives (*tü* ‘this

♀’, *chi* ‘this ♂’, *na*, ‘these’), as in *chi wayuu-kai* ‘the man’. Mosonyi (2000: 354) states that, compared to the specific noun alone, the optional demonstrative “provides a greater degree of definition and precision”.

The ‘specific’ suffix *-ka* takes one of the suffixes from the nominal gender-number triad (*-lū* ♀, *-i* ♂, *-na* PL). This phrase functions like a definite noun phrase in other languages, where the nominal is grounded on the discourse context, the situational context, or on general knowledge. These functions are considered in chapter 4. The specific ‘feminine’ phrase [(*tü*) N-*ka-lü*] refers to a human female, as in (8a), an inanimate object, as in (8b), or a distant group, as in (8c).

(9). Specific ‘Feminine’ Noun Phrases

- | | | |
|----|--------------|---------------|
| a. | Tü | jintu-t-ka-lü |
| | DEM.♀ | kid-♀-SPC-♀ |
| | The girl | |
| | | |
| b. | Tü | wunu’u-ko-lu |
| | DEM.♀ | stick-SPC-♀ |
| | the medicine | |
| | | |
| c. | Tü | wayuu-ka-lü |
| | DEM.♀ | person-SPC-♀ |
| | the people | |

The specific ‘masculine’ phrase [(*chi*) N-*ka-i*] refers to a human male, as in (9a), or a dear object, as in (9b). The specific plural phrase [(*na*) N-*ka-na*] is used when the speaker wishes to emphasize the plurality over gender. A more generic alternative to (9c) would use the ‘feminine’ form.

(10). Specific ‘Masculine’ and Plural Noun Phrases.

- | | | |
|----|-----------|---------------|
| a. | Chi | jintü-i-ka-i |
| | DEM.♂ | kid-♂-SPC-♂ |
| | The boy | |
| | | |
| b. | Chi | ipa-ka-i |
| | DEM.♂ | stone-SPC-♂ |
| | The stone | |
| | | |
| c. | Na | tepichi-ka-na |
| | DEM.PL | kid-SPC-PL |
| | The kids | |

Inalienable nouns are always specific (Olza 1985:244), but they may also take a specific suffix. Table 9 below presents all the combinations of noun types according to their possession and use of the specific suffix.

		ALIENABLE NP	INALIENABLE NP
SPECIFIC	UNPOSSESSED	(Tü) majayütkat The young woman	(Tü) eiwaakalü Someone's mother
	POSSESSED	(Tü) tamajayütsekat My young woman	(Tü) teikalü My mother
UNSPECIFIC	UNPOSSESSED	Majayüt Young woman	Eiwaa Someone's mother
	POSSESSED	Tamajayütse My young woman	Tei My mother

Table 3-17 Combinations of nouns per use of specific -ka, alienability, and possession.

The shaded square shows the bare alienable noun. This is the only form in the Table that expresses generic or indefinite reference, and as such it is cross-referenced via 'feminine' affixes. Given that English and Spanish do not formally mark genericity, a Wayuunaiki bare alienable noun such as *ama* may be translated via the English bare plural or definite singular; *horses / the horse*, or via the Spanish definite singular or plural *los caballos* or *el caballo* (Olza 1978:433).

The specific phrase schema presented in this subsection [DEM N-ka-] is equal to one used frequently in nominalization. The only difference is that a verb replaces the noun. This structure can then be thought of as [DEM V-ka-]. The examples in (10), show nominalizations with the three gender-number categories.

(11). Nominalization with specific suffix -ka

- a. tü a-nta-ka-lü
DEM.♀ IDF-arrive-SPC-♀
The one (female) who arrived
- b. chi a-nta-ka-i
DEM.♂ IDF-arrive-SPC-♂
The one (male) who arrived

- c. na a-nta-ka-na
 DEM.PL IDF-arrive-SPC-PL
 The ones who arrived

This structure is discussed in detail in Matera (2001b), Olza and Jusayú (2012:§39), Álvarez (2017), among others. This type of nominalization is essential for cleft and many question constructions. These will be described further in §4. The next subsection will present how quantifiers can be used instead of demonstratives in prenominal position. These include numerals and a few proportional quantifiers.

3.2.5. The Prenominal Position

The noun phrase can be thought of as having two main positions on both sides of the noun. The prenominal position is occupied by demonstratives and quantifiers, while the postnominal position may be occupied by a number of word classes that modify the head noun. The quantifiers include the numerals from one to ten and a few words that express a proportion. These numerals are expressed almost exclusively in pre-nominal position, while some proportional quantifiers are also used in the modifier position. In this subsection I begin presenting the proportional quantifiers and end with the use of numerals.

Many words that express ‘parts’ are communicated via possessive noun phrases, as shown in (5) above, but there are at least four words that express ‘amount’ and function as prenominal quantifiers. Solid amounts are quantified by *mainma* ‘many, much’ and *palirü* ‘little, few’, while *miyo’u* / *müle’u* ‘big, a lot’ and *yoolu* ‘little’ do so for liquid amounts. (11a-b) show the two words for ‘small amount’, which frequently take the *-chon* ‘diminutive’, whereas (11c-d) show the two words from ‘big amounts’.

(12). Proportionally Quantified Noun Phrases.

- a) Palit-chon roo
 Little-DIM rice
 A little rice

- b) Yoot-chon wüin
 Little-DIM water
 A little water
- c) Mainma wayuu
 Many person
 Many people
- d) Miyo'u wüin
 big water
 A lot of water

Besides liquids, the word *miyo'u* is also used to quantify notions like *miyo'u kuwenta* 'big story', or *miyo'u su-'wala* 'her long hair', while *mainma* is used for *mainma mma* 'many places', *mainma eküülü* 'a lot of food'.

NUMERALS

Large systems of underived numbers are atypical of Amazonian languages, yet Wayuunaiki possesses a large set of number terms. Mosonyi (2000:362) notes that the four centuries of pastoralism practiced in the peninsula have likely influenced the emergence of this unusually large numerical system. Another Arawak language that has a large numerical lexicon is Palikur, a language of Amapá, Brazil (Aikhenvald 2012:358-9).

1	Wanee
2	Piama
3	Apünüin
4	Pienchi
5	Ja'rai
6	Aipirua
7	Akaraishi
8	Mekiisalü
9	Mekie'etasalü
10	Po'loo

Table 3-18 Core Numerals

Besides quantifying function, the bare form *wanee* 'one' is also used in the function of indefinite article 'a, some'. *Wanee* may precede an alienable or an inalienable noun, as in (13a) and (13b) respectively, and *wanee* can also precede a nominal with *-irua* 'plural', where the construction specifies the sense of 'some'. Additionally, *wanee* has two special forms marked for gender: *wanee-sü-ya* ♀ and

wanee-shi-ya ♂, meaning a specific or an only ‘one’. The final *-ya* may be the ‘assertive’ suffix. These gender-marked numerals are used more frequently in predicative function meaning ‘be the one’ be the only one’, but they are also found in quantifier position, as in (13d).

(13). Numeral *Wanee* ‘one’ in the Prenominal Position

- | | | |
|----|------------------|-----------|
| a. | Wanee | ama |
| | one | horse |
| | one horse | |
| b. | Wanee | ta’laüla |
| | One | 1S-uncle |
| | An uncle of mine | |
| c. | Wanee | ama-irua |
| | One | horse-PL |
| | Some horses | |
| d. | Wanee-sü-ya | sa’wanirü |
| | One-♀-ASSE | turtle |
| | One turtle | |

There are a few constructions that allow two words preceding the nominal, but in general, this syntactic position allows a smallish number of moras. The indefinite article function of *wanee* allows to precede another number, as in (14a). Only proximal demonstratives may precede *wanee*, as in *chi wanee*, *tü wanee*. But these combinations are fixed and acquire the sense of ‘the other one’, as in (14b). Additionally, the pronoun *je’ra* has the interrogative sense of ‘how many / much’, but also an indefinite sense of ‘a number, an amount’. This latter sense is expressed with *wanee je’ra* in (14c).

(14). Two words in Prenominal Position

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|------------|----------|
| a. | Wanee | apünüin-sü | jiyuu |
| | One | three-♀ | women |
| | Some three women | | |
| b. | Chi | wanee | ta’laüla |
| | DEM | one | 1S-uncle |
| | Another maternal uncle of mine | | |

- c. Wanee je'ra ka'i
 One amount day
 A number of days

Numerals from one to ten almost always precede the nominal. Besides *wanee*, any other of these core numerals may be used with or without gender marking, as in (15a) and (15b).

(15). Other Numerals within the Noun Phrase

- a. Po'loo juya
 Ten year
 Ten years
- b. Piama-sü irama-irua
 Two-♀ deer-PL
 Two deer
- c. Piama [shi-kii wayuu]
 Two 3♀-tens person
 Twenty people

The number 'ten' has its own form *po'loo*, but beginning at twenty, the units of ten are expressed via possessive phrases headed by *-kii* 'ten, head'. In (15c) above we see that only one of the core numeral *piama* 'two' occupies the prenominal position to express 'twenty'. Table 3-18. Summarizes the units of ten up to one hundred.

Units of Ten		
10	Po'loo	
20	Piama	shikii
30	Apünüin	shikii
40	Pienchi	shikii
50	Ja'rai	shikii
60	Aipirua	shikii
70	Akaraishi	shikii
80	Mekiisalü	shikii
90	Mekie'etasalü	shikii
100	Po'loo	shikii

Table 3-19 Units of Ten

Beginning at eleven, all units in between the tens, are expressed in modifying position with a numeral marked with *-müin* ‘allative’. This ‘allative’ unit follows the noun being counted, as in (16a-c) below.

(16). Numerals on both sides of the Noun

- | | | | | |
|----|------------------|----------|---------------|--------------|
| a) | Po’loo | püliikü | | ja’rali-müin |
| | Ten | donkey | | five-ALL |
| | Fifteen donkeys | | | |
| | | | | |
| b) | Apünüin | [shi-kii | shüliwala] | aipirua-müin |
| | Three | 3♀-tens | star | six-ALL |
| | Thirty-six stars | | | |
| | | | | |
| c) | Mekiisalü | [shi-kii | kaa’ula-irua] | piama-müin |
| | Eight | 3♀-tens | goat-PL | two-ALL |
| | Eighty-two goats | | | |

The usage of core numerals (1-10) in postnominal position was rare. The two tokens in the corpus had in common that they already had a word occupying the prenominal position. The two tokens identified involve the use of *wanee* as an indefinite ‘article’ (17a) and a demonstrative *nala* ‘these’ preceding the noun (17b). This suggests that the expression of the ‘units in between the tens’ after the noun may follow maximum phonological limit in the prenominal position of the noun phrase. Such a limit would also restrict the possible combination of demonstratives and numerals, which would explain the use of core numerals in the post-nominal or modifier position.

(17). Numerals in Postnominal Position

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|---------|-------------|
| a) | [Wanee | wayuu | piama-shii] |
| | One | person | two-PL |
| | Some two people (CO L&E 2B 139.1) | | |
| | | | |
| b) | Nala | tepichi | piama-shii |
| | DEM.2.PL | kid | two-PL |
| | These two kids | | |

In sum, there are three numerically quantified noun phrase constructions. The numerals one to ten are used almost exclusively in prenominal position [NUM N]. The expression of units of ten make use of the same numerals, but the nominal becomes a

possessive phrase headed by *-kii*: [NUM [-*kii* N]]. However, beginning at eleven, numerals that specify the units in between the tens occur after the noun: [NUM N NUM-*müin*]. Numbers beyond one hundred present more complex structures that go beyond the scope of the present work. Also, marking of gender on numerals appears to be associated to pragmatic factors, even though in predicative function they are always marked for gender. Álvarez (2017: 255) reports a reduction in the use of this last construction [NUM N NUM-*müin*]. Instead, these large numbers are preferably expressed in predication where the numerals stay together. These predicative functions will be described in §3.5.2. The next subsection presents the modifying position within the noun phrase in more detail.

3.2.6 The Postnominal Position

Most property concepts that modify a nominal within a noun phrase involve stative words that always take verbal gender-number suffixes. Their adjectival status is then communicated by their position within the construction: it is an adjective when postposed to the noun, but a verb when it precedes it (Holmer 1949:116, Múgica 1969:54) For instance the words *jemet-sü* ‘sweet, delicious’ and *ana-shi* ‘good’ function as noun phrase modifiers only in (18a) and (18c) respectively.

(18). Equal form of Stative verbs and Adjectives

- a) [wüin jemet-sü]
 water delicious-♀
 fresh water
- b) jemet-sü [tü wüin-ka-lü]
 delicious-♀ DEM.♀ water-SPC-♀
 this water is fresh
- c) [chi wayuu ana-shi-ka-i]
 DEM♂ person good-♂-SPC-♂
 this good man
- d) ana-shi [chi wayuu-ka-i]
 good-♂ DEM♂ person-SPC-♂
 This man is good

In a specific noun phrases, the adjective takes the specific suffix *-ka*, and the phrase may begin with a demonstrative, as in (18c) above. This structured may be represented as [(DEM) N ADJ-SPC-]. However, there are a smallish number of words do not take gender-number suffixes. This formal property has been taken as indicative of their status as “true” adjectives (Ehrman 1972:56). Among them, there are two that were mentioned as proportion quantifiers: *miyo’u* ‘big’, and *mainma* ‘many, much’, and several others, most of which tend to be inherent or permanent properties: *anamiaa* ‘kind’, *mutsiia* ‘black’, *irolu* ‘green, fresh, ripe’, *ja’apü* ‘medium’, *washirü* ‘rich’, *jashichi* ‘angry’, *jerulu* ‘wide’, *jutpüna* ‘tall’, *pasanua* ‘thin’, *alaa* ‘false’, *shii-main* ‘true’. The examples in (19a-b) show two of these words functioning as adjectives in their bare form, while those in (19c-d) show the same bare words used as predicates of an equative clause.

(19). Bare Adjectives

- a) [Wanee wopu jerulu]
 One path wide
 A wide path
- b) [Wanee maiki irolu]
 One corn fresh
 One tender corn-cob
- c) Jerulu [tü wopu-ko-lu]
 Wide DEM.♀ path-SPC-♀
 The path is wide
- d) Irolu [tü maiki-ka-lü]
 fresh DEM.♀ corn-spc-♀
 The corn-cob is tender

However, these words do take gender-number suffixes when expressing inchoative or irrealis meanings. This morphological behavior parallels that of nouns in equative predicates (cf §3.5). The example in (20a) is expressed in the future tense, while the one in (20b) is realis but involve the inchoative meaning of ‘become’.

(20). Gender Marking on ‘Adjectives’

- a) Washir-ee-rü [majayüt-ka-lü tüü]
 Rich-FUT-♀ young.woman-SPC-♀ DEM. ♀
 This woman will become rich.

b) Miyo'u-sü	tü	jintü-t-ka-lü
Big-♀	DEM.♀	kid-♀-SPC-♀
That girl grew		

Therefore, there are no morphological grounds for positing the existence of an adjective class of words. These property words do behave different than stative verbs, which otherwise communicate most property concepts, but in terms of suffixation patterns they behave more like nouns. Instead, what is evident is that there is an undeniable syntactic position within the noun phrase, which communicates their modifying function.

Nevertheless, this hypothesis leads to the question of whether prenominal demonstratives and quantifiers should also be considered adjectives, a position taken by several authors including Olza and Jusayú (2012). My sense is that the the position relative to the noun imposes different shades of meaning. For instance, ‘the man’ may be expressed as *chi wayuu-ka-i* or *wayuu-ka-i chii*, but these are not equivalent. The directing force of the demonstrative is more prominent in the latter. Additionally, most of the putative adjectives can not occur before the noun. The examples in (19c-d) show these words in predicative function and therefore external to the noun phrase. For instance, the sequence *irolu maiki* (fresh) (corn) will not be interpreted as a noun phrase, while *maima wayuu* would. The only words that can occur on either side of the noun without leaving the noun phrase are demonstratives and proportional quantifiers.

The noun phrase is also modified by other word classes. The examples in (21) shows nouns in postnominal position further specifying the head noun. Those in (21a-c) are not derived, while (21d) presents how a nominal may also derive an adjective via *-ja-tü*.

(21). Nouns in Modifier Position

a.	Wanee	wayuu	toolo
	one	person	male
	A man		
b.	Wanee	mma	Kapaliwo'u-ka-t
	One	land	Kapaliwo'u-SPC-♀
	A land called	Kapaliwo'u	

- c. Wanee wayuu nü-chon Juya
 One person 3♂-child Juya
 A person who is the child of Juya
- d. Wanee kuwenta nü-maiwa-ja-tü
 One story 3♂-old.time-ADVZ-♀
 An ancient story

The examples in (18) above show how readily stative verbs function as nominal modifiers. However, Active verbs may also act as a nominal modifier. An active verb may simply follow the noun, as in (22a), or undergo nominalization via *-ushi* ‘inchoative passive’ as in (22b), or relativization via the specific phrase schema, as in (22c)

(22). Verbs in Modifier Position

- a. Wanee piuna a-’luwataa-shii
 One slave IDF-escape-PL
 Some slaves that escaped
- b. Maiki irolu a-’ajaa-ushi
 Corn fresh IDF-grill-PAS.NMLZ
 Grilled corn-cob
- c. Tü maiki ta-’ajaa-ka-lü
 DEM.♀ corn 1S-grill-SPC-♀
 The corncob that I grilled.

Lastly, verbs marked with *-in* ‘gerund’ typically subordinated to a matrix clause, but also occur as nominal modifiers. These may be considered adjoined relative clauses.

(23). Gerundial *-in* as Nominal Modifiers

- a. Wanee wunu’u nü-sü-in
 One stick 3♂-drink-GR
 A medicine for him to drink
- b. Wanee ama Yala-ja-tü-in
 One horse be.there.2-ADVZ-♀
 One mare that was there
- c. Wanee juya ta’yataain cha’aya
 One year 1S-work-GR over.there.4
 One year that I worked over there

In summary, section §3.2. has described Wayuunaiki nouns and noun phrases in some detail. It has presented personal pronoun and demonstratives, described the alienability system and its interaction with the possessive and specific noun phrase. It has also described how demonstratives and quantifiers occupy the pronominal position in the phrase, and lastly it has shown how many word classes may follow the noun to function as modifiers. This next section §3.3 will continue this grammatical sketch by providing a portrayal of Wayuunaiki adpositions and the adpositional phrase.

3.3 The Adposition and Adpositional Phrase

Judging prepositions to be “indeclinable”, de Uterga (1895:121) concludes that “the Goagiro language lacks prepositions”. This capuchin missionary had clearly noticed that Wayuunaiki adpositions cross-reference their object via a person prefix. He then shows the lack of equivalences between Spanish and Wayuunaiki adpositions, and succeeds at demonstrating that, indeed, they are very different. For instance, he translates Spanish *a* using the adpositions *-müin* ‘to’, *-nain* ‘to’, *-a’u* ‘on’, *-’u* ‘at’, as well as using the suffixes *-wai* ‘periodical’, *-pünaa* ‘perlative’, among others (ibid: 123-5). Almost a century later, Olza (1985:252) describes the difference as lying in the fact that Wayuunaiki adpositions “preserve a larger semantic value than Castilian prepositions”. The semantics of Wayuunaiki adpositions are indeed more specific when compared to the highly general Spanish prepositions.

Much has been said about the similar nature of inalienable nouns and adpositions in Wayuunaiki (Ehrman 1972, Olza & Jusayú 1978, Olza 1985, Álvarez 1996, Matera 2001). Both word classes are inflected via person prefixes that index their dependent nominal. Both words are conceptual relationships, such that they evoke a dependent nominal as part of their meaning. Additionally, some adpositions have undeniably grammaticalized from inalienable nouns. For instance, the noun *-’u* ‘eye, grain, hue’ is homophonous with ‘in, at’ in a temporal sense; and similarly, the noun *-chiki* ‘story, tale, message’, is homophonous with ‘about, after’. Lastly, the non-possessed form of a noun is equivalent to that of the citation form for adpositions [*a-X-µ/-waa*].

Also, the adpositional phrase is formally equivalent to the possessive noun phrase. Their schemas can be represented as [-ADP (N)] and [-N^{inal} (N)]. Given the obligatory prefixation in both cases, speech act participants as objects of adpositions and as possessors are both typically omitted. On the other hand, their expression is more common when these are 3rd persons.

(24). Adpositional and Possessive Phrases

a) sü-püla	(tü	jiet-ka-t)
3S _♀ -for	DEM. _♀	woman-SPC- _♀
for the woman		
b) so-'ula	(tü	jiet-kat)
3S _♀ -hammock	DEM. _♀	woman-SPC- _♀
the woman's hammock		

Despite the formal and semantic similarities, Wayuunaiki inalienable nouns and adpositions also differ. Olza & Jusayú (1978: 330) note syntactic distinctions between the word classes, such as the ability of inalienable nouns to be preceded by a quantifier. This is ungrammatical with adpositions. Additionally, a main clausal function of the adposition in Wayuunaiki is to mark arguments as peripheral, while that of a noun is simply to be an argument. The Wayuunaiki verb only allows a maximum of two participants to be coded as core constituents. Therefore, there is no grammatical function like that of the Spanish indirect object. The adposition *-müin* 'to' does not behave any differently than *-püla* 'for', *-tuma* 'by', *-maa* 'with', and so on. If we were to propose that *-müin* is the indirect object marker, as some authors have suggested, we would need to consider all adpositions to also be indirect object markers. Another major function of adpositions is that of participating in applicatives so that peripheral arguments become objects of transitive clauses. These topics will be further discussed in chapter 4 regarding transitivity and chapter 5 regarding applicatives.

3.3.1. ¿Preposition, Postposition or Relator?

The Wayuunaiki literature has referred to adpositions as both prepositions and postpositions. Holmer (1949:110) and Captain & Captain (2005) prefer to call them **postpositions**, while Múgica (1969), Olza & Jusayú (1978), Álvarez (1994), among

others, have opted for **prepositions**. Ehrman (1972) and Mansen & Mansen (1979), influenced by Tagmemic analysis, avoided the controversy by calling them **relators**. After an in-depth analysis of the issue, the Olza (1985:254) concludes that the word is “always a postposition, and sometimes a preposition”.

The examples in (25) below present the adposition *-müin* ‘to’. This adposition follows the person prefix that refers to the adpositional object, as in (25a). When the object is expressed lexically, reference to the object occurs on both sides of the adposition, as in (25b). Additionally, two adpositional roots: *-müin* ‘to’, *-lu’u* ‘in’ are homophonous with case suffixes that indicate places: *-müin* ‘allative’ and *-lu’u* ‘locative’, as in (25c). Given its suffixal nature, the ‘adposition’ here follows its object (more on this in §3.3.3). Lastly, the applicative construction causes the adpositional object to become the object of a transitive verb. In this construction the adposition precedes both the suffix and its referent, as in (25d). This list is not exhaustive, but it shows the positional variability of this word class.

(25). Position of Object Relative to its Adposition Object

a) **su-müin**

3S_♀-to

“to her”

b) [su-**müin** tü jiet-ka-lü]
 3S_♀-to DEM_♀ woman-SPC-_♀
 to the woman

c) **Süchiimma-müin**

Riohacha-ALL

To Riohacha

d) [pa-apa a-**müin**-rü] shia eküülü
 2S-give IDF-to-_♀ 3S_♀ food
 you gave her food

The variable arrangement of the adposition and its object is a common situation in Arawak languages north of the Amazon (Aikhenvald & Green 1998:47-1; Aikhenvald 1999:97). In Baniwa of Içana, Warekena of Xié, Tariana and Palikur, the locus of adpositions depend on the discourse status of its object. Prepositions are used when

the head noun is individuated, while postpositions are used when it is non-individuated.

In Wayuunaiki, the fact that the word in question occurs after its object via the person prefix, case suffixes and incorporated O's, makes a strong case for calling it a postposition. While the occurrence of the word in question before its object when this one lexically expressed also makes a strong case for its status as a preposition. Given such variability I have chosen to use the term **adposition** throughout the current study.

In the next paragraphs, I will briefly present adpositions according to their spatial, temporal and causal meanings.

3.3.2 Circumstantial Adpositional Phrases

Circumstantial adpositions express the relative position of entities to one another on both a spatial and temporal domain. These ground the linguistic signal by providing the crucial information regarding when and where people or things are, relative to each other. I have identified, twenty-one spatial adpositions so far. These are provided in the following two tables. Some distinctions are note-worthy. For instance, containers are distinguished as containing solids via *su-lu'u* 'in it' (e.g. box, drawer, pot), or liquids via *shi-roku* 'in it' (e.g. sea, river, pool). This is reminiscent of the solid-liquid distinction expressed by the pair of quantifiers for 'small amount' *palitchon* and *yootchon*.

-juuna	in absence of
-'upala	in presence of
-inküin	between
-'aka	in between, in the middle of
-lu'u	in, inside of (solid)
-roku	in (liquid)
-ma'ana	surrounding, in sphere of
-'ütpa'a	near, around
-nain	on, attached to
-a'u	on, on top of
-ulia	against, instead of
-müin	to
-'amüin	toward
-upünaa	under
-inalu'u	at the bottom of

Table 3-20 Spatial Adpositions

There two adpositions that mean ‘between’. *-inküin* is typically exemplified giving vegetation, people or city streets as its objects, while the main event appears to be agentive. On the other hand, *-’aka* appears to communicate lesser volition for arriving at being ‘mixed, or in between’ something. The adposition *-ulia* ‘against’ participates in a construction it marks the standard of comparison, much like the English word ‘than’, as in (26c).

(26). Some Spatial Adpositions

- a. Waraitü-shi taya [sa-inküin maiku-’ulia-ka-lü]
 Walking-♂ I 3♀-between corn-plants-SPC-♀
 I was walking in between the corn plants
- b. A-tunku-shi nia [sa-’aka mojuui]
 IDF-sleep-♂ he 3♀-in.between bush
 He slept in between the woods
- c. Laülaa taya [nu-ulia luuka]
 Old I 3♂-against Lucas
 I am older than Lucas (Álvarez 2005a)

The adpositional specifications on motion and stasis offers the semantic opposition displayed in Table 3-21. The three notions ‘in front’, ‘behind’ and ‘near’, are expressed by six forms. The still relationship, also evokes a part of a stable whole, while the moving relationship evokes the involvement of mobile entities like animate beings. For instance, *ta-chiirua* ‘behind me’ can be used in a situation where the entities are ‘racing’ or ‘chasing’. On the other hand, *shi-’ipo’u* ‘in front of it’ applies to static entities construed as near or adjacent to each other.

STILL RELATIONSHIP		MOVING RELATIONSHIP	
-püte’u	behind	-chiirua	behind, following
-’ipo’u	in front of	-püleerua	in front of
-’ato’u	near, next to, beside	-’ütpünaa	near

Table 3-21 Spatial Adpositions, Stasis and Motion

The examples in (27a-b) exemplify the two ‘in front of’ adpositions, while those in (27c-d) show the use of the two ‘behind’ adpositions.

(27). Spatial Adpositional Phrases

- a) O-'unü-shi taya [pü-püleerua]
 IDF-go-♂ 1S 2S♀-front.of
 I went in front of you (you followed me)
- b) Sha'watü-shi taya [shi-'ipo'u te-pia]
 Standing-♂ 1S 3S♀-front.of 1S-house
 I am standing in front of my house
- c) O-'unü-shi taya [ta-chiirua]
 IDF-go-♂ 1S 1S-behind
 I went behind you (I followed you)
- d) Sha'watü-shi taya [sü-püte'u te-pia]
 Standing-♂ 1S 3S♀-behind 1S-house
 I am standing behind my house

The temporal adpositions identified are presented in Table 3-22 below. By far the most frequent is -'u 'in'. The object of this adposition is commonly 'day', 'month', 'night'. On the other hand, the object of the three other adpositions is more frequently an infinitive verb or a gerundial clause.

-'u	in, at
-'utpünaa	while, during (month) (event)
-chikijee	after
-pülapünaa	before

Table 3-22 Temporal Adposition Stems.

The examples in (28) show the two most common temporal adpositions with nominal objects. Both examples evoke an event as the main reference in the relationship.

(28). Temporal Adpositional Phrases

- a) So-'u [wanee ka'i]
 3♀-in one day
 On one day.
- b) Su-'utpünaa [wanee juya]
 3♀-while one rain
 While it rained / during one rain

The examples in (29) show the common scenario in which the object of temporal adpositions is another event. These are more frequently used as temporal conjunctions which link a subordinated clause.

- (29). Temporal Adpositions as Conjunctions
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| a. | Su-'utpünaa | [ka'wayuusepa | pia] |
| | 3♀-while | AT-spouse-POS-CPL | you |
| | 'when you got married' | | |
| | | | |
| b. | Sü-chikijee | [na-ntü-in | tepichikana] |
| | 3♀-after | 3.PL-arrive-GR | kid-SPC-PL |
| | After the children arrived | | |
| | | | |
| c. | Sü-pülapünaa | [na-ntü-in | tepichi-ka-na] |
| | 3♀-before | 3.PL-arrive-GR | kid-SPC-PL |
| | Before the children arrived | | |

We now turn to relationships of cause and effect expressed via adpositions.

3.3.3 Causal Adpositional Phrases

William Croft (2012:206) proposes the causal chain as the presupposed semantic structure of the event profiled by the verb. The causal chain is viewed as a transitive schema [**Agent** → Antecedent → **Object** → Subsequent] whose profiles are marked by core arguments A and O. This proposal categorizes oblique arguments that behave as intermediaries in the energy flow as semantically **antecedent** entities, and those who simply have the role of being the end receiver of the energy flow, as **subsequent**.

In Wayuunaiki, causal oblique arguments are specified via adpositions. There are ten antecedent adpositions whose objects communicate the cause of the relation. These adpositions may function as heads of adpositional phrases or conjunctions. Being initiators of on the causal chain, many of these nominal objects tend to be human or animate beings. This is most notable with *-tuma* 'by', which typically expresses the agent in passive or stative clauses. Table 3-13 presents the antecedent adpositions.

-tuma	by (agentive)
-alii	because of (emotion)
-sala	because of
-nainjee	because of
-a'u	per, in exchange for
-ema	in fear of
-chikimüin	in consequence of
-kajee	by means of
-ka	with (instrumental)
-maa	with (comitative)

Table 3-23 Causally Antecedent Adpositions

Some causally antecedent adpositions are noteworthy. Two antecedent notions have quite particular meanings. *-alii* ‘because of’ communicates that emotion, at least in part, motivated the energy flow in the causal chain, as in (30b), whereas *-ema* ‘fear of’ expresses ‘fright’ as a causal factor, as in (30c). Comitative *-maa* ‘with’ communicates causal antecedence only when used to coordinate nominals in A/Sa function, otherwise in O/So function, it may express being with the end receiver of the energy flow. When *-maa* functions as antecedent it often co-occurs with the Concourse form of the verb, which expresses ‘collective agency’, as in (30d).

(30). Causally Antecedent Adpositional Phrases

- a) O-'unü-shi taya [sü-ka to-u'ui]
 IDF-go-♂ I 3S♀-with 1S-foot
 I went walking (with my feet)
- b) A-'yalajü-shi nia [sa-alii]
 IDF-cry-♂ he 3S♀-because.of
 He cried for her
- c) Momot-shi taya [je-ema tü kamion-ko-lu]
 Afraid-♂ I 3S♀-fear.of DEM.♀ truck-SPC-♀
 I was afraid of the truck
- d) A-rüleej-iraa-shi taya anneerü [nü-maa ta-wala-ka-i]
 IDF-herd-CNC-♂ I sheep 3S♂-with 1S-sibling-SPC-♂
 I herd the sheep with my brother

On the other hand, causally subsequent adpositions refer to oblique arguments that encode the effect of the causal chain: the receiving end of the causal chain. The most

central subsequent adpositions are *-püla* ‘for’, which corresponds to role of benefactive, and *-müin* ‘to’, which correspond to the roles of allative and dative in other languages.

-püla	for (benefactive)
-müin	to (dative)
-i’iree	in desire of
-ulia	in avoidance of

Table 3-24 Causally Subsequent Adposition Stems

I have also tentatively included two adpositions as subsequent: *-e’iree* ‘in desire of’ and *-ulia* ‘against, in avoidance of’. These are also more frequently used as conjunctions, but also as adpositions. Both express hypothetical outcomes, and these may be analyzed as the irrealis receiving end of the chain, or the real motivators of the event.

(31). Causally Subsequent Adpositional Phrases.

- a) Ee-sü wanee kasa [pü-püla] ya’aya
 Exist-♀ one thing 2S-for here
 There’s something here for you
- b) Sü-sülajü-in wanee tu’uma [ta-müin]
 3S♀-give.gift-O one carnelian 1S-to
 She gave a carnelian gem to me
- c) Mülia-shi nia [shi-’iree türa wayuu-ko-lu]
 longing-♂ he 3S♀-desire.of DEM.2.♀ person-SPC-♀
 He is in love with that woman

In this subsection, I have briefly presented adpositions, and shown that these may also function as conjunctions. This next section will continue with a description of case suffixes, which are intimately related to adpositions.

3.3.4 Spatial Case Suffixes

All Arawak languages are said to have oblique case suffixes encoding spatial notions like locative, allative and ablative (Aikhenvald 1999:96). In Wayuunaiki, there is a set of four spatial case suffixes that attach to nouns, verbs and adpositions.

Two of these have homophonous roots with adpositions: *-lu'u* ‘locative’, *-müin* ‘allative’, and two others are solely used as case markers: *-jee* ‘ablative’ and *-pünaa* ‘perlative’. In (32), we see the use of these suffixes on non-core arguments.

(32). Spatial Case Suffixes

- a) Pu'una ma'ta pu-uma-in-pa'a-**müin**
 2S-go AUX 2S-land-POS-surface-ALL
 Go then to your land!
- b) Kachet-shi nia päi-lü'ü
 hanging-♂ he house-LOC
 he was hanging in the house (laying on a high hammock)
- c) Shi-ipiraa-in Maiko'u-**jee** nü-maa-'ala nia-ka-i.
 3S♀-flee-GR Maicao-ABL 3S♂-with-C.EX 3S♂-SPC-♂
 She fled from Maicao with him
- d) Ai-sü münyaasü-ka Manaure-**pünaa**
 hurt-♀ thirsty-NMLZ Manaure-PERL
 There is a lot of thirst throughout Manaure

Besides nouns, these suffixes are added to adpositions and verbs. Table 3-25 presents some uses of the spatial suffixes on adpositions and on the verb of the 4th or most distal deixis from the speaker *cha-* ‘be over there’.

	LOCATIVE	ALLATIVE	ABLATIVE	PERLATIVE
ADP	-chiki-ru'u -after-LOC ‘in absence of’	-lu'u-müin -in-ALL ‘into’	-ka-jee -with-ABL ‘by means of’	-püla-pünaa -for-PERL ‘before’
V	Cha-lu'u- Be.there.4-LOC ‘Be near there’	Cha-müin- Be.there.4-ALL ‘Be on way there’	Che-jee- Be.there.4-ABL ‘be there and back’	Cha-pünaa- Be.there.4-PERL ‘be through there’

Table 3-25 Spatial Case on Adpositions and verb

The four cardinal points have been composed via case suffixed nouns, yet the perlative and allative alternatives now express ‘near’ and ‘far’ respectively. The

nominal base of all these terms are analyzable, but no longer have the literal meanings. These are posited to have originally referred to geographical locations in the northeast of the peninsula, whose deictic center could have been somewhere in the Makaira Mountains (Álvarez 2017: 307). The cardinal point terms are presented in Table 3-26.

BASE NOMINAL	PERLATIVE 'NEAR'		ALLATIVE 'FAR'	
water	wüinpünaa	near east	wüinpümüin	far east
sea	palaapünaa	near north	palaamüin	far north
path	waapünaa	near west	wopümüin	far west
mountain	uuchupünaa	near south	uuchümüin	far south

Table 3-26 Cardinal Point Terms

These morphemic combinations have lexicalized their meanings, and as such they may take the case suffixes as well, as in *wüinpünaa-pünaa* means 'through the near east' or *wüinpünaa-müin* 'to the near east' (Álvarez 2017: 307).

There is an additional temporal suffix *-u* / *-ulu* 'in' that is added to nouns. *-ulu* is used with the days of the week, as in (33a). The first form *-u*, which is homophonous with the temporal adposition, is used with the month names and parts of the day such as *kale-u* 'at mid day', *motso-u* 'in the afternoon', *aipo-u* 'at night', and so on.

(33). Temporal Suffix *-u* / *-ulu*

- a. A-ntü-shii waya rimiiko-'ulu
 IDF-arrive-PL we sunday-ON
 We arrived on Sunday.
- b. O-'un-ee-chi taya Maayo-'u
 IDF-go-FUT-♂ I May-IN
 I will go in May

ADVERBS

Like bare adjectives, adverbs are formally characterized by having no inflection. There are many circumstantial. Table 3-27 presents some frequent ones that ground the sentence in space and time.

SPATIAL		TEMPORAL	
ya'aya	Here (1)	Aipa'a	At night
yalaala	There (2)	aliika	In the afternoon
saasa	There (3)	joolu'u	Now, soon
cha'aya	There (4)	maa'ulu yaa	Nowadays
yaajee	From here	maalü	Soon
anuuipa'a	Outside	mapa	After
iipünaa	Above	paala	Before
pasanain	In between	watta'a	morning

Table 3-27 Spatio-temporal Adverbs

This subsection has presented adpositions and their phrases. It has been stated that the variable locus of the word type relative to its object motivates the choice of term: adposition. These adpositions primarily mark arguments as circumstantial or causal, and are also often used as conjunctions that link subordinated clauses. Additionally, the four spatial case suffixes have been presented, and shown that besides nouns they also attach to adpositions and mainly stative verbs. Within the sentence the case suffixes behave much like adverbs. Lastly some frequent adverbs were presented. This next subsection of the grammatical sketch takes us through a description of the verb and its phrase.

3.4. Verbs & Verb Phrases.

A verb usually functions as the head of a predicate. But as was shown in the noun phrase section it may also function as a modifier. Additionally, the verb may be nominalized via *-µ /-waa* 'infinitive', *-ka* 'specific', or *-in* 'gerund'.

Formally, a verb minimally consists of a root, a thematic and a gender suffix. Other verbal suffixes can be broadly categorized as those that attach to the theme, and those that attach to the word. I do not know the exact number of suffix slots available in the verb. Instead, I categorize four 'broad' positions: (i) 'thematic', (ii) 'pre-gender', (iii) 'gender' and (iv) 'post-gender'. These positions are taken to be broad in the sense that more than one suffix can occur in each, including the gender slot. Table 3-28 below shows the affixal structure of the Wayuunaiki verb along with the semantics of the systems in which the affixes participate.

	PREFIX	ROOT	THEME	(PRE-GENDER)	GENDER	(POST-GENDER)
PERSON	✓				✓	
VALENCY			✓	✓		
ASPECT	✓		✓	✓		✓
TENSE				✓		✓
MODALITY			✓	✓		✓
SUBORDINATOR						✓

Table 3-28 Affixal Structure and Associated Systems of the Verb

It can be generalized that obligatory inflection involves a prefix, a suffix classifying the theme and another one grounding the verb via gender-number reference. The slot labels I am proposing here use the term ‘gender’ as a macro category that also includes number.

The prefixal slot indicates that the clause is active or stative, and specifies personal reference to A/Sa. Either *a-* ‘indefinite’ or a specific person prefix indicate that the verb refers to a dynamic event. On the other hand, simple stative verbs are prefixless \emptyset -, while derived stative verbs include *ka-* ‘attributive’, *ma-* ‘privative’, or *pa-* ‘reciprocal’.

