A GRAMMAR OF WAMPIS

by

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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This dissertation constitutes the first attempt at describing the grammar of
Wampis (Spanish: Huambisa), a language spoken in the Peruvian Amazon. Wampis
belongs to the so-called Jivaroan family of languages and is closely related to sister
languages Awajun, Shuar, Shiwiar and Achuar. The grammar introduces the Wampis
people and some aspects of their culture and history before analyzing the major aspects
of the language from a grammatical perspective.

Wampis possesses a complex prosodic system that mixes features of tone and
stress. Vowel elision processes pervade most morphophonological processes.
Nasalization is also present and spreads rightward and leftward through continuants
and vowels. Every word in Wampis needs at least one high tone, but more can occur in
a word.

Morphologically, Wampis is a very rich language. Nouns and especially verbs

have very robust morphology. Affixes and enclitics contribute different meanings to words. Some morphemes codify semantic categories that are not grammatically codified in many other languages, such as sudden realization, apprehensive and mirative modalities. An outstanding feature of Wampis is the pattern of argument indexation on the verb, which follows an uncommon pattern in which the verb agrees with the object (and not with the subject) if the object is a Plural Speech Act participant. Parallel to this pattern of argument indexation is the typologically uncommon pattern of object marking in Wampis, whereby a third person object noun phrase is not marked as an object if the subject is a first plural, second singular or second plural person.

Wampis exhibits a nominative-accusative alignment. All notional objects (direct, indirect, object of applicative) are treated identically in the syntax. The preferred order is A P V.

Wampis also possesses a sophisticated system of participant tracking, which is instantiated in the grammar via switch-reference markers. Another typologically uncommon feature of Wampis is the presence of a sub-system of switch-reference markers that track a participant that is not a subject.

Throughout the twenty-one chapters of this grammar, other issues of Wampis related to different areas of phonology, morphology and syntax are also addressed and described from a functional and a typological perspective.

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To the Wampis People.

To the memory of the dear people who left this physical world while I was

writing this dissertation, especially my grandmother Migue and my Oregonian brother

James D. Wood.

To Adriana, to my parents, to Joaquín, Nicolás and Octavio.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This dissertation offers a comprehensive grammar of the Wampis (Huambisa)

language, as it is currently spoken in the Santiago river[1] area of Peru. The language

name is written <*Wampís*> (the underlying form is /uampisa/, which is pronounced

[wampís]) by the speakers); therefore, assuming there is no accent mark in the English

alphabet, throughout this dissertation I will use the term *Wampis* to refer to the

language. The present work is based mainly on the variety spoken in the Middle

Santiago, in the communities of Puerto Galilea, Huabal and Boca Chinganaza; and on

the Upper Santiago variety as spoken in the community of Candungos. Though some

differences between the Middle and Upper Santiago varieties occur and will be referred

to in some parts of this work, no major statements about Wampis internal variation will

be made (however, some basic notes on this topic are given in §1.6.1). The claims made

in this work are based on the analysis of primary data gathered via extensive fieldwork

in Wampis communities. Wampis is spoken by around 10,000 people in the

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1. The Santiago river is known by the name of *Kanus* (/kanusa/) by the Wampis.

departments of Amazonas and Loreto, in Northeast Peru, principally along the Santiago

and the Morona River basins. Near the border with Ecuador and crossing it toward the

Yaupi and Coangos rivers, the Wampis and Shuar (both belonging to the Jivaroan

family) languages come in contact, making this an area of transition, rather than a strict

linguistic border. Group relations between the Shuar and the Wampis were cut in the

1940s because of the war between Ecuador and Peru, and remained interrupted for

most of the 20th century. A consequence of these wars was the imposition of an

international borderline that segregated what for centuries had been a continuous

territory. This turn of events also divided a few Wampis and Shuar families that lived in

both sides of the border. Nowadays, as peace between Ecuador and Peru is stable,

relations across the border have been slowly re-establishing since the beginning of the

21st century.

In this chapter, I provide a general introduction to the grammar. In §1.2–§1.3, I

introduce the Jivaroan linguistic family and some possible connections to other

languages. Sections §1.4–§1.5 discuss previous works on Jivaroan languages. The

sociolinguistic situation of Wampis is described in §1.6. In §1.7, I provide a few notes

on non-verbal communication among Wampis people. A summary of the dissertation

organization is provided in §1.8. Theoretical and methodological considerations are

discussed in §1.9–§1.10. Finally, I present a summary of some typological features of

Wampis in §1.11.

1.2. The Jivaroan linguistic family

The Wampis language belongs to the so-called Jivaroan linguistic family.[2] Other

established members of the Jivaroan family are Awajun (Aguaruna), Shuar, Achuar and

Shiwiar.[3] The Jivaroan family is composed by a group of languages spoken in the

eastern slopes of the Andes and the lowland Amazon forest of Peru and Ecuador. Figure

1.1 shows the approximate location of Jivaroan languages.

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2. The term <Chicham> (/t͡ʃit͡ʃama/) 'word, language' has been proposed as the name of the family instead of Jivaroan (Katan Jua 2011). The term <Jivaro> or <Jibaro> has negative connotations in some varieties of Spanish where it became almost synonym of 'savage'. The term <Jivaro> might sound insulting to the Shuar of Ecuador but, as far as I can tell, it does not have the same strong negative sense for the Wampis.

3. Throughout this dissertation I use the official names of Jivaroan languages as used by the native speakers for their languages and as they appear in official documents of Peru and Ecuador. The names in parenthesis correspond to the imposed Spanish spelling of their names, which has been followed by other scholars who write in other languages, such as English or French—those same spellings have been used more frequently in the literature about the Jivaroan peoples and languages. For a list of official names of native languages of Peru, one can consult http://bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/lista-de-pueblos-indigenas; and for Ecuador, see http://www.conaie.org/index.php/en/.
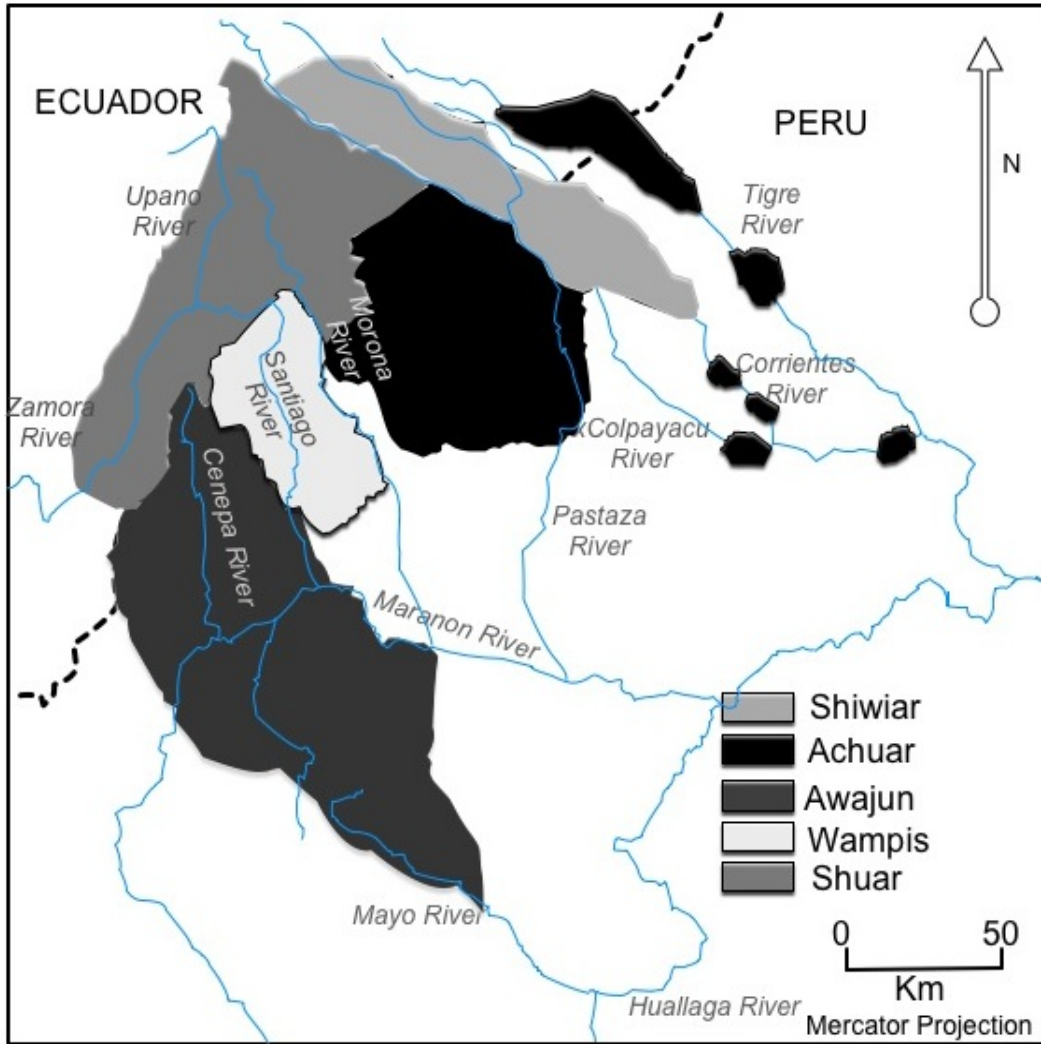
Figure 1.1. Map of the Jivaroan Languages

All Jivaroan languages are closely related and have some degree of mutual

intelligibility. In this regard, one can consider them as part of a dialectal continuum.

Achuar and Shiwiar, especially, are occasionally considered to be one linguistic entity

because of their tight resemblance, and thus are sometimes appear under the name

Achuar-Shiwiar (see for instance Fast et. al. (1996)). In contrast, modern speakers of

Wampis are well aware of the linguistic differences between Wampis and their other

Jivaroan relatives. They readily identify certain features as belonging to Wampis or not.

A good way to see this situation is to consider Jivaroan as a complex of "ethnolinguistic

dialects" (Gnerre 2010: 29) that have developed as a result of ethnic identities driven

by forces "external" to the language(s) in the last centuries; the external forces include

intertribal wars, the rubber boom exploitation between the mid-1800s and beginning of

the 1900s, national and international political pressures, and so on. Following his own

terminology, Kaufman (1990; 2007) considers Jivaroan as a "language area" with two

emergent languages, which he calls Jívaro (Shuar, Achuar, Shiwiar, Wampis (Huambisa

in Kaufman's works)) and Awajun (Aguaruna in Kaufman's works). His proposal seems

based on the traditional internal subgrouping of the Jivaroan family (see discussion

below). However, Kaufmann's schema omits certain important linguistic characteristics

that would need to be taken into account to clearly define relationships within the

area.[4] It also runs the risk of imposing a methodologically-derived construct that does

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4. In fact, there is little information about some Jivaroan varieties. Point in case is Wampis, which lacks prior grammatical description. Important potentially defining features have not been well studied for all Jivaroan varieties.

not correspond to how speakers conceive their own languages in their reality.

While their awareness of linguistic differences reveals a relatively close relationship with their linguistic relatives, it is worth noticing that the speakers of Wampis consider Wampis to be a language. The same can be said, as far as I can tell, for speakers of the other Jivaroan varieties. Since there is no universal consensus on a scientifically rigorous definition of the terms *language* and *dialect* (Good & Cysouw 2013)—linguistic basis for delimiting dialects from languages clearly is very weak; "dialect" and "language" are rather socio-political constructs—, I will consider Wampis as the native language spoken by the ethnic Wampis.[5]

Traditionally, the internal subgrouping of the Jivaroan family considered there to be two branches: on one hand, Awajun; on the other, the Shuar subgroup—composed of Shuar, Achuar, Shiwiar and Wampis (Stark 1985; Corbera Mori 1994; Wise 1999; Gnerre 2010). This traditional subgrouping has been followed in most broader classificatory works (Kaufman 1990; Campbell 1997; Fabre 2005 [modified 07-22-2007]; Kaufman 2007).[6] Awajun was seen as more conservative, thought to have

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5. In this case, this definition correlates with the fact that the population of Wampis speakers almost completely equals the ethnic Wampis population.

6. Note that Campbell (2012) does not assume any subgrouping.

kept a hypothesized velar nasal *ŋ proto-phoneme, whereas the other members would

have innovated a rhotic from the velar: *ŋ > r (Payne 1981; Turner 1992).[7] The

traditional subgrouping of Jivaroan languages is shown in Figure 1.2.

Proto-Jivaroan

Shuar Sub-Group

Awajun   Wampis   Shuar Achuar-Shiwiar
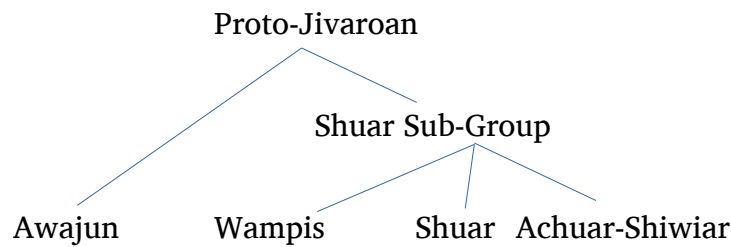
Figure 1.2. Subgrouping of the Jivaroan family based on Stark (1985)

The internal subgrouping shown in Figure 1.2 has been questioned by Overall

(2007: 5; 2008), who claims that there is no basis for subgrouping. According to

Overall, the velar nasal does not have phonemic status in Jivaroan languages, and

therefore is not reconstructable. Further, he submits that a rhotic proto-phoneme *r

needs to be reconstructed, rather than *ŋ. In Awajun, there is a merger of *r with a

velar *h, but the *r is a shared retention and not an innovation in the hypothesized

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7. Turner actually speaks of a velar vibrant ("vibrante velar"), rather than nasal.

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Shuar subgroup. Thus, Overall states that the internal classification of the Jivaroan family remains unresolved. His claims are supported by the present work (see §3.2.3.4).

1.3. Other proposed Jivaroan connections and language contact

The genetic relationship of the Jivaroan family with other languages or language families has not been proven. There is insufficient or contrary evidence for all of the proposals, except perhaps the relationship between Jivaroan and Palta, en extinct language formerly spoken in Ecuador: there are at least reasonable arguments for this connection (see discussion below).

Greenberg (1987) proposed a Jivaro-Kandozi (Candoshi, Kandoshi) grouping within the Equatorial branch of his hypothesized Equatorial-Tucanoan stock. This proposal has been criticized by Gnerre (2010: 131–138) and Kaufmann (1990), who have shown Greenberg's proposal shortcomings. The connection between Jivaroan languages and Kandozi was further pursued by David Payne (1981) with a more robust comparative work. However, the author himself later backed away from his claim (Payne 1990b: 84), arguing that most supposed cognates were borrowings, leaving only very few basic vocabulary items to compare. Kaufmann (1990: 42) finds some lexical basis in support of a hypothesized Jivaro-Cahuapana stock (Swadesh 1959; Suárez

1974), but this proposal has not been pursued further. On the basis of lexical and morphological comparisons, Gnerre suggests that there may be a connection with the Arawak family: "The proto-history of the Jivaroan languages is that of a proto-language with a Maipure-Arawak component, spoken in the Andean area" (2010: 158),[8] but his analysis is rather inconclusive.[9]

Perhaps the most interesting proposal regarding genetic relationships with other languages is the connection between the extinct Palta language and Jivaroan. Palta was spoken in today's Ecuadorian territory and around the colonial Jaen area in what is today North Peru,[10] where it was referred to by the name Xoroca. Rivet (1934) and Loukotka (Loukotka 1968), based on only 4 lexical items documented, included Palta within the Jivaroan family. Gnerre (1975), Taylor & Descola (1981) and Taylor (1991), based on ethno-historical colonial sources and toponymy, have provided more reasonable arguments in favor of the Palta-Jivaroan connection (see also Torero (2002:

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8. Original in Spanish: "La protohistoria de las lenguas jíbaras es el de una protolengua con un componente Maipure-Arawak, hablada en el área andina".