Ehrman (1972:67) describes the first suffixal position as the “first auxiliary” slot. The second one being reserved for gender-number. Álvarez (2004, 2017) elucidates the nature of this position, crucially distinguishing a first ‘thematic’ position and a second one for ‘thematic increase’.

The thematic slot (i) primarily communicates aspectual notions, but also valency and modality. The theme distinguishes what may be called ‘single’ ($-la \infty -ta \infty -ka \infty -ja$) vs. multiple ($-ja \infty -na$) aspect. It can also communicate ‘promptness’ or ‘violence’ of an event via ($-jaa \infty -naa$). Olza and Jusayú (1978) document these three notions as the three ‘gradients’. Additionally, the theme can also communicate the intransitivity of the event via ($-laa \infty -taa \infty -kaa \infty -jaa$).

The pregender position (ii) (=thematic increase) is highly complex. This is a locus for tense (e.g. *-ee* ‘future’ *-yü* ‘recent past’), aspect (e.g. *-pu’u* ‘habitual’, *-lee* ‘uninterrupted’), modality (e.g. *-inja* ‘deontic’, *-taa* ‘evident’), valency (e.g. *ira*

‘causative’, *-na* ‘passive’) and direction (e.g. *-pünaa* ‘perlative’, *-jee* ‘ablative’). It is common for more than one suffix to occur in this position.

The gender position (iii) is reserved for the gender-number, the infinitive suffixes, or the gerund *-in*. This suffix completes the grammatical word, but it is not necessarily the last suffix. This position usually contains a single suffix, but combinations of gender are also allowed (Olza and Jusayú 2012).

Lastly, the post-gender slot (iv) also communicates tense (e.g. *-inka* ‘recent past’, *-ma’a* ‘remote past’), aspect (e.g. *-pa* ‘completive’), and modality (e.g. *-ja’a* ‘assertive’, *-che* ‘dubitative’), as well as clause linkers, or subordinators (e.g. *-yaaje’e* ‘concessive’, *-kalaka* ‘consequential’).

In sum, the semantic categories are spread throughout the verbal positions. My tentative categorization of four broad positions, may have to be later subcategorized with more precise categories. The description of verbs and verb phrases presented in this section is organized according several topics. In 3.4.1, I begin with a description of verbs themes. In 3.4.2, I continue by addressing the importance of the gender-number suffixes and their dependency on pre-gender suffixes. and lastly in section §3.4.3. I end with the the auxiliary, and incorporated verb phrase structures.

3.4.1 The Verb Theme and the Verb word

The structure of the verbal theme will be presented in the next pages, beginning with stative roots and ending with active ones. After that, the verb word will be briefly described.

THE STATIVE THEME

De Carcagente (1940:30), like Mosonyi (1979), thought of states as adjectives, yet most of the literature present them as stative verbs. The distinction between simple states vs. derived states has been amply documented. Simple states have been called prefixless, and they are readily identifiable because the word begins either in a consonant, or in a high vowel (i, ü, u). The derived states involve the stativization of nouns and adpositions, via the attributive prefix *ka-*, or privative *ma-*, or ‘dual/reciprocal’ *pa-*. (Álvarez 1996, Álvarez & Dorado 2005).

The idea that the verb had ‘three gradients’ was posited by Jusayú (Olza & Jusayú 1978: 454), and these refer to a formal paradigm of verb themes. In this section, I will present just the first two: ‘single’ and ‘multiple’ (Álvarez 2004), which form a conceptual opposition. For states, the ‘single’ thematic suffix is either \emptyset or *-ta*, as in *jeme-ta*- ‘be delicious’, while the ‘multiple’ thematic suffix is either *-taja* or *-ja*, as in *jeme-taja*- ‘be delicious (plural items)’. To become a word, the verb must communicate at least a gender-number suffix, as in *jeme-tü-sü* ‘♀ is delicious’ and *jeme-tajü-sü* ‘♀ are delicious’. The semantics of these ‘gradients’ or thematic forms will be discussed in more detail in §3.5 below.

For states, Álvarez (2004) documents two other complex thematic suffixes. The ‘continuous’ stative theme takes *-n-ta*, as in *cache-n-ta*- ‘keep hanging’, which opposes simple *-ta*, as with *cache-ta* ‘be hanging’. The ‘progressive’ stative theme takes *-wa-ta*, as in *tale-wa-ta*- ‘be drumming’. This stative theme however, does not oppose a simple thematic suffix *-ta*, instead, it contrasts with dynamic actions, as in *a-tale-ja*- ‘to drum’. The author adds that these two concepts combine via *-wa-n-ta*-, as in *sü’ü-wa-n-ta*- ‘keep pinching’. The last thematic suffix identified for stative stems is *-muu* ‘plural’, as in *sha’wa-muu*- ‘be standing (PL)’ (Olza & Jusayú 1986: 239).

Beyond simple states, inalienable nouns and adpositions may also be turned into stative verbs via the only non-person suffixes in the language: *ka*- ‘attributive’, *ma*- ‘privative’ and *pa*- ‘reciprocal’. For instance, an inalienable noun root like *-pia* ‘home’, becomes *ke-pia*- ‘have home’, *me-pia-sa*- ‘lack home’, or *pe-pia-a-wa*- ‘share a home’. Similarly, an adposition root like *-lu’u* ‘in’, can become *ka-lu’u*- ‘contains, have inside’, *ma-lu’u-so*- ‘be empty’, *pa-lu’u-waa*- ‘be inside one another’. Additionally, spatial suffixes may also attach these stative verbs. For instance, the locative *-lu’u* compounds with nominal *-tüna* ‘arm’, while the reciprocal prefix turns the compound into a state, and combines with the reciprocal *-waa* to generate *pa-tüna-lu’u-waa*- ‘hug’ (lit. share being mutually in-arms).

The attributive theme that incorporates a noun encodes the meaning ‘have an object’, or ‘be a quality’. For instance, *ko-’ula*- ‘have hammock’, *ka-üsi*- ‘be fat’, *ka-chon*- ‘have children’, *ka-tsüin*- ‘be strong, have strength’. The attributive theme derived from an adposition communicates ‘have something in relation to something else’. For instance, *ka-ma’ana*- ‘have in surroundings of’, *ka-’aka*- ‘have in between’, *ka-nain*- ‘have on’, *ka-püla*- ‘have for’, and so on.

The privative verb that incorporates a noun communicates ‘lack something’ or ‘be without something’, as in *ma-mülü-in-sa-* ‘lack animals’, *ma-manee-sa-* ‘lack kindness’, *ma-wayuu-se-sa-* ‘lack spouse, be single’. The privative verb derived from an adposition encodes ‘lack something in relation to something else’, as with *ma-ma’ana-sa-* ‘lacks in surroundings of’, *ma-’aka-sa-* ‘lack in between’, or *ma-nain-sa-* ‘have nothing on’. Additionally, nominalized actions also derive privatives, as in *me-kü-in-sa-* ‘have not eaten’, *me-’raajü-in-sa-* ‘have not met’.

The reciprocal verb differs formally from the attributive and privative, in that it also takes a reciprocal suffix: *-a-wa* ~ *-wa-a*. The ‘dual’ or ‘reciprocal’ verb communicates ‘to share N’ or ‘to be N with each other’, or ‘to be ADP of each other’ (Álvarez & Dorado 2005:183). Like the infinitive suffix, the form of the reciprocal suffix depends on the weight of the final syllable of the root. Light final syllables take *-a-wa*, as in *pe-pia-a-wa-* ‘share a home’, while heavy final syllables take *-wa-a*, as in *pe-echin-wa-a-* ‘share a husband’. The reciprocal verb also differs from both the attributive and privative counterparts in that it is no longer a productive morphological process (Olza & Jusayú 1986: 269).

THE ACTIVE THEME

Wayuunaiki dictionaries are dominated by the low vowel sections /a, o, e/. As we have already mentioned, adpositions and inalienable nouns are listed beginning with an indefinite person *a-* that may harmonize to the roots as *o-* or *e-*. That the majority of verbs begin with a vowel was mentioned by Hildebrandt (1963: 13), but it was Ehrman (1972: 55) who judged this initial vowel to be an “active marker” that implies the presence of “an energy source that initiates the action”. Since then, this prefix has been called “zero person”, “indefinite person”, or “impersonal” (Álvarez 1994, 2004). This prefix underspecifies personal reference in the same way as it does with nouns and adpositions, but when added to verbs, it also communicates the dynamic aspect.

In addition to a prefix, the verbal root requires a thematic suffix to become an active theme. The ‘single’ thematic suffix is formally heterogeneous: $-\emptyset \infty -ta \infty -la \infty -ka \infty -ja$, while the ‘multiple’ thematic suffix is slightly more predictable: $-ja \infty -na$. To exemplify the ‘simple’ (1st) and ‘multiple’ (2nd) gradients of “eat”, Olza & Jusayú (1978: 90-1) give *e-ka- \emptyset* “eat once”, and *e-ka-ja-* “eat several times, eat several foods,

from several plates, or eat continuously”. This ‘multiple’ verb expresses the ‘iterative’ aspect, or the multiple number of So, Sa and O (Álvarez 2004: 56). Many *-ja* verb stems participate in the ‘single-multiple’ opposition despite being homophonous (Ibid: 60). While some of these *-ja* verb stems contain native verbal roots, as in *a-sha-ja* ‘write’, the majority are either derived from alienable nouns, as in *a-jime-ja-* ‘fish once or multiple times’ or Spanish loan nouns, as in *a-'arepa-ja-* ‘make (one or multiple) corncake’.

Jusayú’s 3rd gradient *-jaa* ∞ *-naa* has been described as ‘abrupt, sudden, violent’ (Olza & Jusayú 1978: 91). Note that formally the suffix is the heavy counterpart of the ‘multiple’ form, but semantically the ‘sudden’ verb theme has strong modal connotations, while that of the ‘multiple’ is strongly aspectual. Thus, *e-ka-jaa-* ‘eat abruptly, in a hurry’. It is noteworthy that the proposed ‘three gradients’ belong to a paradigm with a fourth member, which was excluded in the gradient set. The heavy thematic suffix *-øa* ∞ *-taa* ∞ *-laa* ∞ *-kaa* ∞ *-jaa* is polysemous. The two main uses are worth mentioning. The ‘detransitivized’ verb theme conceptually opposes the ‘single’ verb theme by specifying an intransitive construal of the same action (e.g. *o-nuju-la-* ‘hide’ > *o-nuju-laa-* ‘hide self’). Another function has been documented as ‘progressive’ (Álvarez 2004), but it may alternatively be analyzed as specifying ‘imperfective’ aspect (e.g. *e-ka-ø-* ‘eat’ > *e-kaa-* ‘be eating’). The semantic effects for other verbs have been described as idiosyncratic. For instance, *a-tun-ka-* ‘sleep’ becomes *a-tun-kaa-* ‘spent the night’, or *e-'ra-ø-* ‘see’ becomes *e-'raa-* ‘see an enemy to make peace’ (Olza & Jusayú 1978:90).

THE VERB WORD

Wayuunaiki Active verbs can be intransitive, ambitransitive or transitive, and present two patterns of cross-referencing. The Synthetic verb schema is exclusively transitive. Its main characteristic is that it must use a specific person prefix indexing the A and the gender-number referring to O, as in *ta-shi-jaa-in* ‘I washed it’, *ta-apü-in* ‘I heard it’, *ta-walaa-jü-in* ‘I paid it’, or *ta-'a-jü-in* ‘I burned it’.

On the other hand, the Analytic verb schema is independent of valency categories. This verb structure is characterized by its use of the indefinite person prefix *a-* and gender-number suffixes that refer to the Sa or A. For instance, *a-süre-jü-shi* ♂

laughed’, *a-ntü-shi* ‘♂ arrived, *a-shait-tü-shi* ‘♂ played’, all have reference to a masculine subject (Sa). Contrastingly, the gender-number suffixes in *a-chun-tü-shi* ‘♂ asked’ (something), *a-rülee-jü-shi* ‘♂ herded (some animals)’ or *a-apaa-shi* ‘♂ grabbed (something)’, refer to the (A).

Additionally, the gender-number suffixes in analytic verbs index either the S or O in ambitransitive verbs. These are verbs that project a participant in both intransitive and transitive clauses. For instance, *e-pira-jü-sü* ‘it filled’ / *te-pira-jü-in* ‘I filled it’; *a-sürü-laa-sü* ‘it closed’ / *ta-sürü-lü-in* ‘I closed it’; or *o-oso-loo-su* ‘it dried’ / *to-oso-lo-in* ‘I dried it’. Although these examples all involve an inanimate S=O, animate ones also occur. In this case there is a strong ‘reflexive’ sense. Note that some verbs, like ‘dry’ and ‘close’ above take the detransitivized ‘heavy’ thematic suffix.

Unlike S=O ambitransitive verbs, S=A ambitransitives are not marked in Jusayú & Olza’s dictionary (2006). Instead, what I have identified as S=A ambitransitives are simply categorized as ‘transitive’. In these verbs, it is the agentive transitive A that corresponds to the agentive intransitive S, as in *e-e’ira-jü-sü* ‘♀ sang’ / *te-e’ira-jü-in* ‘I sang (a song); *e-kü-sü* ‘♀ ate’ / *she-kü-in* ‘she ate it’; *a-yonna-jü-sü* ‘♀ danced’ / *sü-yonna-jü-in* ‘she danced it’; or *e-i-nü-sü* ‘♀ wove’ / *she-i-nü-in* ‘she wove it’.

In sum, the active verb has been presented having two cross-referencing patterns. Prefixal reference in synthetic actions encodes the A of a transitive clause. These specific person prefixes may also refer the Sa in imperatives and subordinated clauses. The gender-number suffixes in synthetic verbs only encode the O, while in analytic active verbs these encode the Sa, A, as well as the S of S=O ambitransitive verbs. This is summarized in Table 3-29.

	Prefix	Suffix
Synthetic	A	O
Analytic	?	Sa, A, S of S=O

Table 3-29 Affixal Cross-Referencing Patterns

In this next section, I continue the presentation of verbs by presenting the infinitive form and then delving into the specifics regarding the use of gender-number suffixes.

3.4.2 The Gender and Pre-gender suffixes.

An infinitive verb is a nominalization marked via $-\mu$ / $-waa$. In its infinitive form the verb functions as a clausal argument, as an adpositional object, and it is the form used as dictionary headwords. This is the same suffix used in non-possessed inalienable nouns and indefinite adpositions. Its form depends on the weight of the final syllable of the theme; it simply duplicates the final mora $-\mu$ if it is monomoraic, or adds $-waa$ if it is dimoraic. In both cases, the suffix copies the number of moras in the final syllable. For instance, *jemeta-a* ‘to be delicious’ or *ee-waa* ‘to exist’ (Álvarez 1994, 2004). Table 3-30 shows the parallel form of this suffix across the three types of words.

	NON-POSSESSED INALIENABLE NOUN	INDEFINITE ADPOSITION	INFINITIVE VERB
$-\mu$	a-shi- i ‘someone’s father’	a-püla- a ‘for someone’	a-tunka- a ‘to sleep’
$-\mu$	o-ushu- u ‘someone’s grandma’	a-tuma- a ‘by someone’	o-’oojo- o ‘to bathe’
$-waa$	a-chon- waa ‘someone’s child’	a-ütpünaa- waa ‘during something’	a-’yataa- waa ‘to work’

Table 3-30 The suffix $-\mu$ / $-waa$ in nouns, adpositions and verbs

The gender-number suffixes constitute the primary means for grounding a clause because they specify the reality status of the event or state while referring to a clausal participant. These gender-number suffixes also associate with pre-gender suffixes that may further specify a tense, aspect or modality. As stated in §3.2, ♀ refers to ‘feminine animates’, ‘inanimates’, or ‘generics’, while ♂ refers to ‘male animates’ or ‘dear entities’. Given that the tracking of participants in Wayuunaiki is primarily performed via gender reference, and I find that non-alphabetical representation makes them salient, and easier to present to the reader.

The most frequently expressed verbal category is the realis or non-future. This obligatory reality status / tense marking is coded by the gender-number suffix sets. As of now, no author has provided sufficient explanation of why there is such multiplicity of forms to refer to three possible participants. Instead, the literature contains descriptions of their association with ‘tenses’. An alternative analysis could be that the gender-number suffix sets have coalesced with realis/irrealis morphemes,

which are no longer analyzable²¹. The tense implication is valid given the overlap between the categories: perceived reality takes place in the non-future, while perceived irrealis occurs in the future. The proposed reality status category resembles the ‘actual’ category proposed for the verb in Añun or Paraujano (Patte 1989:51).

Under this analysis, the category of realis is equivalent to what is documented as ‘Present’ (Olza & Jusayú 2012), ‘Past-Present’ (Álvarez 2017), and ‘General’ tense (Mansen & Mansen 1984). In this construction, the choice of realis suffix depends on predicate structure. The suffixes from the realis set (-sü ♀, -shi ♂, -shii PL) attach to Analytic verbs where they refer to the agentive subject (Sa/A). Contrastingly, the synthetic verb does not specify gender and instead takes *-in* ‘object’, which refers to the O in an Objective transitive clause. Lastly, verb phrases that consist of the combination of a verb plus an inalienable noun or adpositions take the set (-lü ♀, -chi ♂, -chii PL), which refer to the object of a transitive verb (O) or the subject of a stative clause (So).

VERB (PHRASE)	♀	♂	PLURAL
Analytic	-sü	-shi	-shii
Synthetic	-in		
Complex	-lü	-chi	-chii

Table 3-31 Non-Future or Realis Gender-Number Suffixes

Elliot (2000:66-67) defines the two subcategories of reality status as:

A REALIS proposition prototypically asserts that an event or state is an actualized or certain fact of reality.

An IRREALIS proposition prototypically implies an event belongs to the real of the imagined or hypothetical, and as such it constitutes a potential or possible event but it is not an observable fact of reality.

The examples in (34) below show the three types of formal structures that associate with these three ‘realis’ suffix sets. The indefinite person prefix in (34a) indicates that the verb is analytic. Both versions can be translated equally because gender is not encoded for 1st person in English, but the verb can be translated with the English Past

²¹ A possible diachronic analysis would take gender-number to have been expressed simply by *lü ♀, *li ♂, *lii ‘plural, and in many environments, the liquid was elided for the feminine and masculine forms. The realis category may have been a sibilant *s, while the irrealis category could have been a stop *t. However, such simplistic proposal would require a lot of explanations for several inconsistencies in the paradigms, as well as the origin of the plural *-na*.

Tense or the Present Progressive. The specific person prefix in (34b) makes the verb Synthetic, in which case the realis status is expressed via *-in* ‘neutral O’, which does not specify gender. In (34c), we see that ‘find’ is expressed via the complex verb phrase containing a verb *-nta-* ‘to arrive’ plus an adposition *-nain* ‘on’. As such, it takes a suffix from a third set to refer to ‘the boy’, as the O in an event perceived to be realis. Notice that ‘to find’ is semantically telic and instantaneous, which forces a past tense construal.

(34). Gender-Number Suffixes of the Realis Construction

- a) A-’yataa-**sü** taya / a-’yataa-**shi** taya
 IDF-work-♀ 1S / IDF-work-♂ 1S
 I (worked ~ am working)
- b) Te-rü-**in**
 1S-see-O
 I (saw ~ am seeing) (you, him, her, it)
- c) Sü-nta a-nain-**chi** jintü-i-ka-i
 3♀-arrive IDF-on-♂ kid-♂-SPC-♂
 She found the boy

The frequently used adverbs *joolu’u* ‘now’ and *paala* ‘before’ interact with reality status in interesting ways. *Joolu’u* means ‘now’ with realis constructions, but ‘soon’ with irrealis ones, as in (35a-b).

(35). Uses of *Joolu’u* ‘now’ and *Paala* ‘before’

- a. Ja’y-uu-sü joolu’u
 Clear-PAS2-♀ now
 It’s becoming morning’ (the sun is rising) (CO FER&CAM 921.1)
- b. Ch-ee-chi joolu’u taya
 Be.there.4-FUT-♂ now I
 ‘I will go there soon’ (MAJ-OP 21.19)
- c. Nnojo-t-sü te-’raajü-in paala tü kamionkolu
 Not.be-♀-♀ 1S-know-O before DEM♀ truck-SPC-♀
 I had not known of the truck before (MAJ-A05 31.14)
- d. Jimatü-inja-chi paala pia ya’aya
 Still-VOL-♂ before you here
 You must stay still now (MAJ-OP 10.8)

calling ‘volitive’²²(-in)-ja has two senses comparable to the English intentional future ‘gonna’ and the deontic ‘must’. As a main clause it expresses either that the referent has the obligation to do or be something, or that the referent is intending to do or be it.

The last set of gender-number suffixes (-l \ddot{u} ♀, -li ♂, -lii PL) may be considered markers of nominal gender, but its function is also used in predication. In this last function they express that the state or event is perceived as real. The singular members of this set are the same one used with the specifier suffix, as in -ka-l \ddot{u} ‘the-♀’ and -ka-li ‘the-♂’. These suffixes also derive agentive nominalizations. However, ‘privative’ and ‘past’ tense constructions, also take these suffixes without causing derivation.

The ‘agentive nominalization’ involves an analytic verb simply marked by (-l \ddot{u} ♀, -li ♂, -lii PL), and communicates that the action is habitual, and as such it describes the agent. Olza and Jusayú (1986:75) state that it expresses a “trade, profession, occupation, or habit”. (37a) and (37b) demonstrate the ‘profession’ construction expressing actual occupations, while (37c) expresses a habit that characterizes the man’s personality, that interacts with a “when” subordinate clause. The attribute of being a lover communicates that the habit was as true in the past as it is in the present.

(37). ‘Agentive Nominalization’

- a) A-’yataa-l \ddot{u} taya
 IDF-work-♀ I
 I am a worker
- b) E-ichij \ddot{u} -lii na wayuu manaule-je’ewa-lii-ka-lii
 IDF-gather.salt-PL DEM.PL person Manaure-SORC-PL-SPC-PL
 The people from Manaure are salt gatherers.
- c) A-m \ddot{u} raaj \ddot{u} -i jint \ddot{u} -i-iwa=ne’e nia
 IDF-win.love-♂ kid-♂-WHEN=C.EX he
 He was a lover since he was a kid (Y&L 2C 73.2)

However, the suffix set (-l \ddot{u} ♀, -li ♂, -lii PL) in the past tenses, does not cause nominalization. The Recent Past -y \ddot{u} designates the timing of the occurrence of the verb was recent. It is frequently translated into Spanish phrase *hace rato* “a while ago”, as in (38a). The ‘Ongoing Past’ uses the same -y \ddot{u} , but adds the post-gender

²² The combination (-ja-t \ddot{u} , -ja-chi, -ja-na) is homophonous with the also ‘irrealis’ ‘purposive’ suffix, which occurs in subordination, but also with the ‘realis’ ‘adjectivizer’ suffix, which is a sort of past participle used in modifier position of the noun phrase.

The suffix set (*-lū* ♀, *-li* ♂, *-lii* PL) is also used in the ‘privative’ construction. It combines *ma-* with pre-gender *-sa*, and the prefix is what causes the derivation into a state. (39a) expresses the locative state of being ‘there’ in the third deictic space in the Recent Past. In (39b), Evelina is sharing the news that the road to Zulia, Venezuela is still closed to vehicular traffic by using the Current Past. In (39c), we see another personality trait being expressed in the ‘Sequential Past’. In the dataset, tokens of states in the ‘Sequential Past’ were infrequent.

(39). States in past tenses with (*-lū* *-li* *-lii*) suffixes

- | | | | | |
|----|---|----------------------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| a) | Sa-yü-i
There3-PST.RC-♂
He was recently standing there (MAJ OP 22.3) | sha’watü-in
standing-GR | nia
he | saasa-je’e
there3-POND |
| b) | Sütta-yü-lü-ya
Closed-PST.RC-♀-ASSE
The road is still closed (L&E 2C 2.1) | tü
DEM♀ | | karateet-kaa
road-SPC.♀ |
| c) | Ma-a’in-chon-tüjü-lü-ya
PRV-heart-DIM-PST.SQ-♀
Pilar was always a little crazy (had always been) (Y&L 2D 1.1) | sa-a’in
3♀-heart | | Piraalü
Pilar |

The suffix set (*-lū* ♀, *-li* ♂, *-lii* PL) is also used in ‘*Nnojo-* constructions’. The word *nnojo-* ~ *nnapo-* any suffix from three sets presented here, while negated simply take the gerund *-in*. The verb *nnojo-* / *nnapo-* is always doubly marked by gender. It must first take the one from the ‘liquid’ (*-lū* ♀, *-li* ♂, *-lii* PL), and then take either realis or irrealis ones that agree in gender reference with the first. Note that the liquid suffix undergoes fortition when preceding the sibilant ‘realis’ set, as in (40a).

(40). ‘*Nnojo-* construction’

- | | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------|-------------|
| a. | Nnojo-t-sü
Not.be-♀-♀
‘she did not go’ | o’unu-in
IDF-go-GR | shia
she |
| b. | Nnojo-l-ee-rü
Not.be-♀-FUT-♀
‘she will not go’. | o’unuin
IDF-go-GR | shia
she |

This section has presented how gender-number suffixes associate with tense, modality and reality status. The first set, tentatively labeled ‘simple realis’, is the most complex because it distinguishes analytic, synthetic and complex verb phrases. The second set, tentatively called ‘irrealis’, associates with the imminent, projected future, deontic, and volitive modalities. The last set was exemplified via the agentive nominalization, two past tenses, the privative and the negative constructions. The next two subsection describes verb phrases in some detail.

3.4.3 Verb Phrases

There is only one auxiliary verb in the language: *ma-*. The auxiliary construction splits the grammatical word at the boundary between the theme and pregender suffixes. Both words receive a primary stress. In synthetic verb phrases, the person prefix is repeated. As a result, the verbal theme communicates the action along with aspectual and possibly personal reference, while pregender, gender and post gender-suffixes attach to auxiliary verb *ma-*. Table 3-33 presents a schematic skeleton of the *ma-* auxiliary construction. For convenience, the verbal root is no longer distinguished from the theme.

PREFIX	THEME	(PREFIX)	AUXILIARY ma-	PRE-GENDER	GENDER	POST-GENDER
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Table 3-33 Auxiliary Verb Phrase Structure

Olza & Jusayú (1978:261) describe that the *ma-* constructions express the notions of “prompt, or hurried”, as in (41a) below, where *ma-* highlights the speed of arriving. But, I here propose that the auxiliary construction may also express the inceptive aspect, as in (41b) below. This will be described in more detail in §3.5.

(41). Auxiliary Verb Phrases

- a) A-nta mü-sü
 IDF-arrive AUX-♀
 She arrived quickly
- b) Su-kumaja sü-mü-sü
 3S♀-fix 3S♀-AUX-3S♀
 She began to fix it.

This ‘quick’ or ‘inceptive’ construction evidences the distinct formal behavior of thematic vs pre-gender suffixes. However, there are two other complex verb phrase schemas related to the incorporation of an inalienable noun or an adposition. The presence or absence of pre-gender suffixes determines the use of these two schemas. The absence of pre-gender suffixes allows a more intimate type of incorporation via the split of the verbal theme into two phonological words.

PREFIX	THEME	PREFIX	NOUN ADPOSITION	GENDER	POST-GENDER
		a-			

Table 3-34 Realis Incorporated Verb Phrase Structure of (V+N) & (V+Adp)

The presence of pre-gender suffixes prevents the verb from splitting, but the phrasing still takes place and this is evident from the use of the prefix *a-* ‘indefinite’ person. I am tentatively calling this schema irrealis incorporated because it frequently expresses an irrealis modality, even though realis past tense markers also cause the use of this structure. It is summarized here as Table 3-35.

PREFIX	THEME	PRE-GENDER	GENDER	POST-GENDER	PREFIX	NOUN ADPOSITION
					a-	

Table 3-35 Irrealis Incorporated Verb Phrase Structure of (V+N) & (V+Prep)

The examples in (42a-b) show verb phrases containing incorporated nouns. (42a) is a state where the possessor of heart would be the So of the clause. (42b) is a transitive synthetic action, here the possessor of the eye would refer to the O. The examples in (42c-d) show the two structures via verb phrases with incorporated adpositions. Given the zero marking on the pre-gender slot of the realis, (42c) splits the verb word, but the ‘future’ marking in (42d) leaves the verb word intact.

(42). Noun and Adposition Incorporation

- a) Ana a-a'in-chi nia
 good IDF-heart-♂ he
 ‘He is sensible’

b) Shi-'iraka 3S _♀ -threaten She threatened him	o-'u-chi eye- _♂	nia him
c) Te-irakaa 1S-look 'I looked at her'	a-müin-rü IDF-at- _♀	jiet-ka-t woman-SPC- _♀
d) Shi-irakaa- jee -rü 3S _♀ -look-FUT- _♀ I will look at her	a-müin IDF-at	shia her

In this section 3.4, verb and verb phrases have been presented. The skeleton of the verb consists of a person prefix, a verbal root, and at least four suffix slots. I have tentatively categorized these slots as thematic, pre-gender, gender and post-gender. These last three labels are motivated by the fact that the gender-number suffixes establish the finite verbal word. Additionally, three verb phrases were briefly described. The auxiliary *ma-* construction and the two complex verbal phrases associated with noun and adposition incorporation. The next and last section of this grammatical sketch focuses on intransitive clauses.

3.5 The Intransitive Split

Given the gap in the literature regarding the aspectual structure of Wayuunaiki clauses, this subsection of the grammatical sketch presents an exposition of intransitive clauses with specific emphasis on describing a range of constructions associated with intransitive states and actions. This opposition cuts across all clauses in the language, and only by considering their multiple guises can we understand the distinction between an Sa and So in Wayuunaiki. Before delving into the numerous clause types, I will first make some general comments regarding how animacy and control interacts with the aspectual opposition. Section §3.5.1 will then begin the exposition of clauses whose common denominator is an empty prefix slot, *ka-* 'attributive', *ma-* 'privative' or *pa-* 'reciprocal'. Then section §3.5.2 presents range of clauses that make use of the prefix *a-* 'indefinite' and its interaction with the optional grammatical category of perfectivity. This section is then largely exploratory

centered on question: what is range of intransitive constructions that pivot around the Wayuunaiki prefix slot? An answer to this question is a crucial foundation for the studies presented in §4, and §5.

The subjects of intransitive states (So) and an intransitive actions (Sa), are equally indexed by the gender-number suffixes, but their predicates must be marked as either dynamic or static in the prefix slot, which consequentially impart differences in the semantics of the participants. In (43) below, two simple examples are presented. Note that the only formal distinction is the prefix *o-* in ‘go’. And, it is worth noting that in actual speech the highly schematic vowel in this prefix is very reduced and sometimes all the way to elision, yet the lexical stress patterns are so fixed that its presence does not go unnoticed.

- (43). Stative vs Active Intransitive Clause
- | | | |
|----|--------------------|---------------------|
| a. | Süttü-sü | miicho-’u-ka-lü |
| | closed-♀ | house-eye-SPC-♀ |
| | The door is closed | |
| b. | O-’unü-shi | ta-’wayuu-se-ka-i |
| | IDF-go-♂ | 1S-spouse-POS-SPC-♂ |
| | My husband left | |

This basic opposition of two types of intransitive clauses in Wayuunaiki led Álvarez (1993: 81) to propose that stative clauses are unergative while active ones are unaccusative. In Relational Grammar, these notions assume the proposal of underlying ‘strata’ related to ‘surface’ realization. Relevant to this section, an unergative subject So is said to be initially a 2 (or O), that must move to 1 (presumably S) to become So. However, no evidence has been presented for any type of movement or derivation of the unergative subject (So), like ‘the door’ in (43a) above. The only formal explanation would regard prefix omission as a derivation. But I consider that prefix omission is as basic as prefix expression, and thus both notions are basic to the grammar.

If the unergative-unaccusative opposition were to be conceptually defined, their applicability could be further considered. If the unergative subject (So) refers to an intransitive argument with the θ role of THEME or UNDERGOER argument, while the

unaccusative subject (Sa) refers to an intransitive argument with the θ role of AGENT, then the distinction would be meaningful, and at least partly applicable to the Wayuunaiki intransitive opposition. Especially of these θ roles are regarded as representative members of their categories or prototypical.

In Wayuunaiki, core arguments are not marked for case, therefore the So argument is equivalent in form and position to the Sa. The single formal distinction between Sa and So is found in the empty prefix slot of both main clauses and subordinated ones. Since most subordinated clauses do not take gender-number suffixes, then another formal feature is that subordinated So's are not cross-referenced at all. Besides this, Sa and So are only real in that these arguments have a vast and complex number of conceptual associations related to the constructions in which they occur.

(44). Cross referencing in Gerunds

- | | | | | |
|----|--|--------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. | Yaa-shi
be.here-♂
There is a man here standing | wanee
one | wayuu
person | sha'watü-in
standing-GR |
| b. | Yaa-shi
be.here-♂
There is a man here crying | wanee
one | wayuu
person | ni 'yalajü-in
3S♂-crying-GR |

The minimal distinctions in argument marking does not necessarily invalidate the observed division between intransitive clauses. If the S distinction were merely conceptual it would still be valuable. Perhaps a brief diachronic comparison may clarify the notion. Aikhenvald (1999: 87) states that about two thirds of the languages of the Arawak family follow a split ergativity pattern. They use prefixes to refer to A/Sa and suffixes refer to O/So, as in Table 3-36 below.

Arawak Family	Transitive	Active Intransitive	Stative Intransitive
Prefixes	A	Sa	
Suffixes, enclitics	O		So

Table 3-36 Arawak Cross-referencing (split ergativity)

This syntactic division is less clear-cut in Wayuunaiki. In general, only main clauses allow double cross-referencing; most subordinate clauses allow the prefixing of only one argument Sa/A. Prefixes can only refer to Sa/A, whereas suffixes index O,

So and Sa. Additionally, transitive clauses have cross-referencing patterns, documented as Analytic and Synthetic.

		Synthetic	Analytic	Analytic	Stative
Clause type		Transitive		intransitive	intransitive
Both	Prefixes	A	Ø	Sa	
Main	Suffixes	O	A	Sa	So

Table 3-37. Cross-referencing in Wayuunaiki Affixes

If we take Table 3-36 above to be representative of proto-Arawak, Wayuunaiki retains the non-referencing of So via prefixes, as in (43a) and (44a) above. However, it has innovated the cross-referencing of Sa/A via suffixes, and the creation of the Analytic transitive clause. Consequently, the formal distinction between Sa and So is no longer salient.

Nevertheless, the fact that the prefix slot in every predicate obligatorily communicates whether the process is a state or an action, presents combinatorial tendencies regarding the semantics of S. That the distinction is solely aspectual can be gathered from the fact that there are no restrictions based on agency or control of the subject.

An analysis of 72 active clauses extracted from narratives and conversations (Sabogal, in prep), revealed that 97 % of their Sa arguments were animate. The only inanimate Sa tokens were a ‘place’ and the ‘look’ of something. But animacy can not be a distinctive factor because 88% of the So arguments from 156 stative clauses examined were also animate. This means that at least in the genres observed, subjects are predominantly animate as both Sa and So. There are numerous states that evoke an animate subject, such as *outa-* “die”, *ayuuli-* “get sick”, *yalayala-* “be clever”, *shokula-* “be lazy”, *moju-* “be bad”, *ke-pia-* “reside”, *ka-a'in-* “be aware”, *ka-manee-* “be kind”, *ka-ma'ü-ra-* “be naughty”, or *ke-kii-* “be smart, sharp”.

However, that Sa arguments are predominantly animate and associate with a dynamic event, makes us expect that these arguments cause the change encoded by the action, and thus control it. However, the lexicon contains numerous intransitive actions that denote uncontrolled events, like *a-jaleta-* “slip”, *a-awalaa-* “alleviate”, *a-ashichiraa-* “get angry”, etc. There are also others intransitive actions that express involuntarily performed events such as *a-shouja-* “sneeze”, *o-onojo-* “cough”, *e-eta-* “vomit”, *a-kutkujaa-* “tremble”, *a-'yalaja-* “cry”, *a-'lapüja-* “dream”, *o-jujaa-*

“yawn”, *a-siraja*- “laugh”, among others. It is true however, that actions that denote controlled events use this ‘indefinite’ prefix **a-** and are more frequently used than the uncontrolled events. The examples in (45) below associate with Sa, in the same way as controlled actions.

(45). Lack of control in Sa arguments

a) **O-**jujaa-shi nia
 IDF-yawn-♂ he
 He yawned

b) **A-**’lapüjaa-sü shia
 IDF-have.dream-♀ she
 She had a dream.

So arguments often lack control over the state they are in, but again this is not a grammaticalized restriction. 56% of the 137 stative clauses with animate So’s controlled the state they were in. The stative examples in (46) below have been extracted from narratives and their So’s are all human who express differing degrees of control over the state they are in. In (46a) kids are describing as trying to discover a bad smell by ‘sniffing’ around. In (46b) the So is omitted but had just been mentioned as ‘the armed people’, and this sentence they are on a search for a dangerous *epeyüi* ‘jaguar man’.

(46). Presence of control in So arguments

a) **Ke-**’ichi-kuu mü-shii tepichi-ka-na
 AT-nose-UNFR AUX-PL kids-SPC-PL
 The kids were sniffing (MAJ-OP 11.16)

b) **Walakaa-**yaa mü-sü
 Separated-SIM AUX-♀

jü-nain a-münaa-ja-a nu-u’ui-chikanain epeyüi-ka-i
 3S♀-on IDF-track-ML-INF 3♂-foot-print jaguar.man-SPC-♂
 They had separated to track the epeyüi’s footprints. (MAJ-07 14.2)

It can then be concluded that control is not a semantic feature that categorically defines the Sa in Wayuunaiki. This is the case in other languages that have an intransitive split, such Lakhota (Mithun 1991). The relationship between

control and the intransitive opposition has strong tendencies, but no restrictions. Sa arguments may lack control of the action they experience, while So arguments may have control over the states they are in.

On the other hand, the use of indefinite person prefix **a-** in intransitive clauses categorically encodes dynamicity. This prefix encodes ‘change over time’ as a sequence of qualitative states, while zero marked verbs encode that situation “holds over time” as a single qualitative state. For now, I conclude that the most grammaticalized restriction in Wayuunaiki intransitive clauses is that the speaker must specify whether the predicate communicates dynamicity.

It is then reasonable to categorize all Wayuunaiki verbs as states and actions, and their corresponding clauses as stative and active. Intransitive arguments are consequentially distinct and may be considered So and Sa, on the grounds that So associates with a situation that holds, while Sa associates with an event that develops over time.

The rest of this chapter presents a range of clauses whose aspectual phases are analyzed on a qualitative and a temporal dimension (Croft 2012). The qualitative (Q) dimension is a representation of “concrete, specific or idiosyncratic properties of a predicate’s meaning”. Aspect then communicates “the sequence of qualitative states that characterize a particular event type”. These states are connected by ‘instant’ transition phases, and all phases come together to form an aspectual contour. The contour includes a profile which is designated by the construction itself.

3.5.1 The Stative Clause [\emptyset -V So]

This section will present clauses a range of stative clauses, beginning with permanent states, followed temporary states with a special emphasis on the ‘state of action’, which is conceptually similar to the English present progressive construction. Lastly, I will discuss possessive and adpositional predications, which compose a special type of stative clause in that it contains two nominal arguments.

Olza & Jusayú (1986: 15) point out that the initial position in the Wayuunaiki clause is strictly predicative. The Wayuunaiki stative schema is then quite fixed. It may be represented as [\emptyset -V So], where \emptyset - intends to highlight its distinctive form. The verb in a stative clause can be a state, an action, a noun, a pronoun, an adjective,

or a adposition. All these atemporal words acquire temporality merely by occurring in the initial predicative position. However, these verbalized (pro)nouns, adjectives and adpositions do not express a sequence of qualitative states, and therefore do not take prefix **a-**.

3.5.2.1 So in Affixless Clauses

Inherent and permanent states constitute the simplest aspectual frame because neither their inception or end are presupposed. Acquired permanence, however, does entail a previous rest and inceptive phase. In Figure 3-1 below²³, the arrowhead stands for permanence, or the imperfective nature of permanent states.

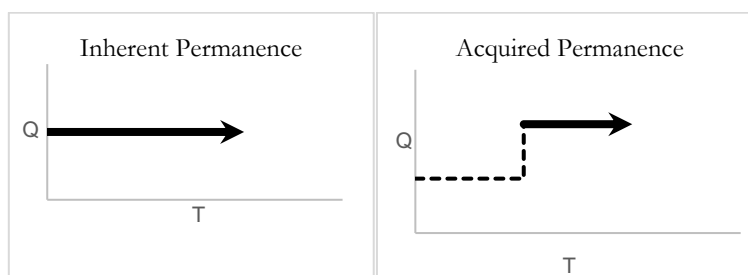


Figure 3-1. Permanent States

In Wayuunaiki, inherent permanent states are expressed via stative verbs, adjectives, nouns, and pronouns. Mansen & Mansen (1984:426) present the equational clause as one where a non-verbal predicate does not inflect via a gender-number suffix and is simply followed by a subject. All examples in (47) contain adjectival predicates without any affixes, which communicates an inherently permanent state. The ‘truck’ So in (47c) comes from ‘It was not a Cow nor a horse, and it occurs when the little boy had just been spooked by seeing a truck for the first time in his life. He then asks his older cousin, if that thing that looked like a monster was kind.

(47). Inherent and Permanent Adjectival Predicates (So in bold)

- a) Toolo **wanee**, jierü **wanee**
 male one female other
 one is a boy, the other is a girl (MAJ-OP 11.2)

²³ The aspectual diagrams presented in the chapter involve an X axis that represents the temporal domain (T), and a Y axis that represents the quality of change (Q) that an event undergoes (Croft 2012). These Figures are used as reference structures to guide the exposition of clauses in Wayuunaiki.

- b) Miyo'u **kuenta-ka-lü**
 Big story-SPC-♀
 The story is long (G&P I 492.1)
- c) ¿Anamia **tü kamionkolu?**
 kind DEM♀ truck-SPC-♀
 ¿Is the truck kind? (MAJ-A05 35.5)

Affix-less predicates have been taken as evidence for the existence of adjectives in Wayuunaiki (Ehrman 1972), even though they only occur bare in the realis equative clauses. Most of the lexemes that belong to this small word class appear to express relatively permanent states, as in *washirü* 'rich', *jutpüna* 'tall', *alaa* 'false', *shimüin* 'true', among others.

However, not all inherent permanent states are expressed via adjectives. The examples in (48) express inherent permanent states attributed to human So arguments. These are all expressed via stative verbs, which must use gender-number suffixes. In (48a) two young siblings are described as 'tall', via a stative verb. Note that there is an adjective for 'tall' *jutpüna*; it may have a different sense. In (48b) a man is being characterized as lacking common sense. Privative states use the prefix *ma-*, but these, like attributive *ka-* and reciprocal *pa-*, do not express dynamicity. Lastly, interrogative pronouns are predicates in Wayuunaiki. If these are not used clause-initially, these become indefinite pronouns. As predicates these may take gender suffixes, as in (48c) with the 'who'.

(48). Inherent and Permanent Stative Predicates

- a) Yale-yale-t-**shii** na tepichi-ka-na
 tall-tall-SNG-PL DEM.PL kid-SPC-PL
 the kids were tall (MAJ-OP 11.15)
- b) Ma-a'in-sa-**i** nia
 PRV-heart-NEG-♂ he
 He is insensible
- c) Jara-**i** pü-'laülaa-ka-i?
 Who-♂ 2S-uncle-SPC-♂
 Who is your maternal uncle?

Olza (1985: 246) notes that the use of gender-number suffixes in nominal predication changes the meaning from that of “being” to that of “becoming”. Acquired permanence is then formally indicated via gender-number suffixes in nominal and adjectival predicates. Stative predicates, on the other hand, do not distinguish whether the state they denote is inherent. The example (49a) exemplifies the simple stative verb, while (49b) present an adjectival predicate that can literally be translated as ‘I became big’.

- (49). Acquired Permanent States
- a. Ou-tu-sü tü nu-’wayuu-se-ka-lü
 die-SNG-♀ DEM♀ 3♂-person-POS-SPC- ♀
 his wife died (MAJ-OP 3.4)
- b. Miyo’u-sü taya
 Big-♀ I
 I grew up (Y&L I 29.3)

In sum, permanent states are expressed across several word classes. Adjectives appear to be a specialized for this function, even though there are stative verbs that express permanent states. This next section will continue with a description of Temporary states.

3.5.2.2 So in Temporary States

Unlike permanent States, transitory states are perfective since they encode an expectation that the situation will cease. This is represented in Figure 3-2 via a lack of an arrowhead.

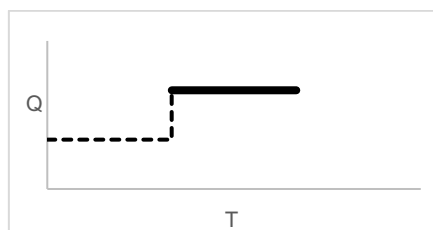


Figure 3-2 The Transitory State

Transitory states in Wayuunaiki cannot be expressed via nouns or pronouns. These are all expressed via stative verbs. For instance, *sha’wa-ta-* ‘be standing’, *tala-ta-* ‘be

happy’, *tunka-ta-* ‘be asleep’, *ka-üliijana-* ‘wear necklace’, *ma-iche-* ‘be naked’, *ma-chiki-* ‘be lost’, *yaa-* “be here” or *sa-* “be there (mid-distal)”. The three examples in (50) below express states whose predicate encodes the presupposition that it has an end.

(50). Transitory States

- a) Ee-sü uujolu
 exist-♀ corn.drink
 There is chicha.
- b) Nnojo-t-sü uujolu
 Not.exist-♀-♀ corn.drink
 There is no chicha
- c) Yala-shi iipünaa a-sü’ü-jü-in peela
 there.2-♂ above IDF-pick-ML-GR pear
 He is up there picking pears.

Transitory states derived from actions are different in that they depict a portion of an action construed as unchanging, viewed as a homogenous perfective state. This construal operation lies in the realm of attention known as scalar adjustment (Langacker 2008; Croft 2012). The state imparts a zoomed-in version where the dynamicity is dissolved.

In Wayuunaiki, these states have a corresponding action whose argument may be described as an So =A ambitransitive. These differs from the other type of ambitransitives in that this is the only type marked by prefix omission. Additionally, some take **-wata** ‘progressive’ (Álvarez 2004), or keep their **-ja** thematic suffix, which is characteristic of active verbs. All the examples in (51) are prefixless clauses whose multiplicity of qualitative states are construed as a single static state.

(51). Transitory States of Actions

- a) Warai-tü-shi laülaa-ka-i
 walking-SNG-♂ elder-SPC-♂
 the old man is walking
- b) Tale-wata-taa-sü kasha
 sounding-PRG-EVD-♀ drum
 The drum was sounding (MAJ A04 36.2)

- c) Chajaa-kuu, chajaa-kuu mü-shi-ja'a joolu'u nia
 searching-UNFR searching-UNFR AUX-♂-ASSE now he
 And he (the epeyii) looked and looked (MAJ-07 12.2)

3.5.2.3 So in Possessive & Adpositional Predicates

Like adjectival predicates, nominal predicates without gender-number suffixes profile a permanent relation. Wayuunaiki inalienable nouns and adpositions share a number of formal and behavioral properties, and one of these is that the both may derive stative predicates with two nominals. This has been somewhat of a conundrum Wayuunaiki literature. Olza (1985) regarded these transitive states that had both a 'subject' and a 'complement'. The example in (52a) presents a specific person prefix, but no suffix given that it communicates a permanent state. The state in (52b), on the other hand, expresses an acquired permanence via the masculine gender suffix. I interpret the prefixes on both clauses to have underlying reference to a possessor and not to a 'subject'. In (52b) the masculine agreement shows that the So is the husband. In both, the possessum is co-referential between the predicate and So, while the possessor is rendered within the possessive noun phrase, and is therefore not an argument.

(52). Possessive Predicates as Stative Clauses (So in bold)

- a. Sü-chon alijuna **Matseelo**
 3s♀-child creole Marcelo
 Marcelo is the son of a Alijuna woman
- b. Sü-'wayuu-se-shi Susana **chi** **wayuu-ka-i**
 3♀-spouse-POS-♂ Susana DEM♂ person-SPC-♂
 That man became Susana's husband

Olza and Jusayú (1986), following much of the previous literature, analyze these constructions as a transitive 'synthetic' states, where the A is the possessors and the O the possessum.

Adpositional predicates present the same conundrum. All examples in (53) predicate a adpositional relationship and explicitly mention their object. But this object does not have argument status. Notice that temporal adjacency or constituency

does not affect the analysis. In (53a) the object of the adposition ‘with’ is ‘my family’, and these elements are separated. By bolding the So in all the examples, I am stating that these are the arguments cross-referenced by the gender suffixes. Olza & Jusayú (1986) analyze attributive states like those in in (53b-c) as transitive but analytic. However, Álvarez (1996: 31) rejects the transitive analysis of attributive and privative constructions by proposing that the clause never stops being intransitive and thus having only one So argument. To him, the other nominal belongs to the verbal phrase.

(53). Adpositional Predicates as Stative Clauses (So in bold)

- | | | | | |
|----|--|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | Sü-maa-sü | taya | to-’upayuu | |
| | 3S _♀ -with- _♀ | I | my family | |
| | I stayed with my paternal family (CO Y&L I 30.1) | | | |
| b. | Sü-nain-sü | sü-she’-in | türa | wayuu-kaa |
| | AT-on- _♀ | 3 _♀ -dress-POS | DEM.2 _♀ | person-SPC _♀ |
| | That woman is wearing her dress | | | |
| c. | Ke-roku-su | kayuushi | türa | wüin-ka-lü |
| | AT-in.liquid- _♀ | caiman | DEM.2 _♀ | water-SPC- _♀ |
| | that water has caiman in | | | |

One of the prototypical properties of the schemas (A) and (O) is that these engage in a dynamic relationship. The fact that the two nominals involved in possessive and adpositional predication do not engage in such a relationship, makes it preferable to consider adpositional objects, and possessors, as non-arguments in these constructions.

Additionally, numerals are commonly used in predicative function. In predicative function, the numbers 1-19 must take verbal gender-number markers; after 20, they stop doing so (Olza & Jusayú 2012:62). In this intransitive structure the numbers are clause initial. The examples (54a-b) mark gender-number, while the one in (54c) does not.

(54). Numerals in Predicative Position

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|----------------------------|
| a. | Ja’rai-sü | jime-ka-lü-irua |
| | Five- _♀ | fish-SPC- _♀ -PL |
| | The fish are five | |

- b. Mekiisat-shii kaa'ula-ka-na
 Eight-PL goat-SPC-PL
 The goats are eight
- c. Apüüin shi-kii ja'rali-müin tepichi-ka-na
 Three 3♀-tens five-ALL kid-SPC-PL
 The kids are thirty-five

In this section, prefixless, attributive and privative clauses were considered. These were presented as permanent and transitory states. Then, I briefly described stative clauses derived from inalienable nouns and adpositions, and argued that these should not be comparable to transitive actions. The relationship between the two nominals in these complex stative clauses, are atemporal and non- dynamic. Despite the use of specific person prefixes, I argue that they don't have the clause at their scope, but instead they refer to the underlying possessive and adpositional relationships.

In the next section, I examine the range of clause types marked with the 'indefinite' prefix **a-** and per expression of perfectivity.

3.5.3 The Active Intransitive Clause [**a-V Sa**]

The active schema for intransitive events follows the exact order as the stative one, but its main characteristic is the prefix **a-**. The verb in active clauses is always a verbal action, and **Sa** prototypically always an animate entity. Because the range of constructions associated with the use of the prefix **a-** is central to our understanding of the distinction between **Sa** and **So**, and of Wayuunaiki transitivity in general, this last section of the grammatical sketch examines the active intransitive clauses and its interaction with perfectivity.

Perfectivity was chosen as an organizing frame of reference given that this is an under-described semantic category that also cuts across many constructions, and even though it has grammaticalized as **-pa** 'completive', its expression is optional, and there are many other constructions to communicate both perfectivity and imperfectivity.

Much of the discussion of the aspectual structure of actions in this section is based on the conceptual distinction of verbs as telic (=directed, result) or atelic

(=undirected, manner). This notion allows us to see how the various constructions interact with perfectivity. Telic verbs denote actions that involve a simple sequence of qualitative states that end in a resulting state. Atelic verbs denote actions that involve a complex sequence of qualitative states, but do not communicate a resulting state.

Because they do not communicate a result, atelic verbs are extremely flexible in their participation in aspectual frames and in their profiled segments. For instance, manner of consumption verbs in English like “eat,” “drink,” “smoke,” and “read” can each communicate a range of aspectual types, including activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states. On the other hand, the participation of telic verbs in the expression of clausal aspect is more predictable. Telic verbs only occur in accomplishments, activities, and achievements. A telic verb like ‘open’, conventionally expresses a simple type of directed change, but that change could be construed as either an accomplishment (a telic event with a natural endpoint) or an achievement (a punctual event occupying a point in time).

TELIC		ATELIC	
Ashakata-	Descend	Akutula-	Move
Awa'laja-	Split	Asa-	Drink
Anta-	Arrive	O'una-	Go
Amüliala-	Calm	Ananaja-	Look
Amojuja-	Damage	Atpüla-	Touch
Asi'wata-	Untie	Aküla-	Tell
Awashirüla-	Get Rich	Akumaja-	Build, Fix
Eiwa'aja-	Bother	Aainja-	Make, Weave

Table 3-38 Telic and Atelic Actions

In Wayuunaiki, there is no formal distinction between atelic and telic verbs, yet their occurrence in aspectual constructions can tell them apart, as we will see below. An action's telicity is also independent of valency, even though there are some indicative tendencies. Table 3-38 lists some examples of these verbs in Wayuunaiki.

3.5.3.1 Sa in Perfective Constructions

Accomplishments evoke complex frames that profile the inception, change and completion of the action while backgrounding an initial rest state and the result state. These accomplishments may involve incremental or non- incremental change, as represented in the aspectual schemas in Figure 3-3.

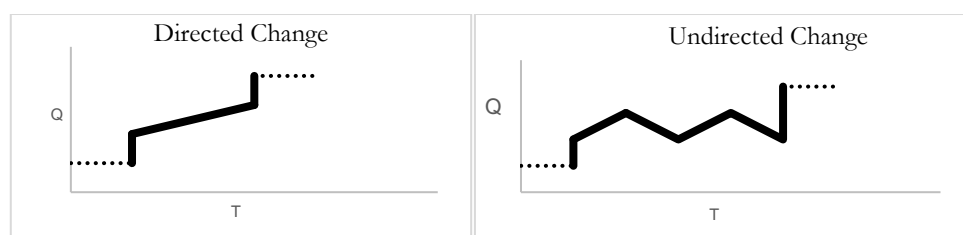


Figure 3-3 Accomplishments

Undirected accomplishments differ from their directed counterparts in that the changes that lead to the resulting state are not incremental. The typical undirected accomplishment obtains a result state via a “durative process consisting of multiple subevents” (Croft 2012).

In Wayuunaiki, the post-gender suffix **-pa** ‘completive’ expresses the perfective aspect. In main clauses, **-pa** is a component of the Immediate Past, while in subordination **-pa** attaches to a ‘when’ adverbial clause. In both cases, it communicates the completion of the action. The components of the Immediate Past construction are the ‘imminent’ pregender suffix **-i**, a post-gender **-pa**. The gender-number suffix must be one from the otherwise ‘irrealis’ set: **-rü** ♀, **-chi** ♂, **-na** PL. The examples in (55) present intransitive clauses in the immediate past construction.

(55). Immediate Past Constructions

- a) A-la-tü-i-t-pa pia su-ulia tepichi-n pia
 IDF-pass.by-SNG-IM-♀-CPL you ♀-from kid-GR you
 You have already past your childhood (Y&L I 36)
- b) A-ja't-tü-i-t-pa nü-chiki jima'a-i shokula-shi-ka-i
 IDF-finish-SNG-IM-♀-CPL 3♂-tale youth-♂ lazy-♂-SPC-♂
 And the tale of the lazy young man has ended (MAJ A02 29.1)

Without the completive marker the clause expresses the Imminent Future ‘about to’, but **-pa** ‘completive’ appears to override the irrealis association of the gender-number suffixes, and expresses a past tense similar to English [just V-ed]. This is a tense-aspect construction that specifies completion and ‘immediacy’ to the temporal ground of the speech event.

In the zero-marked Realis construction, perfectivity is not specified. Therefore, whether an event has ceased to occur is communicated by the predicate meaning and contextual factors. For instance, telic verbs of only two qualitative states like *aja'ttaa* ‘end’, *ekeroloo* ‘go in’, *ashakataa* ‘get down’, are likely to be construed as telic in the realis construction. The ‘single’ forms the realis modality of the telic actions in (56a-b) in are likely to be interpreted as directed accomplishments, where their change of location is the resulting state. The verb in (56c) ‘land’ encodes the telos of the event and the clause exemplifies an accomplishment with a plural Sa. This verb uses one of verbal suffixes that quantify an argument *-uwaa* “each” (Olza & Jusayú 1986). A marked pragmatic context could yield an imperfective reading in (56a-c),

(56). Intransitive Directed Accomplishments in Realis form.

- a) **A**-la-tü-sü wanee wüchii
 IDF-pass-SNG-♀ one bird
 A bird passed by
- c) **A**-shaka-tü-shi mapa (nia)
 IDF-descend-SNG-♂ after (he)
 then he got off (his horse) (MAJ-07 3.3)
- d) **o**-’nn-uwaa-sü wüchii-ka-lü-irua
 IDF-land-EACH-♀ bird-SPC-♀-PL
 “Each and every bird has landed” (Olza & Jusayú 1986)

Undirected accomplishment in intransitive clauses are less frequent, but they do occur. The verbs in (57) ‘sleep’ and ‘rest’ are atelic verbs but the immediate past construction expresses that those two activities were completed.

(57). Intransitive Undirected Accomplishments

- a. **¿A**-tunkü-i-t-pa pia?
 IDF-sleep-IM-♀-CPL you
 Did you sleep already? (L&E 2C 73.3)

- b. E-eme-ra-a-i-chi-pa chi wayuu-ka-i
 IDF-rest-SNG-DETR-IM-♂-CPL DEM-♂ person-SPC-♂
 The man already rested (L&E 2B 35.2)

S=O ambitransitive verbs express a resulting state. Their intransitive use is sometimes marked by a heavy thematic suffix, marked in (58) as a ‘detransitive’. This sentence has ‘the door’ as the Sa of both clauses.

(58). S=O Intransitive Clauses

- a. A-juta-la-a-sü tü miicho-’u-ka-t,
 IDF-open-SNG-DETR-♀ DEM♀ house-eye-SPC-♀
 the door opened
- b. sü-sürü-la-a-ka’a sü-chukua
 3S♀-close-SNG-DETR-CSQ 3S♀-again
 and then it closed

The heavy thematic suffix variously realized as *-la-a* ∞ *-ta-a* ∞ *-ka-a* ∞ *-ja-a* profiles turns a transitive telic action into an intransitive one. The examples that Álvarez (2005c) gives for this detransitive meaning of vowel lengthening are all transitive telic verbs: *a-palai-ta-a-* ‘turn’, *a-si’wa-ta-a-* ‘untie’, *a-palasi-ra-a-* ‘lay down’, *a-püchira-la-a-* ‘straighten’, *o-juta-la-a-* ‘open’, *o-nuju-la-a-* ‘hide’, and *a-käüsi-ra-a-* ‘fatten’.

The suffix *-uu* has been documented as a “second passive” that entails that “great difficulty” took place that lead to the resulting state (=telos) (Olza & Jusayú 1986:107). Passive *-uu* is used with both States and Actions. When used with states, *-uu* presupposes a prior dynamic action, and when used with actions, *-uu* shift the clausal profile from the dynamic phase to the resulting state.

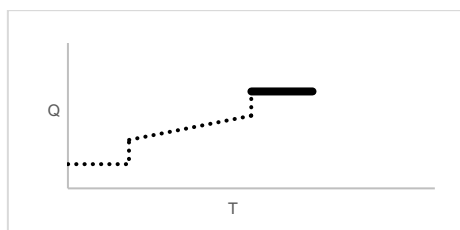


Figure 3-4 Wayuunaiki Telic Passive

In (59a) below, besides communicating that the fire is on, it also entails that a previous process lead to such a state. (59b) presents the telic passive ‘dug’. In this example, the presupposed prior action is more evident given our knowledge about the durative nature of the wind as an agent. The example in (59c) exemplifies a common way to express ‘fall’²⁴. The root means something like ‘tumble’ or ‘throw’. Lastly (59d) presents the actual or most productive passive construction. Unlike telic passive *-uu*, I interpret this passive as profiling perfectivity, but backgrounding the resulting state, i.e. this example the ‘papaya’ is no longer being eaten.

(59). S of Passive in Perfective and Telic Constructions.

- a) Jo-t-**uu-su** tü siki-ka-lü
 be.lit-SNG-PAS2-♀ DEM♀ fire-SPC-♀
 The fire is on
- b) A-po-t-**uu-su** amouyuu-kolu ju-tuma joutai
 IDF-dig-SNG-PAS2-♀ tomb-SPC-♀ 3♀-by wind
 The tomb has been dug by the wind (Olza & Jusayú 1986:107)
- c) A-ju-t-**uu-su** tü jintüt-ka-lü
 IDF-throw-SNG-PAS2-♀ DEM♀ girl-SPC-♀
 That girl fell
- d) E-kü-**nü-sü** koi-ka-lü ju-tuma wüchii
 IDF-eat-PAS-♀ papaya-SPC-♀ 3♀-by bird
 The papaya was eaten by the bird (Olza & Jusayú 1986: 105)

In sum, I have presented in the previous paragraphs several construction types that express the perfectivity in intransitive clauses. These includes the immediate past tense and the passive voices. Other constructions depend on the use of a telic predicate, and other contextual factors, in order to have a perfective reading. The zero-marked realis mood and the detransitivized S=O construction.

The next section examines the Imperfective Constructions in Wayuunaiki intransitivity.

²⁴ This construction is probably representative of the cultural aversion to the notion of ‘accident’. In Wayuu culture, there is a strong belief that there is always a cause to an effect or a agent behind the action. Therefore, the literal translation of this examples is something like ‘the girl was made fall’.

3.5.3.2 Sa in Imperfective Constructions

Activities evoke simpler aspectual frames than those of accomplishments. It only profiles the change that takes place in the action, while it presupposes an initial rest state and the inception of the activity (Croft 2012). These accomplishments may involve incremental or non-incremental change, which corresponds to the encoding of result state in the predicate for the former and lack of it for the latter. This is diagrammed in Figure 3-5.



Figure 3-5 Activity Contours

The examples in (60) exemplify intransitive directed activities. The verbs in these examples are telic but the ‘indefinite’ prefix *a-* appears to add a durative and incremental reading, while the construction is that of the simple realis. (60b) is a transparent example in that our real-world-knowledge invites an incremental reading of ‘getting rich’.

(60). Intransitive Directed Activities

- a) A-ku’la-ja-a-shi taya
 IDF-get.lazy-SNG-DETR-♂ I
 I am getting lazy (MAJ-OP 6.4)
- b) A-washirü-la-a-sü shia
 IDF-enrich-SNG-DETR-♀ she
 she is getting rich

Gradable telic verbs in the realis mood allow the activity to be depicted as gradually progressing towards a goal without arriving to a result state. Other verbs that express these imperfective structures can be *amotsalaa* ‘shrink, get small’, *aka’apülaa* ‘expand, acquire size’.

Morpheme reduplication is a productive process in Wayuunaiki²⁵. One of these reduplication constructions is the use of double stems in auxiliary constructions. I interpret these constructions as expressing directed activities when used with both states and telic actions, an in as in (61).

(61). Theme Reduplication in Auxiliary Constructions

- a) Watta watta mü-shi wayuu-ka-i
 far far AUX-♂ person-SPC-♂
 The man was getting farther (and farther) (MAJ-OP 40.6)
- b) A-lü'ü-la a-lü'ü-la -shi (nia)
 IDF-get.close-SNG IDF-get.close-SNG AUX-♂ he
 He was getting closer (MAJ-OP 40.8)

The repetition of the theme is iconic with the incremental progress of the the activity in a single direction or scale. Usual Spanish translations of this thematic reduplication construction [V V *maa*] invoke the atelic Spanish construction [*irse* V-*ando*]. If this is correct the aspectual structure of the state in 16a) is altered, and it is the only case of ‘activization’ I’ve identified.

In Wayuunaiki, imperfective intransitive constructions that express an undirected activity construal are numerous. Among them, atelic verbs in the realis, auxiliary, ‘the progressive’ and ‘multiple’ forms among others. I will briefly describe these in the next paragraphs.

All verbs in (62) are atelic. I interpret (62a) to be dynamic as it depicts the numerous physiological subevents that allow the body to rest. The verbs in (62b-c) are S=A ambitransitive. The undirected nature of ‘dance’ is transparent, given that it expresses manner of motion, while (62c) presents what I analyze as a past imperfective.

(62). Undirected Activities

- a) **A-tunku-shi** ma'in (nia)
 IDF-sleep-♂ a.lot he
 He was sleeping deeply (MAJ-07 4.5)

²⁵ Alvarez (1994) described root reduplication in “positional descriptive” States. In this construction, the doubling of roots occurs within the word and expresses the plurality of the state, or the So (e.g. *ko'uta-* “quiet” / *ko'u-ko'u-lu-* “quiet pl.”, *yüü-ta-* “absent” / *yüü-yüü-lü-* “absent pl.”).

- b) **A-yonna-jü-sü** tü majayüt-ka-lü
 IDF-dance-SNG-♀ DEM♀ young.woman-SPC-♀
 The young lady danced
 Progressive Imperfective?
- c) **A-sa-a-shi** paala (nia) naata-pie-ru'u
 IDF-drink-IPFV-♂ before he different-house-IN
 He had been drinking before at someone else's house (MAJ-07 2.1)

Álvarez (2005c) identifies a second meaning for the heavy 'single' thematic suffix 'progressive'. For these he gives *eka-a-* 'eat', *asa-a-* 'drink', *oika-a-* 'sell', which happen to be S=A ambitransitive atelic verbs. I here propose that the heavy thematic suffix variously realized as *-øa* ∞ *-laa* ∞ *-taa* ∞ *-kaa* ∞ *-jaa* profiles the imperfective aspect with S=A ambitransitive verbs.

Additionally, the *-ja* ∞ *-na* 'multiple' gradient participates in yet another imperfective construction. In the narratives and conversations, the *-ja* ∞ *-na* 'multiple' was found more frequently associated with atelic actions, than telic ones (e.g. *a-nana-ja-* 'look', *eka-ja-* 'eat', *a-tunka-ja-* 'sleep', *a-'yuuna-ja-* 'swing' etc). The 'single-multiple' opposition, also known as 1st and 2nd gradient, is independent of valency. A fundamental function of the *-ja* ∞ *-na* 'multiple' form of actions is to express iterativity or semelfactive aspect.

The example in (63a), presents a multiple form of 'pass by' with a plural Sa. The translation given highlights the possible readings: 'multiple' Sa, or 'imperfective' or both. In (63b), the S=A predicate 'spit' is associated with multiple kids as Sa, which appears to allow the same readings as (63a).

(63). Undirected Activities in the 'Multiple' form.

- a) **A-la-nü-sü** wanee kaa'ula-irua
 IDF-pass-ML-♀ some goat-PL
 "Some goats passed by (were passing by)" (Jusayú 1977)
- b) **E-je-nü-shii** (tepichikana) mmoo-lu'u-müin.
 IDF-spit-ML-PL (the.kids) ground-LOC-ALL
 (The kids) spat on the floor (several kids, times). (MAJ-OP 11.16)

Additionally, Olza & Jusayú (1986) present two other constructions the communicate the imperfective aspect across valency. The ‘periodical’ construction uses the pregender suffix *-wai* ‘every’. In (64a), both the verbal theme ‘go’ and the noun ‘month’ use take *-wai*, but this double marking seems optional. (64b) exemplifies *-pu’u* ‘habitual’ construction. It appears that these two constructions also have a semelfactive reading, but the ‘periodical’ specifies temporal regularity, while the ‘habitual’ may only have a past imperfective reading.

(64). Undirected Activities via ‘frequentative’ constructions.

- a) O-’una-wai-shi nia kashi-wai
 IDF-go-PER-♂ he month-PER
 He goes every month
- b) O-’una-pu’u-shi wayuu-ka-i watta-chon maalü
 IDF-go-HAB-♂ person-SPC-♂ morning-DIM early
 the man used go go in the mornings

The last constructions here presented to exemplify the many constructions used to specify the imperfective aspect are the ‘inceptive’ constructions. The auxiliary verb *ma-*, as well the thematic suffixes *-taala* and *-maata* also alter the aspectual frame of undirected activities distinctively. These construction profile the inception of an atelic action. This construction is comparable to the Spanish constructions [*ponerse a V*], or [*ir V-ando*] in that the result state is no longer presupposed.

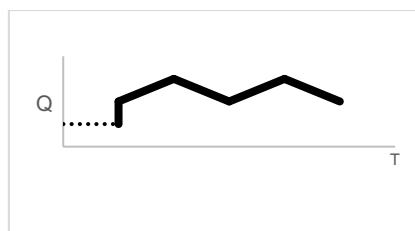


Figure 3-6 Inceptive Undirected Activity

The imperative construction requires actions to begin with a second person prefix and it is optionally combined with *maa* ~ *ma'ta* ‘prompt, quickly’ to communicate a greater sense of urgency to perform the action, as in (65a). The postverbal position

and semantic similarity between the *ma-* used in commands and the auxiliary verb *ma-* may point to a diachronic relation (Olza & Jusayú 1986: 126).

In (65b) an atelic verb is expressed in an auxiliary construction, and in (65c), the atelic action of ‘talking’ combined with *-taala* ‘inceptive’²⁶. I interpret these examples as ones that highlight the inceptive transition phase of the activity.

(65). Undirected Activities via ‘inceptive’ constructions.

- a) Pi-ka (maa)
2S-eat quick
Eat (already)!
- b) O-’una mü-sü-ja’a jia
IDF-go AUX-♀-ASSE she
She then left (MAJ-OP 7.34)
- c) A-’youna-la-a-taala-sü tü jiet-ka-lü
IDF-talk-SNG-DETR-INCP-♀ DEM♀ woman-SPC-♀
The woman began to talk (MAJ-OP 13.1)

In the previous pages, I have presented several constructions that communicate the imperfective aspect. I have stated that the perfective-imperfective construals in Wayuunaiki cover a wide variety of constructions and is dependent whether a result state is encoded in the conceptual structure of the predicate. In this chapter, I have presented Wayuunaiki intransitive clauses, and how these communicate whether the dynamic event has been completed or not. In this way I have tried to show how the schematic notion of an Sa argument partakes in all these constructions.

Even though I have purposely excluded transitive clauses. The notions of perfective and imperfective construals apply across valency. The single observed difference is that Sa favors its participation in imperfective activities in a larger number of environments than its counterpart A.

²⁶ The thematic suffix *-taala* has two senses, and the inceptive one may be a recent extension. It may have originally communicated “inception into a positional state”, but diachronically, its usage extended to the inception of all states, before it extended to the inception of dynamic Actions. This is likely parallel to the grammaticalization of Spanish *ponerse* “put oneself” into an inceptive light verb construction [*ponerse* Adj] / [*ponerse* a V]. These constructions alternate with [*estar* Adj] / [*estar* V], and profile adjectival achievements or the inception of actions. It is likely that its use extended out of an original meaning of inception of a position, as in *se puso de pie* “he stood up”. These inceptive activities also appear to drop any insinuation of a resulting state (e.g. *me puse a empacar la ropa* “I started packing my clothes” does not mean that the job was finished).

Chapter §3 has introduced the grammar of Wayuunaiki grammar hoping to establish a strong foundation to comprehend the remaining of the dissertation. The chapter began with the sound patterns of the language and later presented the noun and noun phrases, adpositions and adpositional phrases, the verb and verb phrases, as well as intransitive clauses, including and aspectual analysis of constructions. I have hoped to indicate emphatically the centrality of the indefinite person prefix **a-**, as an aspectual pivot, and as we will see a major element in transitivity and noun incorporation. Additionally, I have highlighted the form and function of gender-number suffixes, given that they are also crucial in the tracking of referents in discourse and clausal grounding; these will prove to be crucial in the analyses of §§ 4 and 5. These next chapters describe the two transitive constructions and the variable expression of possession in Wayuunaiki clauses.

4 The Two Transitive Constructions.

This chapter describes the morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties that characterize the prototypical uses of the transitive alternatives known as Subjective and Objective in the Wayuunaiki literature. The following sections explore the anaphoric and cataphoric patterns of the transitive alternatives, their direction domains, the animacy of their 3rd persons, their use in cleft constructions, and their relationship with definiteness and indefiniteness. The results of the analysis of the discourse data show that the subjective clause is the pragmatically marked alternative, expressing an agentive, accessible, and topical A, with a generic or 3rd person O. The Objective clause is the more frequent alternative, which expresses the high topicality of both arguments.

The chapter begins with a discussion on theoretical notion of transitivity, inverse constructions and differential object marking. Section 4.2. provides a review of what has been documented on the Wayuunaiki alternatives and outlines the specific research questions to be addressed in this chapter. Section 4.3. proceeds with the data and methods. Then 4.4 presents the findings from the corpus analyses and subsequent elicitation. Lastly, section 4.5. ends with an overall characterization of the alternatives.

4.1 Transitivity

This dissertation has referred to syntactic roles using the SAO labels (Dixon 1979, Dixon & Aikhenvald 1997, 2000, *inter alia*). These labels provide a convenient way to refer to syntactic roles as having both form and function and distinguishing monovalency from bivalency. S refers to the single participant in an intransitive clause, whereas A-O refer to the transitive subject and object respectively. In purely semantic terms S/A corresponds to the trajector, whereas O to the landmark.

Transitivity is here regarded as a scalar concept. As such clauses lie at a point in a scale defined by two extreme prototypes (Hopper & Thompson 1980, 2001). On one end, high transitivity prototypically involves a volitional and agentive human A

that initiates a telic, punctual, affirmative and realis event whose endpoint is an individuated, and affected entity O. On the other end, low transitivity prototypically involves a non-volitional and non-agentive A that initiates an atelic, durative, negative and irrealis event whose endpoint is an unindividuated, and unaffected entity O. In general, low transitivity has been observed to be far more frequently used in conversation, and as such, it is far more central to the mental grammars of individuals (ibid 2001:52).

Thus, grammatical roles are taken to be fluid categories related to cognitive-pragmatic functions that constantly adapt to communicative needs. Within Cognitive linguistics, grammatical roles emerge from the inability to direct attention to an unlimited number of entities at any given moment. Therefore, via the categories of A and O speakers assign differential focal prominence to participants in a profiled relationship (Langacker 1998, 2008).

The recurrent yet dynamic regularities in language use allow us to associate predicate meanings with syntactic and semantic roles. Language users conceptualize such regularities as lexico-grammatical schemas, whose composition is not necessarily determined by the verb. Instead, the pragmatics of communication are the main factor that influence the associations between predicates and their arguments. The degree of flexibility of resulting schemas are a function of the verb's frequency. That is, highly frequent verbs, such as English "get" have the least predictable syntactic-semantic roles (Hopper & Thompson 2001:48). This contrasts with the more fixed accounts of argument structure where verbs choose their arguments.

Figure 4-1 shows a diagram²⁷ representing the prototype of the highly transitive event schema where syntax, semantics and pragmatics come together. The relative boldness of type face in the diagrams refer to how much that segment of the chain is profiled, i.e. the amount of focal prominence the speaker assigns to them.

²⁷ The diagrams are used as visual representation of event schemas. These are influenced by those from Langacker (2008 §11), Croft (2012), Kemmer (1993) among others. The circles are event participants; a bold typeface represents relative amount of profiling. The empty arrows represent transmission of energy/force.

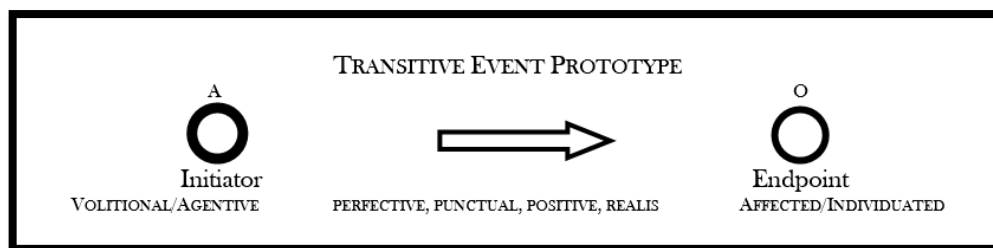


Figure 4-1 Highly Transitive Event Schema

Similarly, given that the present study is based on discourse data, the constraints proposed under the rubric of Preferred Argument Structure (Dubois 2003: 34, Chafe 1994) will be considered. The same patterns of language in use have been observed to apply crosslinguistically. On the grammatical side, it states that speakers generally avoid expressing more than one core argument lexically, and more specifically they avoid lexical arguments in the A role. On the pragmatic side it states that speakers generally avoid expressing more than one new core argument, and more specifically that they avoid expressing new information in the A role. These constraints may also be understood as stating that in language use, the expression of new information in lexical form is preferred in the S/O functions. In Dubois' study, these constraints were shown hold for English, Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, French, Japanese, Hebrew, Sakapultek and O'odham.

The general concern of this chapter regards the nature of the transitive alternatives in Wayuunaiki. The next paragraphs present some relevant issues regarding this phenomenon. Many languages have two transitive constructions based on verbal marking where speakers avail themselves of two distinct transitive prototypes. Several names have been used to refer to this opposition. For instance, in Plains Cree, it is called Direct vs Inverse (Zúñiga 2006), in Cebuano, Actor vs. Goal Focus (Shibatani 1988), in Jarawara, it is A- vs. O-constructions (Dixon 2000). Additionally, Álvarez (1994) has already compared the Wayuunaiki alternatives with those found two Finno-Ugric languages: Hungarian and Mansi. None of these constructions affect the syntactic valency of the clause, but the factors that motivate the alternatives vary from language to language. Thus, this subsection first compares inverse/direct to symmetrical systems and then end with a brief discussion of the Hungarian alternatives.

4.1.1. Direct-Inverse & Symmetrical Systems

Direct-Inverse systems are characterized by the use of two transitive constructions sensitive to referential hierarchies based around the higher prominence of speech act participants over third persons. These involve a grammatical opposition between SAP's and 3rd persons. These involves an opposition between SAP's and 3rd persons, and distinctions of 3rd persons, based on notions like animacy, control and definiteness (Klaiman 1991, Dixon & Aikhenvald 1997, Zúñiga 2006, *inter alia*). To Croft (2001: 315), the referential hierarchy can be seen as “a conventionalized stand-in for topicality”, because “it is only natural for the interlocutors to feel more salient or prominent than the absent, or distant third persons”. Additionally, some languages also have ‘obviation’ systems where 3rd persons are marked as obviate or proximate, according to the discourse status of the arguments.