9. Karsten (1935: 539) had stated earlier that the Jivaro did not belong to the Arawak stock and that its affinities were undetermined.

10. The colonial Jaen area was located, roughly, on the eastern slopes of the Northern Andes of what is today Peru. Jaen was an area of contact: it connected the Coast and the Andean regions with the Lowland Amazon forest.

273–298), who proposed a Palta-Jíbaro family, and Adelaar (2004: 396–397)).

Unfortunately, the list of actual lexical materials for Palta (only 4 words) is too small to

demonstrate convincingly the link between Jivaroan and Palta from a comparative

perspective.

Other extinct languages of the colonial Jaen area likely had contact with

Jivaroan languages too (Torero 2002: 295; Adelaar 2004: 405–407). Because of its

geographical location near the Marañon River and its low altitude, the colonial Jaen

area enjoyed a strategic position for contact and trade between the Andes and the

lowland Amazon. Jaen attracted people of apparently different ethnic backgrounds, and

the area conceivably was a multilingual complex before the arrival of the Spanish.

Unfortunately, such languages have scarce or no documentation.

In Ecuador, Jivaroan languages also had close historical ties with the area of

Canelos, another important center of trade and cultural exchange between the Andes

and the Upper Amazon in colonial times, and probably before European contact

(Whitten, Jr. 2013). The Canelos today speak Quichua (the variety of Quechua spoken

in Ecuador).

The history of contact between Jivaroan languages and other languages has yet

to be studied in depth. Over the last two centuries, as Spanish has expanded and

become dominant in Peruvian Amazonia, it may have influenced Jivaroan languages

beyond the lexical level. Quechua is another language that has been in contact with

Jivaroan languages for at least the last four centuries, and it has been suggested that

there may be a Jivaroan substrate in Ecuadorian Quechua (Muysken 2010; Muysken

2013). Contact with Kandozi has occurred apparently since pre-colonial times, to such

an extent that some scholars consider the modern Kandozi to be culturally (Renard-

Casevitz, Saignes, & Taylor 1986) or even potentially ethnic Jivaroan (Siverts 1978),

though linguistically they speak an unrelated language. Contact with Cariban and Tupi-

related languages has also been explored (Gnerre 2010). It is also very possible that the

Jivaroan have fluid contact with other languages of the Eastern Amazon; for instance

the relation between Jivaroan, Zaparoan and other neighboring languages of the

Amazon in colonial and modern times still awaits more profound study. Altogether, in

the past Jivaroan languages likely were affected by contact with several other

languages, most of which have scarce or no documentation and are already extinct.

A final point to take into account is the contact among the Jivaroan languages

themselves. A necessary topic of future research for better understanding the transitions

within the Jivaroan family is the study of those varieties near the Jivaroan territorial borders. In this regard, the study of Wampis fills a gap as Wampis shares its borders with Shuar, Achuar and Awajun; actually, Wampis is located at the heart of the greater modern Jivaroan territory.

1.4. Previous studies of Jivaroan languages

In general, Jivaroan languages have received some attention from linguists. Though much work remains to be done within the family, there are already a number of valuable studies of Jivaroan languages. Shuar and Awajun have received more attention judging by the quantity of grammars, sketch grammars or vocabularies related to these languages. Not coincidentally, these are the groups geographically closer to main roads and provincial big towns/cities, and thus they have had more contact with Western culture.

Some of the most substantial modern published works about Jivaroan languages that I had access to prior to the writing of this dissertation are listed in Table 1.1. These works were consulted and, in some cases, will be discussed in some parts of this grammar. I only list works that have a linguistic focus. Arguably the Jivaroan cultures are better known via the anthropological literature; there are numerous anthropological

works for Shuar, Awajun and Achuar, but less so for Wampis.

Table 1.1. Previous studies on other Jivaroan languages

Language	Author	Description
Shuar	Turner (1958b)	Ph.D. dissertation focusing on phonology and morphology
Shuar	Pellizaro (1969)	Sketch grammar
Shuar	Turner (1992)	Sketch grammar
Shuar	Pellizaro and Náwech (2005)	Dictionary with grammar notes
Shuar	Gnerre (2010)	Description on parts of the grammar (phonology, verb, noun) and some historical comparison with other language families.
Shuar	Saad (2014)[a]	Sketch grammar with focus on morphology
Achuar-Shiwiar	Fast et. al (1996)	Dictionary for pedagogical purposes that contains a grammar sketch
Achuar/Shiwiar	Fast (1975a)	Study of Shiwiar phonological system
Achuar/Shiwiar	Fast (1975b)	Short study of Achuar phonology
Awajun	Pike and Larson (1964)	Study about hyperphonemes and their distribution
Awajun	Larson (1978)	Study of reported speech
Awajun	Corbera (1978)	Bachelor's degree thesis with a focus on phonology
Awajun	David Payne (1989; 1990a)	Two studies of "accent"
Awajun	Corbera (1994)	Doctoral dissertation, a grammar with emphasis on phonology and morphology

Awajun	Wipio et al. (1996)	Dictionary for pedagogical purposes
Awajun	Uwarai et al. (1998)	Dictionary with an alternative orthography to that proposed by Wipio et al. (1996)
Awajun	Overall (2007)	Ph.D. dissertation consisting of a complete grammar description
Awajun	Overall (2008)	Article about nasal ŋ in Jivaroan languages
Awajun	David Payne (2008)	Translation in Spanish of Payne's 1974 M.A. thesis on nasality
Awajun	Overall (2011)	Article about clause linking

[a] Unfortunately, Saad's work was published near the end of the year 2014, when my own analysis of Wampis was mostly done, so it has been difficult to compare Saad's ideas for Shuar with my own for Wampis.

1.5. Previous studies about Wampis

In comparison with other members of the Jivaroan family, Wampis has not been much studied and remains under-documented. To the best of my knowledge, there is neither a published grammar or sketch grammar of Wampis. Modern published works that have specifically Wampis as their object of study consists of a vocabulary with a pedagogical focus (Jakway, & A. 1987), a lexical comparison of Wampis and Awajun (Larson 1955–1957), a (rather) short vocabulary list (Corbera Mori 1980) and a short description of the phonemic inventory of the language (Beasley & Pike 1957). A brief sociolinguistic study about identity based on lexical differences between Shuar, Wampis

and Awajun is found in Valeš (2013).[11] Studies on Wampis sound-symbolism in names

of fish and birds, from an ethnobiological perspective, are found in Berlin (1992; 1994).

Besides these, there are a handful of works that contain data that may be of interest to

researchers of Wampis, but they do not constitute linguistic works. The most important

of these works was published by the Spanish Jesuit anthropologist García-Rendueles

(1996–1999). His 1996–1999 publication is a bilingual (Wampis–Spanish) compilation

of mythical narratives thematically organized. Sadly, García-Rendueles' work,

monumental in scope, has seen only two of the planned five volumes published (the

fifth volume was to contain a vocabulary). Yet, the wealth of data in the published parts

can offer researchers a rather insightful view into the culture.[12]

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11. The author bases his analysis on a questionary that asks what word speakers use for the concepts of 'butterfly', 'flute' and 'number one'. Unfotunately, the author does not explain the reason why only these three concepts were chosen, in which locations the interviews took place, how were interviews carried out (for instance, using Spanish?), etc. In addition, the author states that the term "*Huambisa/Wampis . . . parece desarrollarse después del cambio de frontera en 1942 para designar a los Shuar que vivían en el territorio peruano*" ("apparently developed after the borderline [of Peru and Ecuador] changed in 1942 to designate the Shuar that lived in the Peruvian territory" (Valeš 2013: 175). This is inaccurate (unfortunately, the author does not cite any source that the reader could consult). There are documents which identify the Wampis as a group since at least the very late 1700s/early 1800s, way before the 1941 war between Peru and Ecuador. See Chapter II for details on the history of the term *Wampis*.

12. Unfortunately, the transcription of texts is inconsistent and the translation offered is a very loose one.

Finally, the works mentioned above are not comprehensive of all materials on Wampis. A number of Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) missionaries and linguists, especially David Beasley, have left notes on the Wampis language, but they remained unpublished. I have not had access to these unpublished notes. Also, SIL has published a number of materials in Wampis for bilingual school education.

1.6. Socio-linguistic situation

The Jivaroan peoples have a strong commitment to their identity, including of course their languages. The Wampis are no exception. The Wampis language variety is currently spoken in most contexts and domains of communication, and its presence sometimes extends to spaces where Spanish is dominant, such as radio transmissions,[13] school classes and local authority meetings.[14] The Wampis approved a new alphabet for their language in 2012 and are looking forward to developing the language for pedagogy, law-making and other aspects of "modern" life (such as internet use).

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13. Spanish is dominantly used in radio transmissions, but I have heard Wampis spoken in programs on occasion. Messages are often delivered in Wampis. There is at least one religious program where Wampis is sometimes used. *Cumbia* and traditional music in Shuar and Awajun are also transmitted. There is only one radio station in the Santiago River, but on occasion, radio show transmissions from Ecuador (in Spanish and, near the borderline with Ecuador, in Shuar) are captured.

14. In formal situations involving Spanish-speaking authorities, Spanish is used.

The Wampis society remains one of the poorest minority groups in Peru. As

migration of young Wampis people to cities increases, so does pressure from Spanish

and other languages. Increasing contact with outsiders who seek opportunities to

engage in logging or gold-mining adds to this pressure too. The location of the Wampis

territory in a political borderline and the fact that this territory is an area of natural

resource exploration (the region is rich in gold and other minerals, exploration for oil is

going on) also have put the Wampis in a very sensitive situation. Hence, the Wampis

are a vulnerable group and the language has been listed as having the status of

"vulnerable" in the Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley 2010).

1.6.1. Varieties of Wampis

An examination of Wampis-internal linguistic variation has not been attempted,

nor was it the goal of the research leading to the writing of this dissertation. However,

at first glance it can be stated that variation in Wampis is mostly lexical and phonetic,

with some differences in the pronunciation of a few grammatical morphemes. There

exists mutual intelligibility between Wampis speakers from different areas. There are

two large areas where Wampis is spoken: the Santiago river and the Morona River. The

Santiago and Morona rivers run almost parallel to each other, but they are separated by

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a mountain range, called *Kampankis*. I did not collect data from the Morona river area.

Along the Santiago river, there are three general areas: the lower Santiago is mostly

Awajun territory, the Middle and Upper Santiago is considered Wampis territory. The

one variety of the Santiago area that always was suggested to me as being divergent

from other varieties of the Santiago river region is the one spoken on the Caterpiza

river, a tributary of the Santiago. Though I have been unable to go to the Caterpiza

river, I have witnessed dialogues between people of the Middle Santiago and Caterpiza,

and they can certainly communicate with each other. This suggests that the Caterpiza

variety is actually not very divergent from the other dialects of Wampis,[15] though it

seems to be the most sociolinguistically marked[16] of the dialects spoken in the Santiago

basin.

   The study of the varieties of Wampis, as for most other Jivaroan languages, is

yet to be fully explored. García-Rendueles (1996–1999) outlined his view of the

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15. The Caterpiza river is located on the east side of the Santiago river. Most Wampis
communities in the Middle Santiago river are located on the west side. This probably contributes
to the Caterpiza dialect being perceived as differing from others. There is also the matter of
contact: it may be the case that the Caterpiza dialect is relatively divergent, but since Wampis
people move around and visit or trade with each other, they can have a certain level of
understanding, simplifying their speech when they communicate.

16. By "marked" here I mean that it is perceived as different. There is no strong negative
sociolinguistic attitude towards the people who speak this dialect.

dialectal situation in the Santiago basin, which was based upon the geographical

location of communities. Table 1.2 shows his proposal. My comments are in

parenthesis.

Table 1.2. Dialectal situation along the Santiago River according to García-Rendueles (1996-1999)

García-Rendueles' proposed groups	García-Rendueles' comments
Yakinia Shuar ('people from up-river')	North-Santiago area, related to the Shuar of Ecuador
Muraña Shuar ('people from the mountains')	Shuar from the headwaters of the Santiago river affluents. (Located on both sides of the Santiago.)
Moronanmañan Shuar ('People from the Morona')	Wampis speaker who migrated from the Morona area into the Santiago basin. (Located on the east side of the Santiago.)
Shir-Wampis ('Good Wampis')[a]	Located in the middle-Santiago (on the west side of the river.)
Wampis-Awarun	"Corrupted language" (spoken for people living in the transitional border between Wampis and Awajun territotry)
Apach ('mestizo, non-Wampis')	(Spanish-speaking people) from Loreto and the Andes.

[a] <Shir> (/ʃiira/) means 'good'. Obviously, this is an evaluative term by García-Rendueles that does not have any scientific basis. He considers this variety prescriptively, as the "purest" Wampis. The same can be said of his Wampis-Awarun group, which he considers as "corrupted".

García-Rendueles' sketch of Wampis varieties seems relatively compatible with

my observations for the most part; however, I did not find substantial linguistic

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differences between his "Yakinia" and "Muraña" Shuar. This was corroborated by the

attempted subgrouping given by my main Wampis collaborators when I asked them. It

may be the case that during the last 30–40 years or so (García-Rendueles' fieldwork

took place in the 1970's and early 1980s) new generations of speakers have come closer

to Wampis as ties with the Ecuadorian side remained distant since the 1940s.[17] Thus, I

would propose a tentative revision of García-Redueles' work with four main varieties[18]

for Wampis. The "Wampis-Awarun" variety referred to by the Spanish author needs to

be studied in a different light, i.e. from a languages-in-contact perspective, rather than

as some sort of "corrupted language". Therefore, for the moment it is left out of the

subgrouping until its nature is explained more satisfactorily. I had occasional contact

with people from Cucuasa and Papayacu who were living in or visiting Candungos but

almost none with people from the other communities close to the border with Ecuador.

According to García-Rendueles, Cucuasa, Onanga and Ampama communities are

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17. The situation was exacerbated by two new armed conflicts between Peru and Ecuador that occurred in 1981 and 1995.

18. Notice, again, this tentative division is based on quick notes made while on the field. The Morona area needs to be more thoroughly investigated. The few people I interviewed claiming to know well the Morona area told me there are no major internal differences. However, as the Morona is actually a large area, this statement needs to be corroborated through field research.

grouped in the "Yakinia" dialect, whereas Candungos belongs to the "Muraña"

subgroup. Table 1.3 shows the proposed dialectal variation for Wampis.