On the other hand, argument focusing, or symmetrical systems are defined as being driven by information structure. (Klaiman 1991; Dixon & Aikhenvald 1997; Haude & Zúñiga 2016). In these systems, transitive alternatives are sensitive to discourse pragmatics. Unlike obviation systems, symmetrical systems involve all possible person combinations. Yet it is important to point out that the notions that make these systems different: pragmatic topicality and semantic salience, are interrelated.

This section is intended to establish a background for the analyses of the two transitive constructions in Wayuunaiki. I compare the usage of ‘inverse’ and ‘symmetrical’ systems in four languages. Two languages with direct-inverse systems: Cree and Tewa, and two others with symmetrical systems: K’iche’ and Tzotzil. The comparison is organized according to Direction Domains (Zúñiga’s 2006: 48).

In Mayan languages, a transitive clause commonly cross-references both the absolutive and ergative arguments via person prefixes. But alternatively, they also have an Agent Focus construction that involves verbal marking, word order changes and the cross-referencing of only one of the arguments. In Q’eqchi’, this has been described as a symmetrical (Klaiman 1991), but in Tzotzil, it has been described as obviate, since it only applies to 3rd persons (Aissen 1999). Despite plenty of crosslinguistic variation among the Mayan languages, the general function of this construction is to provide an alternative transitive construction that imparts higher

prominence on A than it usually gets in the functionally and formally unmarked transitive clause. For instance, K'iche' is a head-marking language that uses ergative-absolutive alignment, and makes use of the Agent Focus construction (Mondloch 1978, Pye 1989, Davies & Sam-Colop 1990, Campbell 2000). But the Agent Focus construction highlights A by preposing it to the verb, without defocusing O. It is used when A is clefted, questioned or negated (López Ixcoy 1997:367), and it can not be used in local scenarios (Mondloch 1978). In contrast, the Tzotzil Agent Focus construction requires A to be pragmatically focused and low in a hierarchy based on animacy, definiteness and individuation (Aissen 1999).

In Tewa, the transitive alternatives are marked primarily via pronominal proclitics. What I am presenting as the 'inverse' proclitic set, has been previously analyzed as a 'passive' set (Kroskirty 1985). The author prefers 'passive' because of its diachronic origin. It is cognate with the passive constructions in other Tanoan languages, but functions like an 'inverse' in Rio Grande Tewa. But this fact does not affect the present comparison on their usage.

CORE DIRECT DOMAIN (SAP → 3)

When the A of a transitive construction is a speech act participant (1st, 2nd) and O is non-local (3rd), only the direct alternative is available for Cree, Tewa and Tzotzil. In Cree, the verb must be marked via -a 'direct', as in (1a). In Tewa, the verb takes the 'direct' pronominal forms, while in Tzotzil, it is expressed in the unmarked transitive construction. However, in K'iche', a transitive clause in the core-direct domain can go either way. It occurs in its unmarked transitive form, as in (1b), unless A needs to be contrastively focused in questions or cleft constructions. In these cases, it is expressed as the Agent focus construction, as in (1c).

(1). Examples in the Core-Direct Domain

- a. Cree (direct)
 - ni-se:kih-a-wak
 - 1SG-frighten-DIRECT-3PL
 - 'I frighten them' (Payne 2008)

- b. K'iche' (simple transitive VO)
- | | | | |
|---------------------|--|-----|-------|
| X-∅-qa-to' | | ri | ixoq |
| CPL-3S.A-1PL.E-help | | ART | woman |
- We helped that woman.
- c. K'iche' (Agent Focus AVO)
- | | | | |
|-----------|---------------------|-----|-------|
| Oj | x-oj-to'- ow | ri | ixoq |
| 1PL.B | CPL-1PL.A-help-AF | ART | woman |
- It was us who helped that woman

CORE-INVERSE DOMAIN (3→SAP)

When the A in a transitive clause is a 3rd person and the O is a speech act participant (1st, 2nd), only the inverse alternative is allowed in Cree and Tewa. In Cree, the verb takes **-ik** 'inverse', as in (2a), while in Tewa, the verb takes the 'inverse' pronominal forms. Contrastingly, in Tzotzil and K'ichee', the transitive clause behaves under the same conditions as those in the core-direct domain. The Tzotzil construction must be expressed as the unmarked transitive form, while in K'iche' the same choice as explained above applies, as in (2b-c). In other words, the two north American languages are sensitive to core direction, but this makes no difference to the Mayan languages.

(2). Examples in the Core-Inverse domain

- a. Cree (Inverse)
- ni-se:kih-**ik**-wak
 1SG-frighten-INVERSE-3PL
 'they frighten me' (Payne 2008)
- a. K'iche' (simple transitive VA)
- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--|-----|-------|
| X-oj-u-to' | | ri | ixoq |
| CPL-1PL.AB-3S.ER-help | | ART | woman |
- That woman helped us
- b. K'iche' (Agent Focus AVO)
- | | | | |
|----------------|------------------------|--|--|
| Ri ixoq | x-oj-to'- ow-ik | | |
| ART woman | CPL-1PL.A-help-AF-R.I. | | |
- It was that woman that helped us.

THE LOCAL DOMAIN (SAP↔SAP)

Local scenarios solely involve 1st and 2nd persons, as in ‘I saw you’ or ‘you saw me’. When both participants in a transitive clause are 1st and 2nd persons, the construction differs for Cree and Tewa, but it is equal for the Mayan languages. The local transitive clause in Tewa must be inverse. In Cree, it is direct if A is 2nd person and O is 1st person; the opposite requires the ‘inverse’. In both Tzotzil and K’iche’, the local transitive clause must be in its unmarked transitive form.

THE NON-LOCAL DOMAIN (3↔3)

When both transitive participants are 3rd persons, all four languages come to a level playing field. It is in this domain that the distinction between discourse-pragmatic or semantic motivations becomes more ambiguous. In both Cree and Tewa if the nominal that is higher in the nominal hierarchy is A, the direct form is used, but if the referent that is lower in the hierarchy is A, the clause must be ‘inverse’. If both are equal in the hierarchy, the choice is determined by discourse pragmatic factors (Payne 2008:212 for Cree; Sabogal, fieldwork for Tewa). The examples in (3a-b) come from (Kroskrity 1985:319). Here, we see the use of both sets of pronominals in non-local situation where the participants are both human, or both animal.

(3). Transitive Alternatives in Non-local scenarios

a. Tewa (direct pronominal)

'I sen	'i 'e'nú	'i=mû'
The man	the boy	3S→3S=see
The man saw the boy		

b. Tewa (inverse pronominal)

'I pu-'ây-di	páadáybo	'oe=mû'	p'óséwhâa se'dó
The rabbit-DIM-AGN	first	3S←3S=see	coyote old.man
The little rabbit saw old man Coyote first.			

c. Tzotzil (Fronted A & Simple transitive)

K'usi	i-s-ti'?
What	CPL-3S.E-eat
What did he eat?	

d. Tzotzil (Fronted A & Agent Focus)

K'usi	ti'-on?
What	eat-AF
What bit him?	

In K'iche', the Agent Focus construction is only used if A is pragmatically focused, but in Tzotzil, focus is not enough to trigger either alternative. In both examples above, the A is being solicited via a question. In (3c), the focused A is definite and human, while in (3d), the focused A is indefinite non-human. All examples in 3) show the half semantic and half pragmatic nature of the choice of transitive alternatives in non-local domains. Table 4-1 below summarizes the comparison of 3rd person systems across the four languages. K'iche' is the only one where the transitive choice appears to be purely based on discourse context. The rest rely on both semantic and discourse pragmatic notions.

NON-LOCAL	→		←	
	VERBAL FORM	CONDITION FOR A RELATIVE TO O	VERBAL FORM	CONDITION FOR A RELATIVE TO O
CREE	Direct V- a	Higher in hierarchy	Inverse V- ik	Lower in hierarchy
TEWA	Direct Pronominals	Higher in hierarchy	Inverse Pronominals	Lower in hierarchy
TZOTZIL	Unmarked Transitive	Higher in hierarchy	Agent Focus V- on	Lower in hierarchy and Focused
K'ICHEE'	Unmarked Transitive	Not Focused	Agent Focus V- ow .	Focused

Table 4-1 Comparative Usage of Transitive Alternatives in Non-Local Domains

In sum, the comparison provided in this section shows that the opposition between SAP's and 3rd persons is foundational for inverse systems, but holds little significance for the symmetrical systems. Additionally, the non-local scenario displays a continuum between semantic and pragmatic motivations for the choice of transitive alternative. Only in K'iche' do the motivation appear to be purely pragmatic. Given that the functional motivations are expected to be mixed in many languages, I conclude that these categories should instead be taken as reference points to describe systems that fall somewhere in between a continuum (Haude and Zúñiga 2016:445).

4.1.3. The Hungarian System

Another system of two transitive construction that deserves special mention for the present study is that of Ugric languages. Álvarez (1994) remarked on the

similarities that the Wayuunaiki system shares with those found in Hungarian and Mansi, a language spoken in Russia. Hungarian is an agglutinative language where the verb is marked for tense, mood, person, number and definiteness of the object. Pivoting on this last feature, transitive verbs have two possible forms in all moods and tenses (Kenesei et al 1998:321). ‘Indefinite verbs’ index S/A and the indefiniteness of the O, as in (4a), whereas ‘definite verbs’ index S/A and the definiteness of O, as in (4b)

(4). Transitive Alternatives in Hungarian

- a. András viz-et **kér**
 Andrew water-ACC want.IDF.3S
 Andrew wants some water
- b. Az-t **kér-em**
 That-ACC want-DF.1SG
 I want that
- c. Erika nem **bíz-ik** János-ban
 Erica not trust-IDF.3S John-INE
 Erica does not trust John

Only direct objects marked by the accusative case affect the choice. When the O is marked by any other case, only the ‘indefinite’ verb is possible. The example in (4c) above has ‘John’ marked with the inessive case, and as such, it must be combined with the ‘indefinite’ verb.

Kenesei et al. (1998:322-3) list all the types of arguments that count as indefinite or definite object. As expected, these include number articles and pronouns with definite and indefinite meanings. For example, interrogative pronouns can be definite or indefinite, as in (5) below. However, the condition that stands out in the Hungarian system is that 1st and 2nd person objects require the use of the ‘indefinite’ verb form²⁸. This means that that the verbal opposition functions in the core direct and non-local domains. The local and inverse domains will be simply expressed by the ‘indefinite’ verb. In other words, the system groups indefinite 3rd person objects with 1st and 2nd person object, which are inherently ‘definite’.

²⁸ There is one exception that falls outside of the ‘definite-indefinite’ system. When the A is 1st person singular and the O is 2nd person singular or plural, the suffix -lak/-lek is used.

(5). Interrogative Pronouns.

Definite Interrogative

- a. Melyik-et **kér-ed**
 Which.one-ACC want-DF.2SG
 Which one do you want?

Indefinite interrogative

- b. Milyi-et **kér-sz**
 What.kind-ACC want-IDF.2SG
 What kind do you want?

This Hungarian system is more like the symmetrical constructions presented for the Mayan languages in the previous sections because they are both motivated by pragmatic factors. On the other hand, this system can hardly be considered an inverse system because both verbal forms are used in the core-direct domain. The primary difference between the Hungarian system and symmetrical systems is that the alternatives pivot on the nature of the O in the former, but on the nature of A for the latter. But in essence, this Hungarian transitive system does not fit either of the categories.

This section has provided a definition of transitivity and presented a typological background on how languages make use of two transitive constructions. It reviewed notions of concern for the analysis of the Wayuunaiki system, such as the direct-inverse systems, symmetrical systems, and another that may be considered the indefinite-definite system. In the next section, I present a review on previous discussions on the two transitive alternatives in Wayuunaiki.

4.2 The Wayuunaiki Subjective and Objective clauses

The availability of two ways to verbalize transitivity in Wayuunaiki has attracted the attention of many authors (Hildebrandt 1965, Múgica 1969, Mosonyi 1975, Olza & Jusayú 1986, Álvarez 1994, 2005b, Bravo 2005), yet a more fine-grained description of its pragmatic and semantic properties is necessary both for pedagogical purposes and for a better understanding of the functions of these alternatives. The next paragraphs will discuss what has been documented on these

constructions in the Wayuunaiki literature, beginning with a discussion of the terminology used in the literature, and then move to a discussion of how previous scholars have addressed the four issues that form the primary research questions for this chapter:

- (1). Do anaphoric and cataphoric patterns correlate with the use of the transitive alternatives? (Sec. 4.3.1)
- (2). Do person and animacy configurations correlate with the use of the alternatives? (Sec. 4.3.2)
- (3). How does definiteness figure into the use of the two alternatives? (Sec. 4.3.3)
- (4). What are the other functions of transitive alternatives? (Sec. 4.4.)

4.2.1. Terminology and Definitions

The labels **analytic** and **synthetic** reflect the difference in the number of cross-referenced participants on the verb (Hildebrandt 1965; Múgica 1969). Analytic verbs only index a subject Sa/A while synthetic verbs index both the A and the O. These two verb types have the same number of morphemes, but differ in number of personal references. The analytic verb is formally characterized by the ‘indefinite’ person prefix **a-**, while the synthetic verb is characterized by a specific person prefix. In example (5a), the verb marked by **a-** and the ‘feminine’ suffix **-rü** indexes the buyer (A) Contrastingly in 5b), the specific person prefix refers to the buyer (A) while the ‘masculine’ suffix **-chi** specifies a single male goat as the O.

(5). The Two Transitive Constructions

a.	Analytic Verb		
	V	A	O
	A-ya'laj-ee-rü	taya	kaa'ula
	IDF-buy-FUT-♀	1S	goat
	I will buy goats.		
b.	Synthetic Verb		
	V	O	
	Ta-'yalaja-ee-chi	kaa'ula-ka-i	chii
	1S -buy-FUT-♂	goat-SPC-♂	DEM♂
	I will buy that goat.		

Mosonyi (1975) proposed the names **Subjective** and **Objective** after positing that these were ways in which speakers focused either A or O. Despite this great insight, the use of Subjective and Objective has extended to include other constructions. In fact, both sets of labels (Analytic-Synthetic and Subjective-Objective) have come to be used synonymously. Unfortunately, this fails to capture the fact that the Analytic verb is also used in intransitive clauses, and the limitation of the clausal distinction to main clauses. Analytic-Subjective have been used in the literature to refer to both intransitive clauses referencing Sa arguments, and transitive clauses referencing an A. The labels synthetic-Objective have been used to refer to transitive clauses that index O, and to subordinated ones that index Sa/A.

For clarity of exposition, I propose to disentangle the definition of these terms by using Subjective only to refer to clauses with transitive analytic verbs that index A, as in (5a), and Objective only for clauses with synthetic verbs that index O, as in (5b). These may have been the original intended meanings of the terms proposed by Hildebrandt (1965) and E. Mosonyi (1975) respectively, but their subsequent broadening of the use of these terms to different functions decreased their transparency.

The verbal prefix **a-** has been called “active” (Ehrman 1972), “indefinite”, or “impersonal” (Álvarez 1994, 2004). This prefix is pivotal in many constructions in the language, and as such its meaning is highly generalized. Via harmonic patterns, the first vowel of the verbal root may cause **a-** to be expressed as **e-** or **o-**. The analytic verb ends with a gender-number suffix indexing Sa/A.

On the other hand, all synthetic verbs are transitive actions, and all occur in Objective clauses. The synthetic verb indexes A via a personal prefix and O via the gender-number suffix. The verbal and clausal distinctions could be presented schematically as consisting of two analytic constructions: [**a**-V-Sa] / [**a**-V-A], and a synthetic one [A-V-O]. ‘Gerundial’ verbs [A/Sa-*in*] have also been considered synthetic, but these do not participate in the Subjective-Objective opposition, and only index the subject (A/Sa).

Verb type	Form	Transitivity	Clause
ANALYTIC	a-V-A	Transitive	Subjective
SYNTHETIC	A-V-O	Transitive	Objective
ANALYTIC	a-V-Sa	Intransitive	Agentive
GERUNDIAL	A-V- <i>in</i>	Transitive	Subordinate
	Sa-V- <i>in</i>	Intransitive	

Table 4-2 Active Verb types and Valency

4.2.2. Other Morphosyntactic Properties

As confirmed in Bravo's study (2005), it is generally accepted that the "main" constituent order in a pragmatically neutral transitive clause is VAO (Mansen & Mansen 1984, Olza & Jusayú 1986, Álvarez 1994). Yet all authors agree that there is also a significantly frequent occurrence of VOA order. Matera (2001:87), however, depicts the constituent order as construction-specific: VAO for Subjective clauses, and VO for Objective ones.²⁹

Múgica (1969) wrote that the Objective construction is more frequently used than the Subjective one. This was corroborated by Bravo (2005:75), who extracted 32 transitive clauses with overtly expressed arguments out of 15 stories from *Achikii* (Jusayú 1986), and 22 (69%) of these were Objective clauses with overtly expressed A's. The dropping of the subject is then not categorical in the Objective construction. Nevertheless, the fact that there were only 2.1 tokens of these 'fully' expressed transitive clauses per story is indicative of their rarity in use.³⁰ In Bravo's analyses, the order VAO order was found more frequently across clause types, while the order VOA was primarily found in Objective clauses.

Given that analytic predicates may be transitive or intransitive, the Subjective clause is here operationally defined one that involves an overt O. This is argument omission in general is common. The dictionary entry (Jusayú & Olza 2006:76) for the verb 'clean' is listed in its 'multiple' form as *awülejaa* and categorized as transitive. Álvarez gives the examples in (6) using this verb to demonstrate that both

²⁹ More specifically her analysis suggests that the underlying structure is AVO. In the Subjective, the A moves from the specifier position to VP, leaving a phonetically realized trace: *a-*. In the Objective, A moves to the VP as a prefix leading to the order [VO]. (2001:87)

³⁰ These 15 stories from *Achikii* amount to at least 30,000 words.

are transitive. Incidentally, (6a) demonstrates the use of a definite object in a Subjective clause.

(6). The Analytic Verb and the Expression of the O

- a. V A O
 A-wülejü-sü taya **tü** **luma-ka-lü.**
 IDF-clean-♀ I DEM♀ arbor-SPC-♀
 I am cleaning the ramada.
- b. V A? Sa?
 A-wülejü-sü taya
 IDF-clean-♀ I
 I am cleaning
- c. V O
 O-juriichaja-a-shii jime
 IDF-fry-SDN-PL fish
 (We) quickly fried fish (CO L&E II 8.2)

My take is that the flexibility in Wayuunaiki verbs to be transitive or intransitive must interact with the omission of the O. Given that the current study looks at alternatives of transitivity, constructions like (6b) would constitute a grey area. I then exclude these by defining the Subjective clause as one that must have an overt O. On the other hand, my collected data has plenty of examples of A omission in Subjective clauses. Múgica (1969:82) and Matera (2001:87) had posited that the A of Subjective clause had to be overtly expressed. I include constructions like (6c) as transitive.

Verb	Form	Clause	Ability to drop	
			A	O
ANALYTIC	a-V-A	SUBJECTIVE	✓	
SYNTHETIC	A-V-O	Objective	✓	✓

Table 4-3 Omissibility of Arguments in both Clauses.

Contrasting the apparent rigidity in the expression of constituents in the Subjective clause, Objective clauses frequently omit either or both of its arguments.

4.2.3. Semantic and Pragmatic Properties

Prior to Mosonyi’s observation that the transitive alternatives function as focus alternatives, Múgica (1969:82) had documented that when asking for A arguments in “who” questions [*jana V-ka*] the verb must be Subjective, and when asking for the O, it must be Objective. The indefinite prefix *a-* in (7a) below, indicates that the pronominal predicate *jana* ‘who’ refers to the A, while the specific person prefix in (7b), indicates that *jana* refers to the O. Múgica (1969:94-5) further explains that the function of the transitive alternatives is to disambiguate syntactic roles, given that Wayuunaiki lacks nominal (core) case marking.

(7). “Who” Questions and the Transitive Alternatives

		A		
a.	Jana	o-julaja-ka	jintü-i-ka-i	chii?
	Who	IDF-hit-SPC	kid-♂-SPC-♂	DEM♂
	Whom did this boy hit?			
			O	
b.	Jana	no-julaja-ka	jintü-i-ka-i	chii?
	Who	3♂-hit-SPC	kid-♂-SPC-♂	DEM♂
	Who hit this boy?			

Since then, Álvarez (1994: 92) added the significant observation that in the Objective clause, the O argument must be definite-specific. As seen in §3.2, there are many morphosyntactic devices that formally ground an entity as definite (e.g. the specific suffix, demonstratives, person prefixes, *inter alia*). On the other hand, a bare noun phrase is often an alienable noun and always expresses an indefinite generic entity. But *wanee* “one, a” is a word that has both “definite” and “indefinite” functions (Álvarez 2005b:29). The examples in (8) show two indefinite uses of *wanee*. In (8a), *wanee* precedes a plural noun, while in (8b) it precedes another number and plural noun.

(8). The ‘indefinite’ function of *wanee* ‘one’

a.	Wanee	ama-irua
	One	horse-PL
	Some horses	

- b. Wanee apünüin-sü jieyuu
 One three-♀ women
 Some three women
- c. * Ta-'lakajaa-inja-tü wanee asalaa
 1s-cook-VOL-♀ one steak
 I will cook a steak

Álvarez mentions that the definite O restriction in Objective clauses precludes the possibility of occurrence of an ‘indefinite’ object marked by *wanee* in Objective clauses, as in (8c). However, when *wanee* precedes a singular noun within other constructions, there are no formal means to distinguish ‘definite’ from ‘indefinite’ functions.

Bravo (2005:85) performed pragmatic tests where native speakers judged the grammaticality of various transitive configurations. She was concerned with the preferred constituent order in transitive configurations according to type of overt NP. She distinguished pronouns, proper nouns, specified NP’s, Possessive NP, or “indefinites”. In this last category, she grouped ‘generic’ bare noun phrases with those marked by *wanee*. She concludes that VAO is the preferred order, with two exceptions: i.) when O is a pronoun, and ii.) when A was an indefinite or possessive NP.

The examples in (9) show clauses with ‘indefinite’ arguments in their preferred form (Bravo 2005). Examples (9b-d) were preferably expressed Subjective clauses in the order VAO. Even though there was no explanation provided, it is noteworthy that the only preferred *wanee* marked subject (9a) occurred in the core-inverse domain of person alignment and as an Objective clause. On the other hand, the core-direct counterpart in (9b) involves the same *wanee* marked argument ‘a young man’ but he is the O and the clause is Subjective. Lastly, the example in (9d) is an ‘impersonal’ Subjective clause.

(9). Indefinite Arguments and the Transitive Alternatives

- a. Na-'atapajü-in taya wanee jima'a-i wopu-lu'u
 3S♂-wait-O I one youth-♂ path-LOC
 A young man waited for me on the path

- b. **A**-’atapajü-sü taya wanee jima’a-i wopu-lu’u
 IDF-wait-♀ I one youth-♂ path-LOC
 I waited for a young guy on the path
- c. **A**-sü-sü tü püliiku-ko-t wüin
 IDF-drink-♀ DEM♀ donkey-SPC-♀ water
 The donkey drinks water
- d. **A**-sü-sü püliiku wüin
 IDF-drink-♀ donkey water
 Donkeys drink water

Dorado (2008) performs an excellent analysis of topic continuity and discontinuity in a Wayuunaiki narrative. She was not necessarily considering the transitive alternatives, but her conclusions are quite relevant for the present study. She describes that in the narrative *Kalekale*, the lexical expression of the protagonist functions as an initial introduction to the main character, as well as his reintroduction into the stage after periods of discontinuity. On the other hand, during phases of high topical continuity, the protagonist was mentioned via pronouns, affixes and as the S of passive occurred during phases of high topical continuity.

If the data from Bravo’s analysis were to be recategorized as pronominal vs lexical (proper nouns, specific NP’s, possessive NP, indefinites), her findings are further generalizable. For instance, the data shows that the expression of A in the Objective clause is always lexical, that the O in VAO order is always lexical, and that the O in VOA order is always pronominal. Table 4-4 summarizes a secondary analysis of the findings in Bravo (2005).

Preferred Clause	A	O	Preferred Order
OBJECTIVE	∅	Pronominal	VO
	∅	Lexical	VO
	Lexical	Pronominal	VOA
	Lexical	Lexical	VAO
SUBJECTIVE	Pronominal	Lexical	VAO
	Lexical	Lexical	VAO

Table 4-4 Native speaker preferences with lexical vs pronominal expression

Besides disambiguating reference in interrogative clauses and being sensitive to definiteness, the alternatives also play important roles in marked focus constructions. Álvarez (2005:32) notes that the transitive alternatives interact with left dislocation as a topicalizing strategy. For instance, the pre-posing of O requires the O to be definite and the verb to be synthetic, as in (10a). Contrastingly, the pre-posing of O in a Subjective clause is ungrammatical, regardless of whether the O is definite as in (10b), or indefinite as in (10c). This construction always requires a slight intonation break prior to the expression of the predicate, and this is typically marked with a comma.

(10). Left Dislocation of O in both clauses types. (Álvarez 2005b: 32)

- a. Chi kaa'ula-ka-i, **pü**-ya'laj-ee-chi.
 DEM[♂] goat- SPC-[♂] 2S-buy-FUT-[♂]
 That goat is the one you will buy
- b. *Mariia, **o**-usajü-in-ja-chi taya
 María, IDF-kiss-GR-VOL-[♂] I
Maria, I am going to kiss.
- c. *Maiki, **a**-'lakajaa-sü taya
 Corn, IDF-cook-[♀] I
Corn, I cooked.

Preliminary corpus observations, however, revealed that left dislocation in both genres was a rare phenomenon. Comparatively, cleft constructions were used much more frequently. Olza & Jusayú (1986), Álvarez (1994) and Bravo (2005) have briefly described cleft constructions, but with variable terminology and minimal reference to its function. Olza & Jusayú (1986:91) write that “propositions with the specific suffix *-ka* hold an emphatic or specifying value”. Álvarez observes that in cleft constructions, the focus and definiteness expressed by the transitive alternatives are “related yet independent” (2005: 34). More specifically, an indefinite O may be clefted and combined with a synthetic verb, as in (11a), while a definite O cannot be topicalized this way, as in (11b).

(11). O Clefting in Objective Clauses (Álvarez 2005b)

- a. Uujolu **ta-s-ee-ka**
 chicha 1s-drink-DES-SPC
 Chicha is what I want to drink
- b. *Uujot-koo tüü, **ta-s-ee-ka**
 chicha-SPC_♀ DEM_♀ 1s-drink-DES-SPC
 That chicha is what I want to drink

Bravo (2005:91) notes that there is a tight relationship between the focused nominal predicate and the nominalized transitive alternative, but such relationship is not described. But her examples reveal three important properties of these constructions. First, in these constructions, the 3rd person ‘feminine’ pronoun **jia**³¹ ‘it’ precedes the clefted constituent and makes it definite. Secondly, the A may be clefted in both Objective and Subjective clauses as in (12a-b)³² respectively. And third, “indefinite” [*wanee* N] O may also be clefted in Objective clauses, as in (12c).

(12). Argument Clefting and the Alternatives (Bravo 2005)

- a) Jia Ines, **ji-pitaj-ee-ka** miichi-ka-t
 3S_♀ Inés 3_♀-sweep-FUT-SPC house-SPC-_♀
 It is Ines who will sweep the house
- b) Jia-’asa Mariia **o-usaja-ka** Kamiirü
 she-TVF María IDF-kiss-SPC Camilo
 It was María who kissed Camilo
- c) Jia wanee wüi **ta-ikalaa-ka** a-a’u
 it one snake 1S-sit-SPC IDF-on
 It was a snake that I sat on

Table 4-5 sums up my interpretation of the limitations of the O arguments and their interaction with the transitively alternatives. Additionally, the A in both clauses may be dropped and clefted.

³¹ In Wayuunaiki, pronouns may co-occur with their referents within the same NP increasing their specificity and pragmatic emphasis.

³² Bravo observes that contrastive focus is expressed by adding the truth-value focus suffix -’asa attached to the focused constituent.

POSSIBILITIES FOR O	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DROP	DISLOCATION	CLEFT
Subjective	✓	✓	no	no	no
Objective	✓	no	✓	✓	✓

Table 4-5 Possibilities for O Across Clause Types

Section 4.2 has provided an overview of what has been discussed regarding the transitive alternatives in the Wayuunaiki literature. Previous research shows that the O in Objective clauses must be definite and may be dropped, dislocated and clefted, while the O in Subjective clauses are not restricted by definiteness, and can not be dropped, dislocated nor clefted.

With the aim to summarize as succinctly as possible the morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties that can be gathered from the Wayuunaiki literature, I have proposed a revision of some of the terminology. First, stative clauses with two arguments were excluded from the Subjective-Objective opposition. These constructions may be better analyzed as extended intransitives where the gender-number suffix cross-references the only clausal argument (So). Second, I specifically distinguish the intransitive ‘agentive’ clause as those that involve an Sa, from transitive Subjective ones that encode an A. Lastly, ‘Objective’, only refers to transitive clauses that specify both arguments via the verbal affixes, and thus excludes gerundial verbs. This next section presents a list of questions about the the use of Subjective and Objective clauses meant to be explored in a corpus of discourse data.

4.3. Questions & Methods

In this section, I begin with a summary of the most important findings of the previous research and then state the research questions that those findings lead to. Then I provide an overview of the methods used in preparing and analyzing the discourse corpus.

4.2.1 Research Questions

The Wayuunaiki transitive alternatives have a history of linguistic analyses that have yielded significant findings. To my judgement, the three most important ones regarding their usage have been the following:

- 1) They embody focus alternatives (Mugica 1969, Mosonyi 1975)
- 2) The definiteness of O plays a crucial role in them (Álvarez 1994)
- 3) They interact with other focus constructions (Álvarez 2005b, Bravo 2005).

The notion of focus alternatives provides an important indication in the right direction, but its actual meaning is not fully clear yet. Given that ‘who’ questions require the Subjective to inquire about A, but the Objective to inquire about O, it is easy to assume this is the meaning of the such alternatives. Yet, this still needs to be corroborated.

The constraint on the definiteness of the O of Objective clauses is also indicative that the discourse status plays an important role in the opposition, but it still leaves us with the question of what is the role that ‘indefinite’ arguments play in it. And further what is the role that topicality plays in it. Lastly the interaction of marked focus construction appears to help discover further properties of the meaning of the alternatives.

Further discourse analyses can elucidate more elements for this puzzle whose completion will allow a more fine-grained description that may be useful to teaching and learning Wayuunaiki transitive clauses. After more than six decades of discovering properties of the use of these alternatives, the various authors have noticed a great deal of fluidity and variation in their form and function that is simply difficult to characterize. This variation can be approached via quantitative methods of corpora analyses; from which we can infer the prototypes via the observed tendencies in their use. The remaining sections of the chapter will then be guided by four research questions.

First, we know that definiteness is intimately related to the discourse notions of anaphora and cataphora, and therefore, the first question is **I) Do anaphoric and cataphoric values correlate with the use of the alternatives?**

Additionally, we can also look at other possible factors that have not been explored yet, such as person and animacy configurations. No author has yet considered whether the opposition between speech act participants and third persons plays a role in the Wayuunaiki system. Thus, the second question is **II) Is the use of the Wayuunaiki transitive alternative sensitive to person or animacy configurations?**

Third, the definiteness of O has been documented as a primary factor motivating the use of the two transitive constructions, yet the nature of Wayuunaiki **indefinite** arguments is still unclear. In particular, the double function of [*wanee* N] has been responsible for the elusiveness in the definition of Wayuunaiki indefinites. The answers to the previous questions can provide significant insights for understanding the status of [*wanee* N]. Thus, the third chapter question is: **(III) How does indefiniteness fit within the transitive alternatives?**

The fourth question regards the interaction of the alternatives to other *makred* focus constructions. Although this has been addressed in (Álvarez 2005b, Bravo 2005), it seems appropriate to re-address the issue after having looked several other factors at play in the alternatives. Thus, the fourth question is: **(IV) How do the Wayuunaiki alternatives interact with cleft constructions?**

4.2.2 Methods

The primary data contained in the corpus involves conversations gathered in the Colombian Guajira throughout the year 2016. These amount to four hours of conversational data recorded by seven speakers (4 males and 3 females) from two *rancherías* located within the municipality of Maicao, Colombia. One speaker was over 60 years old, two were in their 30's and four were in their 20's. They are primarily speakers of *abajero* or Southwestern Wayuunaiki. The speakers in their 20's were fluent bilinguals in Spanish, and the others spoke Spanish less fluently. The conversations covered a wide range of topics such as personal anecdotes, daily events, food dynamics, animal husbandry, food gardening, puberty rituals, weddings, as well as current affairs like the Venezuelan economic crisis or the dynamics of mixed marriages or the evangelicals in their communities. The translations and

transcriptions of these conversations, which amount to over 23,000 words, were made possible thanks to Octavio Ponce (Epieyuu), Ángel Barros (Wouliyuu), Maribel Epieyuu, Betty Ipuana and Orlando Püshaina in La Guajira, Colombia.

The secondary data contained in the corpus involves seven narratives written by Miguel Angel Jusayú (1986, 1994), which amount to about 17,000 words. These include “The Story of Parusa and Aisapainchi”, “The Story of a Lazy Young Man”, “The Story of a Hawk and a Rabbit”, “The Story of a Turtle Hunter”, “It was not a Cow nor a Horse”, “The Story of a Drunkard and a Jaguar-Man”, and “The Story of the Man whose Wife Died”. These. I am indebted to Dr José Álvarez for sharing the transliteration into the the ALIV orthography of these stories, as well as his own morphologically glossed analyses of “The Story of a Drunkard and a Jaguar-Man”, and “The Story of the Man whose Wife Died”.

To answer these four questions listed above, 120 main transitive clauses were extracted from the corpus: 60 per construction type, 30 from narrative and 30 from dialogue. At least in predicative function, Objective clauses were overwhelmingly more frequent than Subjective ones. I found Objective tokens as main clauses approximately every 115 words, but Subjective ones approximately every 690 words. Additionally, a smaller number of other types of constructions that participated in the opposition were also extracted and subsequently analyzed. The analyses of narrative and conversational data were subsequently complemented by elicitation sessions with native speakers who clarified unresolved observations.

The factors assumed to be significant for the characterization of the alternatives in predication included NP type, anaphoric distance, cataphoric persistence, definiteness, and person-animacy configuration. Additionally, I considered the behavior of the alternatives in cleft constructions.

Referent mentions were coded as ‘affixal’, ‘pronominal’ or ‘lexical’. Anaphoric Distance measured the number of clauses that passed since the last mention of an entity, up to 20. This measure is interpreted an accessibility scale, where the lower the number the more accessible an entity is in the speaker and hearer’s memory (Givón 2001). It later proved useful to categorize the value of 20 as ‘new’ information and any lower value as ‘accessible’ information.

Cataphoric persistence measures the number of subsequent mentions of an entity within 10 clauses. This measure is here interpreted as a thematic scale. The larger the number the more persistent the entity is to the contextual discourse. For both measures, a “mention” was taken to include referring affixes (verbal, nominal and adpositional), pronouns, demonstratives and noun phrases. Both anaphoric distance and cataphoric persistence is taken to be an indirect measurement of topicality. This differs from the approach taken in Dorado’s study (2008) where she measured topicality directly by following the development of the actual topic of a narrative.

Person configurations were categorized according to four direction domains proposed in Zúñiga (2006:48), which correspond to the four quadrants in Table 6 below. The ground is regarded as the local domain ($SAP \leftrightarrow SAP$), where speaker and hearer involved in the transitive relations. The stage is regarded as non-local ($3 \leftrightarrow 3$), and it is a domain where neither the speaker nor hearer are involved in the transitive relations. The Core Direct domain ($SAP \rightarrow 3$) involves the ground as A, while Core Inverse ($3 \rightarrow SAP$) involves the ground as O.

		O	
		SAP (1 st 2 nd)	3
A	SAP (1 st 2 nd)	Local	Core Direct
	3	Core Inverse	Non-local

Table 4-6 Core Direction Domains

4.4 The Findings

This section presents the findings relevant to the four research questions enumerated above. After this, the chapter ends in 4.5. with a characterization of the transitive prototypes.

One of the most revealing findings was that 98% of the O’s in the Subjective tokens were expressed lexically, while 97% of the A’s in Objective tokens were only expressed via the prefix. It is important to reiterate that every single mention of a referent is expressed via affixes, but only during argument omission, is the affix the sole means of referencing. Figure 4-2 summarizes the raw frequency measure of lexical, pronominal and affixal expression of referents per construction type.

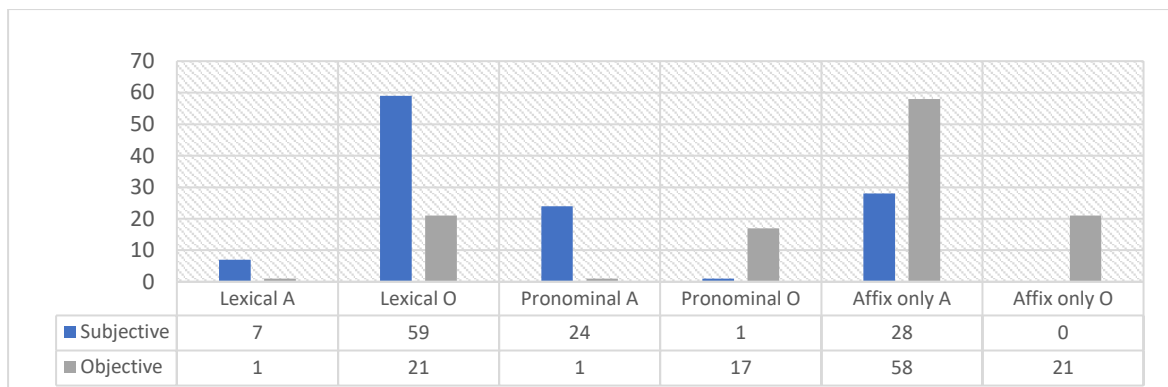


Figure 4-2 Frequencies of types of mention per construction type

The attested preferred constituent order VAO did not occur once in Objective form, but was found in 38% of the Subjective tokens. Instead the most frequent constituent order was VO with 97% of the Objective tokens and 46% of the Subjective ones. Additionally, there were four tokens of Subjective clauses with a fronted subject (A,VO), and three of these subjects were expressed lexically.

4.4.1 Anaphora and Cataphora

This subsection is guided by two hypotheses to the question of whether anaphoric and cataphoric values correlate with the use of the alternatives. During the process of counting clauses to determine anaphoric distance and cataphoric persistence, I realized that these numbers could be more significant as differences. This measure would tell us whether the two transitive arguments have similar discourse statuses, and if not, how different are their anaphoric or cataphoric values. Therefore, the 1st hypothesis states that the alternatives are sensitive to accessibility differences between A and O, i.e. anaphoric asymmetry. The 2nd one is that the alternatives are sensitive to the difference in the foreseen persistence between A and O, i.e. persistence asymmetry.

HYPOTHESIS 1

THE ALTERNATIVES ARE SENSITIVE TO ANAPHORIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN A AND O.

Crosslinguistically, a transitive subject tends to be more accessible than a transitive object. But the two transitive alternatives allow for various possible situations, including a possible swap in the relative anaphoric values of transitive arguments. To reiterate, this measure indicates the number of clauses since an entity was last mentioned in the discourse. For instance, the immediately preceding clause counts as one; and so on until the twentieth clause

The Wayunaiki data suggests that in both alternatives A is always more anaphoric than O. Now, the difference in accessibility between the transitive arguments was significantly larger in Subjective clauses ($M=-11.13$, $SD=10.4$) than in Objective ones ($M=-4.3$, $SD=7.7$); $t(118) = +4.06$, $p = 0.001$. These results suggest that accessibility of the arguments in Objective clauses is closer to symmetry than those of Subjective one. Table 4-7 summarizes the anaphoric distance mean number of clauses.

Anaphoric Distance	n	(A – O)	A	O
Subjective	60	-11.13	3.7	14.5
Objective	60	-4.3	1.4	5.7

Table 4-7 Accessibility Means of A & O per construction

If we look at anaphoric distance means independently for A and O, we get more generalized measures for grammatical roles per alternative. The results show that both arguments are more accessible (i.e. lower anaphoric distance) in Objective than they are in the Subjective clauses. The A is more accessible in Objective ($M=1.41$, $SD=1.16$) than in Subjective ($M=3.36$, $SD=5.69$); $t(118) = +2.6$, $p = 0.01$, and the O is more accessible in Objective ($M=5.71$, $SD=7.49$) than in Subjective ($M=14.5$, $SD=7.79$) $t(118) = -6.29$, $p = .0001$. The mean anaphoric distance for the O in Subjective constructions was very high: 14.5 clauses.

Additionally, when these anaphoric measures are compared according to genre, we also find that such inaccessibility of O in Subjective clauses was greater in narrative ($M=17.06$, $SD=6.04$) than in conversation ($M=11.93$, $SD=8.56$); $t(58) = -2.68$, $p = 0.009$.

Additionally, if we consider the relationship between type of mention and anaphoric distance we see that the lexical expression of the O is associated with

largely inaccessible entities regardless of construction type. We also see the the lexical expression of inaccessible subjects is also feature of the Subjective clause. On the other hand, very accessible entities are expressed via affixes alone, or together with pronouns. The most anaphoric of these occurred in Objective constructions. Figure 4-3 shows the means of anaphoric distance per type of mention and type of construction.

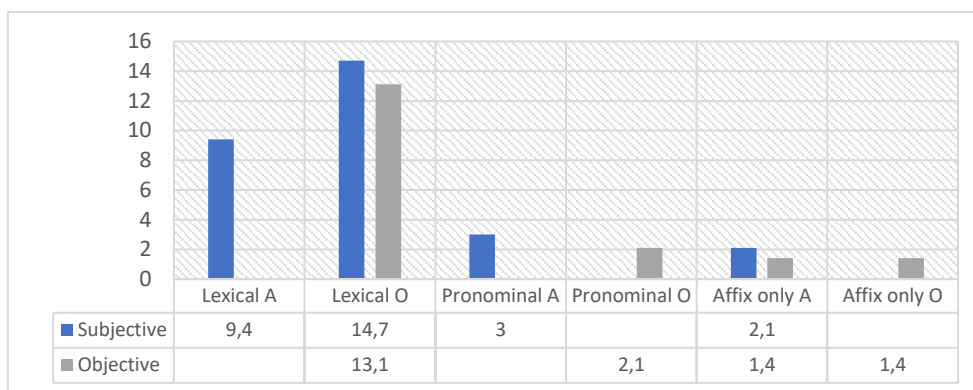


Figure 4-3 Means of Anaphoric Distance per mention type and per Construction

The examples in (13) show typical usages of the Objective clause where the immediately preceding on-stage entity is anaphorically mentioned as the A or the O in the following clause. In (13a), a demoness-like character *tü yolujaakaliü* has just been introduced as the S in the story “It was not a Cow nor a Horse”. But in the following clause, she becomes the A of an Objective construction. This example shows that syntactic pivot, in the sense of Dixon (2012:197), is not obligatory in Wayuunaiki. The topical ‘demoness’ occurs as the So in the first clause and then as the anaphoric A via an Objective clause.

(13). Adjacent Anaphoric A and O in the Objective Clause

- a. **Tü yolujaa-ka-lü,** waraitü-lü ja’wai wüna’apü-pünaa
 DEM.♀ demoness-SPC-♀ walk-♀ night forest-PERL
 The *yoluja* is fond of walking in the wild

oo’ulaka mü-sü-ya ju-lu’u-pünaa wopu.
 and be.thus-♀-ASSE 3S♀-in-PERL path
 and along the paths.

Jü-taülü-in wayuu e wanaa-in jü-maa-n
 3S♀-catch-O people REL.PRO match-GR 3S♀-with-CL
She captures people she runs into. (MAJ-A05 12.7)

- b. "¿pü-saaj-ee-ka'a **nia**?"
 2S-go.get-DES-CSQ 3S♂
 And do you want to bring him?

"Aa, ta-saaj-ee-**chi**"
 Yes, 1S-go.get-FUT-♂
 Yes, I will go and get him. (F&C 240.1)

In (13b), Fernando is recalling the story of how he had to help his sick maternal uncle once. He is directly quoting the conversation he had had with his cousin before he went to get him. The sick uncle is established as a topic, and so he is expressed as the O of an objective clause in the question and in the answer via the 3rd person masculine pronoun *nia* in the former and the masculine suffix *-chi* in the latter.

Additionally, a subtype of Subjective construction was observed. It involves the dislocation of the subject leading to the order A,VO. The four tokens in the dataset were characterized by having a human definite subject and an inanimate object. The anaphoric distance of the A was in average 11 clauses, which may indicate that the dislocation of the A may correspond to contrastive focus. In the clauses prior to the example in (14a), Luisa and Evelin are talking about the traditional dress in the old times, but here they switch to today's elders, and introduce them as the A of the clause, and preceding the verb. In the same conversation, Luisa was commenting on how traditional her maternal grandfather would dress. In (14b), she switches her paternal grandfather, who is also expressed before the verb.

- (14). Subjective clause with Fronted A
- a. Na laülaa-ka-na maa'üliya,
 DEM.PL elder-SPC-PL nowadays,
- nnojo-li-i-na-pa **a-'at-ee-in** si'ira
 not.be-PL-IM-PL-CPL IDF-put.on-DES-GR sash
 The elder men of today no longer want to wear a sash (CO L&E I 151)
- b. Nü-shi chi ta-shi-ka-i, nnojo-i-shi **a-'atü-in** si'ira
 3♂-father DEM.♂ 1S-father-SPC-♂ not.be-♂-♂ IDF-put.on-GR sash
 But my father's father did not wear the sash (CO L&E I 188)

The results of this analysis also show that the large accessibility gap between A and O in Subjective is exaggerated in Jusayú's work, compared to their use in conversations. Jusayú's more deliberately composed Wayuunaiki makes use of the marked pragmatic nuances of the Subjective construction, by increasing the accessibility asymmetry of its arguments, at least when compared to their use in the conversational data.

In sum, both arguments coded in the Objective clause are highly anaphoric, whereas only the A in a subjective clause is so. The O in a Subjective clause is the only argument that is typically old or new information. These results do validate hypothesis 1: accessibility differences between the transitive arguments do influence the choice of transitive construction. It is clear, however, that there is no swap in the relative accessibility of transitive arguments: A is always more accessible than O in both constructions. Instead, the findings lead to a simpler statement: the accessibility of the O influence the choice.

HYPOTHESIS 2

THE ALTERNATIVES ARE SENSITIVE TO THE FORESEEN TOPICAL PERSISTENCE OF TRANSITIVE ARGUMENTS.

The prediction of hypothesis 2 is that the cataphoric persistence of A and O are more alike in one constructions over the other. And in fact, the difference in the topicality of the transitive arguments was significantly larger in Subjective ($M= 4.03$ clauses, $SD=3.39$) than in Objective ($M= 1.5$ clauses, $SD=4.48$) $t(118) = +3.49$ $p = 0.0007$. When taken independently, the A is almost equally persistent in the discourse following both alternatives, but the O is significantly more persistent in the Objective clause ($M=3.03$ clauses, $SD=2.86$) than in the Subjective one ($M=1.06$ clauses, $SD=1.59$): $t(118) = -4.65$ $p = .0001$. Table 4-8 summarizes the cataphoric persistence means.

Cataphoric Persistence Means	n	(A - O)	A	O
Subjective	60	4.03	5.1	1.1
Objective	60	1.5	4.5	3.03

Table 4-8 Means Persistence Values of A & O

The highly inaccessible referent O in Subjective clauses rarely recurs in the subsequent discourse, which indicates that it is not important information. The lack of O indexation in Subjective can then be regarded as iconic with the new and non-topical nature of this argument. In interaction, the hearer must interpret Subjective O as information that does not need to be stored as retrievable.

When we consider types of mention, we see that the pronominal A in the subjective clause is the most persistent of marks. After this, subjects mentioned solely via affixes were also highly persistent. Then the O of an Objective clause has a robust persistence whether expressed lexically, pronominally or solely via an affix. Figure 4-4 displays these associations.

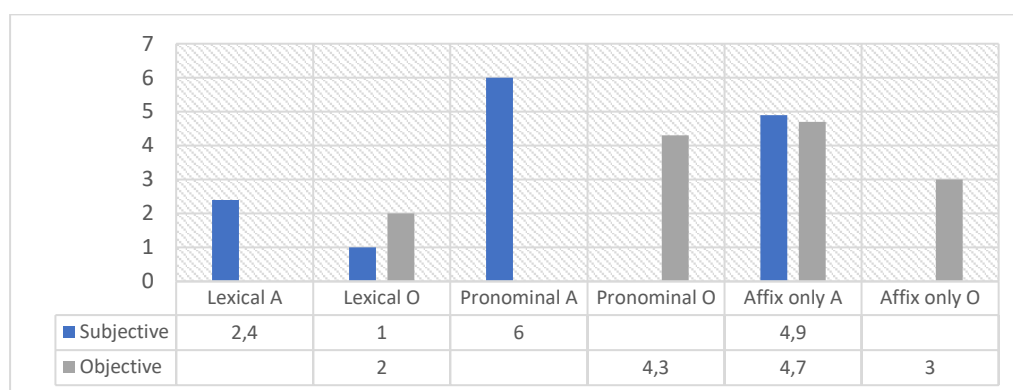


Figure 4-4 Cataphoric Persistence Means per Mention type and per Construction

The lexical O in Subjective clauses is not typically persistent. Its mean was 1 mention in the following ten clauses. However, when this O is definite, it does have some thematic importance. The example in (15) shows how a definite O in a Subjective clause is marked so because it is given information of some thematic importance. In this example, Evelin is talking to her friend Luisa recalling the diet she underwent during her puberty ritual *majayüliüü* ‘*el encierro*’. The last clause in this stretch of conversation has a definite O ‘that dove’, which preceded by a clause with contrastive or emphatic focus on the A *taya-ka*. Also, ‘that dove’ is marked as definite given that both Evelin and Luisa mention it several times in the preceding clause. The brackets in the conversational examples refer to speech overlaps.

(15). Lexical and Definite O in Subjective clause (L&E I 445-451)

- E: Ee-taakaje'e sü-nain süttü-in shia,
 exist-DUB 3♀-on locked-GR she,
 Being locked up,
- e-kü-sü tüü-yaale mo'uwa sü-mü-na-ka
 IDF-eat-♀ DEM♀-ANY dove 3♀-say-PAS-SPC
 one eats that so-called *mo'uwa*
- L: Aa, tü wanee-yaale palooma [tü mo'uwa-ka],
 Yes, DEM♀ other-ANY dove DEM♀ dove-SPC,
 Yes, that other type of dove, *mo'uwa*,
- E: [Aja],
 Yes,
- L Shia-in ee-in [palooma jo'uu-ka]
 it-GR exist-GR dove baby-SPC
 if there are any of the little doves
- E: [Jamü-sü taya, e-kü-sü **taya-ka**]
 what-♀ I IDF-eat-♀ I-SPC
 and me, I did eat
- E-kü-sü taya **tia** **mo'uwa-ka-t.****
 IDF-eat-♀ I DEM.4.♀ dove-SPC-♀
 I ate that dove

Beyond the last clause, the cataphoric persistence of 'that dove' had a value of two. In these two clauses they specify that the 'dove' is served as soup. But then they continue talking about other foods, and other details about the puberty ritual *majayüliüü*.

Considering these persistence measures per genre we find that the A in Subjective is much more persistent in Jusayú's written work (M= 6.5, SD=2.89) than in conversation (M= 3.66, SD=2.97); $t(118) = -3.78$ $p = 0.0004$. This difference may be explained by the higher importance of agentive entities in the development in narratives, than in spoken form.

This section has analyzed the correlations between anaphoric and cataphoric patterns in the use of the transitive alternatives. The Objective construction is associated with high values of anaphora and cataphora of both arguments. On the other hand, these high topicality values are found for the A of Subjective constructions, while the O is typically non-topical information.

4.4.2 Person and Animacy

In this section, I present the findings relevant to the question of whether person configurations or the animacy of 3rd person objects play a role in the choice of the two transitive constructions. The two hypotheses are guided by the notion that in discourse, speech act participants and animate beings play central roles. However, given that 1st and 2nd persons are human by definition, the notion of animacy is of most significance for 3rd persons. The 1st hypothesis is that the transitive alternatives are sensitive to person configuration asymmetries or ‘direction domains’, and the 2nd hypothesis is that they are sensitive to the animacy of 3rd persons.

HYPOTHESIS 1

THE TRANSITIVE ALTERNATIVES ARE SENSITIVE TO PERSON ASYMMETRIES

Figure 4-5 shows the raw counts of how frequently the constructions were used to express the direction domains. Only the core direct and the non-local domains were well represented in the sample. The high frequency of these argument configurations is possibly a consequence of the genres and topics included in the data set.

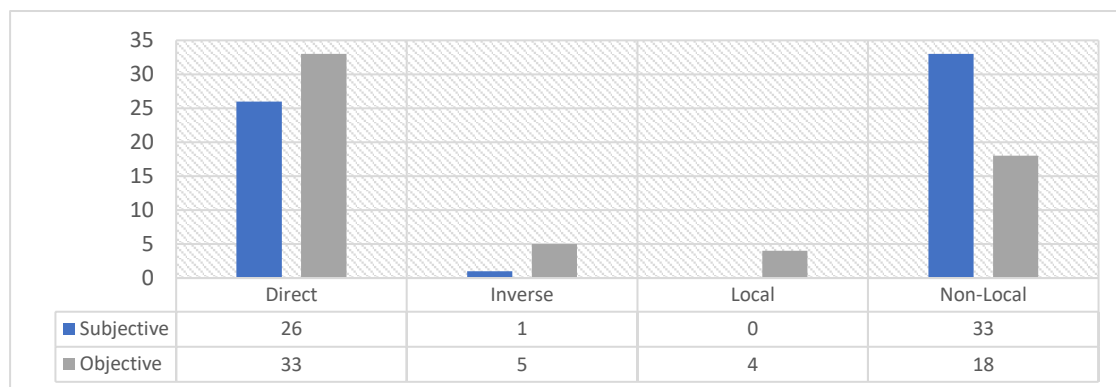


Figure 4-5 Frequency of Use of Construction per Direction Domain

There was no significant difference in the use of the constructions in the core direct scenario (SAP → 3). For the non-local domain (3 ↔ 3), there was a slight yet significant preference (65%) for the Subjective clause. A binomial test indicates that this proportion was significantly higher than the expected .5 (P=0.048). Yet it is evident that direction domains are not the decisive factor for the choice of transitive alternative. Table 4-9 below show the higher frequency of the constructions per direction domain.

		O		
		1 st 2 nd	3 rd	
A	1 st 2 nd	Objective 100%	Objective 56%	HIGHER FREQ. %
	3 rd	Objective 83%	Subjective 65%	HIGHER FREQ. %

Table 4-4-9 More Frequently Used Constructions per Direction Domain

On the other hand, the very underrepresented local (SAP ↔ SAP), and core inverse (3 → SAP) scenarios display a marked preference for Objective clause. The scarcity of tokens from the data-set lead to subsequent elicitation, which corroborated the primacy of the Objective clause in both domains. In (16), the check mark ✓ reflects the native speaker's preference, while * their ungrammaticality.

(16). Speaker judgment of examples in the Core-Inverse domain.

a) 'She saw me'

✓ **Shi-'rü-in** taya
3♀-see-O me

* **E-'rü-sü** shia taya
IDF-see-♀ she me

b) 'She kissed me'

✓ **So-usajü-in** taya
3♀-kiss-O me

* **O-usajü-sü** shia taya
IDF-kiss-♀ she me

During these sessions, I first elicited transitive clauses with two speakers in the core-inverse and local domains, and they unanimously would give Objective clauses. Then I would give them the Subjective *a-* marked version, and they unanimously rejected them as unacceptable, and insisted on using their Objective forms. The example in (17) show these same predicates as (16), but in the local domain.

(17). Speaker judgment of examples in Local domain.

a) 'I saw you'

✓	Te-'rü-in 1S-see-O	pia you	
*	E-'rü-shi IDF-see-♀	taya I	pia you

b) 'You saw me'

✓	Pi-'rü-in 2S-see-O	taya me	
*	E-'rü-sü IDF-see-♀	pia you	taya me

The example in (18) shows the single token of core-inverse domain expressed as a Subjective clause. This was also the single token of a combination of a 'generic' A and 'definite' pronominal O. I analyze this example as possibly representing a special contrastive focus construction. It combines the counter-expected negation of a 'generic' A in the first clause with a contrastive assertion of the 'generic' A in the following Objective clause. This is not a cleft construction, even though the best English translations is. However, the fact that a Subjective clause with pronominal O and in the Inverse domain occurred in discourse suggests the unacceptability of the Subjective clause in the core inverse scenario has contextual exceptions.

(18). Subjective clause in Inverse domain and with pronominal O

Nnojo-i-shi-ya Not.be-♂-♂-ASSE	e-'raajü-in=ne'e IDF-know-GR=C.EX	taya 1S	tü DEM.♀	wayuu, Wayuu
-----------------------------------	--------------------------------------	------------	-------------	-----------------

shi-'raajü-in 3♀-know-O	taya 1S	alijuna Creole
-----------------------------------	------------	-------------------

It is not only the Wayuu who know me, Alijunas know me" (F&C 345)

In sum, the data disconfirms hypothesis 1 in that neither the domains that involved 3rd person objects: (SAP → 3) and (3 ↔ 3) are obligatorily associated with either of the transitive alternatives. However, the data appears to confirm that both domains where the object is a speech act participant: (SAP ↔ SAP) and (3 → SAP) strongly associate with the Objective construction. The next section will then look into whether the animacy of that 3rd person object impacts the choice of transitive alternative.

ANIMACY OF THIRD PERSON OBJECTS

Given that speech act participant O's did display a strong association with the Objective clause, the question what differs for 3rd person objects remains open. The animacy of objects is known to play an important role in the use of inverse systems, such as the one for Tewa mentioned in 4.1., as well as in systems of differential object marking, as in Spanish. Additionally, animate participants are more likely be topics, and as such, more likely to be definite.

HYPOTHESIS 2

THE TRANSITIVE ALTERNATIVES ARE SENSITIVE TO THE ANIMACY OF THIRD PERSONS

The first observation from the data is that like person configurations, the animacy of O is not the decisive factor. Nevertheless, the frequencies of use were significantly different. An animate object is more likely to be expressed in an Objective clause (78% P=.0002), while an inanimate object is more likely to be expressed in the Subjective clause (68% P=.004).

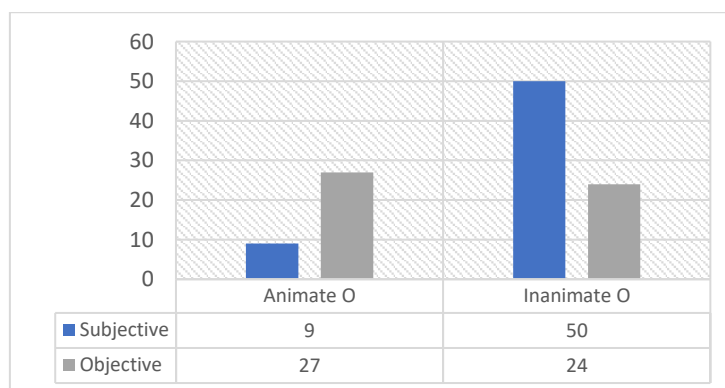


Figure 4-6 More Frequently Used Construction per Animacy of 3rd Person Objects

Now, if we divide the data according to person configuration: (SAP → 3) vs (3 ↔ 3), we also find some significant binomial probabilities. The Objective is preferred in the core direct domain (SAP→ 3) when O is animate (77% p<.02). On the other hand, the Subjective is preferred in the nonlocal domain (3 ↔ 3) when O is inanimate (78% P<.001). These measures suggest that animate objects are favored in Objective constructions, and so are SAP subjects. Similarly, it suggests that inanimate objects are favored in Subjective constructions, and so are 3rd person subjects.

However, the frequency data also provides evidence that in the Wayuunaiki transitive system, the animacy of objects has not grammaticalized as much SAP objects have. Both animate and inanimate O's are grammatical in both alternatives, and in fact they are robustly represented in the data set. The examples in (19) show objects of both animacy values in Subjective clauses, while those (20), do the same for Objective clauses.

(19). Subjective Clauses and the Animacy of O

- a. **A**-youtu-i-t-pa manta wayuu
 IDF-reject-IM-♀-CPL dress people
 Women now reject the traditional dress (L&E I 127.1)
- b. **A**-sakajü-shi taya wayuu
 IDF-hire-♂ I people
 I hired people (F&C 865.1)

(20). Objective Clauses and the Animacy of O

- a. **Ta**-kotchijü-in joo tü ichii-ka-t cha'aya
 1S-pick.up-O now DEM♀ salt-SPC-♀ over.there
 I used to gather salt over there (F&C 101.1)
- b. **Ta**-saaj-ee-chi chi ta-'läüla-ka-i
 1S-go.get-FUT-♂ DEM♂ 1S-uncle-SPC-♂
 I will pick up my maternal uncle (F&C 241.2)

If we consider the anaphoric and cataphoric values of these object we also find a strong correlation. The most striking observation is that regardless of animacy, the anaphoric and cataphoric values of the O are most distinct according to the choice of construction. The O is less anaphorically distant and more cataphorically persistent in Objective, than in the Subjective.

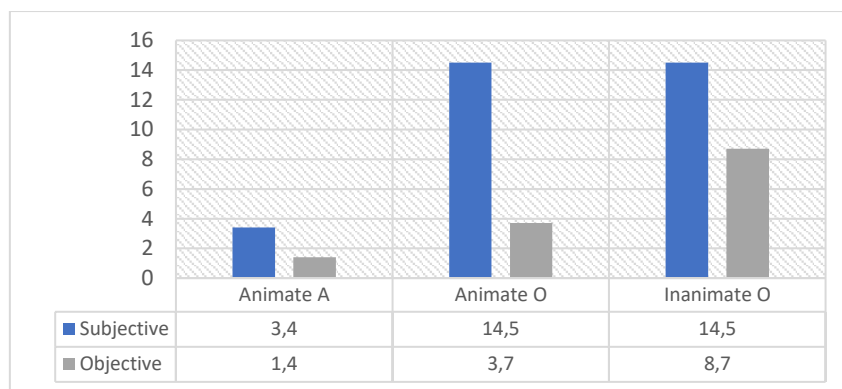


Figure 4-7 Anaphoric Distance Means, per Animacy and per Construction

Also, if compared with the values for the subject A, we see that it is always more topical than the object. These proportions further validate topicality as a much stronger factor than the animacy of the object, and in fact decrease the value of the animacy proportions presented in Figure 4-6 above.

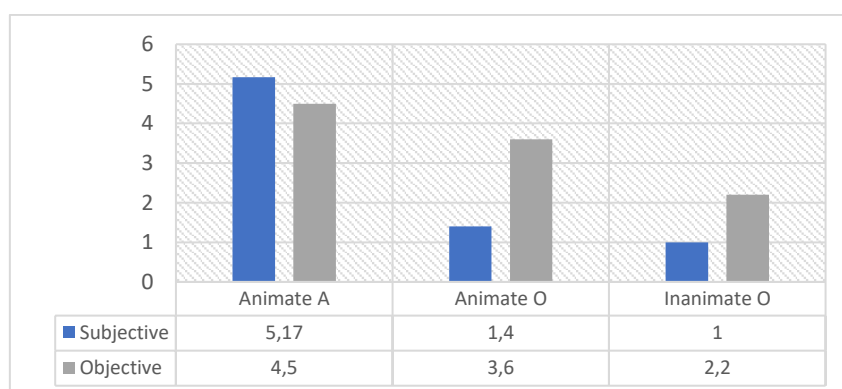


Figure 4-8 Cataphoric Persistence Means per Animacy and per Construction

In sum, in terms of person configuration and the animacy of 3rd persons, the strongest constraint observed is that speech act participant objects are overwhelmingly expressed in the Objective clause. On the other hand, the strong tendencies of the transitive choices to associate with the animacy of objects is weakened by the fact that a non-topical animate O will be expressed in the Subjective clause, while a topical inanimate O will be expressed in the Objective. This gives greater weight to topicality over animacy. The next section will try to put the findings together, while exploring the attested factor of definiteness.

4.4.3 (In)definiteness

In this section, we report the findings on the relationship between the two transitive alternatives and (in)definiteness. Being intimately related to discourse-pragmatics, the observations presented the previous two subsections should complement this one. Regarding definiteness, the main unresolved issue is the variable function of the numeral or article *wanee* ‘a, one’. All we have in the Wayuunaiki literature regarding the status of [*wanee* N] is that it functions both as “indefinite” and “definite” (Álvarez 2005b: 29).

In the data-set there were eleven tokens of [*wanee* N] as transitive arguments; all occurred as objects in clauses with definite subjects. Nine of these were the O’s of Objective clauses, and all were found in the narratives. The remaining two tokens were the O’s of Subjective clauses, and one was from each source. Although, such a small sample size is statistically insignificant, the mean cataphoric persistence of Objective O’s was 3 times that of Subjective O’s.

The example in (21a) comes from a scene close to the end of the story “It was not a Cow nor a Horse”. This section includes approaches the climax of the story where the little boy wants to burn his donkey’s tail to make him run faster. At this point he is looking to buy gasoline, which is the immediate topic. Then, in the third line, *sho’olokii* ‘gourd bottle’ is introduced as the object of an Objective clause marked by *wanee*. Several clauses later, the ‘bottle’ recurs three times in the story during the climax and every mention of it is marked as specific via *-ka*.

(21). O arguments marked by *wanee* in both clause types.

- a. O-’unu-shi taya joolu’u mapa
 IDF-go-♂ I now after
 Then I went
- cha ee-müin wanee piichi o-ikü-na a-lu’u-lu kosoliina;
 there.4 exist-ALL one home IDF-sell-PAS IDF-in-♀ gasoline
 to a home where gasoline was sold.
- ta-lü’üja-in-ja’a** wanee sho’olo-kii jü-püla-ja-tü.
 1S-take-O-ASSE one gourd-head 3S♀-for-ADVZ-♀
 I took a bottle for it (MAJ-A05 38.1)

- b. “**A-lü’üja-inja-chi** taya wanee siko’u
 IDF-take-VOL-♂ I one ember
 I am going to take an ember
- ta-atuluja-inja-tü cha-müin cha’aya”
 1S-warm.up-PRP-♀ there.4-ALL over.there
 So that I can warm up over there. (MAJ-A02 13.1)

On the other hand, the example in (21b) comes from “The Story of a Lazy Young Man”. At this point of the story, the topic is the protagonist’s lying about how much he is working. Here, he is telling his grandmother he on his way to work the garden. In the first line *siko’u* ‘ember’ (lit. ‘fire-eye’) is introduced for the first time in the story as the object of a Subjective clause, and it recurs only once after this as *siki* ‘fire’ in its bare form.

Although more data is needed to be more conclusive, especially an analysis of the more common use of [*wanee* N] as S, at this point it seems reasonable to state that in the O role, the choice of transitive clause influences the interpretation on the definiteness of singular nouns marked by *wanee*. The cataphoric persistence of the two tokens of Subjective *wanee* O’s measured 1 clause, whereas the nine tokens of *wanee* O’s in the Objective construction had an average cataphoric persistence of 3.3 clauses. I interpret this as an indication that the definiteness status of singular objects marked by *wanee* is determined by the constructions³³: when it occurs in the Subjective it is indefinite or non-topical, but when it occurs in Objective it is definite and topical.

Unlike *wanee*, bare noun phrases are categorically indefinite. For reasons of computation, if I define the definiteness of *wanee* O’ on their construction, then we have a total number of tokens with indefinite arguments. Assuming this analysis, 96% of indefinite objects were expressed as bare NP’s, and 4% as [*wanee* N]. 98% of all indefinite objects occurred in Subjective clauses³⁴. There were 8 tokens of bare

³³ Álvarez (p.c.) notes that tense may also be a predictor of the definiteness of singular nouns marked by *wanee*.

³⁴ Only one of those was a bare generic O in an Objective, and it comes from a conversation. At this point, I can only speculate that the single token: *Tasiijaachi ama watta’a maalü* “I saddle the horse early” may have involved a mistaken omission of the specific suffix.

generic subjects and all belonged to Subjective clauses. On the other end, 80% of definite objects were used in Objective clauses.

This means that the definiteness of the O does not predict the choice of transitive clause, but instead, it is the indefiniteness of the O that strongly predicts the use of the alternatives. Definite O's overwhelmingly occur in Objective clauses, but it may also occur in Subjective ones. As shown in (14) above, a 'specific' O in a Subjective clause occurs in situations where the O does have a degree of importance as an immediate topic, but the speaker wishes to assign a larger prominence to the A.

Besides example (18) above, there were five other tokens with 'generic' subjects, and these also had 'generic' objects. These clauses appear to communicate a subclass of Subjective clause. The examples in (22a) shows the more common type of Subjective clause where the subject is definite, but the object is generic. However, the the subject in example (22b) is the bare form of 'women' used by the speaker was generalizing her opinion. This type of 'generic' clause appears to make the meaning of the person prefix *a-* less 'indefinite' and more 'impersonal'.

(22). Indefinite Arguments in the Subjective Construction

- | | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------|------------------------|
| a. | A-sü-sü
IDF-drink-♀
I drank medicinal tea (L&E I 4291.1) | taya
I | jawapia
tea |
| b. | A-youtu-i-t-pa
IDF-reject-IM-♀-CPL
women now reject the traditional dress (L&E I 127.1) | manta
dress | wayuu
person |

Section 4.4 has so far examined how the topicality of entities, person configuration, and the animacy of 3rd persons associate with the use of Subjective and Objective clauses. The strongest indications relate to the Subjective clause as the pragmatically-marked option whose subject is topical but its object is not. Additionally, it has been stated that the indefiniteness of an object is a stronger predictor of the choice of transitive clause. The last part of this section continues with the exploration of the use of the alternatives in cleft constructions.

4.4.4 Cleft Constructions

The Wayuunaiki transitive verbs are also used in referential function as arguments in their infinitive or nominalized form. Infinitive actions have referential function since they can assume for instance the O role as the complement of a transitive clause. Even though infinitive take prefix *a-*, they do not alternate with the use of specific person prefixes, and therefore do not communicate the Subjective-Objective opposition. However, nominalizations are use commonly in cleft constructions and in interrogation, which have parallel structures. The interrogative pronouns *kasa* ‘what’, *jana / jara-* ‘who’, *jama* ‘how, why’, *je’ra-* ‘how much, how many’ are all used as the predicates of Stative clauses whose So is a nominalized predicate. These nominalizations use the same ‘specifier’ suffix *-ka* that encodes ‘specific’ nouns. As shown in (7) above, ‘who’ questions communicate the Subjective-Objective opposition. For convenience I reproduce that set of examples here as (23).

(23). “Who” Questions and the Transitive Alternatives

a.	Jana	o -julaja-ka	jintü-i-ka-i	chii?
	Who	IDF-hit-SPC	kid-♂-SPC-♂	DEM♂
	Who did this boy hit?			
b.	Jana	no -julaja-ka	jintü-i-ka-i	chii?
	Who	3♂-hit-SPC	kid-♂-SPC-♂	DEM♂
	Who hit this boy?			

These next paragraphs present in some detail a brief and exploratory analysis of Wayuunaiki cleft constructions. A cleft construction was taken to be a type of predicate nominal consisting of a noun phrase (NP_i) and a relative clause whose relativized NP is coreferential with NP_i. (T. Payne 2008: 278).

Seventeen cleft constructions were identified and extracted from both conversation and narrative. Even though clefted arguments are contrastively focused, it was peculiar that in all tokens for which I have recordings, the clefted constituents were unaccented. It appears that the lexical stress patterns are so fixed that they do

not relate to sentential focus marking. Eleven of the tokens focused O, while six focused A. All clefted constituents ‘agreed’ with the nominalized alternative: a clefted A occurred with Subjective constructions, while a clefted O occurred with an Objective clause.

Even though many languages distinguish pseudo-cleft constructions as headless relative clauses, it was uncertain whether this constituted a category in Wayuunaiki. Only one out of seventeen cleft constructions identified in the data involved a headed relative clause, and it displayed no functional difference with the rest of the cleft constructions. The only formal distinction that I observed in the cleft constructions involved the inclusion of an “elaboration” phrase following the relative clause. This can be schematically presented as [[**V_{pro}**] (**S_{rel}**)] vs. [[**V_{pro}**] (**S_{rel}**) [**E**]]. The elements in brackets represent the element under contrastive focus, while the information in parentheses represent the presupposition. I use the label **S_{rel}** merely for convenience, knowing that most of observed cases involve nominalizations (=headless relative clauses). The clefted phrase in Wayuunaiki can therefore be split, just like other nonverbal predicates mentioned in §3.6. I here tentatively distinguish them as simple vs complex cleft constructions.

Long elaboration phrases correlated with clefted new information, while short ones correlated with clefted accessible information. In (24a), we see a clefted O of an Objective clause. This clause functioned as a summary of what had been described in the immediately preceding clauses, as well as as expression of disbelief. In (24b), Fernando is sharing with his son about a horse catching competition, much like lasso in rodeo. But then his son asks him a question to which he did not not know the answer. Then, Fernando clefts the subject of a Subjective clause with an elaboration phrase, which further specifies the reference to who the man was. This person had not never been mentioned in the previous discourse.

(24). Cleft Constructions

- a) [Shia] (**ni**-pensaja-ka).
 3S_♀ 3_♂-think-SPC
 That’s what he thought. (Y&L 2C)

b) [Nia] (a-yaawata-ka sa-a'u)
 He IDF-know-SPC 3♀-about

[chi yaa-ja-chi-yü-i-ka-i joyotü-in].
 DEM♂ here-ADJZ-PST.RC-♂ sit-GR

The one who knows about that is the man who was sitting here. (F&C 1034.1)

c)

Y: [Shia-ja'a=ne'e] sü-sa-ka-lü wayuu ma'lee-ka-lü.
 it-ASSE C.EX 3S♀-drink-SPC-♀ people nowadays-SPC-♀
 That is what the Wayuu drink nowadays

L: [Shia-'aya] sü-sa-ka-t wayuu ma'lee-ka-l-ia
 it-ASSE 3S♀-drink-SPC-♀ people nowadays-SPC-♀-ASSE
 Indeed, that is what Wayuu nowadays drink (Y&L 2D 65.1)

Lastly, (24c) is an assertion-confirmation pair where the clefted referent was metonymic. The previous clauses were about the use of water wells and windmills, yet the referent in this example is inferably an alienable bare generic noun *wüin* “water”. (Y)ovana clefts the ‘it (= water)’ as the O, which agrees with a nominalized Objective, and then (L)uisa mirrors the structural and semantic content of the cleft sentence. In my analysis the clefted and topicalized *wüin* ‘water’ is anaphoric and generic. This example mirrors Álvarez’ generic topicalization example, (11a) above, “Chicha is what I want to drink”.

In sum, cleft constructions in Wayuunaiki appear to pattern like “who” questions, where the focused argument agrees with the transitive alternative. However, unlike “who” questions, there may be some flexibility in cleft constructions that under specific circumstance would allow the clefting of a subject to combine with the Objective clause, as in Bravo’s example in (12b) above.

In this section I have briefly presented a frequent construction where the Subjective-Objective opposition is used in referential function. The cleft constructions used in the narrative and conversations all show focus ‘agreement’ in that Subjective clauses co-occurred with the contrastively focused A and Objective ones with contrastively focused O. This is consonant with the analyses in Álvarez (2005) and Bravo (2005).

Up to here, section 4.4 has provided the findings regarding the chapter questions. The transitive alternatives have been viewed from various angles. Subjective and Objective clauses have been looked at according to their argument's anaphoric and cataphoric patterns, their direction domains, the animacy of their 3rd persons, their definiteness statuses, and their use in cleft constructions. This last construction was presented as parallel to interrogative 'who' clauses, and the agreement between clefted argument and transitive alternative was presented as a common pattern. The next and last section of the chapter will present an overall characterization of Subjective and Objective transitive clauses in Wayuunaiki.

4.5. A Characterization of the Transitive Alternatives

The type of focus that Emilio Esteban Mosonyi referred to in his (1975) article must be comparable the differential focal prominence that is assigned transitive clauses and their derived voices across languages. On the other hand, the focus expressed in clefts is exclusively contrastive. The labels Subjective and Objective should be taken with a grain of salt in the sense that the Objective not only focuses on O, but also on A. Additionally, the assigned focus on the A of a Subjective construction should be regarded as highly prominent, especially when compared to its 3rd person object.

The ways in which the A is profiled by the alternatives differs primarily in that the single focus in the Subjective is more prominent than the shared focus in the Objective. The high anaphoric values of the A in the Objective clause are consonant with examples like (12b) above, where the A of an Objective clause is clefted. On the other hand, the ways in which the O is profiled by the alternatives is markedly different. This makes the function of the Wayuunaiki Objective clause resemble that of differential object marking in Spanish. These differences will be elaborated in the next paragraphs.

Figure 4-9 presents two schemas of prototypes of the transitive alternatives. The relative boldness of the circles (arguments) represent the relative accessibility and topicality, as they were used in the discourse data. The most salient feature is the defocusing of the O in Subjective clauses, which consequently makes the A seem extra salient.

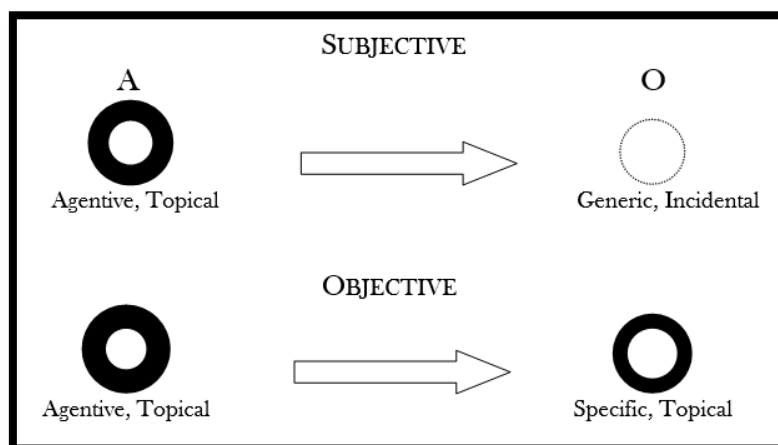


Figure 4-9 The Objective and Subjective Schemas

The fact that a defocused O in the Subjective clause can be definite explains why Álvarez (2005: 34) concludes that the focus and definiteness expressed by the transitive alternatives are “related yet independent”. In other words, despite the prototypical non-topical status of the object of Subjective clauses, this argument can also be definite because it can also express some amount of topicality, and still keep some distance from the higher prominence of the subject. This leads to the realization that there is some polysemy in the Subjective clause.