Table 1.3. Possible dialectal variation proposed for Wampis

Proposed Wampis varieties	García-Rendueles' equivalent
a. Upper Santiago (iaki=nĩ=ia ʃuara, murá=ia ʃuara)[a]	Yakinia Shuar/Muraña Shuar
b. Middle Santiago (naka=ia ʃuara)[b]	Shir-Wampis
c. Katirpisa (amaini=ia ʃuar)[c]	Moronanmaña Shuar
d. Morona (muruna=numa=ia ʃuar)[d]	Variety spoken in the Morona basin, not included in García-Rendueles' sub-classification. There can be sub-varieties.

[a] *iaki=nĩ=ia* 'above=LOCATIVE=ABLATIVE', the 'people from up-stream', murá=nĩ=ia 'mountain=LOCATIVE=ABLATIVE' 'people from the mountain'.

[b] *naka=ia* ('in front=ABLATIVE) '[people] from in front') is how Middle Santiago people identify themselves (the communities of Middle Santiago are located only in the west side of the river, hence the name).

[c] *amaini=nĩ=ia* 'other bank of the river=LOCATIVE', i.e. 'people from the other bank'.

[d] muruna=numa=ia 'Morona=LOCATIVE=ABLATIVE' , i.e. 'people from the Morona'

    Unfortunately, this proposed division is for, the moment, based on the

judgements of speakers (and for the most part, based on geography) rather than on

actual data. Much remains to be done on the field of variation for Wampis.

1.6.2. Auto-denomination

    The Wampis people refer to themselves simply as [wampís] /uampisa/ 'Wampis'

or [ʃuár wampís] (*ʃuara uampisa* 'person Wampis'), i.e. 'Wampis person'. Other common

denominations are [íi wampistí] (*ii uampisa=tí* '1PL Wampis-PLURAL SPEECH ACT

PARTICIPANT'), [hutí wampistí] (*hutí uampisa=tí* '1PL Wampis-PLURAL SPEECH ACT PARTICIPANT'),

which both can be translated as 'we the Wampis'. Another term used is [ii ʃuartí] (*ii*

ʃuara=tí '1PL person-PLURAL SPEECH ACT PARTICIPANT'), i.e. 'we the people'. Despite the

negative connotations of the word *Jivaro* in Spanish (where it became practically a

synonym of 'savage'), some Wampis people also used this term to introduce themselves

when we met, saying they were "Jivaro Wampis". This is an interesting re-appropriation

of the term, without the negative meaning, as part of their identities. However, this use

of the term *Jivaro* is not shared by all Jivaroan groups.[19]

In general, the Wampis can extend the use of the term [ʃuár] /ʃuara/ 'person' to

refer to people that they can identify as Jivaroan. In some cases, *ʃuara* also means

'enemy' and is sometimes used to refer to the Awajun in narratives of their past wars

(otherwise, the Wampis used [awarún] /auaruna/ to refer to said group. The term

Jivaro itself is a hispanization of the proto-Jivaroan form **ʃ(i)uara* from which modern

[ʃuár] /ʃuara/ is a reflex (Gnerre 1973). The ethnonyms Shuar, Achuar and Shiwiar all

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19. The term is particularly insulting for the Shuar of Ecuador. See Katan Jua (2011).

come from the same proto-form too (Achuar apparently etymologically comes from *aĉu* 'aguaje' + *ʃuara* 'person').

The etymology of the name Wampis most likely derives from the noun *uampi* 'sabalo sp. (*Salminus sp.*)' and what seems to be a phonetic reduction of *intsa* 'river' > -*sa*.[20] The same reduced structure is verified in some Jivaroan toponyms in Wampis territory, cf. *kankasa* [kaŋkás] from *kanka* 'boquichico' + *sa* (Spanish <*Cangasa*>), i.e. 'boquichico stream'; *tʃinkanasa* [tʃiŋkanás][21] from *tʃinkana* 'bamboo sp.' + *sa* 'stream' (Spanish <*Chinganaza*>[22], i.e. 'bamboo stream'; *tʃapisa* [tʃapís] from *tʃapi* 'yarina palm' + *sa* 'stream', i.e. 'yarina stream' (Spanish <*Chapiza*>). I was told a story (that seems to justify a folk etymology) in which a Wampis group of people were very quick to organize themselves to face an imminent attack from a rival group. As the story goes, many Wampis from different parts of the Santiago sailed the river, coming "as fast as the *uampi* fish" to the location where they were summoned.[23] Other people were more

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20. Though notice that there is also a word related to water: *sasa* 'streaming water', 'waterfall'.

21. Some speakers pronounce it [tʃiŋkántsa], which seems to be more closely related to *tʃinkana* + *intsa* 'river'.

22. The complete name in Spanish is <*Boca Chinganaza*>.

23. The *uampi* fish is indeed regarded by the local people as a fast-moving fish.

cautious and said that the name likely refers to people that was known to live in a small

river tributary where *uampi* fish (*Salminus sp.*) abounded, and hence the name. The

ethnonym is probably related to the old Huambisa River, a tributary of the Santiago.

The Wampis used to live in the headwaters of the Santiago River, along its tributaries,

before communities were created along the main river itself. The root *uampi* also

appears in other parts of the Jivaroan territory, for instance the river Huambi (a

hispanization with a voiced stop), north of the Santiago river, in the region of Sucua,

Ecuador, near the border with Peru. It is interesting to notice that an early work about

Jivaroan people (Karsten 1935) locates the Wampis on the Upper Morona River, and in

his map (given at the end of his cited work) the Wampis appeared north of the

Santiago, in the immediacies of modern quebrada Huambi in Ecuador. However,

Karsten did not visit the Wampis in Morona or Santiago. In fact, the presence of the

Wampis in the Santiago River region, and as far South as the Marañon River, dates from

at least the very early 19th century when they—sometimes together with the Awajun—

are identified as the Jivaroan group which made several raids in the gold/rubber

mining towns in the lower Santiago and Upper Maranon (Guallart 1990).

The Wampis refer to their language as [iiɲá t͡ʃit͡ʃám] (*iina t͡ʃit͡ʃam*a '1PL.GEN

language'), i.e. 'our language', [wampís t͡ʃit͡ʃám] (*uampisa t͡ʃit͡ʃama* 'Wampis language'),

[ʃuará t͡ʃit͡ʃam] (*ʃuará tʃitʃám* 'person\GEN language'), i.e. 'the language of the people' or

simply [t͡ʃit͡ʃám] (*t͡ʃit͡ʃama* 'word, language').

1.7. Non-verbal communication

The Wampis used to have a percussion system for long-distance communication.

Large signal drums (*tuntuí*) were hung from trees or walls and played for different

communicative needs. Communication using these drums is still practiced, though not

as frequently as it was in the past. I was unable to have a first-hand experience of drum-

communication as my research focus lay somewhere else. Karsten (Karsten 1935: 108–

110) described the making of the signal drum among the Jivaro; the use of similar

drums is found in other places in Amazonia (Thiesen 1969; Neves 2001: 269).

When the Wampis are in the jungle, they also communicate from a distance

using buttress roots as percussion instruments. In this way, they are able to

communicate the location of someone when hunting, and in the past they

communicated if an enemy raiding party had been seen coming. Nowadays, the Wampis

also use a horn or shell called *bosina* (from Spanish) or *kat͡ʃu* (from Quechua) to call for

important meetings or events in the community. The arrival of a visitor to a host's

house in the past was signalled by using a small drum, by the horn, or by putting both hands together in a tubular form and whistling into them to amplify the sound (these actions are still practiced today but mostly for especial celebrations). A whistling "language" to signal actions, especially when hunting, and to imitate birds—at which the Wampis excel (Berlin 1994)—is still present in Wampis culture.

Body language is important in oratorial discourse and in ritualistic situations. Body gestures are somewhat important in story telling too, and often accompany the description of actions. Spitting on the floor is an important part of singing *aninta* 'magical song' and is used at the end to conjure the power of the song. The act of spitting on the floor when conversing or drinking is seen as normal and shows familiarity among men.[24] Earlier descriptions of Wampis culture discuss how in certain specific contexts ritualistic body language also included certain oral elements as an integral and important part of the ritual. For example, when the Wampis went to war and had surrounded the enemy, every member of the raiding party, one after another, would have to yell a long *yaa!* (a type of challenge or war cry) while thumping their feet and showing their spears. They had to follow a specific increasing and decreasing

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24. See Descola (1986: 165–168) and Boster (2003) for alternative accounts on the interpretation of the act of spitting in Jivaroan culture.

melody pattern when making the war cry. It was believed that if the warrior did not

follow the ritual correctly (which included following the melody), he would be doomed.

It is difficult to say whether there was a more lexical meaning assigned to these cries;

however, it is interesting that some speakers were able to nominalize these cries when I

asked if there was a "name for the action" (e.g. [yaákat] (iaa-ka-ta 'cry.yaa-INTENS-NMLZ',

i.e. 'the crying of yaa'), suggesting it may have been treated as some type of verb in the

past.

Body painting is common among the Wampis. In the past, when a war raid was

performed, Wampis men usually painted their bodies in black with *sua* 'huito (*Genipa*

americana)'. I have not seen much literature on this, but there seems to have been an

identification code associated with color: in contrast to the Wampis who used black,

their usual enemies the Awajun would paint their bodies in red.[25] Men still paint their

faces in black and carry their spears[26] when they march to protest regional or national

policies perceived as contrary to their interests. Men who have achieved high status

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25. A recurrent observation of war body painting can be found in some narratives in Guallart (1990: 237 and ff.).

26. The spears nowadays are carried more as a symbol of Wampis identity, rather than as real weapons.

within the community also wear a crown made of toucan feathers [tawás] (/tauasa/) and carry a spear [náŋki] (/nanki). Women wear colorful earrings [akítɛĩ] (/akitai/), usually made of toucan feathers and giant beetle wings, and put on their typical red or purple/blue dresses [tarát͡ʃ] (/tarat͡ʃi/), which they tie up on the right shoulder. Piercing in the lower lip and nose was practiced until about three generations ago, but it is no longer practiced. Some elderly people I met still exhibit these piercings.

For special occasions or celebrations, the Wampis still paint their faces with thick lines in red. Facial tattoos were also used. In fact, elderly people, still conserve their tattoos. Tattoo and face-painting patterns represent the possession of [arútam] (/arutama/), a vision of power given by the most important Jivaroan spiritual entity (see §2.7). Tattoos were also apparently made to distinguish individuals within a family. People I asked about this did not remember the specific details, though.

1.8. This dissertation

This dissertation constitutes the first attempt ever at providing a complete grammatical description of Wampis. To the best of my knowledge, there is no previously published grammatical description, or even a sketch, of Wampis. The grammar is based on extensive fieldwork carried out at different moments in 2008,

2011, 2013 and 2014. This grammar is divided into twenty one chapters. Following this

introduction, Chapter II provides brief notes on the Wampis people. Chapters III trough

VI provide analyses of different aspects of Wampis phonology, phonetics,

morphophonology and prosody. Chapter VII constitutes an introduction to morphology

and word classes. Chapter VIII provides a description of all closed word classes in

Wampis. Next, Chapter IX is dedicated to adjectives. The noun, noun phrase and

adpositional phrases are described in Chapters X and XI. Chapter XII is an introduction

to the study of the verb, which is then followed by an in-depth study of verbal

morphology: "derivational" level in Chapter XIII, and "inflectional" level in Chapter

XIV. Chapter XV looks at nominalization. Chapter XVI offers an analysis of the simple

clause, followed by an analysis of verbless, copular and existential constructions in

Chapter XVII. Chapter XVIII describes discourse-oriented and mood clitics. Complex

clause constructions, including subordination, complementation and relativization, are

analyzed in Chapters XIX and XX. Finally, some concluding comments are provided in

Chapter XXI.

1.9. Theoretical framework

The approach in this work reflects many findings and discussions established or

now generally assumed from the development of comparative philology, Structuralism, and even some formalist syntactic frameworks. However, my understanding of language relies on an idea that does not fit within a structuralist or formalist (Chomskyan) theories. That is, that language use, grammar structure, and cognition are closely connected. Language is a dynamic system, adapted and constrained by our ways of categorizing our experience. This is a general principle that guides my approach to the study of language in general and, in particular, my analysis of Wampis.

The main paradigm that informs this dissertation is the functional-typological approach, with an appreciation of historical developments in understanding the current state of Wampis. Functionalism is not one unified theory, but in its various iterations it rejects formalism as an explanation of language facts. Functionalism claims that grammar is not an autonomous system, but it is part of a system of human communication composed of a cognitive representation system and a communicative coding system (Givón 2002a: 7). In that regard, the functionalist approach rejects the idea that a theory of grammar can find explanatory adequacy (Chomsky 1965) by circularly resorting to a purportedly autonomous language module, ultimately linked to a distinctly abstract untestable notion of Universal Grammar. Thus, it can be said that

the most basic epistemological distinction between functionalism and formalism is what

counts as an explanation (Payne 1999b). A formal model often serves simply as a

"restatement of the facts at a higher level of generalization" (Givón 1979: 5) and, in

that regard, it lacks explanatory strength. Functionalism, on the other hand, seeks

explanations for formal structures in the explanatory domains of semantics,

grammaticalization, discourse-oriented communicative, cognitive constraints or broader

cognitive pressures (such as attention and representation, for example). Within this

view, language is seen as a set of tools "whose forms are adapted to their functions"

(DeLancey 2001a). Hence, language structure has an adaptive motivation—i.e. it is the

way it is because it reflects constraints in language use, where language suits speakers'

needs.

Functional studies often incorporate a typological domain in their analyses.

Within this dissertation's framework, linguistic typology is viewed as the study of

language variation and of the limits on that variation. It is assumed in this work that

there are language-specific constructions, but also that different language structures

can, from one language to another, encode the same type of function or communicative

job. Cross-linguistic recurrent patterns are often functionally motivated and need to be

explained. In this sense, typology is not merely descriptive, but also it can be

explanatory (Croft 2003: 284). In my analyses of Wampis data I incorporate typological

analytical tools and try to relate the data to categories and constructions found in this

language to those that are, or are not, found recurrently cross-linguistically. I try not to

provide a simple inventory of features; rather, my use of a typological framework has

been motivated by the necessity to understand (and ultimately seek to explain) how

certain Wampis constructions work by relating them to known linguistic patterns.

However, I always define the categories found in the Wampis data in their own terms,

explicitly characterizing them and providing examples of how formal structures are

paired to functions in this language. By comparing language-specific structures of

languages, including those of Wampis, we can eventually better propose hypotheses

addressing how different linguistic functions could have developed and come to be

encoded in various languages. Ultimately, we can try to explain how those linguistic

functions relate to human cognition in general.

Often, grammatical units are not synchronically transparently motivated. Most

of the time, the ontological opacity of grammatical categories is a consequence of

language change. In this dissertation, as I said, language is seen as a dynamic system,

i.e. a system that is continuously being re-created by communicative activity. That

means that, although I recognize the methodological value of differentiating synchrony

from diachrony, I believe that maintaining the rigid boundary of this dichotomy

prevents us from obtaining better understanding of how diversity in grammatical

structure has arisen (see, for instance, Givón (1971; 1979), Lehmann (1985), Bybee

(1985), Heine et al. (1991), Gildea (1998), among others). Therefore, I also use the

framework of grammaticalization (or historical processes of change) to help explain

patterns in a language. The main premise here is that "in grammaticalization, functional

shifts lead, and structural change follows" (DeLancey 1994: 4).