4.5.1 The Subjective Prototypes

In terms of usage frequency, the Subjective clause is reserved for more pragmatically marked transitive situations. This alternative thus represents a more specialized function than a typical transitive scenario. It is distantly related to the prototypical transitive clause, mainly because a Subjective O is only sometimes an individuated entity. Such defocusing of the O reflects its low transitivity and gives coherence to the use of the Analytic verb in intransitive clauses³⁵. The lack of verbal indexation of the O in the analytic verb is then iconic in that it corresponds to the argument’s lack of discourse importance.

³⁵ Analytic verbs are also used in ‘agentive’ intransitive clauses, in the passive clause, and some appear to be grammaticalizing as fixed impersonal complement taking predicates, e.g. *acheküsü* “be convenient” (lit. it wants).

The Subjective clause was found to be polysemous. I have identified four possible types. The prototype proposed above, is biased in the sense it mostly represents the most common subtype attested in the data; one consisting of a definite subject and a generic object. Nevertheless, three other less frequently used constructions deserve description. One of these involved the contrastive focus of the A communicated by its dislocated position. The four instances observed of this construction also had a definite subject and a generic object, but it differed from the ‘common’ type in that the fronted subject was anaphorically distant. Another subtype of Subjective construction involved the ‘genericity’ of the whole clause. Both the A and the O are expressed as bare noun phrases in this subtype, which causes the event itself to acquire a ‘generalized’ meaning. The last subtype observed involved the definiteness of both arguments. In this construction the O is not as incidental as in the other cases, but it is still communicated as less topical than the A.

However, the agentivity and topicality of subjects do not really influence the choice of construction because these properties are shared by both. Instead it is meaningful that the highest topicality values for subjects in the data set corresponded its pronominal expression in Subjective clauses.

Additionally, the Wayuunaiki Subjective clause is not comparable to the crosslinguistic notion of ‘direct voice’ because the core direct domain (i.e. speech act participant subjects with 3rd person objects) is perfectly grammatical and frequently used in both constructions. Also, the Subjective construction is not obligatory for the contrastive focus of A via clefting. Instead, the Subjective clause is only obligatory when O is an indefinite 3rd person, or when A is interrogated.

The communicative function of the Subjective clause is then to convey that O is onstage but tends to be merely incidental for the intentions of the speaker. Subjective O then fulfills the communication of a transitive relationship, but for all intents and purposes, the hearer must interpret it as non-topical information. This clause type emphasizes a marked asymmetry of importance between a typically human A and an onstage thing O. When the Subjective occurs in cleft or left dislocation constructions, it can only focus the A contrastively. This kind of O

defocusing is similar to possessum defocusing, which will be analyzed in the next chapter.

4.5.2 The Objective Prototype

The Objective clause, on the other hand, communicates the high accessibility and persistence of both arguments. Therefore, both arguments must be definite and topical. It is much closer to prototypical transitivity, in the sense that the initiator A is usually volitional and agentive, and the endpoint O must be sharply individuated. It is also pragmatically unmarked in that it is used in the most frequent of transitive situations.

The Objective clause is obligatory when the O is a speech act participant, and in this way, it is reminiscent of the inverse. However, the comparison is weak because the Objective clause is also used robustly in the the core direct domain ($SAP \rightarrow 3$), and in general because the Objective A is more accessible and topical than its O (i.e. there is no swap in prominence relations). Further, the common expression of the object in objective clauses via pronouns or affixes only reflects its robust usage with highly anaphoric arguments.

Lastly, the Wayuunaiki transitive alternatives are comparable to the ‘Hungarian’ and symmetrical systems in that these alternatives are communicated by the verb, and are motivated by the discourse. However, these are even more comparable to the Hungarian system in that these focus primarily on the nature of the O, and in both verbal marking is associated with person reference. The main difference between the Wayuunaiki and Hungarian alternatives is that SAP O’s have taken different directions in both languages: these associate with the Hungarian ‘indefinite’ verb, but the Wayuunaiki synthetic one.

5 Internal and External Possession in Wayuunaiki Clauses

This chapter presents an in-depth examination of the morphosyntax, semantics and discourse pragmatics of the two possessor constructions. These grammatical alternatives are associated with the lexicalization of many verb-noun combinations in the language. The nouns in these combinations evoke a possessor who may be expressed within the noun phrase, or outside of it as the transitive object, the stative subject, or the subject of passive clauses. I will be referring to the expression of the possessor within the noun phrase as ‘internal possession’ and that outside of it as ‘external possession’. The specific type of external possession that occurs in Wayuunaiki is called ‘possessor ascension’ (Álvarez 1990).

Many verb-noun combinations have conventionalized to the point that some obligatorily co-occur, such as *o-’uta- -a’in* ‘kill’ or *kata- -’u* ‘be awake, be alive’. In these combinations, the noun is always an inalienable noun. Body parts like *-a’in* ‘heart’ and *-’u* ‘eye’ are common nouns that combine with verbs to create new concepts. In some cases, the verb may occur alone and in others as a V-N combination without major changes in its meanings. But in other cases, the meaning of the combination is non-compositional. Yet, whether a combination is conventionalized or novel the possessed noun is either a clausal argument or an element of the verb phrase.

The examples in (1) are the first mention in the literature of the existence of two types of possessor constructions (Hildebrandt 1965:194). Some of the meanings of the combination *ana- -a’in* [good heart] are ‘be content, be sensible’. Example (1a) is meant to be literal while (1b) expresses its composite meaning. This first person is meant to be a human male, but ‘his soul / heart’ is ‘feminine’. The subject is indexed in (1a) via the ‘feminine’ suffix *-sü* while, but in (1b) via the ‘masculine’ suffix *-chi*.

(1). Possessor Expression in Realis Stative Clauses

Internal Possessor	
a) <i>ana-sü</i>	ta-a’in
good-♀	1S-heart
‘my soul is well’ (not ill, troubled)	

- External Possessor
- b) [ana **a-a**'in-chi] taya
 good IDF-heart-♂ I
 'I am content'
- c) [ana-a'in-chi] taya
 good-heart-♂ I
 'I am content'

As shown in 3.4.3, the use of verbal gender suffixes on a noun in place of the verb only occurs when the noun incorporates into the verb, as a grammatical word. In such a case, the noun must take the 'indefinite' possessor prefix *a-*, as in (1b). Notably, the incorporated noun retains primary stress, which means that it is still a phonological word, and for that reason it is written as a separate word. Nevertheless, some of these frequent incorporations are also heard as one full word, as in (1c), where the 'indefinite' possessor prefix *a* is lost.

Crucially, the structure of noun incorporation differs according to the reality status of the clause. The pair of examples above exemplify the main clause realis structures of internal and external possession. Contrastingly, irrealis external possessor constructions as well as subordinate ones do not allow the verb word to split, nor to bind together. The examples in (2) show the 'deontic' versions of the examples in (1). In irrealis external possession, the verbal word is expressed as a full grammatical word, while the possessed nominal simply follows it but it is still marked by the 'indefinite' prefix *a-*. That the structure in (2b) still counts as incorporation is based on the verb using *-chi* 'masculine' to index the clausal subject: the possessor of the heart.

(2). Possessor Expression in Irrealis Stative Clauses

- Internal Possessor
- a) [ana-inja-tü] **ta-a**'in
 good-DEO-♀ 1S-heart
 'my soul has to be well'
- External Possessor
- b) [ana-inja-chi **a-a**'in] taya
 good-DEO-♂ IDF-heart I
 'I have to be content'

Regardless of whether the possessor is expressed externally or internally, some body part nouns stand out due to their frequency of occurrence in V-N combinations, their polysemy and their productivity. In particular, the incorporation of *-a'in* 'heart, soul, mind, likeness' has been repeatedly mentioned in the Wayuunaiki literature since the end of the 19th century. Despite being one of the many nouns that commonly incorporate, the productivity *-a'in* makes it the most iconic of lexemes that occur in noun incorporation. For instance, it combines with the stative verb of existence *ee-* - *a'in* [exist mind] and communicates 'be alert, pay attention', as well as with that of non-existence *nnojo-* - *a'in* [not.exist mind] and communicates 'be indifferent, apathetic'.

The study presented in this chapter concludes the following about the two constructions. In both alternatives, the possessor tends to be animate and topical. In internal possession, the possessum functions as an argument in any grammatical role, and it tends to be inanimate and somewhat topical. In external possession, the possessor assumes the grammatical role of transitive object O, stative subject So, or subject of passive. The incorporated possessum is typically inanimate, inalienable and non-topical. The function of this construction is to background the possessum, and consequently render a more prominent possessor. Besides predicational function, this construction is also used in referential and modification functions.

This first chapter section discusses theoretical notions relevant to noun incorporation and possession constructions. Section 5.2. provides a summary of what has been documented about these constructions in Wayuunaiki. In section 5.3, I present the specific chapter questions along with a brief description of the data and the methodology. Then, in section 5.4., I present the findings of the corpus analyses. After that, section 5.5 describes some further uses of External Possessor construction, and then, section 5.6 puts the pieces together to characterize the prototypes of the constructions.

5.1 Noun incorporation & Possessor Constructions

For the possessor to be coded as a core argument, the elements in the possessive relationship must split into separate constituents (Aikhenvald 2012:36). One of the

ways to separate the possessive elements is via ‘possessor raising’ or ‘possessor ascension’. In this type of external possession, the possessum is incorporated into the verb phrase and the possessor is ‘raised’ to core argument status. This is the mechanism at play in Wayuunaiki (Álvarez 1990, Matera 2001).

However most noun incorporation does not bind the two primary stress groups. Olza and Jusayú (1986, 2012) document the three stages at play in Wayuunaiki noun incorporation manifested as the structures presented in (1) and (2) above, and more advanced one where the two roots finally become one word. These will be presented in more detail in 5.2.2. This leads to the question of whether these structures reflect change in progress. The next paragraphs begin describing the core types of possessive relationships, continues with a description of the putative diachronic trajectory of change in noun incorporation, and end with a brief discussion on external possession.

The corpus analysis presented in this chapter is guided by the following three core types of possessive relationships: (i) Ownership of property, (ii) whole-part relations and (iii) kinship relations (Aikhenvald 2012:36). These three types of semantic relationships have conceptual prototypes whose apprehension could be described via the Reference Point model (Langacker 2008). The prototype of ownership involves a human who owns, controls, or has privileged access to a thing. Here, the human possessor functions as the reference point from which to access the owned thing as the target. Ownership is the most distinct of the three core types because it typically involves a human controlling possessor and an inanimate possessed thing.

The prototype of a mereological or whole-part relationship involves an inanimate thing in relation to a larger whole. Here, the whole is the reference point that leads to the part as its target. For instance, the conceptualization of *knuckle* involves the following sequence of mental access: body (R) > arm > hand > finger > knuckle (T).

Lastly, to communicate a kinship relationship, a human must be understood in relation to at least one other human. The mental path of access starts with the possessor as a reference person, which through linking relatives, arrives at the profiled possessed relative as the target. For example, to understand *cousin* the conceptualizer goes from (R) > parent > sibling > child (T).

In many languages, the possessed nominal of a semantic relation may be expressed as incorporated to the verb. Mithun (1984:863-64) presents the following cross-linguistic tendencies of the semantic and pragmatics of noun incorporation. Nouns are more likely to be incorporated if they have more general reference than those with narrow scope. Terms like ‘body’ and ‘mind’ are frequently incorporated because they qualify the verb as pertaining to the physical or mental aspect of a person or animal. Conversely, since humans are more interested in animate entities, humans are unlikely to be backgrounded via incorporation.

Additionally, verbs that take much of their meaning from their arguments like ‘be good’ and ‘have’, are more likely to incorporate a noun than those with narrow scope. This is also the case with verbs that evoke inanimate, non-agentive, or non-individuated arguments, or verbs that significantly affect their patients. For instance, ‘make’ or ‘eat’, is more likely to incorporate than ‘look at’ or ‘hear’. Contrastingly, verbs with agentive subjects like ‘run’, ‘murder’, ‘sick’, ‘die’ do not tend to incorporate nouns because they evoke human, agentive, or individuated subjects.

Mithun (1984) proposes that noun incorporation into the verb is a lexical process that has four types of functions that suggest a path of historical development: (1) lexical compounding (2) manipulation of case (3) manipulation of discourse structure and (4) to classification of predicates. These functions form an implicational hierarchy reflecting the various stages of grammaticalization whereby those in stage 4 possess all functions, and those in stage (1) only possess lexical compounding function.

In type I noun incorporation, V and O are either juxtaposed or compounded, that is, as two words or just one. The incorporated noun loses its syntactic status as the O, which causes the clause to become intransitive; thus, the A becomes an S. Semantically, the entity denoted by the incorporated noun narrows the scope of the predicate, and does so by losing its specificity. This is reflected in the inability of the noun to take definiteness markers. The incorporated noun may function as patient, location, or instrument, which combined with the verb describes an institutionalized event (Ibid:856).

Example (3) shows lexical compounding in Q’anjob’al (Mayan), a language of Huehuetenango, Guatemala. The person prefixes in (3a) show the indexation of both

A and O via the 3rd person absolutive ‘my bread’ and the 2nd person ergative ‘you’. In (3b), the O loses definiteness marking and is no longer indexed by the verb. The verb becomes intransitive via the ‘agent focus’ suffix, and therefore assigns only one argument the S ‘you’. The elements in bold are the ones coming together in this process.

(3).I. Lexical Compounding in Q’anjob’al.

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--------------|
| a. | S- \emptyset -a-lo-t-oq | in-pan. |
| | PST-3.ABS-2.ERG-eat-go-OPT | 1S-bread |
| | ‘You ate my bread.’ | |
| | | |
| b. | S-at- lo -wi | pan. |
| | PST-2.ABS- eat -AF | bread |
| | ‘You ate bread.’ | |

Type II noun incorporation is a lexical device for manipulating case relations within clauses. It differs from type I by having an effect beyond the verb itself; it advances an oblique argument into the case position vacated by the incorporated noun. An instrument, location, or possessor may assume the vacated O role in [V O] incorporation. In [V S] incorporation, another argument may be advanced to S. Although the incorporated noun remains unmarked for definiteness, number, or case, it may assume some specificity. Example (4) is from Tupinambá (Tupí-Guaraní), a historical language of Brazil. Here, the nominal *o β a* ‘face’ takes the possessor prefix in (4a) and behaves as the O, whereas in (4b) it loses its possessor prefix and is placed in between the person prefixes and the verb root, forming one word.

(4).II. Manipulation of Case in Tupinambá

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| a. | S-o β a | a-yos-éy |
| | his-face | I-it-wash |
| | ‘I washed his face.’ | |
| | | |
| b. | A-s- oβa -éy | |
| | I-him- face -wash | |
| | ‘I face-washed him.’ | |

Type III noun incorporation further exploits the lexical process within a larger scope: the backgrounding of known or incidental information within discourse. These

backgrounded incorporated nouns qualify verbs by indicating the type of patient, instrument, or location involved in the action or state. But since new information needs to be foregrounded it must be presented as a clausal argument (i.e. unincorporated). The example in (5) consists of two adjacent lines from a conversation in the Náhuatl of Huautla, Hidalgo, México (Uto-Aztecan). Speaker (a) makes a statement about the addressee where he introduces ‘meat’ in its non-possessed form *naka-tl* as the O. Speaker (b) then contradicts him using a structure that incorporates ‘meat’ in its possessed form because it is given information.

(5).III. Manipulation of Discourse Structure in Náhuatl

- a. Askeman ti-’-kwa naka-tl.
 never you-it-eat meat-ABS
 You never eat meat.
- b. Na’ ipanima ni-**naka-kwa**.
 I always I-**meat-eat**
 I eat it (meat) all the time.

Lastly, in type IV noun incorporation, a relatively general entity is incorporated to classify the verb, which is accompanied by a more specific external argument when introduced in the discourse. In subsequent discourse the incorporated noun is sufficient to qualify verbs. The examples in (6) are from Caddo, and endangered language of Oklahoma. In both cases the noun *’ich’a* ‘eye’ no longer communicates the body part, but instead makes reference to a ‘small, round’ entity. In (6a) the incorporated noun classifies the type of ‘stringing’ and actually refers to the more specific object ‘bead’. In (6b), the same noun does the same for the act of ‘grow’ while referring to the specific object ‘plum’. After, having mentioned the specific noun explicitly, the incorporated noun *’ich’a* ‘small, round’ entity can continue to be used with anaphoric function.

(6).IV. Classification of predicates in Caddo

- a. Kassi’ háh-’**ich’á-sswí’**-sa’.
 bead PRG-**eye-string**-PRG
 ‘She is stringing beads.’
- b. Ka’ás háh-’**ich’ah-’í’**-sa’.
 plum PRG-**eye-grow**-PRG
 ‘Plums are growing.’

The next paragraphs discuss clausal constructions that allow the possessor argument to be expressed as a core argument, or internal to the noun phrase. An External Possession construction is here taken to comprise a possessive relationship where the possessor is coded as a core argument, separate from the constituent where the possessed nominal is expressed (Payne & Barshi 1999:3). This construction contrasts with Internal Possession, where the possessive relationship is expressed in a single possessive NP.

There are at least two types of external possession. One of the types of is documented as ‘possessor ascension’, or ‘possessor raising’³⁶. Here, the possessed nominal becomes incorporated and the syntactic position it held is assumed by the possessor. The vertical metaphor in the name refers to the interpretation of possessors within NP’s being lower in a syntactic hierarchy than possessors as clausal arguments. The other type of external possession may be called ‘dative possessor’. Here, the possessor leaves the noun phrase to become a ‘dative’ or indirect object Argument. This type is common in many European languages, including Spanish. For instance, in Spanish, *yo vi [sus ojos]* ‘I saw **her eyes**’ expresses the possessor internally, just like in the English translation. But this is often expressed as *yo [le] vi [los ojos]*, lit. ‘I saw the eyes to her’, where the direct object is the possessed nominal while indirect object pronoun *le* ‘to her’ expresses the new syntactic status of the possessor.

In the generative tradition, the POSSESSOR θ -role can only be assigned inside nominal projections. This predicts the inability of verbs to assign such a role. Under this point of view, the central debate regarding external possession constructions is centered on whether the position to which the possessor moves is thematic or not. In a ‘control’ construction, a possessor nominal moves into a position that receives a θ -role, such as AFFECTEE. This is the general treatment of the ‘dative possessor’ construction; given that it is semantically constrained by the notion of affectedness.

³⁶ The term “raising” has also been amply documented in the generative tradition to refer to a different syntactic phenomenon involving the omission of an argument mentioned in immediately preceding clause. Usually these usage of ‘raising’ involves complement-taking predicates. This inter-clausal type of raising is also like the notion of syntactic pivot (Dixon 2012:197-205) in that it involves the grammaticalization of co-referential participants across clauses. On the other hand, possessor raising is strictly an intra-clausal phenomenon that deals exclusively with possessive relationships.

Conversely, ‘possessor raising’ takes place when the possessor nominal moves to an ‘athematic’ position. Evidence for the lack of θ -role in such position is given via external possession constructions where the possessor is not an AFFECTEE. This perspective ignores the inherent polysemy of syntactic arguments found in the grammars of the world’s languages. Deal (2013) analyzes the external possession construction in Nez Perce (Sahaptian), a language of Idaho, as a clear and “rare” example of possessor raising. She proves that despite its syntactic restriction of landing only in transitive object position, the raised possessor is not semantically constrained by affectedness, and as such presents a syntactic puzzle. For this construction, she ends up proposing that the verbal suffix *-e’ni* represents a head similar to those of “object shift” (μ), that merges above V, but below *v*, and permits the movement of the possessor to its athematic specifier position.

In (7) below, I reproduce two examples that Deal gives to prove that the construction is not constrained by the notion of affectedness. I add the corresponding dative possessor construction in Spanish, which are ungrammatical seeing does not affect a dead possessor, as in (7a), nor an inanimate possessor as in (7b). In both cases the possessor takes the accusative suffix *-ne*.

(7). Possessor Raising in Nez Perce

- a. Pee-x-te-ne’ny-u’ Coosef-ne temikees naaqc hiisemtuks-pe.
 3/3-see-go- μ -PROSP Joseph-ACC tomb.NOM one moon-LOC
 ‘They will go see **Joseph**’s tomb next month.’
 **Tú le verás la tumba a José el mes que viene.*
- b. ’e-ex-ney’-se tewliki-ne saq’is.
 3.O-see- μ -IMP-PRS tree-ACC shadow.NOM
 ‘I see **the tree**’s shadow.’
 **Yo le veo la sombra al árbol.*

The strict distinction between a “non-meaningful” case and meaningful thematic roles causes quite a bit of complication in explaining constructions that are seamless to native speakers. A cognitive approach will differentiate case and θ -role simply as a difference of scope (i.e. the latter is schematic and the former specific, yet they’re both meaningful). Therefore, the posited semantic distinction between ‘raised possessors’ and ‘dative possessors’ seems to merely indicate differing degrees of specificity communicated by the dative object and the object. But, I find it more

fruitful to assume the concept of external possession as one that renders more prominence to the possessor, and to set aside the notions of semantic constraints as a language internal issue.

The interesting fact about both of these constructions is that the argument structure projected by the verb does not include a prominent role for possessors. This fact calls for a reassessment of the idea that verbs project a single argument frame, and suggests that external possession constructions be regarded as a different construal to that imparted by internal possession, in the same fashion as the alternate readings manifested in the Subjective and Objective constructions presented in chapter 4.

In sum, the Wayuunaiki constructions will be categorized as alternatives pivoting on the place of the possessor within clauses. These alternatives will be considered according to the semantic nature of the possessive relationship, and considering the suggested types of noun incorporation and their diachronic implications as a reference point. This next section will summarize what previous authors have documented about this grammatical phenomenon in Wayuunaiki.

5.2. The Expression of Possession in Wayuunaiki

This section begins with a description of the several types of constructions that communicate possessive relationships in Wayuunaiki, and then focuses on the two that concern this chapter.

5.2.1 Possession in the Noun Phrase

Although briefly presented in §3.2.3., this subsection reiterates some of the basic properties of possession in the noun phrase and presents further information about their usage as arguments of the clause.

Possession in the noun phrase is frequently expressed as a single word denoting the possessed nominal whose possessor is indexed by a specific person prefix, as in (8a). The possessor prefixes are the same person prefixes used to express the transitive subject of Objective clauses and the objects of adpositions. Additionally, alienable possession requires that the noun be accompanied by one of the possessive suffixes: *-se*³⁷, *-in*, *-ya*, as in (8b).

(8). Inalienable and Alienable Possession

- a. shi-pia
3S♀-house
'her house'
- b. sü-kaa'ula-in
3S♀-goat-POS
'her goat'

However, the discourse context may also require the lexical expression of the possessor. When this happens, the order is always [possessum possessor]. This full possessive noun phrase is used to disambiguate or to emphasize the possessor. The structure can be represented schematically as [pr-PM (PR)]. Múgica (1969) notes that this pattern occurs recursively, as in (9b) below.

(9). The Possessive Noun Phrase

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-----------|--------|
| a) | ni-pia | | Peetut |
| | 3S♂-house | | Pedro |
| | Peter's house | | |
| | | | |
| b) | ni-pia | nü-'laüla | Peetut |
| | 3S♂-house | 3S♂-uncle | Pedro |
| | Peter's uncle's house | | |

Wayuunaiki verb-noun combinations where the possessor is expressed via a specific person prefix were first addressed as a 'conjugation type' (Celedón 1878, de Uterga 1895), then as a 'reflexive' clause with 'irregular conjugation' (de Carcagente 1940), as a 'postpositional verb' (Hildebrandt 1965), as a 'special' verb (Múgica 1969), as a 'complex verbal theme' (Ehrman 1972), or as a 'compound verb' (Jusayú

³⁷ This suffix has a palatalized dialectal variant *-she*, which is characteristic of the speech of the central area of the peninsula known as *Jalaala*.

1975). These constructions, which are consistently marked via a specific possessor prefix, will be regarded as ‘internal possession’.

These structures presented above express the possessor inside the noun phrase, and as such they can assume any syntactic role as arguments of the clause. The examples in (10) show ‘feminine’ suffixes indexing *ni-pia* ‘his house’ as the So in (10a) and as the O in (10b). This is consistent with the consideration of the possessed nominal as the head of the possessive noun phrase.

- (10). Internal Possessor as So/O
- | | | | |
|----|---|----------------------|--------------------|
| a. | Ka’yatü-sü
distant-♀
Pedro’s house is far. | [ni-pia
3S♂-house | Peetut]
Pedro |
| b. | Nü-kumajü-inja-tü
3S♂-build-VOL-♀
‘He is going to build Camilo’s house’ | [ni-pia
3S♂-house | Kamiirü]
Camilo |

Additionally, there are at least two allomorphic patterns in the roots of possessed alienable nouns. First, Alienable nouns that begin in a vowel must add an initial glottal stop when possessed. This is the case with *ichii* ‘salt’ or *ama* ‘horse’, which become *pi-’ichii-se* ‘your salt’, *pa-’ama-in* ‘your horse’. Secondly, word-initial glottal fricative /j/ is elided in alienable possession. This is the case with words like *juya* ‘year’ or *jintüi* ‘boy’, which becomes *su-uya-se* ‘her years’ or *shi-intüi-se* ‘her boy’.

Among whole-part relationships, body parts of humans, animals and plants are almost always expressed as inalienable possession. Other whole-part relationships expressed inalienably include non-canonical body parts like *-chira* ‘(breast) milk’, *-’wüira* ‘tears’, *-shiira* ‘urine’, *-shunula* ‘mucus, phlegm’, *-waawa* ‘saliva’, *-üsi* ‘fat of’, *-sha* ‘blood, semen’, and *-cha’a* ‘excrement’; parts of man-made things like *-sepü* ‘wall’, *-ajuna* ‘roof’, *-tujuna* ‘vigas’; and partitive terms like *-’uluku* ‘some’, *-’ipa* ‘piece’, or *-piishua’a* ‘all’.

However, there a small number of terms that denote parts but are alienably possessed. Among these, I have identified one body part (*(ji)ipü(-se)* and *jiipü(-in)* ‘bone’ and a non-canonical body part: *sii’irü(-in?)* ‘wart, boil’. Olza and Jusayú

(2006:90) state that the two alienably possessed forms for ‘bone’ are used distinctively: *(ji)ipü(-se)* denotes that the bone is in the possessor’s body, whereas *jiipü(-in)* refers to bones possessed by someone, but belongs in a different body. Additionally, I’ve identified one part of a man-made object: *'rou(-se)* ‘lid of, cap of’.

Among kinship relationships, the clear majority are possessed inalienably. The Wayuu kinship system has been compared to that of the Crow type (Goulet 1981). The main set of relatives are a person’s matrilineage *-püshi*. Its main members include *-i* ‘mother’, *-i-irü*³⁸ ‘mother’s sister’, *-chon-irü* ‘woman’s sister’s child (nephew/niece)’, *-'lauila* ‘mother’s brother’, *-sipü* ‘man’s sister’s child (niece/nephew)’. Paternal relatives consist of the ‘father’ *-shi*, his matrilineage *-'upayu* and his patrilineage *-sanua*. The terms *-tuushi* ‘grandfather’, *-ushi* ‘grandmother’, *-chon* ‘child’ and *-lüin* ‘grandchild’ appear to not make lineage distinctions. The word *-amaka* ‘cemetery of’ is inalienably possessed as it is related to one’s *-püshi* ‘maternal relatives’ and one’s *-'iruku* ‘clan’. Also, inalienably possessed are some other human relations like *-iwana* ‘companion’ or *-tüinajutu* ‘friend’.

There is, however, another term for ‘friend’ *'aleewa(-in)*, but this one is alienably possessed. The only relatively close kin relation that I have identified to be possessed alienably is *wairü(-in)* ‘man’s maternal male cousin’. The term *wa'le* is synonymous with this last term, but appears to be used exclusively as non-possessed. This also happens to *keraiü* ‘in-laws’, which appears in the corpus only in non-possessed bare form, even when possession of affinal relations are mostly inalienable, and gendered. For instance, women call their ‘mother-in-law’ *-'üülü*, while men call them *-meshu*. Women refer to their brother in-law as *-leshi*, while men call them *-ainchi*. ‘Sister in law’ is *-'erü* for women, but *-lüinyuu* for men, and so on. The only affinal relationships that are alienably possessed are ‘spouse’ *(')wayuu(-se)*, ‘wife’ *(ji)erü(-in)*, and ‘husband’ *(i?)echi(-in)*. Other nouns denoting humans that are alienably possessed include *(j)intu-lu(-se)* ‘girl’, *(j)intü-i(-se)* ‘boy’, *washirü(-in)* ‘boss’, *tep(i)chi(-ya)* ‘servant’.

³⁸ The suffixes *-ichi* ‘masculine’ or *-irü* ‘feminine’, which happen to be homophonous with the ‘imminent’ construction, are added to specify that the person “is a classificatory kinsman rather than the speaker’s own father, mother, child, or sibling”, and is translated as ‘almost’ (Goulet 1981).

The relationship of ownership is mostly expressed alienably. ‘Animals’ *mü(rü)lü(-in)*, which are of high value to the Wayuu economy are alienably possessed. These include domesticated ones like *kaa’ula(-in)* ‘goat’, *(’)anneerü(-se)* ‘sheep’, *(’)ama(-in)* ‘horse’, and *püliikü(se)* ‘donkey’, as well as wild animals such as *jime(in)* ‘fish’. This is also true of many nouns denoting consumables such as *(’)ichii(-se)* ‘salt’, *(’)ai(-se)* ‘manioc’, and *(e)kü(-in)* ‘food’. There are two forms to possess *wüin* ‘water’: *an(-ya)*³⁹ and *(’)wüin(-se)*. Jusayú & Olza (2006:76) state that *an(-ya)* has a more intimate relationship with the possessor than *(’)wüin(-se)*. They give the example that *Juya* ‘rain, rain god’ can only possess *an(-ya)*. This is also the term used to refer to the water one carries, whereas *(’)wüin(-se)* refers to the water one may “own”. Other types of property that are alienably possessed include instruments like *maasi(-in)* ‘reed flute’ *lepü(-ya)* ‘spoon’, *(i)ita(-in)* ‘totuma bowl’, *rüli(-ya)* ‘knife’, *polu(-in)* ‘ax’; and other type of property like *(’)apain(-se)* ‘food garden’, *she’e(-in)* ‘clothes’, *si’ira(-in)* ‘sash’, *(’)anuwa(-in)* ‘canoe’, *kakuuna(-se)* ‘jewels’, or *nneerü(-se)* ‘money’. All instances of the prized ‘red gem’ *tu’uma* found in the corpus are expressed in its non-possessed form.

However, there is smaller number of owned items that are inalienably possessed. This may reflect a historical differential treatment to these possessed items. These include possessions of artifacts such as *-’püla* ‘bow, gun’, *-jatü* ‘arrow’, *-püya / -pia* ‘house’, *-che’esa* ‘earrings’, *-ülüijana* ‘necklace’, *-’ula* ‘hammock’, or *-’ejena* ‘vehicle’. The last example refers to animals such as a ‘donkey’ which is used for transportation, but now the term is also used to refer to ‘cars’. Similarly, hunted animals are possessed inalienably via the term *-siirü* ‘prey, victim’, and so are some clothing items such as *-kuoma* ‘hat’, *-anala* ‘shirt’, and *-iche* ‘loincloth’.

Among the non-core types of possessive relationships there are a good number of inalienable nouns that are used frequently and mostly express some type of association with the possessor or one of its attributes. Among these, there are: *-kua’ipa* ‘form, behavior, culture’, *-nülia* ‘name’, *-nüiki* ‘voice, language’, *-’ira* ‘song’, *-chiki* ‘story, event’, *-maiwa* ‘time’, *-manee* ‘kindness’, *-noula* ‘faith’, *-ejuu*

³⁹ This is one of the lexemes that are commonly cited to claim the existence of the phoneme /ñ/. Jusayú and Olza cite it as *áñá* (a-aña-a in ALIV), but I think that the alienable possessive suffix *-ya* is present in this word whose root is possibly a reduced form *wüin*. This analysis is the only reason I have for considering this word to be ‘alienable’.

‘smell’, -’ejü ‘flavor’, -lia ‘value’, -yoluje ‘appearance’, -kua ‘path’ -pülee ‘skill, ability’, -yaakua ‘image of’. Other non-core types that are commonly expressed as alienable possession are temporal nominal like *kali(-ya)* ‘time’, (*j*)*uya(-se)* ‘year, age’, and one noun related to speech (*’*)*ala(-in)* ‘lie’.

I am unsure about which nouns can never be possessed. Olza and Jusayú (2012:43) do mention that the term *ai* ‘night’ is never possessed. Yet, the answer to such question requires an investigation within a much larger corpus. It is possible to guess that animals that are neither hunted, domesticated nor kept as pets will not be possessed, such as *wasashi* ‘cougar’ or *ka’laira* ‘jaguar’. This may also be the case with large natural elements like *uuchi* ‘mountain’, *palaa* ‘sea’, *jouktai* ‘wind’, *süchii* ‘river’, and so forth. But these claims will have to be corroborated in a separate study.

This subsection has described phenomena related to possession expressed inside the noun phrase. This next subsection continues with the constructions that allow the possessive elements to split, or to be expressed solely in the verb phrase.

5.2.2 Possession in the Verb Phrase

This subsection briefly describes several constructions used to communicate possessive relationships. These include equative, attributive, privative, and locative constructions. As seen in §3.5, a possessive noun phrase can become an equative clause solely by assuming initial position. When the nominal predicate is expressed without suffixes, a ‘permanent’ possessive relation is communicated, much like that of Spanish [*ser* NP], as in (11a) and (11b) (Holmer 1949:115; Múgica 1969:46; Olza 1985:246). Additionally, if the possessive noun phrase takes verbal suffixes to express an acquired possessive relation, these will attach to the possessed noun. As in (11c).

(11). Possession in Equative Clauses

- | | | |
|----|------------------|------------|
| a) | Ta-wala | shia-ka-lü |
| | 1S-sibling | she-SPC-♀ |
| | She is my sister | |
| b) | Ta-she’e-in | türa |
| | 1S-dress-POS | DEM.2♀ |
| | That is my dress | |

- c) Sü-'wayuu-se-shi Susana chi wayuu-ka-i
 3♀-spouse-POS-♂ Susana DEM♂ person-SPC-♂
 That man became Susana's husband

In this last example, the masculine gender suffix assigns subject status to 'that man', whereas the prefix communicates the possessor Susana, and therefore does not participate in verbal indexations. In other words, this construction should not be considered as double subject construction. Instead, the two affixes are merely a consequence of using a possessive noun phrase in predication.

Additionally, Olza and Jusayú (2012:68-69) consider equative clauses with non-possessed nouns functioning as predicates as a type of "passive". Instead, these should be thought of as the same structure as that presented in (11). The big difference is the absence of the possessor causes them to express: 'be someone's N'. In (12) two alienable nouns in their non-possessed form function as predicates.

(12). Non-possessed Nouns in Equative Predicates.

- a. A-'wayuu-se-e-sü pia
 IDF-spouse-POS-N.PSS-♀ you
 You are now someone's wife
- b. A-she'e-in-waa-sü tü kuluulu
 IDF-dress-POS-N.PSS-♀ DEM.♀ fabric
 That fabric is someone's dress.

There is another construction that may be considered 'locative possession'. Here the possessor is expressed via an adpositional phrase headed by *-ma'ana* 'in surroundings of', while the possessum is the subject of a stative clause. Generally, the state is either the existential *ee-*, non-existential *nnojo-*, a locative, such as *yaa-* "be here", *sa-* "be there (3rd distance)", or a quantifier like *mainma* 'many'. In general, this construction is used to express the transitory possession of an alienable noun (Álvarez 1996:34-36). This construction is also commonly used in Warekena of Xié and Baniwa of Içana (Aikhenvald p.c.)

The example in (13a) presents an adjectival predicate 'be many' where the subject is the possessed noun 'animals', and the possessor is expressed obliquely. (13b) shows the parallel structure of non-existence, and here the gender-number

suffix refers to the subject ‘animals’. Holmer (1949:153) notes that sudden presence verbs are also used in this construction, as in (13c)

(13). The ‘Locative possessive’ construction

a) Mainma mürülü su-ma’ana tapüshi.
 Many animals 3♀-sphere 1S-family
 My family has many animals.

b) Nnojo-t-sü mürülü wa-ma’ana.
 not.be-♀-♀ animals 1P-sphere
 We don’t have animals

c) Nnaa-’aya maiki ta-ma’ana
 there.3-ASSE corn 1S-sphere
 I have corn

Contrastingly, in attributive [*ka*-N-] and privative [*ma*-N-] constructions the possessor is expressed as the subject, while the possessed noun is placed in the derived state, where it is expressed as “indefinite or general” (Holmer 1949:153). Unlike with the nominal and adjectival predicates, verbal suffixes are obligatory in attributive and privative clauses. In the non-future or realis, attributive verbs take (-*sü* ♀, -*shi* ♂, -*shii* ‘plural’), but privative ones require a negative pregender suffix -*sa* plus the gender-number suffix set (-*lü* ♀, -*i* ♂, -*lii* ‘plural’). The possessive relationship communicated in attributive clauses is not transitory, at least in comparison to ‘locative’ possession with -*ma’ana* (Álvarez, 1996:36).

In all examples in (14) the possessor is the subject of the intransitive stative clause. The possessed noun may be inalienable as in (14a) and (14d), or alienable as in (14b) and (14c). The latter is a privative clause expressing the lack of possession of a ‘wife’. Lastly, (14d) shows an inanimate possessor as the subject ‘the mango tree’.

(14). Predication of Possession via Attributive and Privative clauses.

a) Ka-chon-shi taya
 AT-child-♂ I
 I have a child

b) Ka-si’ira-in-shi taya
 AT-sash-POS-♂ I
 I have a sash

- c) Me-erü-in-sa-i taya
 PRV-woman-POS-NEG-♂ I
 I have no wife (I am single)
- d) Ka-tüna-sü tü monku-'ulia-kaa
 AT-branch-♀ DEM♀ mango tree-SPC♀
 The mango tree has branches.

Besides deriving verbs out of nouns, attributive and privative prefixes may also derive stative verbs out of adpositions, (cf. §3.4). The examples in (15) demonstrate these constructions. Syntactically, these constructions parallel the one shown in (11c) above. The adposition used in the ‘locative’ possessive construction, *-ma'ana* ‘in sphere of’ may participate in this construction, as in (15a). The gender suffix indexes the single subject of the intransitive clause: ‘Joseph’. In (15b), the first person is a woman given the the subject in this construction must be the possessor. The nominal ‘your dress’ belongs to the verb phrase in the same way that possessors do in equative clauses. These constructions may be best described as extended intransitives, in that the predicate does involve two arguments, but it always remains intransitive because only one is indexed as the clausal subject. Note that the order of constituents does not define who the subject is. The verbs in examples (15c) and (15d) index a masculine subject. The non-possessed form of the noun ‘clothes’ underspecifies if the clothes are meant to be his.

(15). Attributive and Privative Predicates Derived from Adpositions

- a. Ka-ma'ana-shi awarianta Jusee
 AT-sphere-♂ rum Joseph
 Joseph has rum (Álvarez 1996:36)
- b. Ma-nain-sa-lü taya pü-she'e-in
 PRV-beside-NEG-♂ I
 I don't have your dress on. (Olza & Jusayú 2012:393)
- c. Ka-maa-shi taya jieyuu
 AT-with-♂ I women
 I have women with me. (Olza & Jusayú 2012:393)
- d. Ma-müin-sa-i pia a-she'e-ni-i
 PRV-to-NEG-♂ you IDF-clothes-POS-N.PSS
 You have not received clothes (Olza & Jusayú 2012:393)

In sum, this subsection has presented various intransitive (stative) clauses that communicate possessive relationships. In equative and locative constructions the possessed nominal is the subject, while in attributive and privative clauses the possessor is the subject, while in those that derive from adpositions, the object of the adpositions is the subject. The extended intransitive clauses evoke two arguments but only one is the subject, and gender-number alone determines which it is. We now turn to the construction examined in the chapter.