While this dissertation is grounded within the theoretical stand point provided

by functional approaches, I take functionalism as a starting point, and not as an end

point. It is not my goal to prove a theory or to make it look better than others, for

"theory informs and shapes, but does not control" (Rice 2006: 262). Rather, I seek to

build knowledge from empirical data and transmit that knowledge (of the Wampis

language) as clearly and as comprehensively as I can. From that perspective, the

grammatical description proposed throughout this work generally follows a tradition

that has been referred to as Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 1997). In this approach to

grammar description, the researcher aims to describe a set of facts with no restrictive

theoretical implications (Dryer 2006). This is especially important in analyzing an

under-documented language such as Wampis, because it allows the researcher to be

open to new phenomena and to formulate statements that are supported by the data as

well as to test typological claims. In this regard, and from a practical standpoint, my

analysis of Wampis has also benefited from consulting literature on writing a grammar,

such as Payne and Weber (Eds.) (2006) or Ameka et al. (Eds) (2006)

1.10. Methodological considerations: fieldwork and data

This dissertation is based largely on primary natural data gathered from

extensive periods of fieldwork. Underlying this idea is the firm belief that fieldwork is

an indispensable methodological activitiy in writing a grammar, as this is the principal

way to study a language as a holistic system, i.e. as a system that functions within a

socio-cultural human network, as well as within historical and political contexts with

ties to the past and, as I have been reminded many times by the Wampis, to the future.

1.10.1. Fieldwork

Fieldwork was conducted in the Wampis communities of Puerto Galilea, Huabal,

Boca Chinganaza and Candungos, all located in the political Department of Amazonas,

Peru. Additionally, I worked in the towns of Jaen and in Peru's capital, Lima. In Jaen

and Lima there are small populations of Wampis immigrants, some of whom

accompanied me to the Wampis villages. Figure 1.3 shows the locations of the Wampis

villages where I carried out fieldwork. I have been working with Wampis speakers since

2007, and made trips to their communities in 2008, 2011 and 2013. To go there from

Lima involves at least three days in different climate/altitudes, transportation by bus,

car, boat; and diverse (usually not good) road conditions. Typically, the route that I

followed was Lima-Jaen-Bagua-Santa Maria de Nieva. From the town of Santa Maria de

Nieva one takes a boat to the Santiago River district, where the Wampis territory is

located. Because it is a long trip, some extra considerations were given to equipment

and lodging.

I established the town of Jaen as my "base camp" for going into and arriving

from Wampis territory. Jaen is located in the Department of Cajamarca, very close to

the Department of Amazonas. In Jaen, I stayed with a local, non-Wampis, family, but

worked with different Wampis speakers who were currently living there. It takes at least

one more day to arrived from there to Santa María de Nieva, including a stop in the

town of Bagua. In Santa Maria de Nieva, I would spend the night and go by boat the

next day to the Santiago river area, where the Wampis villages are located.

Figure 1.3. Map of fieldwork sites

Some work would be done in Jaen both before and after I entered the Wampis

area for fieldwork. In Jaen I usually made contacts, backed up data, checked up the

data collected and made preparations for continuing with the trip. I also worked in

Lima with speakers of Wampis in-between field trips throughout 2013. This work would

typically include transcribing, translating and re-checking texts and other materials

collected, as well as doing additional recordings, backing up the data and inserting

them into a Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEx) database. During this time in the city,

I would meet with my Wampis teachers a minimum of two times a week (for two-three

hours of work at a time). Overall, I spent approximately 10 months in the field, plus

approximately 2 months in Jaen and 6 months in Lima working with one or two

Wampis speakers at a time. My fieldwork was supported by a Summer Research Grant

from the Center for Latino/a and Latin American Studies of the University of Oregon in

2008 and an NSF Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant for the 2012–2014 period

(Award #1226222). Fieldwork trips to Wampis communities are listed in Table 1.4, the

approximate duration of each stay is indicated in parenthesis.

Table 1.4. Field trips to Wampis communities

Date (approximate duration)	Communities visited
June-August 2008 (8 weeks)	Puerto Galilea, Boca Chinganaza
July-August 2011 (4 weeks)	Puerto Galilea, Boca Chinganaza
February-March 2013 (7 weeks)	Puerto Galilea, Huabal, Boca Chinganaza
April 2013 (4 weeks)	Puerto Galilea, Boca Chinganaza
May 2013 (3 weeks)	Puerto Galilea, Huabal
July-August 2013 (6 weeks)	Puerto Galilea, Candungos
October-December 2013 (8 weeks)	Puerto Galilea, Candungos

There are many constraints on fieldwork. Probably, time and budget are basic concerns for most fieldworkers. In addition, the fieldwork area for this research shares the following constraints with many other impoverished parts of the world: no or very restricted electricity, restricted means of communication, unreliable and sometimes unsafe transportation, no potable water/sewage system, poor sanitary conditions and minimal health assistance, and so on.[27] In fact, the Santiago River area, according to the

27. At the time of writing, a restricted cellular phone network exists in Puerto Galilea. In other communities along the Santiago River there is very restricted or no access to cellular networks. Usually houses do not have phone lines, but there is a communal satellite phone in each locality. Some communities have improvised basic potable water systems carrying water from streams, but access to these systems is not general for all the population. Some villages, like Puerto Galilea, have electricity from around 6 p.m. to 9 p.m., while other communities must rely on gas generators for events needing electricity.

poverty map elaborated by FONCODES[28] (2006), is one of the top 15 poorest districts in

Peru by index of deprivation. According to the poverty map elaborated by INEI[29]

(2010), the Santiago River district is overall one of the poorest in Peru (placed at #64

out of 1836 districts)—approximately 89% of the population lives in poverty condition.

Despite the potential problems arising from the lack of so-called "modern"

commodities, I have been warmly welcomed by my Wampis hosts, have lived with

them, shared at their tables, been considered as a brother to some of them and

generally have been able to nurture a standing relationship of friendship, mutual

respect and commitment toward Wampis society. If anything, their stance in the face of

hard living conditions shows their admirable ways of adapting to their environment, an

exemplary determination for sustainable development and their rich cultural persistence

for seeking a "life of abundance".[30]

I am of the opinion that the pretension of being a professional or scientist who

only cares about his research is unviable—much less in a fieldwork situation. While my

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28. Peru's Fund of Cooperation for Social Development (*Fondo de Cooperación para el Desarrollo*).

29. Peru's National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática*).

30. To "live in abundance" is a cultural concept in Wampis cosmovision. See §2.7 for more details.

research focus has always remained centered on doing a profesional job documenting

and analyzing the language, it is impossible not to realize that the linguistic researcher

interacts in a multidimensional socio-cultural network when in the field. The relation

between researcher and "subject", no matter how grand the research, is only one thread

of that network. I try not to dissociate being a linguist, or a scientist, from the set of

greater responsibilities that arise in human relationships (just as my Wampis friends felt

they had more responsibility toward me than just teaching me their language). I have

tried to act accordingly. During my stays at the Wampis communities, I was given a

room within my hosts' family house, where I was able to work and read in my "free"

time. I partook in the everyday life of my host families and of the communities. I have

thus participated in the most diverse activities: from bathing early in the morning and

before dusk at the river, trying to help in the *chacras* (swidden gardens) or going

fishing, to conversing familiarly around a "*masatito*" (manioc beer) bowl. I have

accompanied people to meetings with regional authorities, met with local school

teachers, participated in "social dances" (in practice, *cumbia* or *chicha* music parties),

helped seek communication with a congressman in Lima to talk about the creation of a

new district in the Rio Santiago area, and have even been encouraged to film an entire

football tournament event during Rio Santiago's three-day anniversary celebrations.

Through such activities, I have gradually come to have a better understanding of

Wampis society. Of course, this has not been an easy job: I have made numerous

mistakes and have not always found people enthusiastically receptive of all my

endeavors, but for every misstep, there has always been a friendly Wampis hand to

support me and to give me yet another humbling lesson in life. My experience with the

Wampis people is one of the most important things to happen in my life, and it has

helped me become a better person.

During the field research time, many people worked with me and helped me

understand the Wampis world. At the risk of being unfair to others who also

collaborated with me, Table 1.5 on next page ventures to list the main contributors to

the present work (under "role", I have tried to indicate, however inadequately, some

roles that the named individual played in this project).

Ethics and fieldwork is a valid and valuable object of study, and there is a great

deal of good literature about it—some of it has been quite useful for me (Hale et al.

(1992); Grinevald (1998); Hale (2001); Gil (2001); Fleck (2008); Czaykowska-Higgins

(2009); Jansen, Underriner, & Jacob (2013)). In general, I have tried to adhere to best

practices in my own fieldwork, acknowledging community member collaborators as

experts, incorporating local people to co-work with me and facilitating training in

language documentation. In addition, the faculty at Department of Linguistics at the

University of Oregon excels at linguistic fieldwork, and many formal and informal

discussions with my professors and peers also taught me with useful ways to establish

meaningful and collaborative connections during fieldwork research.

Table 1.5. Primary Wampis teachers and expert collaborators

Name	Sex	Age	Role	Community of origin
Óscar Jimpikit	M	44	Teacher, story-teller, historian, culture expert, translator, ethnobiology expert	Candungos
Dina Ananco	F	30	Teacher, translator, story-teller	Huabal
Clara Navarro	F	??	Wise woman, culture expert, story-teller	Puerto Galilea
Shapiom Noningo	M	55	Wise man, teacher, story-teller, culture expert	Puerto Galilea
Juan Luis Nuningo	M	??	Wise man, teacher, story-teller, historian, culture expert	Puerto Galilea
Atilio Nuningo	M	33	Teacher, translator	Puerto Galilea
Josué Yacum	M	35	Teacher, translator	Boca Chinganaza
Lidia Wajarai	F	45	Teacher, culture expert	Candungos

Another interesting issue that arose during my fieldwork is the importance and value of responding to suggestions and felt needs of community members in data collections and language events. One thing that I do not usually find in the published literature is an exercise on detailing what could be the perspective of the speakers of a language during fieldwork. Usually the speakers' perspectives are displaced to a secondary role to give room to the researcher's description of his/her own project (which is necessary but not the only important thing). What do speakers of a language want, specifically, in a language project? Answers, of course, will vary from speaker to speaker and from project to project. Perhaps because it is obvious (and we always lose track of the obvious), it somehow took me by surprise to find that the Wampis wanted to do things with their language, above all. Surely like any other community of people, they are very conscious of their culture and language. Most of my Wampis interlocutors agreed that to have a reference grammar for their language would be very important—it is a serious endeavor for them. But the idea of a grammar is somewhat abstract and difficult to grasp, even for the grammarian! It was in the little struggles of everyday life, though, that I realized that there were many language-related concerns the Wampis people wanted to deal with: they want a dictionary; they have problems translating

laws and documents as the language has yet to develop jargon for specific fields; there

are people interested in recording voice or video to narrate stories for their children;

they need native-language texts for school; some wanted to tell the Wampis perspective

of recent events in Peruvian history so that it be on record for future generations;

people would ask me to create a CD with the story they had told me or the songs they

had sung so they can listen to them afterwards; some would ask me to record a message

in my computer or camera to deliver to a relative in Bagua, or Jaen; and so on. Most

Wampis speakers agreed to teach me and collaborate with me because they wanted to

give something back to their community and to their children: they feel my research

would not affect them because they were already adult or "old", but it could benefit the

new generations. There was a sense of cultural awareness that needed to be passed onto

the future. Thus, language is indeed a constant concern in the life of the Wampis. Their

concerns have been also incorporated in the current work and have actually expanded

my knowledge of Wampis. A specific morpheme, the allative, for example, which were

not yet present (the allative is not frequently used in general) in the natural speech data

I had yet recorded, appeared in one text that one of my teachers suggested we record.

He wanted to have a written history of the foundation of his community, Candungos—

in part because his father had been one of the founders. His story was transcribed,

printed and photocopied at a later time in the nearest town where there was access to

printers (Santa María de Nieva), and handed back to my teacher. What is more,

following up with the discussion of the story, my teacher also told me that his father

had made friends with a Spanish gold miner and rubber tradesman from the late

rubber boom times (1930's-1950's). Thus, new texts were collected and a discussion of

those troublesome times from the Wampis perspective ensued. This is an example of

how engaging in a community and giving a proper place to community speakers' needs

expanded the practical and intellectual horizons of this project.

1.10.2. Data, data gathering and processing

The bulk of the data presented in the current work comes from the analysis of

about 10 hours of transcriptions of texts in the Wampis language, plus data written

down in seven notebooks. Data in notebooks usually contain vocabulary lists, notes on

diverse aspects of the language (from word pronunciations to specific syntactic

constructions), a few texts that could not be recorded with the voice-recorder, a few

text transcriptions of recorded material, cultural notes and elicited data.

The texts recorded belong to various genres, with the majority being

monologues comprising mythical and historical narrations, but there are also

biographies, procedural texts, descriptions, expositions (revolving around Wampis

cultural themes) and oratory. There are also conversations, jokes, songs[31] and even three

short tongue-twisters that I was taught "to better my Wampis pronunciation".

While this dissertation relies on the analysis of natural texts, I have also used

elicitation as a methodological tool to gather additional data and to understand the

data. For elicitation, I used two types of "sessions": the first type were sessions

dedicated to elicitation—I would sometimes reserve at least one hour of work to elicit

data with my teachers. The second type was more informal, but more consistently

carried out: elicitation done in the process of text transcription and translation.

Invariably, we would always find that a certain phrase or word could be said in an

alternative way. I readily wrote down these observations in a notebook as well as

elicited phrases that helped us investigate where and how these alternative

constructions could be used. For elicitation tasks, I tried not to rely only on translations

of Spanish into Wampis, but rather would often propose a Wampis phrase and ask if it

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31. I would like to thank Dina Ananco Ahuananchi, one of my Wampis teachers, for allowing me
to digitalize four old cassettes with music in Wampis and Awajún that belonged to her family.
Part of those cassettes' contents were added to my database to be analyzed.

was good/grammatical. However, I would always make an annotation that the form

was suggested by myself first, and the validity of that form was always double check

with different speakers for greater accuracy in the description of the specific form.

Elicitation was also used to fill gaps in my data, fill out paradigms and to probe aspects

of certain construction when necessary. By eliciting, I also found a few constructions

that were not present in the recorded texts.

In order to record good-quality data, particular recording equipment was used.

The basic equipment taken to the field consisted of voice recorders (Marantz PMD660

for the 2008 and 2010 field trips, Zoom H4N for 2013), a condenser lavalier

microphone (AudioTechnica AT831B), a head-mounted microphone (Shure SM10A-CN),

a hand/table microphone, and a semi-professional camera capable of recording high

definition videos (Panasonic DMC). Additional equipment used included studio monitor

headphones, a laptop computer, an external hard-drive, notebooks, and an assortment

of other devices (memories, dvd disks, cables, etc.). During the trips, the equipment was

put in waterproof cases; some equipment, like the external hard drive, were chosen

because they were rain and fresh water resistant. Physical back-ups were constantly

made using the external hard-drive and other memory devices. Once in Lima, I also

backed-up the data using an on-line internet service.

An additional observation concerns the language via which I communicated with Wampis people and into which the data was translated. My first interactions with the Wampis people were in Spanish, until I gradually became more confident in using Wampis at least in basic communicative situations. Although I am a native speaker of Spanish, I am aware that my variety is not the same as the regional Amazonian Spanish or the Spanish spoken by the Wampis. Many younger Wampis generations (ages 15-40 years) are also more or less fluent in Spanish. Most male Wampis between the ages of 40 to 60 speak Spanish with different degrees of fluency. The number of Wampis female speakers who can speak Spanish in this age range vary, as not all of them had access to education in the past. Elder female speakers are usually monolingual in Wampis and know only a few basic phrases in Spanish. Elder male speakers' knowledge of Spanish varies depending on whether they had access to primary or in few cases secondary school. Young children (ages 0 to 5) usually do not learn Spanish until they start school (though they are exposed to some Spanish, especially from radio shows). Thus, Amazonian Spanish and Wampis language interact: the Spanish acquired by the Wampis is Amazonian but with a Wampis substrate. This Amazonian Spanish with a Wampis

substrate is the variety that was used for translations in most cases (one of my Wampis

teacher masters the Spanish spoken in the Coast of Peru, in Lima—where she attended

classes at a local university—, which is my own variety of Spanish).

Especially during my fieldwork in 2013, my teachers and co-workers often

helped me ask questions or explain the tasks in Wampis to other Wampis speakers. They

also acted as interlocutors to make speakers feel more comfortable and generally to set

a more natural environment. When I was the only interlocutor, I tried to interact with

interviewee(s) in Wampis so that they did not feel they were in an "artificial" setting. In

general, I tried to establish a recording setting in which the speaker would speak to an

interlocutor and not to a microphone. Even in cases where I myself did not use Wampis

properly, I managed to create a more comfortable atmosphere to work and people felt

more compelled to expand their role to supplement information and teach me how to

say in Wampis what I wanted to communicate. This, in turn, opened additional

opportunities to ask more questions about the language. However, in cases when I was

not able to convey my thoughts using Wampis and felt communication was broken, I

resorted to Spanish to try to maximize understanding of the task at hand.

Transcription was done always with the help of my teachers, all of them native

speakers of Wampis. Literal and free translations of the texts were given in Spanish by my Wampis teachers. As I grew confident in the Wampis language myself, I started to propose translations of parts of the texts with the supervision (and not a few corrections) of my teachers. This was done as a personal exercise to elicit data and to gain a better understanding of the language rather than to actually translate texts—my teachers' translations were always considered to have authoritative status. I noticed that most people were comfortable with the voice recorder and did not mind the lavalier microphone, so these equipments were my first choice for recording in most cases. Recording of words and phrases for phonetic analysis was done mostly in the city of Lima, where I could secure a quieter environment to work in.

The workflow for processing the data was divided into several steps. After recording in the field, I backed up the data and asked the speaker(s) for a free translation or explanation of the just-recorded text. Translations or explanations were not always possible, as speakers would go around on their own errands, but when speakers were available I would record or write down the translation or explanation offered. Generally, I did not immediately transcribe the texts, but I invited the interviewee to listen to the recording, provide a free translation if possible and talk with

me about the content. I always took notes during these occasions. In a few cases,

explanations were given in Spanish. At this time, I also wrote down notes about

grammar structures or interesting language use that I captured while re-listening to the

recording two or three times. Finally, I took note of phrases that speakers felt needed to

be corrected because they considered they were "ungrammatical", "did not sound

good", or because there was an error of performance.

Transcription and rechecking of translations into Spanish usually happened in

Jaen and Lima with other Wampis speakers. This also proved to be a useful exercise to

double-check for possible errors. I used ELAN (https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/),

a free transcribing and annotating software program, for transcriptions. In ELAN, I also

later translated the text into English. Then I exported the ELAN file into FLEx (http:/

/fieldworks.sil.org/flex/), a freely available software for language documentation and

analysis. The databases created in FLEx contain both a lexicon and an interlinearized

collection of texts. The interlinearized texts contain a practical orthography line, a

phonetic analysis, a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis, a literal translation in Spanish,

and free translations in Spanish and English, plus they include additional notes

explaining either grammatical or cultural points.

The outcomes of the project include:

- A grammar of Wampis (the present dissertation).

- A FLEx database, including a vocabulary that I hope to publish in the following years.

- A collection of traditional songs.

- A collection of flyers and pamphlets that were (and will be) distributed among

  community members at the requirement of the people—most of these contain

  narratives about different events and issues in Wampis recent ethno-history.

- In addition, in co-supervision with my Wampis teacher Dina Ananco, we are

  preparing a collection of stories for children, which we will seek to make available in

  audio and, if possible, video.

Once the project is finished, the material collected (video, voice recordings,

ELAN transcriptions and FLEx database) will be archived in the University of Oregon

Scholar's Bank, as well as in the Pontificia Universidad Catolica of Peru's Digital

Archive of Peruvian Languages.

1.11. Typological profile: The Wampis language at a glance

To finish this introduction, here is a summary of some of the highlights of the

Wampis language. These and other exciting features of Wampis will be analyzed in this

dissertation:

- Wampis has a four vowel system typical of Jivaroan and Amazon languages: /i, ɨ, a, u/. The language distinguishes between nasal and oral vowels.

- Wampis exhibits a very complex prosody. The acoustic feature of high pitch is associated with a high tone that comes from two distinct sources: one is a high tone associated with a rhythmic pattern (a "metrical high tone") and the other is a high tone that is associated to the lexical representation of certain morphemes, including lexical roots, affixes and clitics (a "lexical high tone"). In addition, high tone has functional load in the language: it serves to mark the genitive and vocative cases, as well as the locative. The language also exhibits complex nasal prosody (there is a nasal domain through which nasality spreads), and nasality also has functional load as it serves to mark some possession and switch-reference.

- Wampis is an agglutinative and cliticizing language. The accusative case and all adpositions are clitics. There is only one prefix.

- Plurality is marked in the verb, not in the noun. When a noun needs to be specified for number, a pluralized copula is used. There is no grammatical gender.

- Wampis is head and dependent-marking and has a nominative/accusative profile.

- Wampis has a typologically uncommon object marking pattern: third person object

  noun phrases are marked when the subject is a first singular, third singular or third

  plural person; on the other hand, third person objects are not marked when the

  subject is a second singular, second plural or first plural person. First and second

  person objects are always marked.

- Wampis verbal morphology is pretty complex. There is a set of what I call "aktionsart"

  suffixes that can derive new meanings and are also used in certain morphosyntatic

  environments to mark perfective aspect or to use the verb in the future tense. There

  are at least two morphological causative markers: one is the only prefix present in the

  language; the other is a suffix. There is also applicative morphology.

- The tense system distinguishes several points of reference to the past and future.

  Grammatical nominalizations are used in some of these distinctions, having formally

  nominalized non-inflected verbs as the main verb of a clause. The marking of mood

  and modality is quite refined, with many distinctions made (declarative, uncertainty,

  inferential, mirative, sudden realization, and so on).

- Wampis possesses a unique hierarchical agreement pattern, which as far as I know is

  only found within the Jivaroan family. In the Wampis hierarchical agreement, when a

third person agent acts upon a first plural or second plural patient, the verb agrees

with the patient (the object) and not with the agent (the subject).

- Wampis exhibits a feature of symmetrical objects; i.e. the object noun phrases of

  ditransitive verbs are both marked identically. However, only one object can be

  marked on the verb.

- Wampis has very sophisticated hypotaxis strategies, which include a rich switch-

  reference system and tail-head-like constructions. Wampis possesses a set of non-

  canonical switch-reference markers that is cross-linguistically very rare. On the other

  hand, there is very little evidence of true coordination.

- The kinship system is based on gender-ego and thus some kinship terms differ for

  male and female speakers.

CHAPTER II

THE WAMPIS PEOPLE

2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a brief ethnographic summary of the Wampis culture, as background for the primary focus of the entire work, which is the linguistic structure of the Wampis language. Throughout history, Jivaroan peoples have shown a remarkable sense of freedom and cultural identity. The secluded territory that the Wampis inhabit, surrounded by other Jivaroan groups, mountain ranges and rivers of difficult access, have allowed them to resist colonization at different times. Resistance against different outside powers constitute a most important point of Wampis ethnic pride. At the same time, that protective ethos and relative isolation have made the Wampis history and culture little known, when not misunderstood or manipulated by outsiders.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: §2.2 presents a brief ethnohistory of the Wampis; §2.3 is a description of the current situation of the Wampis people; §2.4 describes some important points of their material culture, and §2.5 briefly notes the head-shrinking practice by which the Jivaroan peoples are well known; §2.6 describes their main economic activities; §2.7 describes their traditional spiritual beliefs; §2.8

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describes the Wampis oral tradition; §2.9 discusses several points regarding cultural

transmission and social organization among the Wampis.

2.2. Brief ethnohistory of the Wampis

While the proto-history of Jivaroan peoples is little known, there is considerable

evidence of prolonged occupation north of the Upper Marañon area by the ancestors of

modern Jivaroan groups. Archeological studies have shown that the territory occupied

by modern Jivaroan peoples witnessed early development of complex cultural

processes. In the area between the Marañon and the Zamora-Chinchipe rivers, there was

a local culture that already engaged in trade with cultures from the Pacific Coast and

the Andes approximately 5,000 BP[32] (Valdez 2013: 71). People of Jivaroan ancestry

seem to have stably inhabited both sides of today's Ecuador and Peru border for many

centuries. Rostain (2010) has linked the proto-Jivaroan culture directly with the

Huapula culture in Ecuador (800–1,200 AD), and through Huapula to a successive

cultural sequence in the Upper Marañon highland jungle that dates back to about 700

BC. According to Rostain, the Huapula would have migrated from the Sangay volcano

area, central Ecuador, fleeing an eruption in 400–600 AD, thus spreading and

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32. I use ttime scales as they appear in the referenced works.

populating modern Jivaroan territory. It seems likely that as these proto-Jivaroan

peoples spread further towards the Marañon they engaged in contact with other cultural

traditions. According to Morales (p.c. cited in Pitman et al. (2012: 289)), ceramics

found in the village of Candungos, on the Santiago river, were identified as belonging to

the Chambira culture, which has been dated 3,500–2,000 BP (Morales Chocano 1998).

Other studies have shown ancient human occupations with complex organization in the

Marañon, Corrientes, Upano, Paute and Upper Santiago areas, all occupied for centuries

by Jivaroan groups. Corrugated-style pottery vestiges attested from around the 8th

century AD seem to indicate a singular archaeological horizon of complex social and

cultural diffusion that has been directly related to the dispersion of proto-historical

Jivaroan groups.[33] This would connect Jivaroans with cultural processes also found in

the Marañon, Ucayali and Upper Amazon; i.e. processes related with other linguistic

families such as Arawak, Panoan and Tupí-Guaraní (Guffroy 2006). It is reasonable to

think that the genesis of modern Jivaroan culture is thus the contact between these

traditions that concurred in the Marañon basin. This connects with the hypothesis that

Amazonia saw cultural development that influenced the Andes and the Coastal regions

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33. Myers (2005) reports corrugated style pottery currently in use by the Wampis.

of Peru, a theory that was put forward by Lathrap (1970). Furthermore, it is possible

that before the Inca ruled in the northern Andes, Jivaroan languages served as lingua

franca, as the Jivaro formed a bridge between the coastal regions of Guayaquil and

Tumbes (South Ecuador/North Peru) and the Amazon (Whitten, Jr. 1976), having even

reached the Andes of today's Piura in the coast of Peru (Hocquenghem 1989; Espinoza

Soriano 2004).

Guallart (1990) and Regan (1999), based on the analysis of iconography and

myths, have also speculated on possible contact of the Jivaroan with the Mochica, a

powerful ancient culture of the Peruvian northern coast. According to said authors, the

Jivaroan myth of the giant cannibal *Iwa* (/iua/),[34] who in the stories eats the Wampis

and Awajun until he is finally killed by the Jivaroan cultural hero *Etsa* 'sun' (/ɨtsã/, is

based on their memories of the war of resistance against the Mochica. This hypothesis is

based on archaeological studies cited by Guallart and Regan that propose that the

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34. In this chapter, I will use the Wampis alphabet to write proper and common nouns. Underlying forms using IPA symbols are provided between slash symbols / /. The Wampis alphabet has the vowels <a, e, i, u> (where <e> represents /ɨ/), and the consonants <ch, j, k, m, n, ñ, p, r, s, sh, t, ts, w, y> (where <ch> = /t͡ʃ/, <j> = /h/, <ñ> = /ɲ/, <sh> = /ʃ/, respectively). The glides written <w> and <y> are considered allophones [w] and [j] of vowels /u/ and /i/ in the present grammar. In subsequent chapters, which are dedicated to the linguistic analysis of the language, I will only use IPA symbols (not alphabetic symbols) for representing Wampis words.

Mochica traded gold with the Marañon region. Memories of contact with other pre-

hispanic groups have also remained in Wampis folklore. For instance, they often tell

stories about encounters with the Wampukus, who are said by the Wampis to be

uncontacted people of the jungle. Known to the Spanish as Huambucos, they were a

historical group who lived around Tomependa, in the Jaen basin. The Huambucos were

decimated by wars against the Spanish, as well as by interethnic conflicts with the

Wampis and Awajun. Their remnants mixed with the people that settled in Spanish-

founded towns in the Upper Marañon. By the early 20th century, the Huambucos had

already disappeared as an ethnolinguistic group.

Before the arrival of the Spanish, the Incas had tried to conquer the Jivaroan

peoples. Though the Incas imposed their rule in the northern Andes and managed to

assimilate some Jivaroan groups there, they were unsuccessful when they tried to enter

the jungle towards the rich regions of the Chinchipe and Santiago rivers (the Santiago is

considered by the Wampis to be their ancestral land). There, Jivaroan groups allied to

defend their territories. Colonial chronicles tell of at least two Incan attempts to

conquer them, one by Inca ruler Tupac Inca Yupanqui and the other by his successor

Huayna Capac. These attempts were frustrated by the Jivaroan coalition, which

delivered an unprecedented defeat to the powerful (and otherwise unbeatable) Incan army.

Soon after their conquest of the Incan Empire, the Spanish organized several expeditions to the East of the northern Andes, entering through the colonial towns of Loja and Zamora (now Ecuador) and Jaen de Bracamoros, Chachapoyas and Moyobamba (now Peru).[35] At that time (mid-1500s, early 1600s), this was, ethnically and linguistically, a diverse territory in which the Jivaroan were one of the main groups (Espinoza Soriano 1973; Taylor & Descola 1981; Taylor 1991; Torero 1993; Torero 2002: 273–298). There the Spanish found the Paltas, Malacatos, Xorocas, Guayacundo, Bracamoros, Rabona, Tontones, Jivaros, Giuaras[36], all of whom have been described as sharing cultural traits that have become characteristic of modern Jivaroan peoples. These groups were neighbors of other ethnolinguistic groups which are extinct today: the Bagua, the Patagon, the Chirinos, the Huambucos, the Cañar,[37] the Tabancales, the

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35. All of these towns exist today, but their locations differ from the first locations where the old colonial towns were first founded.

36. <Giuaras> or <Givarras> is another spelling for Proto-Jivaroan *ʃ(i)uara 'person', though the name was later applied to the inhabitants of the lower and middle Santiago River; i.e. the ancestors of the Wampis.