5.2.2.1 The Morphosyntax of Noun Incorporation

The Capuchin missionaries (Celedón, de Uterga & de Carcagente) compiled extensive conjugation tables without providing much explanation regarding the meaning or function of the forms. Celedón (1878: 38) described one of the conjugation types as involving the noun *-a'in* ‘heart’, and he gives the example *maju-a'in* ‘be sad’. Similarly, de Uterga posits that one of the conjugation types can be modeled by *-apa- -nüiki* ‘hear word’, where the possessed form of *-nüiki* ‘word’ replaces the personal pronoun that functions as the O (1895:46). Lastly, to de Carcagente the combination of verb plus *-a'in* ‘heart’, comprised a type of irregular verb, some of which express “reflexive” notions (1940:85). However, these early documents only refer to the use of the V-N pairs as internal possession. They were clearly noting the semantic intimacy of these verb-noun combinations, as well as the peculiar way of expressing possessed nominals, almost like case-marked pronouns.

Constructions in which the noun incorporates into the verb were first documented as an instance of “postpositional verbs” (Hildebrandt 1965:192-4), then as “preposition incorporation⁴⁰” (Olza & Jusayú 1978, 1986), and lastly as “possessor ascension” (Álvarez 1994, Matera 2001). For the sake of clarity, I will simply use the term ‘external possessor’ to refer to the constructions where the possessor is indexed via a verbal gender suffix and the prefix *a-* on the possessed noun.

Following earlier practice, Hildebrandt (1965:192-4) categorized verbs into classes according to gender-number suffix triad and thematic vowels. She writes that “postpositional verbs” use her class II suffix set (*-rü* ♀, *-chi* ♂, *-chin* PL), but many

⁴⁰ since then the authors distinguish it as “possessed noun incorporation” (2012:70)

also have their “equivalent forms” as subclass 11 of her class I suffix set (-*sü* ♀, -*shi* ♂, -*na* PL). Among her examples, she gives *mo-’urula- -a’in* [unmoving heart] ‘be lazy’, *ana -a’in* ‘be content, be sensible’, and *moju- -a’in* ‘be sad’.⁴¹

Olza & Jusayú (2012:70) explain that the structure of incorporation is not equal across ‘tenses’. Instead, there are three “phases” of incorporation at work across constructions. The first two are syntactically distinct, whereas the third is simply the final fusion of the phonological and grammatical word boundaries.

The 1st phase involves the simple combination of two full words V-N where the possessed nominal is marked as ‘indefinite’ via *a-*, and loses ability to take nominal morphology, except for plural markers. This type of incorporation occurs with many constructions that use pre-gender suffixes, as well as subordinated clauses (e.g. *-in* ‘gerund’, *-ka’a* ‘consequential’) and nominalized verbs (*-ka* ‘specifier’, *-a ~ -waa* ‘infinitive’). 1st phase incorporation occurs with pre-gender suffixes used in irrealis constructions, such as *-ee* ‘future’, (*-in*)-*ja* ‘volitive, deontic’, *-i* ‘imminent’. Additionally, this structure is also used with the two past tenses marked via pre-gender suffixes: ‘recent past’ *-yü* and ‘sequential past’ *-tüjü*.

In the 2nd phase, the verb, as grammatical word, splits into two phonological words. The bound verb theme precedes the ‘indefinite’ nominal, which keeps its primary stress and completes the grammatical word by bearing all verbal gender and post-gender suffixes. This is much like the Auxiliary verb construction⁴² (cf. §3.4). This structure may be represented as VERB = (ω ω) = ((V_{theme}) (N^{NFL})). This type of incorporation occurs with all main clause realis constructions, including two that use pre-gender suffixes: *-ee* ‘desiderative’ and *-pu’u* ‘habitual’.

The 3rd phase simply consists of the loss of the nominal prefix *a-* and the coalescence of the phonological words. Since the 3rd phase is the evolution of the 2nd, it continues to be constrained to main clause realis constructions. Only a few examples of this type of incorporation have been documented, and to discover more an in-depth phonological study needs to be performed. Among the documented

⁴¹ The rest of her examples are actual postpositional verbs, such as *ai- -piüla* [loved for] ‘be loved by’, *a-nta- -a’u* [arrive on] ‘find’, and *ko-juta- -tuma* [have.value by] ‘be respected’.

⁴² When this occurs, the auxiliary goes in between the V+N combination causing a grammatical verb structure consisting of three phonological words. (ω ω ω) = (Vstem AUX N-Suffixes).

instances, one finds *ka-to-’u* [have-skin-eye] ‘be alive, awake’, *kasuu-kii-* [white-head] ‘gray-haired’, *o-’uta-a’in-* [IDF-?-heart] ‘kill’.

The examples in (16) show how the lexeme ‘be alive’ can involve internal possession and the three phases of phonological incorporation in external possession. In (16a), we see the internal possession ‘Miguel’s eye’ which is cross-referenced via the feminine suffix *-rü*. In (16b) there is 1st phase of incorporation where ‘have skin’ and ‘eye’ are expressed as two full words in an irrealis construction, and ‘Miguel’ is now the one cross-referenced by the masculine suffix *-chi*. The 2nd phase of incorporation is exemplified in (16c), where the realis construction causes the split of the grammatical word into two phonological ones. Lastly, the 3rd phase is shown in the (16d), which is semantically equivalent to (16c), but the two phonological words have coalesced into one. The combination of the elements in this predicate conventionally allows such phonological fusion. The bold type face signals the indexation patterns.

(16). Degrees of Incorporation in Main Clauses

a.	ka-t-ee-rü AT-skin-FUT-♀ Miguel will live	[no-’u] 3♂-eye	Minkeerü Miguel
b.	[ka-t-ee-chi] AT-skin-FUT-♂ Miguel will live	o-’u] IDF-eye	Minkeerü Miguel
c.	[ka-ta AT-skin	o-’u-chi] IDF-eye-♂	Minkeerü Miguel
d.	[ka-to-’u-chi] AT-skin-eye-♂ Miguel is alive		Minkeerü Miguel

If we consider Mithun’s types of noun incorporation, only 3rd phase would correspond formally and functionally with her type II ‘manipulation of case’. On the other hand, the more frequent 1st and 2nd phases appear to be instances in-between her type I ‘lexical compounding’ and they II. This will be further addressed in 5.6.

Álvarez (1994) is the first author to distinguish possessor ascension from applicatives, while still acknowledging the parallel structures of noun and adposition

incorporation. Álvarez also stresses that possessor ascension also occurs with actions, as opposed to a prior emphasis on its occurrence with stative clauses. For instance, the dependent possessor in (17a) ‘Camilo’ becomes the transitive object in (17b). Matera (2001) then clarifies that possessor ascension in Wayuunaiki patterns ergatively, where to possessor can only be raised to the roles of So or O, but not to Sa⁴³ or A.

(17). Possessor Expression in Transitive Actions

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| a. | Ta-sakü- in | [ni- i | Kamiirü] |
| | 1S-greet-O | 3♂-mother | Camilo |
| | I greeted Camilo’s Mother | | |
| | | | |
| b. | [Ta-saka | e-i- chi] | Kamiirü |
| | 1S-greet | IDF-mother-♂ | Camilo |
| | I mother-greeted Camilo | | |

Based on Government and Binding theory, Álvarez (1990: 10-11) considers noun incorporation to be an α movement where the new VP re-assigns case to the possessor. Matera (2001:71) on the other hand, claims that possessor raising merely involves ‘phonetic’, but not syntactic change. She argues that this construction is a process that takes place in the lexicon only, where the new complex verbs subcategorize their new arguments.

Lastly, there is a separate construction that deserves special mention. One of the main formal means to communicate the ‘external possessor’ is the use of the nominal prefix *a-*. Yet, this is not the only construction in which it is found. Olza (1985: 243-244) notes that the nominal prefix *a-* may also be translated as ‘one’, and that it indirectly refers to a “first person possessor”. Álvarez (p.c.) analyzes the prefix *a-* as having two distinct but homophonous functions ‘indefinite’ and ‘impersonal’. Of these, only the ‘impersonal’ prefix has a corresponding pronoun *aya* ‘one’ (Olza 1985:243-4; Olza & Jusayú 2012:66). The existence of two meanings for possessors cross-referenced by *a-* is consonant with the data observed in the corpus. The example in (16a) shows an ‘impersonal’ possessor and the impersonal pronoun. If *a-shi* ‘one’s father’ were an externally possessed nominal, it would have to also take the verbal gender suffix *-chi*.

⁴³ In section 5.5. I address the notion of possessor in the Sa role.

(18). Impersonal Possessor

- a) Ayuui-shi a-shi makata-kalaka aya
 sick-♂ IMP-father stay-CNSQ one
 ‘If one’s father is sick, one stays’ (Olza and Jusayú 1986:114)
- b) A-inkü-shi a-a’in-yüü
 IDF-startle-♂ IMP-heart-COL
 It was surprising (CO L&E 2B 26.1)
- c) Mülia-shaana-sü a-a’in wayuu!
 suffer-AUGM-♀ IMP-heart people
 Poor people! (CO L&E I 560)

Additionally, there were two tokens in the data where *a-* indexed a ‘generic’ possessor. In (16b), Luisa and Evelin had been talking about the death of a young man, and then Evelin expressed the reaction some people had upon hearing the news. In the surrounding discourse, there is no identifiable possessor or the ‘hearts’ mentioned in this fixed V-N predicate. Also, in the clauses preceding the example in (16c), the same interactants are commenting on the lack of water, food and jobs in the area. Then they mention how many people are suffering without really specifying who. In this example the possessor of ‘heart’ is meant to be highly generic ‘people’. These three types of constructions are excluded from the analysis in the present chapter given that ‘external possessors’ are never indexed via the suffix set (*-sü* ♀, *-shi* ♂, *-na* PL). Instead this conjugation, communicates ‘impersonal’ and ‘generic’ possessors.

In sum, this sub-section has briefly summarized what has been documented on the morphosyntax of the external possessor constructions. It was stated that Verb-noun combinations may be expressed in many irrealis constructions, subordinated verbs, and nominalizations as two full words, while realis constructions are expressed as two phonological words that group as one grammatical word, or as a single word. Next, we will explore the semantics and pragmatics of the external possessor.

5.2.2.2 The Semantic & Pragmatic Properties of Noun Incorporation

Hildebrandt (1965:194) describes that the two elements in verb-noun combinations “form a semantic unit” when expressed together in the verbal phrase (=external possessor), but “return to their primitive sense” when expressed separately (=internal possessor). Ehrman (1972:65) emphasizes that the verb and “external adjuncts” are “semantically knit” and that the availability of such composition “supplies the lexicon with a further dimension of semantic differentiation”, and “stock the verb lexicon with a very rich overlay of new meanings”. She was aware, however, that some of the complex themes “produce a meaning connoting more than the sum of their parts”.

Unlike the previous fascination with the single lexeme *-a'in* ‘heart’, Ehrman (1972:64) claims that at least fifty anatomical nouns may combine with an open class of verbs, which result in a very large class of complex verb themes. Table 5-1 reproduces the stative examples she gives in her dissertation. These complex themes freely function as separate words in internal possession or as one grammatical verb in external possession.

Verb		Noun		Complex Theme	
<i>cheche-</i>	hard	<i>-japü</i>	hand	<i>cheche- -japü</i>	stingy
<i>luita-</i>	drop	<i>-awaa</i>	saliva	<i>luita- -awaa</i>	salivate
<i>sarala-</i>	flute	<i>-müla</i>	throat	<i>sarala- -müla</i>	flute-like voice
<i>mo-li-</i>	hairless	<i>-kii</i>	head	<i>mo-li- -kii</i>	bald
<i>kouja-</i>	insufficient	<i>-nüiki</i>	voice, word	<i>kouja- -nüiki</i>	quiet
<i>mule'u</i>	big	<i>-'ichi</i>	nose	<i>mule'u -'ichi</i>	big-nosed

Table 5-1 Ehrman's examples of Stative Complex Themes

Mansen (2005) categorizes the use of *-a'in* ‘heart’ within verbal complexes as “emotive verbs”. He looked into the frequency of the use of *-a'in* “heart” within traditional Wayuu dispute negotiation that involved the offender and the *pütchipü'üi* ‘wordsmith, mediator’. To him, *-a'in* adds an emotional element to the main verb’s meaning (ibid: 89). He corroborates that in general, these verbs without *-a'in* express a simple non-emotive use, but that some, such as *soto- -a'in* ‘remember’, do not have a simple, non-emotive form.

Mansen notes that in the first two phases of the negotiation, both interactants use emotive verbs in similar proportions. These include the search for a negotiating place and the setting of the agenda. In these two phases, the *pütchipü'üi* does most of the talking while the offender participates only in the delimitation of the issues to be disputed.

The third stage involves the reduction of differences between the offender and the victim. Here, the offender uses emotive verbs twice as much as the *pütchipü'üi*. Following this phase, the parties establish the antecedents to begin the final negotiation, where the offender begins with an exaggerated use of emotive verbs, but ends it by going back to a more moderate frequency of use. During the final stage of the negotiation, the use of emotive verbs goes back to similar proportions between the offender and the *pütchipü'üi*. Mansen concludes that the increased usage of emotive verbs by the offender may be “a negotiating resource for generating prestige” (2005:93). Given the lesser documentation of transitive verb-noun combinations, Table 5-2 lists emotive transitive actions that Mansen extracted from the 1973 dispute.

SIMPLE MEANING	V+N	COMPOSITE MEANING
remove	a-akala- -a'in	kill?
scold	a-chiaja- -a'in	repress
reject	a-'alijiraa- -a'in	reject
insult	a-'yajaa -a'in	insult
count	a-yaawaja- -a'in	consider
tolerate	e-irala- -a'in	tolerate
bother, annoy	e-'iwaaja- -a'in	bother, annoy
exhort	e-me'eja- -a'in	exhort
know someone	e'raaja- -a'in	know someone

Table 5-2 Emotive Transitive Verbs Used in the 1973 Dispute Negotiation (Mansen 2005)

Most of these terms appear to communicate higher affectedness of a human transitive object, or O. The only one that appears to have developed a unique meaning is *a-yaawaja- -a'in* ‘consider’, which without ‘heart’ simply means to ‘count’. The rest, however, do appear to be more compositional if we take ‘heart’ to be the locus of human emotion. Nevertheless, the possessor of the ‘heart’ in these combinations is freely expressed internal to the noun phrase or external to it as the object of the transitive clause.

Unfortunately, Mansen does not distinguish internal vs external possessors, nor does he distinguish the “non-emotive” functions *-a'in*. Instead, he uses a broad category for all verb *-a'in* combinations: emotive verbs. As we will demonstrate below, although the affectedness of the possessor is a central meaning to *-a'in* constructions, this word is also used without connotation of human emotion. For instance, the comparative construction [*ma- aka -a'in*] is highly frequent, and it simply communicates a comparison of equality.

(19). Comparison of Equality with *aa'inwaa* ‘heart’

- a. **Mü-sü aka ja-a'in** wanee tü juchi-ka-lü
 be.thus-♀ with 3♀-likeness one DEM.♀ monkey-SPC-♀
 The monkey looks like a person (Olza & Jusayú 2012:289)
- b. **Ma-'aka sa-a'in** su-kumaj-ia kaasha?
 be.thus-INS 3♀-heart 3♀-make-MNR drum
 Is that the way drums are made? (F&C 887.1)
- c. Ai-shaanta-sü na-püla, **mü-sü-ya a-ka sa-a'in** na-chon
 loved-AUG-♀ 3PL-for thus-♀-ASSE IDF-with 3♀-heart 3PL-child
 They love her, as if she were their daughter (L&E 2A)

This construction consists of the stative verb ‘be thus’ with the instrumental adposition ‘with’ and the *-a'in*, but here it no longer means ‘heart’, as it is more accurately translated as ‘likeness’.

Álvarez (1990: 15-18) makes a more general observation regarding ‘external possessor’ constructions. To him a main function of this construction is to bring a peripheral argument into the core, where it is then subject to passivization and relativization. That is, a possessor internal to a possessum NP is not a core argument and therefore can not be expressed as the subject of a passive clause. Therefore, external possession allows the possessor to do so. The examples in (20) below are from Álvarez (1990). In (20a) *chi alijuna-ka-i* ‘the creole’ is presented as an internal possessor of *nu-luma-se* ‘his ramada / arbor’. The sentence in (20b) makes *chi alijuna-ka-i* the O, while in (20c) he is the S of a passive clause.

(20). External Possessor as S of Passive

- a. A-kuyamajü-shi taya [nu-luma-se **chi alijuna-ka-i**].
 IDF-build-♂ I 3S-ramada-POS DEM♂ creole-SPC-♂
 I built the Alijuna's ramada.
- b. Ta-kuyamaja a-luma-se-chi [**chi alijuna-ka-i**].
 1S-build IDF-ramada-POS-♂ DEM♂ creole-SPC-♂
 I built the Alijuna a ramada
- c. A-kuyamajü-na a-luma-se-chi [**chi alijuna-ka-i**] ta-tuma.
 IDF-build-PAS IDF-ramada-POS-♂ DEM♂ creole-SPC-♂ 1S-by
 The creole was built a ramada for, by me.

Another function of 'external possessors' is then to make them available for reference via relative clauses. The examples in (21) consist of a transitive clause whose object is being modified by a relative clause whose content is the example in (20). In (21a), the possessor co-refers with the O of the relative clause, while in (21b), the possessor co-refers with the S of a passive relative clause.

(21). The Relativization of External Possessors

- a. Ji-'raaj-ee-in Jusepiina
 3♀-meet-DES-O Josefina
- chi alijuna ta-kuyamaja-ka-i a-luma-se.**
 DEM♂ non.wayuu 1S-build-SPC-♂ IDF-ramada-POS
 Josefina wants to meet [the Alijuna I built a ramada for].
- b. Ji-'raaj-ee-in Jusepiina
 3♀-meet-DES-O Josefina
- chi alijuna a-kuyamajü-na-ka-i a-luma-se ta-tuma.**
 DEM♂ non.wayuu IDF-build-PAS-SPC-♂ IDF-ramada-POS 1S-by
 Josefina wants to meet [the Alijuna a ramada was built for by me].

In sum, this subsection I have briefly summarized relevant notions in the literature regarding the semantics and pragmatics of external possessor constructions. It has been shown that many verb noun combinations lexicalize, and that many nouns

incorporate to both intransitive stative and verbs and transitive actions. The noun *-a'in* has a special place in the communication of emotion, and as Mansen showed its use as a device for generating 'prestige' during dispute negotiations. Additionally, an important function of external possessors is to make the possessor available to be expressed as the S of passive, or in modifying function as relative clauses. This next sub-section will briefly address the parallel structure of external possessor and applicatives.

5.2.2.3. Adposition Incorporation and Applicatives

This sub-section is a kind of postlude to the introduction of external possessor constructions. It briefly describes applicative constructions and gives the reasoning for leaving a full description of it in a separate article.

There has been a general tendency in previous research to view external possessor constructions as parallel to applicative constructions. This parallel is rooted in the numerous similarities between inalienable nouns and adposition. They are both bound forms that take the same morphology for person marking and their non-possessed forms. Their diachronic relationship is in some cases evident: there are forms with both functions, such as *-u* 'eye, grain, hue' / 'in (time)', or *-chiki* 'story, event' / 'about'. They both combine with verbs to enrich the lexicon of the language, not unlike English V-Prep combinations. Some are fixed expressions like *ai-* 'to hurt' becomes *ai- -püla* [hurt for] 'be loved by', while others are more literal such as *ma- -müin* 'say to', or *a-apa- -müin* 'give to'. Also, both inalienable nouns and adpositions incorporate to the verb as a grammatical word using the same structures.

There are, however, some distinctions. For instance, an adposition can not take the place of a noun in a noun phrase without derivational morphology, for instance, it can not be preceded by a demonstrative. Semantically they have the commonality of being atemporal relations, but the crucial difference is that the inalienable noun simply evokes one argument while the adposition evokes two. Compare, for instance, *-chon* 'son / daughter' with *-'ato'u* 'next to'. The former evokes a parent while the later involves both a reference point and the adpositional object, such as the 'the ball next to you'.

As far as incorporation and its effects on the clause, there are some preliminary observations. Most observed instances of adposition incorporation involves a transitive clause where the adpositional object takes the place of the clausal object. But adposition incorporation in stative clauses is also possible. This has been documented as an applicative construction (Álvarez 1990) because intransitive verbs become transitive and the adpositional object becomes indexed by the gender suffixes, as in (22a). Whether the transitive verb becomes ditransitive or not is a matter of debate. This is primarily because the answer is positive as far as the syntax goes, given that the clause allows the overt expression of two objects. But the answer is negative as far as the morphology goes, because the verb continues to index only one object. In (22b), the clause has two objects but only ‘porridge’ is indexed.

(22). Applicative Constructions.

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| a) | Ta-ikalaa | a’ato’u-lu | majayüt-ka-lü |
| | 1S-sit | IDF-next.to-♀ | young.woman-SPC-♀ |
| | I sat next to the young woman | | |
| | | | |
| b) | Te-jita | a’aka-lü | ichii a’yajaaushi |
| | 1S-throw | IDF-between-♀ | salt porridge |
| | I put salt in the porridge | | |

Even though the two morphosyntactic processes, applicative and external possessor, share numerous properties, the effect of increasing valency is a major functional distinction that motivated me to leave ‘applicative’ constructions for a separate article. Instead, the scope of this dissertation is delimited by those alternatives that maintain the syntactic transitivity of the clauses.

Section 5.2 has described what has been documented on the structures used to express possession in Wayuunaiki. This next section moves on to the questions of the chapter and the methodology used to arrive at the findings.

5.3 Questions and Methods

This chapter is guided by the question:

What does the Wayuunaiki external possessor construction communicate and what influences its usage?

Beyond some reference to alienability, the Wayuunaiki literature has very little information on the semantic properties on the expression of possessor as So or O. Similarly, the way in which these constructions interact with discourse notions like information flow, have not been explored either. It is therefore the intention of the present chapter to explore the semantic and discourse-pragmatic properties of the variable portrayals of possessors as clausal arguments.

To answer the chapter question, I discuss five more specific questions whose answers will guide the way towards the characterization of the variable expression of possessor in Wayuunaiki discourse. The questions center on how the following four factors potentially relate to the usage of possessor arguments: 1) the semantics types of possessive relationships, 2) alienable possession, 3) animate possession and 4) the anaphora and cataphora of the elements in a possessive relationship.

First, Aikhenvald (2012) proposes three core types of possessive relationship: Whole-Part, Kinship and Ownership. These types cut across the alienability system, which has been the only factor examined in the expression of possessor as a clausal argument (Álvarez 1990). For instance, the kinship category involves inalienable nouns: *-chon* “child”, *-püshi* “maternal family”, as well as alienable ones such as (*'*)*wayuu(-se)* ‘spouse’. The first question for this chapter is: 1. **How do these core types of possessive relationship relate to noun incorporation and external possession?**

The incorporation of inalienable nouns is a feature of most Amazonian languages (Aikhenvald 2012:194-5). In the Arawak family, it is documented that only inalienable nouns incorporate in Nanti (Michael 2013:161), and only some body-parts do so in Palikur (Aikhenald & Green 1998:451). In Wayuunaiki, both alienable and

inalienable nouns incorporate into the verbal phrase (Álvarez 1990). However, no one has looked at the frequency of use of incorporation of these two types of nouns. Thus, the second question is then 2. **How does alienable possession relate to the variable expression of possessor?**

Animacy also cuts across the alienability opposition in Wayuunaiki. Possessed kin refer to animate entities, whereas possessed parts refer to inanimate ones, yet both can be inalienable (e.g. *-wala* ‘sibling’ and *-tiina* ‘arm’). Mithun (1984:863) states that animate nominals enjoy differential treatment in the grammars of languages given our natural tendency to empathize, and therefore they are rarely incorporated. The third question is then 3. **How does animate possession relate to the variable expression of possessor?**

Lastly, we saw in Chapter 4 that anaphora and cataphora provided us with significant insights that helped explain the motivations speakers have for using the Subjective over Objective constructions. Aikhenvald (2013:40) notes that cross-linguistically, a prototypical Possessor is animate and likely to be foregrounded,

No author has yet explored the topicality of the members of possessive relationships and their relation to noun incorporation in Wayuunaiki. It is therefore the intention here to explore how information flow relates to the elements in possessive relationships expressed as clausal arguments. The fourth and last question is then 4. **How does the discourse status of the elements in possessive relationships relate to the variable expression of possessor?**

DATA AND METHODS

To discover the answers to the research questions, 114 tokens of noun incorporation in predicative, referential and modifying function were identified in the conversations and narratives, and extracted. These occurred approximately once every 350 words. Of these, the anaphoric and cataphoric values of the possessive elements in the 51 tokens in predicative function were compared to 60 other tokens of internal possession in the same function. External possession in predicative function occurred roughly once every 784 words. All token clauses were extracted into a spreadsheet for analysis.

In sum the independent variables coded for included 4 semantic types of possession, 2 alienability categories, 2 animacy categories, and the continuous measures of anaphoric distance and cataphoric persistence. This is summarized in Table 5-3.

POSSESSION TYPE	ALIENABILITY OF POSSESSA	ANIMACY OF POSSESSA	ANAPHORA	CATAPHORA
Human/Kin Whole Part Ownership Non-core	Alienable Inalienable	Animate Inanimate	<i>Continuous</i>	<i>Continuous</i>

Table 5-3 Independent Variables

Once the clauses were extracted frequency counts were attained for the categorical data and means were obtained for the continuous data. Subsequently, probabilities for the difference between independent proportions were calculated for the categorical variables, while t-tests were calculated to compare the means of the continuous variables.

5.4. The Findings

Before delving into the specific details explored for the clausal expression of possessors, I will note a couple of morphosyntactic properties observed during the analysis. First, it was observed that external possession in active clauses can only occur in as an Objective clause. On the other hand, in internal possession the Subjective-Objective opposition continues to be an option. This is inferred from the zero tokens of O possessors in a Subjective clause.

Another important observation is that possessor arguments may not be restricted to the grammatical roles of So/O. Even though these roles do form most of the observed cases, there were a few puzzling instances of possessors as the Sa of an ‘agentive’ intransitive clause. These will be further explored in section 5.4. Additionally, external possessors occurred about twice as frequently as the object of transitive clauses than as the subject of stative ones. Lastly, 69% of the 114 tokens of noun incorporation were found in narrative, while only 31% were found in conversation.

In this section, I present the observed results on the interaction between the variable expression of possessors with semantic types of possessive relationships (Section 5.4.1), with alienability (Section 5.4.2), with animacy, (Section 5.4.3), and with anaphora and cataphora (Section 5.4.4).

5.4.1 Types of Possessive Relationships

In the dataset, the best represented category was whole-part relationships. This type of relationship accounted for 51% of the tokens of noun incorporation. After this, the non-core category amounted to 36% of the tokens. On the other hand, the incorporation of owned items or kin, only amounted to 7% and 5% of the tokens respectively. The raw frequency data is displayed in Figure 5-1.

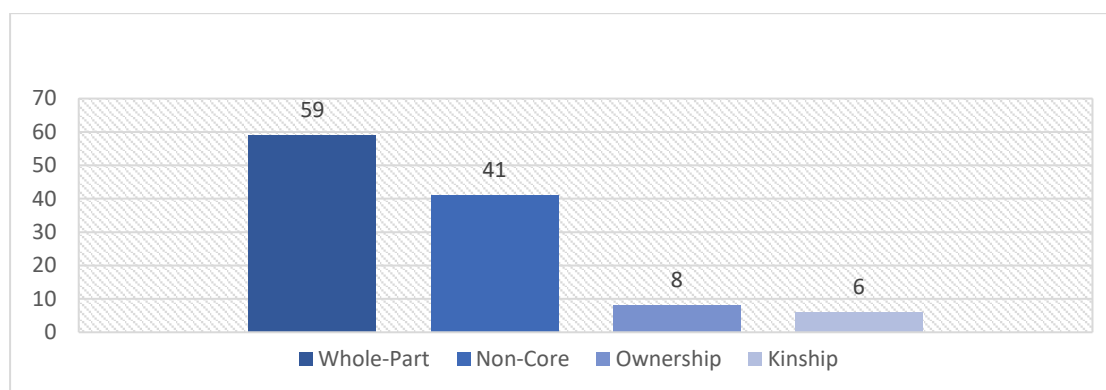


Figure 5-1 Frequency of Incorporation per Relationship

Kinship was the least common of core semantic types to be expressed as external possession. The incorporated nouns identified included *-siipü* ‘man’s sister’s child’, *-chon* ‘child’ (*ji*)*eerü(-in)* ‘wife’ and *-püshi* ‘maternal relative’. The example in (23a) is a cleft construction. The ‘nephew’ is incorporated into the predicate ‘die’ and then nominalized and used in predicate position. On the other hand, 20% of the tokens of internal possession involved kinship relationships, where the possessed family member was the head of a possessive noun phrase, as in (23b).

(23). Expression of Kinship

- a) [Outa-ka-ja'a a-siipü] nia-ka-i
 die-SPC-ASSE IDF-nephew he-SPC-♂
 He is the one whose nephew died (CO L&E 2B 4.1)

- b) ζ ichaa-taa-in pi-'rü-in **ta-püshi?**
 there.4.PRSV-EVID-GR 2S-see-GR 1S-family
 Did you see my family over there? (Y&L 2B 3)

The second least common type of possessive relationship to be incorporated was ownership. The tokens identified included the possessed nominals *she'e(-in)* ‘dress, clothing’, *(e)kü(-in)* ‘food’, *(a)sü(-in)* ‘drink’, and *si'ira(-in)* ‘sash’. Similarly, the proportion of tokens of internal possession that expressed ownership was 20%. Figure 5-2 shows the frequencies of types of relationship expressed as internal possession. The most striking property of these proportions is large difference in the frequencies of the relationship types in incorporation, and the lack of it in internal possession.

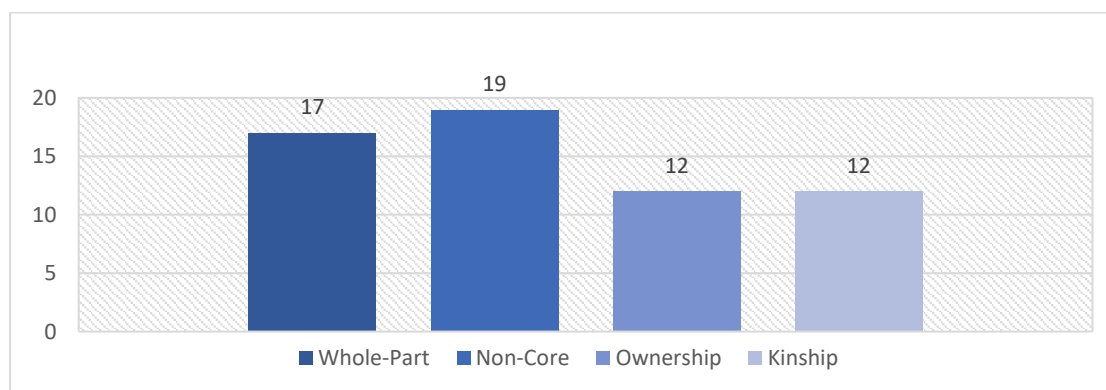


Figure 5-2 Frequency of Internal Possession per Relationship

The example in (24a) shows the incorporation of ‘the man’s food’ into the verb cook. The possessor becomes the O of the clause. In (24b), we see the more common scenario of the possession of ‘his clothes’ being expressed internally.

(24). Expression of Ownership

- a) [Jü-'lakajaa-pu'u e-kü-in-chi] (wayuu-ka-i)
 3♀-cook-HAB IDF-food-POS-♂ (person-SPC-♂)
 ‘She used to cook for the man’ (lit. food-cook him) (MAJ-OP 14.2)
- b) Na-akalü-in [tü nü-she'e-in-ka-lü] (epeyüi-ka-i)
 3♂-remove-O DEM.♀ 3♂-clothes-POS-SPC-♀ jaguar.man-SPC-♂
 (The epeyüi) took his clothes off (MAJ-A07 12.3)

Contrastingly, whole part relationships were the most frequent type to be expressed as external possession. The clear majority of these involved the following body parts: *-a'in* ‘heart’, *-kii* ‘head’, *-’u* ‘eye’, *-tüna* ‘arm’, *-ta* ‘skin’, *-’iruku* ‘meat’, *-nulu* ‘neck’, *-’rüü* ‘eyelash’, *-le’e* ‘stomach’, *-poloo* ‘hip’, and *-sapü* ‘back’. There was one incorporation of the part of a thing: (’) *rou(-se)* ‘lid’. The examples in (25) show the incorporation of ‘skin’ and ‘meat’ where their possessor is the transitive object in (25a) and the stative subject in (25b).

(25). Whole-part Relationships as External Possession

- a) [Nü-shotojo **a-ta-lü** nü-sit-ka-lü
 3♂-peel IDF-skin-♀ 3♂-prey-SPC-♀
 He skinned his prey (deer) (MAJ-OP 26.22)
- b) [Cheche-i-rü **e-’iruku** (irama-ka-lü)
 hard-IM-♀ IDF-meat deer-SPC-♀
 The deer meat is about to get tough (MAJ-OP 26.16)

Lastly, the ‘Non-Core’ category was an ad-hoc label I used to include tokens that did not fit the three core types. Most included relationships of associations and attributes. These were *-chiki* ‘story, message’, *-nülia* ‘name, news’, *-nüiki* ‘word, message’, *-kua’ipa* ‘form, destiny, culture’, *-kua* ‘path’, *-yoluje* ‘appearance’ *-ejuu* ‘smell’ *-pülee* ‘skill, ability’. The examples in (26) demonstrate some of the tokens of external possession that did not belong to the three core types of possession.

(26). Other Types of Possession Expressed Externally

- a) [Jemet-uui **e-ejuu-lu** ma’in tü pi-pia-ka-lü
 Delicious-PAS.5 IDF-smell-♀ very DEM.♀ 2S-house-SPC-♀
 Your house smells so pleasantly (MAJ-A04 29.5)
- b) [Ta-’ikaje-’er-ee-chi **a-nülia**] pia joolu’u cha-müin cha'aya
 1S-go.take-CAUS-FUT-♂ IDF-news you now there.4-ALL over.there.4
 I will now have your news taken over there (MAJ-OP 41.22)

We can then summarize that out of the three core types of relationships whole-part and kinship present opposing frequencies of incorporation. Whole-Part possessa easily incorporate into the verb phrase while possessed family members rarely incorporate. Owned items patterned like kinship, while the non-core category patterned more like whole-part in that they had high tendencies of having the possessor expressed externally. This last category involves mostly nouns that associate with their possessor, as well as attributes. The next section continues to look at the variable expression of possessor as it relates to the marking of alienability.

5.4.2 Alienable and Animate Possession

In this section, I present indications of the frequency in which alienable nouns incorporate.

Inalienable nouns are overwhelmingly the preferred nouns to incorporate. In the data-set gathered, only 12% of the tokens of complex verb phrases incorporated an alienable noun, while 88% did so with inalienable nouns. On the other hand, 35% of the tokens of internal possession constructions from the data set involved alienable nouns as heads of possessive noun phrases. Figure 5-3 shows the raw frequency of the tokens of external possession per the alienability of the incorporated noun.

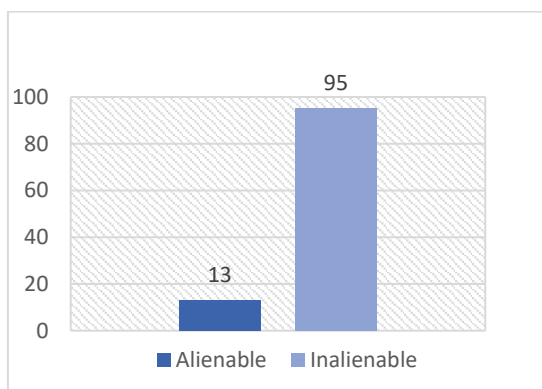


Figure 5-3 Frequency of Incorporation per Alienability

Among the incorporated alienable possessa, the word *she'e(-in)* 'clothes' recurred four times with the verbs *aakalaa / aakajaa* 'to take off', *aapaa* 'to give', and *wiitajaa* 'be green'. Other incorporated alienable nouns included *sü(-in)* 'drink', *(e)kü(-in)* 'food', *(')rou(-se)* 'lid', and *si'ira(-in)* 'male sash'. The example in (27a)

shows a more common way to express an alienable possessor: noun phrase internally. In (27b), we see the incorporation of ‘sash’, which leaves ‘the drunkard’ as the O.

(27). Expression of Possessor of Alienable Noun

- a. Nnojo-lu-inja-tü pi-’rajaa-in [tüsa ta-’wayuu-se-ka-lü]
 not.be-♀-VOL-♀ 2S-go.see-GR DEM.2.♀ 1S-spouse-POS-SPC-♀
 Do not go see that wife of mine (MAJ-OP 34.5)
- b. nüsi’wata a-si’ira-in-chi (e-pe’t-shi-ka-i)
 3♂-untie IDF-sash-POS-♂ (IDF-get drunk-♂-NMLZ-♂)
 ‘He untied (the drunkard’s) sash’ (MAJ-A07 5.2)

In sum, we can posit that alienable possession is more frequently expressed internal to the noun phrase. Instead, inalienable nouns are overwhelmingly the preferred nouns to incorporate. But is this also the case with animate possession? The following paragraphs address this question.

Cross-linguistically, a prototypical possessor is animate (Aikhenvald 2013:40). In the Wayuunaiki dataset, 86% of possessors of incorporated nouns were animate. The more rare inanimate possessors occurred with specific V-N combinations like those possessing *-chiki* ‘news, message’ as in *ee- -chiki* ‘exist news’, *aapa- -chiki* ‘hear news’, *aküja- -chiki* ‘tell story’, *anujula- -chiki* ‘hide information’. The combination *atüja- -pülee* ‘know skill’ also occurred a few times and the possessor was always an inanimate activity. There were also several stative verbs that involved inanimate possessors, such as *jemeta- -ejuu* ‘be delicious smell’, *ana- -yoluje* ‘be good appearance’, and *ana- -kua’ipa* ‘be good manner’. Nevertheless, these the exception to the prototype of human possessors. Figure 5-4 shows the marked difference in the frequency of incorporated inanimate nouns.

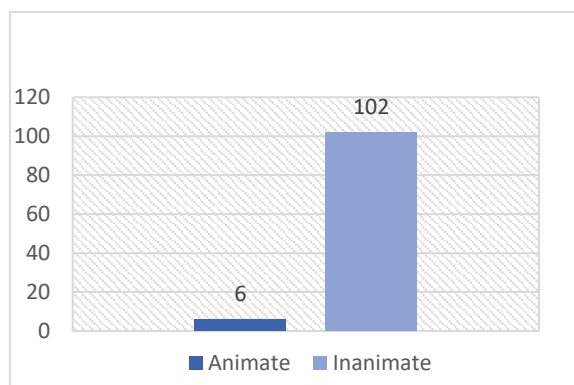


Figure 5-4 Frequency of Incorporation of Animate Nouns

Conversely, 94.4% of incorporated nouns were inanimate. This proportion was 75% for internal possession. This demonstrates the general animacy asymmetry between the members of possessive relations; the prototype of an animate possessor and an inanimate possessum. The examples in (28) show examples of the the expression of possessed animate beings. (28a) is the title of one of the Jusayú's narratives where the combination *outa -erü-in* 'die wife' is used in modification. The example in (28b) shows the more common scenario where the possessed animate being is expressed as the head of a possessive noun phrase.