37. While the Cañar language is extinct, ethnic Cañar people can still be found in today's Ecuador and Peru.

Pericos, the Sacatas, among others. The term *Jivaro* quickly became an umbrella term to identify the ancestors of all Jivaroan groups.

From the Peruvian/Ecuadorian Andean region, the Spanish organized several expeditions into the Marañon in the second half of the 16th century. News of gold, rich lands and kingdoms animated these first expeditions. Looking for ways to establish their domains in these new lands, the Spanish distributed "newly discovered" lands in *encomiendas* and later in *repartimientos*[38] where the indigenous peoples were used as laborers and payed tribute. However, the Spanish found fierce resistance from the Jivaroans and other peoples inhabiting the region. After several unsuccessful attempts by other explorers, Juan de Salinas y Loyola led his famous entry into the Marañon in 1556. Following the downward course of the Santiago River, at the heart of the modern Wampis territory, he founded the town of Santiago de las Montañas in 1557, and then continued down into the Marañon and the Ucayali Rivers. Santiago de las Montañas was firstly founded in the main course of the Santiago, but later Salinas decided to move the former town to near the confluence of the Santiago and the Marañon, in a

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38. The *encomienda* was a system that granted a Spanish person a number of "Indians" to be under his responsibility. The *repartimiento* was a forced labor system. In practice, both *encomienda* and *repartimiento* systems could differ little from slavery, and there are many accounts telling of the abuse of the Spanish, one of the main reasons why the Jivaroan rebelled.

place called <Masquisinango> (Cuesta, S.J. 1984: 113). It is in this context that the

first encounters of the Europeans with the ancestors of the Wampis, who had

successfully blocked the way to previous expeditions, occurred. Santiago de las

Montañas was the only Spanish town on the Santiago river during this time. Over the

subsequent years it would be attacked by the Wampis, depopulated and completely

abandoned.

The Santiago and Chinchipe river basins appeared to have been particularly rich

in gold, and its extraction dominated the economic activities of the region once they

came under Spanish dominance (Santos-Granero 1992: 93). The Spanish founded

several towns surrounding the territory as they colonized: Logroño, Sevilla del Oro,

Jaén de Bracamoros, San Ignacio were located to the North and West of the Santiago,

and Santa María de Nieva, San Francisco de Borja (the capital of the colonial Province

of Maynas) and the aforementioned Santiago de las Montañas were established to the

South. However, the Spanish efforts to settle in these first towns and exploit the natural

resources that existed in the region (forcing the native population to serve as laborers)

faced strong opposition from Jivaroan peoples. The pre-Wampis and pre-Awajun were

among the first to revolt in Santiago de las Montañas in 1569. Several other revolts

happened in the second half of 16th century, all led by the well-organized Jivaroan.

These revolts culminated with the legendary destruction of the town of Logroño, near

the confluence of the Paute and the Zamora rivers (now belonging to Ecuador),

northern tributaries of the Santiago, in 1599,[39] by a confederation of Jivaroan groups

from the Paute, Santiago and Morona rivers. A subsequent Jivaroan attack also partially

destroyed the town of Sevilla del Oro. These actions stopped the Spanish attempts to

conquer that territory.

Incapable of conquering the Jivaroan people, the Spanish resorted to *correrías*

(surprise raids) to "pacify" and capture children and adult men to be used as laborers

through the 17th century (Santos-Granero 1992: 158). In the 17th and 18th centuries

the Spanish also tried to establish reducciones, or missions, to convert the Jivaroan

peoples to Christianity. In that spirit, the Jesuit entered the Marañon in 1638. However,

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39. Scholars agree now that the destruction of Logroño was exaggerated by Juan de Velasco, a
Jesuit and historian of the 18th century, who served as the source for the legend that made the
Jivaro melt gold and pour it into the mouth of the governor of the town of Macas. According to
the legend, the governor of Macas was visiting Logroño when the Jivaroan attacked and
punished him for his ambition. Velasco speaks of Logroño as a city where at least 20,000 people
were killed in the 1599 attack. Such "cities" in reality were no more than small settlements with
a small population of Spanish. It is likely, according to Descola and Taylor (1981), that the revolt
involved not only Jivaroan but other indigenous groups, specially the numerous (at that time)
Cañar.

they were mostly unsuccessful in founding missions. The only mission established in the

Santiago River was the Mission of Naranjos, established in the 17th century, but it was

of ephemeral existence. Unable to move the native inhabitants into a single town or

mission, the missionaries resorted to organizing raids too, using a combination of

Spanish army men, settlers and warriors from friendly indigenous groups brought from

the Marañon, Ucayali and Huallaga rivers. These raids were usually called *cacería de

jíbaros* 'hunting of Jivaros' and sought to force relocation of the indigenous peoples into

sedentary towns (Abad Gonzáles 2003: 115). Maroni (1988 [1738]) describes how, in

efforts to avoid being captured, many Jivaroans commited suicide, burned their houses

or killed their children, making this one of the most ominous periods in Jivaroan

history. A few elderly Wampis still remember stories about bearded people with swords

and armor who came and took their children and women. The Wampis attacks against

colonial towns in the Marañon and even as far as the Ucayali at that time and during

the next century are probably related not only to territorial disputes with the Spanish

and outside settlers, but also partly to tribal conflicts that were re-ignited during these

cacerías de jíbaros. In additon, during this time, the indigenous population of the Upper

Amazon, including the Jivaroan, was dramatically reduced by epidemics, virtual slavery

and constant war.

As a result of the problems in entering Jivaroan territory, the Spanish stopped their attempts to conquer it. Jivaroan autonomy was further expanded by the suppression of the Jesuits in the Portuguese and Spanish Empire territories in 1767 and the tumultuous pre-independence times in the Peruvian viceroyalty during the last decades of the 1700s and first decades of the 1800s. By the beginning of the 1800s, many of the old colonial towns and missions in the Jivaroan region were abandoned or had a small mixed Spanish, *mestizo* (a person of combined European and Amerindian descend) and indigenous population.

By the end of the 18th century the Wampis were already a well distinguished group (Taylor 1994: 91; Costales & Costales 2006: 17). Notorious for their raids against towns on the Marañon river, the Wampis appear in different letters and documents by local authorities[40] as well as in the accounts of notable scientist and travelers (e.g. Raimondi (1862)), throughout the 19th century. With Peruvian Independence in 1821, a new wave of colonization attempts arrived. This process was accelerated by the rubber boom (1880-1910) and Peru's desire to secure the Amazon territory from other

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40. See, for examples, the many references to the Wampis in different official documents and letters published by Larrabure i Correa (1905–1909).

emergent countries claiming access to it (Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil). The rubber boom

era surely was a distressful time for the Wampis, who organized armed raids to the

"frontier" towns on the Marañon (the old surviving colonial towns), such as Barranca,

Santiago, Santa Teresa or Borja. The city of Iquitos, nowadays the largest city in the

Peruvian Amazon, was a small village until Meztizo families from these ravaged towns

arrived: they were escaping the ruination of their towns by Wampis attacks in the

mid-1800s. In many of these raids the Wampis allied with the Awajun and other groups

like the Kandozi. However, the Wampis did not always attack rubber traders and gold

washers; rather, they tried to establish trading connections with them. The trade

allowed the Wampis to obtain guns, tools and other supplies. Therefore, the Jivaroan

raids at this time (and likely in colonial times as well) must be conceived of having not

one but several causes: there are several examples throughout history that prove the

Wampis are willing to accept outsiders among them as long as their own customs are

respected.[41] But the news of forced labor; severe punishments; the spread of diseases;

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41. The ancestors of the Wampis surely were instrumental during Juan de Salinas' expedition
into the Marañon, and helped him found Santiago de las Montañas. They also helped Father
Lucero establish the Mission of Naranjos and a century later they helped famous French explorer
and scientific Charles de la Condamine pass through the Pongo de Manseriche, near the
confluence of the Marañon with the Santiago river. The abandonment of the missions or the
attacks on towns they had surely allowed to be founded in their territory requires a more
complex explanation (see Taylor & Descola (Taylor & Descola 1981), Taylor (Taylor 1994) for a

abuses to women, children and men; old enmities with other indigenous groups; the

erosion of old Jivaroan alliances; the pressure to obtain *tsantsa* (shrunken heads) to

exchange for guns and tools; as well as the inequality in trading all may have

contributed to originate these attacks. An outstanding Wampis leader of this time was

Tsamarain (/t͡samarainta/), who embodies the epitome of the great Jivaroan leader:

intelligent, charismatic, fair, brave, with profound knowledge of traditions. Tsamarain

was able to ally the Wampis and Awajun to fight and eradicate the rubber patrons and

their local armies. He was so famous locally that a judge and poet from Iquitos wrote a

poem in Spanish in which Tsamarain personifies a paragon that fights the rubber

patron's abuses.

A second short-spanned rubber boom occurred during the World War II period.

This coincided with the first Ecuadorian-Peruvian War (1941). New abuses by rubber

patrons and the Peruvian army, which started to establish stations and patrol the

borders in the area, occurred. Memory of the last great traditional Wampis leaders that

fought the army and police to stop their abuses come from these times. One of these last

great leaders was Piruch (/pirut͡ʃa/), who apparently was met in his late years by

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reconstruction of the historical on-and-off relationship of the Jivaroan with the Spanish and
other groups).

American explorer Lewis Cotlow (1953).[42] In the Wampis stories, Piruch is a leader

who, tired of abuses against women and men (including his own brother, who was

killed), battles the military until a peace agreement is reached.

2.3. Current situation: The Wampis today

During the 1960's and 1970's, the Wampis entered a new era in their

relationships with national Peruvian society. The increasing number of merchants, the

more continuous presence of missionaries and the growing national concern to secure

the borders after the 1940's conflict with Ecuador led to profound changes in Wampis

society. Access to school and technical education was introduced through missionary

work, especially Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), who established a bilingual

education program. They were successful in introducing literacy to a large proportion of

the Wampis population. From the 1960's the first modern Wampis villages in the

Santiago and Morona were founded as a result of the desire to establish schools and

medical posts. The Wampis, who were used to living in small family nuclei scattered in

the jungle, started a quick process of relative "sedentarism" along the margins of the

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42. Interestingly, Cotlow mentions a Wampis leader *<Peruche>*, whom Cotlow held in very
high regard. The time Cotlow published his book coincides with the time the Wampis leader
apparently lived.

main river (the Santiago), where most new communities were established.

The passing of a Peruvian legislation commonly known as *Ley de Comunidades Nativas* (Law of Native Communities) in 1974 declared the property of Amazonian lands as inalienable from the indigenous groups and non-seizable by outsiders. This allowed new legislation that opened the opportunity for the Wampis to buy lands and to establish their first political organizations—the most important of them at this time was the *Consejo Aguaruna Huambisa* (Awajun Wampis Council), one of the principal predecessors of Peru's largest indigenous organization, *Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de las Selva Peruana* (AIDESEP). Over the years, the communities have worked to obtain land titles. However, new land laws passed during President Fujimori's 1990's government virtually ended the protected status of the indigenous lands in the Amazon. In practice, this opened the native territory to mercantilist activities focused on mineral and logging industries (Abad Gonzáles 2003: 96–100). The clash between the indigenous people's claim to lawful recognition of their ancestral lands and the government policy of exploiting natural resources disregarding indigenous people's place in the decision making process has led to several lawsuits and protests over the years. Confrontations escalated in 2009, when protests were held against then-President

Alan García's policies that intended to privatized and accelerate concessions for the

utilization of natural resources by private companies. The protests reached their peak

with the "Massacre of Bagua" (known as *El Baguazo* in Peru), where more than 30

people died during a confrontation between the police and protesting indigenous

people, mainly Wampis and Awajun.[43] Thus the Wampis entered the 21st century

amidst tragedy, contempt and mistreatment, a fact that opposes radically with my own

experience of relatively peaceful life in their communities.

2.4. Material culture

While not highly elaborated, there is an interesting tradition of handmade

craftsmanship among the Wampis. Pottery, weaving, the making of weapons, the

making of canoes and musical instruments constitute important crafts in their culture.

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43. Accounts of the actual death toll, especially that of Wampis and Awajun protesters, and information about police abuses and how García's government mishandled the situation differ. Neutral third-party reports, including those of prestigious United Nations Human Rights reporter James Anaya (2009) and Belgian volunteer witnesses who were in the area when the protests occurred (CATAPA 2009), have cast very serious doubts on official numbers and on the government actions before, during and after the tragedy. As an illustration of the contempt with which the government regarded the protesting indigenous people, consider these words of then-President Alan García himself, who declared on June 5 2009, day the Massacre of Bagua started: "these people [the protesting indigenous people] have no crown, they are not first class citizens [...to tell Peruvians...] you have no right to come here [to Wampis/Awajun territory]. . . and those who think in that way want to lead us to irrationality, to a primitive regression" (Godoy & Faya 2009).

Some of these are considered an art form with religious connotations within the Wampis world view.

Clay pottery and gourds are used as utilitarian ware, produced by women. While simple in design, ceramics are decorated red and black with complex (and beautiful) motifs related to some animals like the jaguar and the boa. The Wampis distinguish several types of bowls and jars that serve different functions; e.g., *pinin* (/pininka/) 'bowl (generic)', *yukun* (/iukuna/) 'bowl for washing hands', *ichinak* (/it͡ʃinaka/) 'jar (generic)', muits (mui͡tsa/) 'large jar for manioc beer'. Wooden spoons and stirring paddles complement traditional Wampis cooking-ware. Nowadays, bowls and beautiful traditional handcrafts (mainly seed earrings, feather-work and necklaces) are sometimes sold in small street fairs within the communities.

Threading, weaving and basketry is done by men.[44] The making of cloths and baskets constitutes a rich tradition among the Wampis. Men weave traditional cloths *itip* /itipa/ 'male skirt', tarach /tarat͡ʃi/ 'dress (for women)' and make baskets and bags for different functions. Some of them are to be carried exclusively by the men themselves (e.g. *wampach* /uampat͡ʃi/ 'type of bag', *pitak* (/pitaka/) 'traveling basket'). Monkey and

44. This is a particular Jivaroan cultural pattern.

medium/large-sized rodent skins are cured and are used for making bags too. Men also make brooms.

In the past, men who had mastered how to make dugout canoes (*kanu* /kanu/) were held in high regard. Making canoes is still part of Wampis culture, but, as motorboats are becoming more common, this practice is declining. Notice, nonetheless, that canoes were likely not original of Jivaroan culture. The word *kanu* itself is of Cariban origin. Men used to travel in rafts (*paapan* /paapanku/) before acquiring canoes from some other group (probably from Tupi-related groups that traded in the Upper Marañon).

A knife made of a type of bamboo (*chinkan* /t͡ʃinkana/) is another traditional man's tool. In the past, people attributed power to this knife, and it was said that its owner could communicate with the knife as though it were alive. The knife was also used to cut the umbilical cord of newborns also. Today, older men still keep their bamboo knife but mostly for symbolic reasons.