(28). Expression of Human Possession

- a. Nü-chiki Wanee Wayuu Outa E-erü-in-chi
 3♂-story one person die IDF-wife-POS-♂
 The story of a man whose wife died (MAJ-OP)
- b. Outu-su **ni**-erü-in Paruusa
 Dead-♀ 3♂-wife-POS Parusa
 And Parusa's wife died (MAJ-A01 5.3)
- c. ¿Jara-t a-chon-nii-ka ya'aya?
 Who-♀ IDF-child-COL-SPC here
 Whose are these children here? (L&E I 70.1)

A possessor question requires the combination *jana / jara-* 'who' with an attributive (*ka-*) nominalization (*ka-N-ka*)⁴⁴ (Múgica 1969: 82; Olza & Jusayú 1986:93). Example (28c) is an example of an interrogative construction that asks for the possessor. The V-N combination here is *jara- -chon-nii* 'who children', and the prefix *ka-* 'attributive' makes it a 'whose' question. But, here the prefix *a-*, is used apparently with the same effect. Subsequent elicitation corroborated that example (29c) is not the 'normal' way to ask a 'whose' question, but that it is fully grammatical. I here speculate that the conversational use of *a-* in (19c) may be

⁴⁴ Olza & Jusayú give ¿*Jarai kakuwomaka uwomukolu yaa?* Whose hat is the hat? (lit. Whose has as hat the hat?), *Jana kepiaka tüü?* Whose is this house? *Jana kawalaka pia?* Whose sibling are you?

explained as assigning larger focal prominence to the possessor, than attributive *ka*-would.

As of now, the main finding here is that only 5% of external possessor constructions attested in the dataset incorporate an animate noun. As we saw with the infrequency of kinship splitting, possessed animate beings are more commonly expressed as heads of noun phrases and resist incorporation. Up to now, primarily semantic notions have been explored regarding the use internal and external possession. In the next section, we explore the discourse notions of anaphora and cataphora as they apply to the elements of a possessive relationship.

5.4.3 Anaphora and Cataphora

In this section, I seek to measure the topicality of nominal referents (Givón 1994). This is done by looking in both temporal directions for the last mention of an entity and the number of following mentions. This is thus an indirect measurement of topicality, based on the assumption that recurrence within a portion of discourse reflects topicality.

ANAPHORA OR ACCESSIBILITY

What I am examining with anaphoric distance is whether the current referent has prior text antecedence, and if so how far back and how cognitively accessible that antecedence is. Therefore ‘anaphoric distance’ is defined as the number of clauses separating its present occurrence from its last occurrence (up to 20) in the preceding text. As we saw in chapter 4, the accessibility of entities within the discourse can be an important factor influencing their linguistic expression. The prediction in this first measurement is that nouns that refer to given information do not incorporate.

In general, possessors were much more anaphoric than possessa. However, there was no significant difference in the relative accessibility of possessors expressed externally or internally, or as subject (So) or object (O).

	Possessum	Possessor
	mean	
Internal Possessor n60	9.08	3.47
External Possessor n51	16.92	2.43

Table 5-4 Mean Anaphoric distance per Construction

On the other hand, there are significant differences in the anaphora of possessed nominals. First, head possessa express more accessible information than incorporated possessa ($t = -5.45$ $df = 109$ $p < .0001$). The last mention of head possessa was found in average 8.93 clauses back, which is more accessible than the mean of the last mention of incorporated possessa: 17.05 clauses. From another other angle, one can say that incorporated possessa were new information more frequently (77%) than head possessa in internal possession (34%) ($Z = 4.755$ $p < .0001$). Table 1-4 summarizes the observed means.

Example (29a) comes from the story ‘It was not a Cow nor a Horse’. The story has recently begun and Jusayú is depicting the geographical setting of the land where he grew up. In it, he introduces ‘the mountains’ and then mentions their appearance via incorporated *-yoluje* ‘appearance’. The mountain’s appearance had not been mentioned before and this is the last mention in the story. That is, the incorporation of ‘appearance’ communicates that it is new and non-topical information.

(29). The Relative Accessibility of Possessa

a) Ee-je-tü wanee uuchi-irua müle’u-yuu wopu-müin wa-a’u-jee,
 exist-ADJZ-♀ one mountain-PL big-COL west-ALL 1PL-on-ABL

oo’ulaka uuchu-müin wa-a’u-jee
 and south-ALL 1PL-on-ABL

There were some big mountains to the west and to the south of us.

[Ana-püi a-yoluje-rü] ma’in (uuchi-ka-lü-irua)
 good-SIM IDF-appearance-♀ very (mountain-SPC-♀-PL)
 every (mountain) had a beautiful appearance (MAJ-A05 2.4)

b) Anuu pü-sü-in, ta-anee-waa
 here♀ 2S-drink-POS 1S-brother.in.law-VOC
 Here is your drink, brother-in-law! (MAJ-A01 10.7)

On the other hand, a more anaphoric entity tends to be possessed internally. Before the utterance in (29b), the protagonist Parusa had just arrived at his in-law's house, and the scene was described as involving 'drinking'. Here, his brother-in-law offers him an alcoholic drink. This drink is possessed internally, which communicates its relative topicality in the story.

CATAPHORIC PERSISTENCE

I now turn to an examination of the relative cataphora of the elements involved in a possessive relationship. Recall that the measurement of cataphoric persistence is the number of times, after its current mention, that a referent recurs within the next ten clauses. The prediction here is that cataphorically persistent possessed nominals will be possessed internal to the noun phrase.

The possessor is generally much more persistent than the possessed nominal. Additionally, the external possessor persisted slightly more (6.02) than the internal one (5.18), but the difference did not achieve significance ($t -1.49$ df 109 $P=0.07$). There was no significant difference either in the persistence of the possessor as subject (So) or object (O).

On the other hand, nominals possessed internally were more persistent than incorporated possessa ($t +4.19$ df 109 $p<.0001$). Within the subsequent 10 clauses, internally possessed nominals recur in 1.98 clauses, which is greater than the recurrence of incorporated possessa of 0.45 of a clause.

Cataphoric Persistence Means	Possessum	Possessor
Internal Possessor n60	1.98	5.18
External Possessor n51	0.45	6.02

Table 5-5 Cataphoric Persistence means per construction

Example (30) below is a stretch of a conversation between Luisa and Evelin. Like many Wayuu, Evelin has family on both sides of the border, and here she is sharing about her last visit to Zulia. Evelin complains about the impotency she feels of being poor in Colombia, but even poorer in Venezuela. In her anecdote she first mentions 'money' in a privative construction, which assigns primary focus to her as a

(non) possessor, but in the following one she expresses ‘my money’ as the object of ‘exchange’ as internal possession. She then continues with *nnet(-se)* ‘money’ as a topic for several lines.

(30). Topical Possessed Nominal (L&E 2C 38)

EVE: a-püta-uu-su taya ma-nneet-se-in,
IDF-leave-PAS2-♀ I PRV-money-POS-GR
I was left without money

a-ja'lajaa-sü ta-'wanajaa-in ta-nneet-se
IDF-finish-♀ 1S-exchange-GR 1S-money-POS
I ran out of money because I exchanged it.

LUI mm
mh

EVE a-lü'üja-sü taya ma-'aka sa-a'in sinkuenta miyoones
IDF-take-♀ I be.thus-INS 3♀-likeness fifty million
I took like fifty million

Nnojo-rü-lee-sü-ya kasa ana-püla
not.be-♀-UNINT-♀-ASSE thing good-for
It was good for nothing

LUI Shiimain.
true
That's true,

Tü woliwa-ka-lü, nnojo-rü-lee-sü-ya kasa ana a-püla
DEM♀ bolívar-SPC-♀, not-♀-UNINT-♀-ASSE thing good IDF-for
the bolívar is good for nothing.

EVE Aa, a-ya'lajaa-sü taya,
Yes, IDF-buy-♀ I
I bought,

tanta a-a'u piama-sü sü-püla na-sü-in naya-ka-na,
1S-arrive IDF-on two-♀ 3♀-for 3PL-drink-POS they-SPC-PL
I found two drinks for them,

a-ya'lajü-sü taya piama-sü waraapa na-sü-in
IDF-buy-♀ I two-♀ soda 3PL-drink-POS
I bought them two sodas.

In sum, section 5.4 has revealed that noun incorporation in Wayuunaiki is associated with the non-topical status of that entity (new and non-recurrent), and most often it involves inalienable and inanimate nouns who often participate in whole-part relationships. On the other hand, internally possessed nominals associate with more topical entities (given and persistent). This is the preferred construction for expressing alienable and animate possession. These involve members of kin and owned items. Additionally, possessors are always more topical than possessed nominals.

This next section describes other uses external possessor constructions. It explores its use as the subject of agentive intransitive clauses (Sa), as the subject of passive clauses, in referential function as nominalization, and in modifying function as relativized clauses.

5.5 Further Uses of External Possessors

These next paragraphs will begin with a brief discussion of the occurrence of external possessors in the role of Sa in active intransitive clauses. Then Section 5.4.2 provides a description of the use of external possessor constructions in the passive voice. Section 5.4.3 continues with a discussion of referential functions and then section 5.4.4 ends with the modifying functions of external possessor constructions.

5.5.1 Possessor as Subject of Intransitive Action?

Most intransitive actions Wayuunaiki evoke activities characteristically performed by animate beings as in *o'oojoo* 'to bathe', *atunkaa* 'to sleep', *aashajaa* 'to talk, speak', *ashaittaa* 'to play', *a'yalajaa* 'to cry', *asüreja* 'to laugh', *o'unaa* 'to go', *alü'ülaa* 'to approach', *ashakataa* 'to get down', *ekeroloo* 'to enter', *ale'ejaa* 'to return', *oju'itaa* 'to go out', *awataawaa* 'to run', etc. Even though they are not as numerous, there are some intransitive actions that evoke an inanimate subject as Sa, such as *aja'lajaa* 'finish', or *emeroloo* 'sink'.

Many of those activities performed by animate beings commonly combine with a body-part, most notably with *-a'in* ‘heart’. Additionally, the desiderative construction adds *-ee* ‘desiderative’ to the agentive intransitive verb, and frequently combines with *-a'in* ‘heart’. The use of ‘heart’ here appears to express greater emotion. The example in (31a) shows a common expression said before going to bed. The feminine suffix *-sü* refers to ‘heart’ as the subject (Sa), and so it is formally equal when men or women say it. Even though, I do not have single instance of the construction in (31b) in the corpus, when presented to native speakers, the sentence was considered grammatical. This is a desiderative construction with an external possessor. Here the subject (Sa) is a masculine person.

(31). The Desiderative Construction

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------|-------------------|------|
| a) | A-tunk-ee-sü | ta-a'in | |
| | IDF-sleep-DES-♀ | 1S-heart | |
| | I am sleepy | | |
| b) | [A-tunk-ee | a-a'in-chi | taya |
| | IDF-sleep-DES-♀ | IDF-heart-♂ | I |
| | I am (very) sleepy | | |

The possessor of these composite intransitive actions is virtually always expressed as internal to the possessive NP, as in (30a). Even though, a possessor in the role of Sa have not been documented in the Wayuunaiki literature, I came across one instance in the corpus, shown in (32). This is from a conversation where Fernando is talking about how some donkeys become recognized and respected by community members. He mentions that the donkey should be presented after he procreates. In the last clause, *-nülia* ‘name, fame’ is incorporated into the intransitive action *eweetaa* ‘to emerge’ to express that in this way the donkey becomes known.

(32). External possessor as Sa

- | | | | |
|---|----------------|-----------|------------------|
| “Ichaa-sa | muula | nü-ma'ana | e-weenu-waa-in” |
| There.4.SP-INFER | mule | 3♂-sphere | IDF-born-EACH-GR |
| “Over there, mules have been born to/for him” | | | |
| Ni-weeta-ka | a-nülia | chira | püliikü. |
| 3♂-emerge-CNSQ | IDF-name | DEM.2.♂ | donkey |
| And so that donkey’s name emerges. (F&C 1316) | | | |

Nevertheless, an alternative analysis is that despite the use of the a specific demonstrative *chira*, the speaker may be referring to ‘any donkey’. In such a case, this would not be incorporation but simply the expression of an impersonal possessor. In sum, the question of whether the expression of possessors as the Sa of intransitive actions is open. My impression is that if it is possible, it is extremely rare.

I will now turn to the expression of possessors as the subject of passive clauses. Unlike the blurriness in the possibility of noun incorporation in intransitive actions, in intransitive passive clauses such a construction is well established and extremely common.

5.5.2 Possessors as Subject of Passive

Besides attributive and privative constructions, another way to assign the grammatical role of subject to a possessor is via the passivization of a transitive external possessor construction. Álvarez (1990) documents that an important function of the raised possessor is to become available for expression as the subject of a passive clause. In this construction, the possessor receives a higher focal prominence than that of the O in transitive clauses. The example (33a) is set in the scene where Parusa is visiting his in-laws. Here is the subject of a complex predicate literally means ‘be drink fetched’. The verb phrase only indexes the masculine Parusa via *nia* ‘he’. The subject in example (33b) is ‘the horse’ expressed as *ne’ejenakalü*. A literal translation would have the horse ‘be rein taken’.

(33). Possessor as S of passive

a) [A-saajü-na a-sü-in-chi-ja’a] nia uujolu
 INDF-go.get-PAS IDF-drink-POS-♂-ASSE he chicha

ju-tuma wanee nü-lüinyuu-ko-lu
 3♀-by one 3♂-sister.in.law-SPC-♀

So chicha was fetched as his drink by one of his sisters in law. (MAJ-A01 10.9)

b) A-apaa-na-yaa a-pü-lü-je’e tü ne-’ejena-ka-lü
 IDF-grab-PAS-IRR IDF-rein-♀-POND DEM.♀ 3♂-vehicle-SPC-♀

The rein of the horse was fruitlessly taken (MAJ-A01 10.15)

- c) Sü-ink-uu-ka'a a-a'in nü-'wayuu-se-ka-lü
 3♀-scare-PAS2-CSQ IDF-heart 3♂-spouse-POS-SPC-3♀
 And his wife got scared (CO Y&L 2A 308.1)

The example (33c) shows that the inchoative passive *-uu* also participates in external possession. The verb is subordinated via *-ka'a* 'consequential' and the combination can be translated literally as 'be heart scared'. This V-N combination with *-uu* 'resultative passive' is very conventionalized. Yet the noun *-a'in* may involve both types of possession.

These last paragraphs have briefly presented one of the common functions of the external expression of the possessor. We now leave the predicative function of external possession to describe its referential and modificational functions.

5.5.3 Referential Function

Besides the predicative function of noun incorporation, this construction is also frequently used with referential function, as infinitive and via nominalized arguments. The infinitive form is used commonly as a complement of a verbal phrase, or as an argument of an adpositional phrase. However, the infinitive form does not allow the use of the specific person prefix on the verb nor the noun, and therefore neutralizes the distinction based on the locus of the possessor.

In the following example, Luisa is talking to Yovana about her family, and for a little bit it turned into an intersubjective prayer. Here, Yovana utters an infinitive V-N combination *anaa akua'ipa* 'be in peace' as a third noun phrase in the role of the O of *tacheküin* 'I want'. The example in (34b) includes another infinitive V-N combination and this time as a passive infinitive *aakajünaa ashe'ein*, of which a literal translation would have 'be clothes-removed'. Here, it functions as the object of the adposition *ju-tuma* because of it. Neither of these examples distinguish possession type.

(34). Infinitival V-N as Clausal Arguments

- a) L: Ta-chekü-in wanee ana-a, wanee a-'leewa-a
 1S-want-O one good-INF one IDF-amity-INF
 I want (my family) to be well, to be united

- Y: mjm, **ana-a** **a-kua'ipa**
 mhm, good-INF IDF-way
 yes, to be in peace (Y&L1 187)
- b) a-chijiraa mü-shi-ja'a e-pe't-shi-ka-i
 IDF-wake AUX-♂-ASSE IDF-drink-♂-SPC-♂
- ju-tuma **a-akajü-na-a** **a-she'e-in**
 3♀-because IDF-take.off-PAS-INF IDF-clothes-POS
 The drunkard suddenly woke up
 because of his clothes being removed (MAJ-A07 5.3)

Unlike infinite V-N combinations, nominalization via specifier *-ka* fully participate in the differential construal between internal and external possession. A nominalized external possessor also functions as a clausal argument. This is the same schema [V-ka] used in cleft constructions and many interrogative constructions. However, nominalization, like subordination, only allows '1st phase' incorporation, in the sense of Olza and Jusayú (2012).

The examples in (35) present nominalizations within brackets. These play the role of subject in stative clauses. In (35a), the predicate is *wanaawaa ata* 'be equal color' and the attribute is incorporated into the verb and then nominalized to function as the So. In (35b), the man who is taking care of the widower is trying to get him to recover and get his life straight again by giving him animals. He takes him out to the field and shows him the animals he will inherit, and refers to them via a nominalized noun incorporation.

(35). Nominalized Noun Incorporation

- a) Katata-wai-yaa mü-sü [tü wanaawa-ka-lü-irua **a-ta**]
 separate-DISTR-SIM AUX-♀ DEM♀ equal-SPC-♀-PL IDF-color
 [The ones (sheep) who had the same color] were grouped apart (MAJ-OP 31.3)
- b) Jia-ja'a [tü te-'ikaje-'erü-inja-t-ee-t-ka-lü **a-püshi** pü-müin].
 It-ASSE DEM♀ 1S-go take-CAU-VOL-♀-FUT-♀-SPC-♀ IDF-family 2S-to
 Those are [the ones whose relatives I will have sent to you] (MAJ-OP 31.4)
- c) Nia-ja'a [outa-ka **a-siipü**].
 He-ASSE die-SPC IDF-nephew
 Yes, he is [the one whose maternal nephew died] (L&E 2B 4.1)

Prior to the example in (35c), Luisa and Evelina have just brought up a common acquaintance whose identity wasn't clear. As a way to restrict his identity, Evelina refers to him via a nominalized external possessor, which relates him to his dead nephew.

5.5.4 Modifying Function

Lastly, let us now turn to the modifying function of external possession. Many word classes can follow a noun and modify it. These include the largest two classes of words in the language: nouns and verbs. The same nominalized structures presented in (35) are used as relative clauses when they follow a head noun. But, underived verbs can also simply follow the head noun to modify it. In this last subsection of 5.5. I present how both of these options associate with external possession.

Much like a simple adjective postposed to the noun, V-N predicates also commonly modify possessor arguments. The title of one of the narratives in the corpus (Jusayú 1994) is repeated as (36a). (36b) comes from the same story. Here the widower had been sent to pick corn, but is now hallucinating and he mistakes the corn stalks as women. The author expresses the situation with a cleft construction. The women are first described via an attributive adjective, and then via the V-N combination *wüitaja ashe'ein*, this may literally be translated as 'to be green dressed'. The mere expression of the verbal feminine suffix *-rü* on 'dress' is what indicates that this is a case of external possession.

(36). Modification of Possessors via underived external possession

- a) Nü-chiki [wanee wayuu outa **e-erü-in-chi**
 3♂-story one person die IDF-wife-POS-♂
 The story of [the man whose wife died] (MAJ-OP)

- b) jia mainma-'ala-ka ni-'rü-in
 it many-C.EX-SPC 3♂-see-GR

[wayuu-irua majayün-nüü ka-'walo-ule-jü-sü,
 person-PL young.woman-COL AT-hair-CHAR-ML-♀

wüita-ja a-she'e-in-rü]
 green-ML IDF-dress-POS-♀
 What he saw a lot of were [young women with long hair and green dresses].
 (MAJ-OP 24.5)

Another important function of external possession is to make possessor available for relativization (Álvarez 1990). In this form the external possessor is the coreferential nominal in both the main and the relative clauses. The example in (37), shows the relativized predicate *aapaa achon* ‘give child’, which is used to restrictively modify the subject of the main clause: ‘the animals’.

(37). Modification Via Nominalized External Possession.

Anuu jutkatü-in
 here♀ gathered-GR
 Here (they are) gathered

[tü mürülü ta-apü-injat-ee-ka-lü a-chon-nii pü-müin].
 DEM♀ animal 1S-give-VOL♀-FUT-SPC-♀ IDF-child-COL 2S-to
 [the animals whose descendants I will give to you]. (MAJ-OP 37.5)

Section 5.5 has presented constructions that go beyond the predicative function of noun incorporation. It has been claimed, that though extremely rare, a possessive relationship may also depict its possessor as the subject of intransitive actions (Sa). On the other, it is common for external possession to be used in passive clauses where the possessor becomes the subject, and to also be used in referential and modifying function. The next section 5.6. provides an overall characterization of internal and external possessor constructions.

5.6 A Characterization of the Variable Expression of Possessors.

Possessors are generally anaphoric, cataphoric and animate nominals. The external possessor receives larger focal prominence solely by leaving it as the single

entity under the spotlight. On the other hand, possessed nominals are generally inanimate and inalienable and differ much more across the constructions examined.

5.6.1. The Internal Possessor

The internal position of possessive noun phrases could be regarded as the pragmatically unmarked alternative given that it is the one used more frequently and it can assume any syntactic role. These constructions are identified by the specific person in the possessor prefix.

Internal possession opposes external possession only when the V-N predicates is inflected and the possessive relationship associates with the roles of subject of stative So, or object of transitive O. 3rd person possessors are more commonly expressed overtly in accordance with the discourse context requirement. But, 1st and 2nd person pronouns may also be used emphatically, as overt possessors. The So possessum combines with a state, noun or adjective. The O possessum combines with a transitive action, which can have either an analytic or synthetic form [[V] (A) **PM** (PR)]. When synthetic, the composite Objective clause favors the omission of A. Table 5-6 presents the possessum PM in bold to show the correspondences with the grammatical roles.

STATIVE INTRANSITIVE	SUBJECTIVE TRANSITIVE	OBJECTIVE TRANSITIVE
\emptyset -V So	<i>a</i> -V- A O	<i>per</i> -V O
\emptyset -V [PM (PR)]	<i>a</i> -V- [A] [PM (PR)].	<i>per</i> -V [PM (PR)].

Table 5-6 Constructions with Possessum Phrases as So and O

However, these profiled possessa can be animate or inanimate, and participate in the expression of any type of possessive relationship, irrespective of grammatical role. This is the preferred construction for human possessa: as profiled arguments of the clause. The equality in animacy in kinship gives human possession a tendency to be important in discourse and therefore expressed as heads of the possessive NP. Similarly, alienable possessa are also preferably expressed as head possessa.

Keeping the possessor internal to the NP has the effect of granting the head possessa some discourse topicality, which is iconic with their indexation by cross-referencing suffixes. Profiled possessa can be new or given information, but they are

more topical than incorporated possessa. The topicality of of these possessa, however, is always lesser than that of the possessor, or of the A in transitive clauses. Figure 5-5 below summarizes the characteristics of this constructions.



Figure 5-5 Schema of Internal Possession Constructions

Typical internal possession resembles equative and locative (*-ma'ana*) possessive constructions in that they all highlight the possessed nominal as a core argument that tends to be animate and topical. The examples in (38) include an equative construction and a locative possession construction where the possessed nominals are coded as subject of stative clauses.

(38). Possessum So in Equative and Locative possessive clause.

- a) *nü-chon* **Mariia**
 3♂-child María
 “María is his daughter”
- b) “*Ichaa-sa* **muula** *nü-ma'ana* *e-weenu-waa-in*”
 There.4.PRSV-INFER mule 3♂-sphere IDF-born-EACH-GR
 Over there, each mule has been born to him (F&C 1316)

5.6.2. The External Possessor

External possession must be distinguished from verb-noun combinations, even though their relationship is very intimate. Verb-noun combinations is a productive way in which Wayuunaiki speakers enrich the lexicon. Some combinations have acquired unique meanings, while other do communicate the sum of their parts. However, whether the combination is novel or conventionalized appears to be irrelevant to the possession alternatives. In other words, there are two simultaneous processes in the language that highlight the lexico-grammatical continuum in that

both words and constructions are constantly being innovated and some of these conventionalized.

The expression of external possessors is significantly less frequent than that of internal possessors. Schematically, the prototype of the external possessor construction involves a complex predicate that consists of a verb plus a possessed nominal followed by the optional expression of an overt possessor [[V PM] (**PR**)]. Since the possessor is frequently a topical person, it is often dropped. Here, the gender-number suffixes now index the possessor granting focal prominence to only one element in the possessive relationship: the possessor. This occurs as the subject of a stative (So), or the object of a transitive (O) clause. The So possessor is combined with a complex stative verb phrase [[\emptyset -V PM] (**PR**)], whereas the O possessor only combines with a complex synthetic active phrase [[p-V PM] (**PR**)].

Stative Intransitive	Objective Transitive
\emptyset -V So	<i>per</i> -V O
[[\emptyset -V PM] (PR)	[[<i>per</i> -V PM] (PR)

Table 5-7 Constructions with Possessor as So and O

The function of this construction is primarily to defocus the possessed nominal. These possessed nominal in this construction is typically inalienable and inanimate entities that often participate in a whole-part relationship. This construction backgrounds the possessed noun, and this is reflected in its loss of ability to take nominal inflection, the loss of verbal indexation, and the loss of argument status. These backgrounded incorporated nouns then communicate that such referent is new and non-topical information.



Figure 5-6 Schemas of External Possessor Constructions

Figure 5-6 summarizes the characteristics of this constructions. The possessor as the So shows that the possessum is the one conceptually engaged in the process (represented as the line), but the possessor is the one that receives the primary focus. The possessor as the O receives the secondary focus even though the possessum is the one directly receiving the energy of the process.

Additionally, the external possessor construction grants the possessor access to the role of S of passive. This function was found to be as common as that of So, but active transitive clauses were the most frequent. Beyond predication, the external possessor is also used in referential function as a nominalized clause where it expresses ‘the one whose’. Nominalized external possession was found to be more common in conversation. The external possessor was also used in modification as a verbal adjective or a relative clause. This function was almost exclusively used in Narrative.

External possession resembles attributive and privative constructions in that the possessor is the focused element while that the possessum tends to be inalienable, defocused and non-topical. The possessors are then left alone on stage and under the spotlight and such cognitive arrangement is motivated by their higher relevance for the intention of the interactants. The examples in (39) show how these derived states express their possessors as core arguments while defocusing their possessa.

(39). Possessor So in Attributive in Privative clauses

- a) Ke-chon-shi **taya**
 AT-child-♂ I
 “I have a child”
- b) No, ma-nneet-se-sa-lü **taya**
 No PRV-money-POS-NEG-♀ 1S
 No, I have no money (L&E 2C 38)

This last chapter section has given a full description of the variable expression of possession in Wayuunaiki. It was stated that possessors tend to be animate, alienable and topical. As such, possessors are inherently salient enough to function as the reference point from which to mentally access its possessum. The internal possessor construction has been presented as the unmarked alternative that grants

prominence to the possessed noun, and it is preferred by kinship, and to a lesser extent by ownership.

On the other hand, the external possessor construction is the marked alternative whose main function is to defocus an inalienable an inanimate possessum that typically participates in a whole-part relationship. The use of incorporated body parts, especially that of *-a'in* 'heart', intensifies the meanings of emotion. Lastly, the function of external possession in Wayuunaiki corresponds to Mithun's type II of noun incorporation: 'manipulation of case', but its phonology corresponds to Mithun's Type I 'Lexical Compounding'. Only rarely does incorporation bind the two phonological words.

This dissertation has so far presented the Wayuu people, a theoretical framework, a brief depiction of the grammar of Wayuunaiki, and two studies on constructions that use of the person prefix *a-* in the role of transitive subject and possessor. This last chapter provides a brief discussion on the prefix *a-* in other Arawak languages, characterize the commonalities in both *a-* marked constructions, and end with a summary.

6 Discussion and Conclusion

This dissertation has so far presented the Wayuu people, a theoretical framework, a brief depiction of the grammar of Wayuunaiki, and two studies on constructions that use of the person prefix *a-* in the role of transitive subject and possessor. This last chapter provides a brief discussion on the prefix *a-* in other Arawak languages, characterize the commonalities in both *a-* marked constructions, and end with the implications of this work

6.1 A Comparative Glimpse

This brief excursion outside of the language and into the language family hopes to obtain a bit more information that could illuminate the dynamicity of the use of the ‘indefinite’ person prefix *a-*.

Even though the marking of discourse status of core arguments via verbal cross-referencing is common to many Arawak languages north of the Amazon river (Aikhenvald 1995:184), the alternation between Subjective and Objective transitive clauses in Wayuunaiki, has only been documented for its closest linguistic relative; Añun or Paraujano. These two languages share the same cross-referencing affixal patterns in the two transitive clause types forming a Synthetic and an Analytic verb (Álvarez 2009b:104-6). I interpret these two cross-referencing patterns as a partial innovation of the Wayuu-Añun group of Caribbean Arawak. I call it partial because the functional properties are found beyond these two languages.

The ‘indefinite’ person prefix as a verbal marker is found in Wayuunaiki, Añun, Baré, and Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako. In Añun, the indefinite person prefix *a-* is used with verbs of both valency values and forms the analytic verb. Patte (1987: 184) describes that the O of the analytic verb, is preferably “indefinite”, “inanimate” and of “the partitive type”. Additionally, the Añun analytic verb is usually one of low transitivity, frequently used with iterative aspect stem suffix *-naa*, which makes it imperfective. This description substantially applies to the Wayuunaiki Subjective

construction. On the other hand, Aikhenvald (1995: 157, 179) describes that *i-* in Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako, as well as the *a-* in Baré are used to mark pragmatic focus on a fronted Sa/A argument.

In numerous languages of the Arawak family, verbal suffixes or enclitics index the O/So constituent, and these specify ‘gender’, ‘number’, and ‘person’. However, In Wayuunaiki and Añun these verbal suffixes have extended their function to also index Sa/A, but these no longer encode ‘person’. The suffixal indexation of Sa/A is also shared with Piapoco, Achagua and Yucuna (Aikhenvald 1999:90). In Achagua and Yucuna the use of suffixes over prefixes to index the Sa/A constituent is associated with contrastive focus on the subject (Aikhenvald 1995:191-2).

What we find in Wayuunaiki and Añun is the combination of the ‘indefinite’ subject prefix *a-* with the indexation of Sa/A via suffixes to create the analytic verb. When the suffixes refer to the A of a transitive clause, it becomes the Subjective clause. The indefinite person prefix may go back to proto-Arawak (Aikhenvald 1999:83), while the indexation of Sa/A via suffixes appears to be an innovation. Nevertheless, all these constructions share the function of as special focus markers of Sa/A.

On the other hand, the Objective clause, or the Synthetic verb, found in Wayuunaiki and Añunnükü can possibly be traced back to proto-Arawak. The cross-referencing of A as a prefix and O as a suffix/enclitic is found in many languages from both sides of the Amazon river. Compared to the indefinite prefix, the special marking of anaphoric/topical O via suffixes or enclitics appears to be much more widespread in the family. More specifically, the idiosyncratic neutral gender, realis, definite object marker *-in* of Wayuunaiki, appears to have cognates far and wide.

For instance, in Añun, the suffix *-i* cross-references the O of Objective clauses in the zero-marked ‘actual’ aspect, and is ‘neutral’ for gender (Patte 1989:78). Aikhenvald (1999:88) includes **-ni* as a “dummy” So/O suffix for proto-Arawak, and gives cognates from languages south of the Amazon river such as Parecís *-(e)ne* “object marker”, Waurá *-ni* “anaphoric 3rd person object” and Amuesha *-a n* “surface object marker”.

The other two members of the Caribbean Arawak branch make distinctions in the transitive verb based on the discourse status of O. In Garífuna (Island Carib), only definite O's are cross-referenced via suffixes on the verbs (Haurholm-Larsen 2016:103). Similarly, Lokono (Arawak) only cross-references O in the verb when it is immediately anaphoric (Pet 2011: 12)⁴⁵. In Baniwa of Içana and Wareken of Xié (Baniwa of Guainía), only if the So/O is pronominal, it is cross-referenced on the verb (Aikhenvald 1995: 180; 1998: 365). The opposite appears to apply in Apurinã: suffixes cross-referencing the O of a transitive verb, are dropped when the argument is expressed before the verb as a pronoun or as lexical item (Facundes 2000: 407). In all these cases the cross-referencing of suffixes or enclitics are sensitive to the anaphoricity of the O argument in transitive clauses.

In sum, the Wayuunaiki transitive alternatives examined in the present study have evolved to be different primarily in formal composition, but much of their conceptual and pragmatic content is shared with many languages in the Arawak family. The most salient formal features of the alternatives are found in other Arawak languages: these include the indefinite prefix *a-*, the suffixal referencing of Sa/A, and 'neutral' gender definite O marking in the Objective. However, the Wayuu-Añu innovation is the combination of indefinite prefix *a-* with the cross-referencing of Sa/A via suffixes. When used in transitive clauses, this construction backgrounds the O and leaves A alone in the spotlight.

Contrastingly, noun incorporation is extremely rare in the Arawak languages north of the Amazon river (Aikhenvald 1998:386). The limited data available for Añun shows that some V+N complex predicates do exist in the lexicon. The inalienable noun *ein* 'heart' occurs in the desiderative construction and other expressions of emotion (Patte 1989:95). Additionally, external possessor constructions have been attested, but only in relative clauses (Álvarez 2009a:35). The example in (1a) presents the desiderative construction in Añunnükü. This structure is distinctive in that the possessor prefix is the only referential marker. This would not be grammatical in Wayuunaiki. The possessor 'rain' remains internal to the noun phrase, but the lack of gender-number suffixes on the verb, may indicate that this

⁴⁵ In Lokono, only 3rd person singular and 1st person plural O's have anaphoric suffixes. The 3rd person suffixes distinguish *-i* "masculine", *-n* "nonmasculine". It is not so clear whether masculine *-i* is a cognate of Wayuunaiki neutral *-in*. The same holds for Içana Baniwa '3rd person singular non-feminine' =ni.

form could have been used in incorporation, and that now the specific person prefix is used instead. Compared to Wayuunaiki, this structure is half way between internal and external possessor.

(1). Traces of Noun Incorporation in Añun.

- a. E-it-ee [je-in uuya]
 IDF-hit-DES 3♀-heart rain
 It wants to rain (=It looks like it's going to rain)

- b. Ta-püite-ya-tü
 1S-help-PRP-♀

[mayüüru outa-ka-rü a-tüyü ju-ru ta-piña].
 young.woman die-SPC-♀ IDF-grandfather 3♀-in 1S-house
 I am going to help [the woman whose grandfather died in my house].

The example (1b) demonstrates the attested nominalized external possessor, which is equal to the Wayuunaiki counterpart. The fact that Añunnükü counts with very limited documentation and only one speaker left is reflected on the tentative description of this construction. Without having an attested use of external possession in predicational function, I can only speculate that it may have been a feature in Añun grammar, but that now it survives in some pragmatically marked clauses only (Álvarez 2009b: 136).

On the other hand, noun incorporation is found in numerous languages south of the Amazon, such as Nanti (Michael 2012), Apurinã (Facundes 2000), Piro, Bauré, Mojo, Terêna, those of the Xingú, among others (Aikhenvald p.c.). However, the absence of noun incorporation in other Arawak languages north of the Amazon river makes it difficult to posit this as a family feature. Given the extent of the geographical separation from the Caribbean coast, it is difficult to posit a historical relation. For now, it is easier to leave the question open for further research.

6.2 Summary and Conclusions

Chapter 1 gave a brief introduction of the Wayuu people hoping to illuminate part of the human ecology in which this language thrives. The Wayuu people can be described as highly relevant for the history of the Caribbean, and the history of indigenous peoples engaged in international trade. The Wayuu people are a group of twenty-seven clans, some of which have very large populations, such as the Epieyuu, Pūshaina, Uliana, or Ipuana. The Wayuu live strikingly different lives from the rest of Colombian and Venezuelan citizens as a result of historical exclusion. This chapter ended with a brief description of the sociolinguistic and educational situation of the people. Here, it was emphasized that their bilingual education programs have begun to flourish in both nations and that this is the hope that motivates the present study.

Chapter 2 presented an overview of theoretical frameworks that guided the present study. I presented some details on Cognitive and Functional grammar, as theories that foment a more wholistic understanding and description of human languages. It was added that typology has achieved immense discoveries regarding universal categories attested in real languages, which can be posited to exist human cognition. These notions facilitate the process of useful description for language learning and for linguistic comparison. I also presented the notion of focus as the directing of attention associated with differential prominence when constructions involved two entities. This chapter specified the goal of describing the use of variable cross-referencing patterns in Wayuunaiki constructions.

Chapter 3 continued with a brief depiction of the grammar intended to establish the linguistic background to the main dissertation questions. Writing this sketch was an experience of processing both the extensive Wayuunaiki literature and the socio-cultural and linguistic input I obtained in 2016. The sketch begins with the phonology and ends with intransitive clauses. First, these included a description of the phonemes, the syllables, stress groupings, vowel harmony and other phonological processes. Then, I portrayed the alienability system and several noun phrase structures. I continued with the adpositions, adpositional phrases, and spatial case suffixes. The sketch ended with a description of the complex structure of the verb and an aspectual analysis of intransitive clauses.

Then, chapters 4 and 5 investigated the semantic and pragmatic aspects of constructions associated with the use of person prefix *a-* in as subject and possessor. These constructions involved the subjective clause and external possession. These two constructions were presented as alternative ways to construe transitive situation and a possessive relationship within the clause. Both constructions involve the variable ways to assign focal prominence to the members of sets of two entities: A-O and PR-PM.

It was shown that the Objective transitive and the internal possessor constructions are the most frequently used constructions in the alternatives, and as such these may be considered the basic or functionally unmarked forms. Both the Objective and Internal Possessor share the function of assigning differential focus to the entities in their corresponding relationships. On the other hand, the less frequent alternatives were both marked via *a-*. The Subjective and the External Possessor share the function of backgrounding the other element in the relationship (i.e. O & PM), remaining onstage as the sole benefactors of primary focal prominence. Formally, the exclusion from verbal cross-referencing of the subjective O and the possessum is iconic with the information such backgrounding.

The two marked constructions were given prototype descriptions. The Subjective clause is only obligatory when the O is an indefinite 3rd person, or when A is interrogated. The prototype of the Subjective clause includes an ‘onstage’ 3rd person inanimate O. Morphologically, the most salient property of the Subjective clause is the lack of cross-referencing of O. The communicative function of the Subjective clause is then to reassert the topicality of the A while conveying that O is not.

The prototype of the external possessor constructions was said to profile the possessor most frequently as the O of a transitive clause. This includes a human possessor as a core argument who is involved in a mereological relationship with an inalienable and inanimate possessum. The function of the external possessor construction is to remove focus on the possessum and consequently place the topical possessor in the spotlight. The minimal discourse relevance attributed to the possessum motivates such defocusing or backgrounding via incorporation into the verbal phrase.

I conclude by positing the the function of Wayuunaiki *a-* in subject and possessor position is to foreground the subject and the possessor. The category ‘indefinite’ is not transparent about this fact because in these constructions the use of this prefix actually confers exclusive focus to the subject and possessor respectively, in situations where two entities vie for it. I am aware that to actually assert this conclusion I still need evidence of how *a-* behaves in adposition incorporation. The delimited scope of the present study lead to the exclusion of this construction. This missing piece of evidence needs to be further studied, but I would not be surprised the *a-* would have the same effect of backgrounding an entity, such as the base O in transitive clauses, while foregrounding the object of the adposition.

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