Traditionally, the spear (*nanki* /nanki/) and shield (*tantar* /tantara/) were the weapons used for warring. Before the turn of the 20th century, however, some Jivaro had already acquired firearms, usually shotguns and muzzleloader riffles (generally

called *akaru* /akarú/).[45] But the spear is still a symbol of Wampis identity. Inside the

house, the wall in front of the main door is usually decorated with one or two spears

horizontally arranged. There is a special wooden stool (chimpui /tʃimpuí/) where the

family head sits and which symbolizes his power. The family head sits there to receive

relatives, friends or to do business while his wife provides the invitee with manioc beer.

In practice, the head of the family usually allows children to sit on it and play; however

male invitees and women customarily do not sit in the *chimpui* as it would be seen as a

disrespectful action. Otherwise, people sit on wooden benches carved out of tree trunks

(*kutan* /kutanka/) that are placed on both sides of the table and along the walls.

For hunting, the traditional tool used by the Wampis is blowgun (*uum* /uumi/),

though nowadays shotguns are preferred. Blowguns are still used to hunt small game,

especially birds and monkeys. The making of a blowgun follows a ritual that involves

dieting. Toy blowguns continue to be one of the favorite toys of children, who grow up

learning how to use blowguns. Darts (*tsentsak* /tsɨntsaka/) are also made by hand; when

used, the point is coated with *curare* poison (*tseas* /tsɨasa/).[46] Shamans' *tsentsaks* have a

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45. The term *akarú* is apparently a borrowing from Spanish <*arcabuz*> 'arquebus'. This suggests that the Jivaroan were acquainted with European technology early after their first encounters between the 16th and 17th centuries.

46. An interesting print of how the Wampis used to engaged in an exchange network in the

special status: every shaman has a set of magical *tsentsak* used for specialized functions (for instance, to cure, to cast a protective spell, to make rain, to curse an enemy, and so forth). In the Wampis view, the shamanic *tsentsak* has an "invisible" counterpart that carries out the shaman's conjure.

Musical instruments are ritual objects among the Wampis. The *tuntui* /tuntuí/ 'signal drum', the *tsapraka* /t͡sapraka/ 'traverse flute', the *tuman* /tumankɨ/ 'type of jaw harp' and the *keer* /kɨɨra/ 'violin-like instrument' occupy a special place in the Wampis world. Similarly to the making of the blowgun, the process of making musical instruments involves fasting and sexual abstinence before and during the making of the object, as well as feasting and celebrating when it is done. In the case of the *tuntui*, traditionally a young woman must play it for the first time. Afterward, it is to be played by an adult man. An interesting musical instrument of the Jivaroan is the *tuman*, a bow-like instrument with a thread of chambira palm leaf attached to a stick. Similarly to a jaw harp, the *tuman* is played by placing an end of the bow between the teeth and pulling the string with the index finger. In general, these instruments are played by men

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Upper Amazon remains in the Wampis vocabulary. An alternative non-native name for curare is *tikuna*, the name of an ethnic group who lives near the border between Peru and Brazil. The Tikuna are well known for their curare.

and are used in ritual celebrations and when singing traditional drinking and magical

songs (*nampet* /nampɨt/ and *anen* /anenta/, respectively). Sometimes, the tune of the

flute can replace the *anen* song, especially if the person is playing alone. During

traditional celebrations and parties, women usually sing and dance, and accompany the

music with the sound of bracelets and belts made of pieces of snail shells (*kunku*

/kunku/); men wear a rattle-like ornament on their ankles (makich /makitʃa/), made of

seeds.

Though the Santiago River territory has gold and other minerals, metalworking

is not part of the Wampis culture. By the early 20th century, the Wampis engaged in

artisanal gold prospecting to exchange the mineral for outside goods such as machetes,

guns or clothing. Some Wampis and Awajun still pan small quantities of gold manually.

However, nowadays ungoverned gold prospecting and illegal mining are causing

environmental damage in their territory. As rivers are polluted with mercury in the

process, mining is frowned upon by Wampis society. At times, entire communities have

acted to stop illegal activities and expelled outsiders—a practice that, in actuality, has

been continually exercised since early colonial times.

2.5. *Tsantsa* 'shrunken-head'

Jivaroan groups often have been described as one of the most aggressive and dangerous groups in the Amazon. Very early reports during the 17th century speak of their custom of cuting the heads of their enemies and making trophies of them, known as tsantsa (/tsantsa/). As we have seen, during the 1800s and the first decades of the 1900s, the Wampis were considered the scourge of the Marañon and Santiago, as they often raided the small towns and settlements along these rivers.

By the end of the 19th century, western explorers and merchants started to trade *tsantsa* to sell them in museums and private collections. The Jivaro quickly became the focus of popular attention and the uncritical way outsiders took *tsantsa* contributed to their characterization as infamous savages. The fact is that the practice of head-shrinking—which involved a deep respect for the dead and a very strict ritual—was quickly transformed into an exotic object of Western culture's fascination. The desacralization of the ritual *tsantsa* by westerners actually had a negative impact on Jivaroan people: scholars have found that warfare among Jivaroan groups and the death toll actually increased exponentially as trading *tsantsa* was encouraged by the outside market (Ross 1988; Steel 1999).

2.6. Economy and subsistence

The main economic activities of the Wampis are hunting, swidden agriculture and fishing. The products of these activities provide them with their principal means of subsistence. Staple crops are banana, plantains and manioc. They also produce several varieties of peanuts, sweet potato, *sachapapa* (*Dioscorea trifida*) and sugar cane. The Wampis garden actually is very complex and many varieties of useful plants (edible and medicinal) can be found there. Each adult man and woman has one or more plots that they work to meet self-sustaining needs. Consumption of meat in the Wampis diet is restricted to a limited number of species (Berlin & Berlin 1983). Communities regulate themselves and can establish periodical bans on hunting and fishing so that animal populations are not severely threatened. I was told that in recent years there have been several cases where communities have imposed a ban on hunting or fishing in certain areas due to waste material from gold miners polluting the streams. Following a traditional custom, food is always shared with the extended family. The nourishing *nijamanch* (/nihamãt͡ʃi/) 'manioc beer' is the preferred drink for any social occasion, and it is always present in everyday life.

The Wampis trade or sell game meat, skins and produce (especially bananas) in

the bigger nearby towns, so they find small markets in the mestizo town of La Poza

(located on the Santiago River, very close to the Wampis town of Puerto Galilea) and in

Santa María de Nieva (the capital of the Province of Condorcanqui, Amazonas), as well

as in small street markets in the communities. Some sell small quantities of gold in

Santa María de Nieva too. The market economy is slowly entering in some local

villages, and now it is possible to see one or two small corner stores in some of them.

Local projects also include development of fish farms. The Wampis have been trying to

increase the production of marketable crops like cacao and coffee, which grow naturally

and productively in the area, to sell in the towns of Santa María de Nieva, Bagua and

Jaen, but the lack of roads and the cost of fluvial and terrestrial transportation impose

many difficulties for the moment.

2.7. Traditional beliefs and religion

The Wampis have a very rich and complex world view. Singing, dieting and

sexual abstinence are practiced as part of several rituals related to different aspects of

life, like hunting, farming, celebrating/remembering the dead, curing illnesses and

obtaining knowledge through hallucinogenic plants.

The Wampis consider that there are different "spirit" realms that are inter-

connected: *entsa* /ĩn͡tsa/ 'river' is the water world; *nunka* /nunka/ 'earth', is where

humans and animals live; the underworld is the world of *Nunkui* /nunkui/, related to

beings with knowledge of plants and trees; *nayaim* /naiaimpi/ 'sky',[47] is where the stars,

heroes and souls of dead people live. The Wampis can communicate with the other

worlds through dreams and the ingestion of sacred plants such as ayahuasca, datura and

tobacco.

As in most other Jivaroan groups, the central concept in the Wampis' world view

is that of *Arutam* /arutama/. The concept of *Arutam* is very complex. *Arutam* is a

protective primeval spirit of power that ties the Wampis individual's past, present and

future. *Arutam* is said to own everything in the universe. The power of *Arutam* is related

to primordial times and is usually gifted by an ancestor[48] (whom the person does not

necessarily know) or another powerful being through dreams. The visions of *Arutama*

also work as an oracle in that it predicts what is going to happen in a person's life and

the person seeks to fulfill that personal vision. Thus, *Arutam* offers explanations for the

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47. Though in general /naiaimpi/ can be translated as 'sky', it really means 'everything that is
above the line of trees in the horizon'. Some Wampis translate this word into Spanish as
<*espacio*> 'space' rather than <*cielo*> 'sky'.

48. The term is probably related to the Proto-Jivaroan root **aru-* 'old, be late'.

current condition of a person and gives her guidance in life. The Wampis consider that a

person who has obtained such a vision is given a certain power that can be observed

through the person's actions, way of speaking and attitude to lead. Such a person

becomes a *waimaku* 'person of vision' (etymologically *uai-ma-ka-u* 'see-REFL-INTENS-NMLZ',

lit. 'one who has seen him/herself') and obtains a status of respect within the

community. The quest for possession of *Arutam* is therefore both a constant motive and

raison d'être of Wampis life. In fact, though not a physical object, the possession of

Arutam power is arguably the most important personal possession a Wampis can have.

The vision of *Arutam* is sought after with the help of a brew of plants that possess

psychotropic properties; chief among them is the ayahuasca vine (*natem* /natɨma/). The

vision produced by the ingestion of ayahuasca does not itself give *Arutam* power: it is

through dreams that an *Arutam* finally reveals itself and the person is provided with

explanations of the induced visions and then given a certain "power". Traditionally, the

Wampis sought *Arutam* near waterfalls, considered to be sacred places that propitiate

communication with the spirit world. The place where the Wampis rested to dream

after taking ayahuasca is called *ayamtai* /aiamataĩ/ 'resting place'. All sort of protective

entities of the woods are believed to linger in or around the *ayamtai*. In practice, the

Wampis can drink the ayahuasca brew in a place nearby their house (a clearing in the jungle, a garden or a secluded spot near the river) and come back to rest at home. They can also have the ritual in the house of a healer man or a relative who knows the rite. Traditionally, young men would be initiated in the use of ayahuasca starting before their teenage years. A close relative, usually the father or maternal uncle, and a shaman would help the youngster.

Arutam have several manifestations; most of them are related to the natural world: *kaya* /kaia/ 'stone', *yawaa* /iauaã/ 'jaguar', *ipamat* /ipamata/ 'thunder', *panki* /panki/ 'boa', and so forth, but *Arutam* may also present itself as a person's ancestor or as a supernatural being like *muuk* /muukɨ/ 'head'.[49] Each manifestation can give a specific power: for instance, it was believed that a person with *Arutam kaya* could not be killed by her enemies, and a person with *Arutama ipamat* is said to possess the power of speech. (Since oratory is very well regarded among the Wampis, a person with oratory skills is set to be a leader.) A person can have more than one *Arutam* at a time. Another way to obtain *Arutam* power is through an encounter with *Arutam* in the jungle, who often appears in a frightening form that the person must "defeat".[50] A

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49. This *arutam* comes in the form of an apparition of a monstrous head with feline attributes.

50. Accounts of what it means to "defeat" in this context vary. Most Wampis say that one must

person can also acquire another person's *Arutam* by killing him and following a strict ritual that used to involve the process of head-shrinking followed by a period of dieting and subsequent celebration. As warring is no longer part of Wampis life, this is no longer done. In general, a Wampis that dreams of an ancestor or an entity believed to be related to *Arutam*, or who has an "supernatural" encounter in the jungle, will seek to obtain the potential vision of power by drinking ayahuasca.

Nowadays, a professional, educated person (this usually means a person that has gone to a university in a city, preferably Lima) can be regarded as having a vision similar to that of the *waimaku* of olden days. Wampis leaders (including political leaders) are usually considered *waimaku*. They combine their charisma with complex political and social networks to rally people in their favor. This is an interesting way in which the Wampis worldview has adapted to modern life, showing that their social system is not rigid. Many Wampis who have migrated to cities have still close ties with their communities of origin and feel bound to represent them, claiming to have "vision".

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overcome one's fear and touch the *arutam* form. I was also told that one must frighten the apparition or even try to kill it. Either way, the entity will disappear, letting the person know first that it is *Arutam*.

To possess *Arutam* means that a person will achieve a "good life" (*ŝiir puhut*). A

good life is also related to the concept of living in abundance (*tarimat* /tarimata/).[51] In

the Wampis world view, this concept is related to the idea of leading a plentiful life

within the community, in good health and with all needs covered (especially food). The

concept of abundance is linked to *nunkui*, entities that facilitate fertility and agriculture.

2.7.1. Evangelization

Missionaries (evangelical and catholic) have had an intermittent presence in the

Wampis area. Since the 1950s their presence has been more stable, though not quite as

influential as, for example, it was among the Awajun, who have a high rate of Nazarene

and Catholic converts; or the Shuar in Ecuador's Upano region, were the Salesians

evangelized them and had an impact even on the language (Gnerre 2000; Gnerre n.d.).

As a result, while Christianity is accepted, the Wampis are less acculturated and, thus,

native religious beliefs are maintained in parallel to Christian ones by the Wampis. In

general, a Wampis has no problem going from traditional to non-traditional religion.

For example, it was common for the wife of one of my hosts to go to the garden early

morning and sing *anen* 'magical song' dedicated to Nunkui and then go to the local

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51. The term *tarimata* literally means "to stand stable on the ground".

Nazarene church. As far as I can tell, there does not seem to be much syncretism of native and Christian beliefs, as has been the case in many native groups of South America.

2.8. Oral tradition and folklore

The Wampis have a rich oral tradition, which is shared with certain variations by other Jivaroan groups. In this tradition, there was a first era where animals were people, before they turned into their current state. Many Wampis myths explain the current state of the world in terms of these transformations. The world in which they live is thus seen as an inverted world that mirrors the primordial world. Their myths also explain the connection between the Wampis society and nature, as well as the powers the Wampis associate with different animals through *Arutam*.

Lexically, the Wampis language does not distinguish between the human kin and most mythical characters, people who live in the "spirit" world and many supernatural beings that populate the jungle. Most of them fall under the category of *shuar* /ʃuara/ 'person'. Mythical heroes, thus, are usually presented as human beings that appear in a primordial-time scenario; i.e. before they turned into animals or other natural phenomena (sun, moon, and so on).

Apart from oral stories that refer to a mythical past, the Wampis have narratives about the rubber boom times, the foundation of the communities and their contemporary struggle to defend their lands.[52] That is to say, they maintain a memory of their own contemporary ethnohistory from at least four or five generations ago.

2.9. Cultural transmission, social life and organization

As in many other cultures, elders are usually regarded as repositories of knowledge among the Wampis. Some elders who founded the current communities decades ago are still alive and are very respected by younger generations. Despite the fact that the elders sometimes complain about the lack of interest younger generations have for learning the traditions, most traditional beliefs of the Wampis are being transmitted to the youth. Knowledge of plants, animals and crafts are also being passed down from parents to children.

Songs occupy an important place in Wampis culture. The Wampis have three traditional types of songs: *anen* (/anɨnta/) 'magical song', *nampet* (/nampɨta/) 'drinking song', *ujaj (/uhaha/)* 'celebration/war song'. The *ujaj* was sung when men marched to war and in the victory celebration, where *tsantsa* 'shrunken head' were presented. This

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52. As an example of the latter topic, see Santos-Granero and Barclay (2011).

celebration is no longer held, and thus it is more difficult to find people that remember

ujaj. On the other hand, *anen* and *nampet* are still part of the habitual life of many

Wampis. *Nampet* are sung in family parties and communal celebrations. The native

nampet co-exists with other non-native music styles favored by the Wampis, like *cumbia*

music. *Anen* are very poetic and make use of a highly figurative language usually

associated with animals. They are transmitted individually and used for different social

functions: love affairs, healing ceremonies, to propitiate good hunting or good

agriculture, to remember a departed friend or relative, etc.

There was a counselling ritual in which fathers used to wake up their children

very early in the morning to give speeches that instruct the children on how to be a

good person according to the Wampis worldview. Family genealogies and enemies were

repeated, as well as some stories that taught children a moral code. During this

counselling, the Wampis drank *waís* /uaisa/ *'Ilex guayusa'*, an energetic brew deemed to

cleanse the body. This counselling ceremony is no longer practiced by everyone,

especially by young parents.

The Wampis had a greeting ceremony whereby a visiting person would state the

reason of his presence in someone else's house. The ceremony involved a great deal of

performance in which the host and each of the male visitors saluted each other, speaking in a forceful manner and accompanying their gestures with a back-and-force movement of their spears. This ceremony is no longer practiced in the same contexts as it used to be. Now it is performed only on few particular occasions, for example when an outsider comes to meet the community assembly, or when a delegation from another community arrives to participate in a local festivity. Because this is no longer a common feature of Wampis society, men that know how to do the greeting ceremony are regarded as performers, and are usually called upon to enact the ceremony.

The Wampis society is pretty egalitarian. In the past, they did not have a figure-head, a nobility or an elite, at least not in the same way these concepts are conceived of in the Western world. In principle, no person is considered superior to other and all voices in the communal assembly are usually heard. Traditional work is distributed by gender: men are in charge of hunting, weaving and warring; women attend to cooking, preparing manioc beer, pottery and working in the gardens or *chacra*. In my experience, however, I observed men and women helping each other on many occasions, especially when hunting[53] and doing agricultural labor. Women in Wampis society also act as

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53. While women typically do not hunt, they often accompany the hunting group to provide food and take care of the hunting dogs.

leaders, go to communal assemblies and make their voice be heard. Female leaders are known as *nuwa uun* lit. 'big woman', or Spanish *lideresa* 'female leader'. Each Wampis community has its own law code that sanctions or condemns potential actions within the community, such as robbery, mistreatment or violence.

The Wampis used to live in big family houses scattered in the territory, separated from each other by at least a few hundred meters. A Wampis family was usually composed of a man, his wives (a Wampis man usually had two or more wives) and their children, and sometimes close relatives, including elderly people and sons-in-law. In times of war, a war party leader, the *kakaram* (/kakarama/ 'valiant, powerful man'), called other people to be part of his party through the activation of family alliances. Another type of socially respected figure is the *pamuk* /pamuka/, typically an experienced person who supervised rituals and offered counsel on different matters. The shaman, *iwishin* or *uwishin* (*iuiʃi-inu* 'bewitch-NMLZ') , was an ambivalent figure that occupied a very important place within the social group. The *iwishin* protected the group from enemy shamanic attacks,[54] and in turn could send attacks to the enemy. Thus, an enemy *iwishin* was the first to be blamed when someone died. On the other

54. See Chaumeil (1988) for an elaborated analysis on the defensive specialization by which Wampis shamans are held in high regard.

hand, the shaman would also act as a healer, helping people, even strangers, recover

from different illnesses. Nowadays, likely due to the influence of the church, the *iwishin*

is seen mainly as an evil character, though I was told there were "good" *iwishin* who

practice "white" witchcraft. The presence of an *iwishin* in a community is deemed

suspicious. The concept of healing falls now in the category of *curandero* 'healer' (a term

borrowed from Spanish).

Though scattered houses are still found in the Wampis territory, nowadays the

center of Wampis social life is the village. There are around 60 villages distributed in

the Santiago and Morona Rivers. National administrative institutions are present in the

communities through the district municipalities and justices of the peace. Most of the

authorities are native local people. There are also a few military posts near some

communities and in the border with Ecuador. In the last decades, social programs and

medical services have expanded their presence, though their coverage is still poor due

to lack of resources. Each community also elects its own *apu*, a local leader.

The traditional social institutions are not dead. People who are considered wise

can still be chosen as *pamuk* by the community assembly, and their advise is sought in

important matters. In addition, while the *kakaram* are no longer visible in Wampis

society, the ideal of the warrior leader and defender is very present among the Wampis.

I was told, for example, that during the important 2009 protests in Bagua, *pamuk* were

called to Puerto Galilea, capital of the district, to offer support and advise the leaders

who were coming from different parts of the Santiago. There, *anen* were also sung to

provide spiritual support for the protesters. The rapid mobilization of a good number of

native people from different communities during those protests can be seen as the

continuation of the traditional Jivaroan kind of leadership, being capable of activating

the old network of alliances that was crucial to survival in the past. Green (2009) has

studied the transformation of the figure of the Jivaroan leaders of prior days into the

modern-day leaders of native political organizations.

In general, it can be said that the Wampis have adapted well to new institutions

and are well organized for political action. The Wampis are well aware of their need to

have a greater legal presence to get support for their demands. Some of the most

important regional organizations are the Federation of Wampis Communities of the

Santiago River (FECOHRSA), the Wampis and Awajún Indigenous Peoples of the Kanus

(OPIWAK) and the Shuar Organization of the Morona (OSHDEM). In addition, there is a

growing number of regional organizations and political parties were the Wampis are

participating. In the last general elections (2011), for example, Eduardo Nayap, of

Awajun origin, obtained a place in the Peruvian Congress with the support of the

Awajun and Wampis. In the same elections, there were other Wampis and Awajun

people running for Congress or for the Region of Amazonas government office.

The first schools established by SIL continue to function under the Peruvian

Education System. Primary schools are present in most communities, but secondary

schools are located only in some of them. Thus many children travel by river to go to

school and some communities, like Puerto Galilea, have organized communal rooms to

receive students from other communities. Even so, not all children have access to

secondary school due to the cost of mobilization and the expenses it implies. Education

is bilingual in primary schools, but in some instances the teachers are Spanish speakers

and have not received suitable training for intercultural contexts. In general, the lack of

resources prevents a better, more culturally-appropriate education. Some parents are

able to send their children to boarding schools directed by Catholic congregations in

Jaen and Santa María de Nieva.

In sum, while many core traditions are maintained, it is also obvious that the

Wampis society continues to adapt to contemporary times. Many traditions are

therefore changing or being left behind. For instance, as recently as twenty or thirty

years ago, the Wampis used to have several important seasonal celebrations. In fact, the

Wampis calendar was very ritually organized and festivities could last several days.

Traditional festivities have been replaced by new "official" or national ones (such as

Peru's Independence Day, the community foundation's anniversary, local school

anniversary, etc.). Therefore, though the Wampis maintain their culture, new traditions

are born as influence from outside grows. One of my Wampis teachers explained this

situation by saying that the old ways, the way of *Arutam*, were changing toward the

way of "education" or the way of "the professional", stating that "we no longer defend

ourselves with weapons, we defend ourselves with words".

CHAPTER III

SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY AND PHONETICS

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present a study of the segmental phonology of Wampis

consonants and vowels, as well as their phonetic variation. There is only one previous

work on Wampis phonology written by Beasley and Pike (1957). I discuss some of their

claims in light of the recent data collected during my fieldwork. Notable differences

between the present analysis and Beasley and Pike's 1957 article include the fact that,

unlike the cited authors, I do not consider glides [w] and [j][55] and the velar nasal [ŋ] as

phonemes. Also, devoicing of vowels, as reported by Beasley and Pike in the same

article, does not occur in my data.[56] The voicing of /p/, /t/ and /k/ in the environment

of a sonorant sound is not systematic in my analysis (occuring only sporadically in fast

speech). Beasley and Pike based their analysis on one speaker of the dialect of the

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55. There is one exception: the third person past tense morpheme morpheme *-ji*, where a
phonemic /j/ occurs. See §3.2.7 for details.

56. Devoicing of vowels has been reported for other Jivaroan languages such as Achuar (Fast
1975b), Shuar (Pellizaro & Náwech 2005) and Awajun (Pike & Larson 1964), though Overall
(2007) did not find evidence of devoicing in modern Awajun.

Wachiyacu River, in the Morona region, whereas my data comes from the Santiago region as reported in Chapter I. Therefore, apart from possible idiolectal considerations, historical changes in the last fifty years and dialectal differences may account for the differences between Beasley and Pike's and my own analyses.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: after this introduction, the consonant phoneme inventory is analyzed in §3.2. The major allophonic variations of consonants are described in §3.3. Section §3.4 describes other optional consonant allophony. In §3.5, a summary of consonants distribution in Wampis is provided. Section §3.6 is dedicated to the study of vowels and §3.7 to the main processes of vowel allophony. Section §3.8 discusses some interesting hypo-articulatory phenomena involving both consonants and vowels. Loanwords are discussed in §3.9. Finally, brief considerations on transcription are given in §3.10

3.2. Consonant phonemes

The relevant articulatory parameters for Wampis consonants are place and manner of articulation; voice does not play a role in distinguishing contrastive phonological units. The Wampis phoneme inventory contains 14 consonants: 4 voiceless stops (/p/, /ṭ/, /k/ and /ʔ/), three nasals (/m/, /n/ and /ɲ/), three fricatives (/s/, /ʃ/

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and /h/), two affricates (/ts/ and /tʃ/), one rothic /r/ and a glide /j/. The glottal stop /ʔ/, the nasal palatal /ɲ/ and the semivowel /j/ have a very marginal distribution in my data. The semivowel /j/ only occurs in one suffix, the third person-past tense -*ji*, and /ʔ/ and /ɲ/ occur in less than four words in the database. Because of the limited distribution of these phonemes, I represent them between parentheses in the table below. I consider the semivowels [w], [ɰ] and [j]—(with the one exception just described above)—to be positional allophonic realizations of /u/, /ɨ/ and /i/, respectively (see §3.7.3). Table 3.1 shows the consonant phonemes of Wampis.

Table 3.1. Wampis consonant inventory

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p	t̪				k	(ʔ)
Nasal	m		n	(ɲ)			
Fricative			s	ʃ			h
Affricate			t͡s	t͡ʃ			
Rhotic			r				
Approximant					(j)		

Whereas most consonant phonemes (except /r/, /ɲ/ and /ʔ/) occupy syllable-initial position, the distribution of consonants as syllable codas is very restricted (see

§3.5). Apart from vowels, only the nasals /m/ and /n/ occupy coda position

underlyingly, though most other consonants may occur in that position in surface forms.

All consonants occupy word-initial and word-medial positions on the surface, but

underlyingly only vowels occupy word-final position[57] and constitute the only syllabic

nucleus. We will see that vowel elision affects both word structure and metrical high

tone assignment in Wampis (see Chapter VI for a detailed analysis of the prosody of

Wampis).

3.2.1. Oppositions

The following examples show relevant minimal pairs and near minimal pairs

that demonstrate the phonemic status of the consonants given in Table 3.1. The

examples are arranged first by point of articulation and, secondly, by manner of

articulation. More detailed description of the phonemes is given in the discussion

below.

By point of articulation:

(1) p vs ṭ
 #CV   /puku-/ 'plant manioc stem' vs /ṭuka-/ 'hit target with dart or bullet'
 .CV   /hapa/   'deer'   vs /haṭa/   'sickness'

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57. Some onomatopoetic words and interjections do not follow this rule. It is common that
onomatopoeia and interjections do not follow the systematic patterns of a language.

(2) p vs k

#CV   /piṭaka/ 'travelling basket' vs   /kiṭaka/ 'thirst'

.CV   /nupa/   'weed'   vs   /nuka/   'leaf'

(3) ṭ vs k

#CV   /ṭunṭa/   'quiver'   vs   /kunṭa/   'mud'

.CV   /iṭɨ/   'wasp'   vs   /ɨkɨ/   'yet'

(4) m vs n

#NV   /mai/   'both'   vs   /nai/   'tooth'

.NV   /numi/   'tree'   vs   /nuni/   'do that'

(5) s vs ʃ

#CV   /sampi/ '*shimbillo* (*Inga spp.*)' vs   /ʃampi/   'lizard'

.CV   /mísu/   'naked'   vs   /míʃu/   'cat' (<Quechua *miʃu*)

(6) s vs h

#CV   /hau/   'sickly'   vs   /sau/   'foam'

.CV   /aha/   'garden'   vs   /asa-/   'burn'

(7) ʃ vs h

#CV   /ʃuaṭa/ '*palmiche* (palm sp.)' vs   /hua-ṭa/   'stay' (stay-NMLZ)

.CV   /kuʃi/   'coati'   vs   /kuhi/   'kinkajou'

(8) t͡s vs t͡ʃ

#CV   /t͡sai/   'mince'   vs   /t͡ʃai/   'bear'

.CV   /kut͡sa/ 'type of stilt palm' vs   /kut͡ʃa/ 'puddle' (from Quechua *kut͡ʃa*
                                                'lake, puddle')

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By manner of articulation:

(9) p vs m

#CV   /pamuka/   'ritual leader'   vs   /mamuka/   'small moth sp.'

.CV   /nupi/   'tree sp.'   vs   /numi/   'tree (gen.)'

(10) n vs s

#CV   /nua/   'woman'   vs   /sua/   'huito (*Genipa americana*)'

.CV   /mina/   '1SG.GEN'   vs   /misa/   'table (>Spanish)'

(11) n vs t͡s

#CV   /napa/   'bee'   vs   /t͡sapa/   'calabash '

.CV   /punu/   'calabash sp.'   vs   /put͡su/   'white'

(12) n vs r[58]

.CV   /anuma/   'dock (V)'   vs   /aruma/   'later'

(13) s vs t͡s

#CV   /sai/   'brother-in-law (of male)'   vs /t͡sai/   'tree sp.'

.CV   /sasa/   'small water stream/waterfall' vs /t͡sat͡sa/ 'paternal aunt '

(14) s vs r

.CV   /ʈu-sa/ 'say-SUB'   vs   /ʈura/   'then'

(15) t͡s vs r

.CV   /t͡sat͡sa/   'paternal aunt'   vs   /t͡sara/   'thorny'

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58. The rhotic does not occur word-initially, there are very few examples of it word-initially in borrowings from Spanish.

(16) ʃ vs t͡ʃ

#CV	/ʃimpa/	'type of pidgeon'	vs	/t͡ʃipa/	'tree sp.'
.CV	/ṯikiʃi/	'knee'	vs	/ṯikit͡ʃi/	'one'

3.2.2. Stops

As we have seen, the stops in Wampis are all voiceless and include a bilabial, a

dental, a velar and a glottal segment. In the next subsections, I briefly describe each

one.

3.2.2.1. Voiceless bilabial stop /p/

Phonemically, the voiceless bilabial stop occurs in syllable initial position, as in

example (17). Word-internally, it occurs between vowels and after a bilabial nasal, as in

(18)–(19). Only at the surface level, the bilabial stop occurs syllable-finally (20).

(17) #C   /paki/ → [páki]   'collared peccari'
(18) V.CV   /apa/ → [ápa]   'father'
(19) N.CV   /ampuʃa/ → [ampúʃ] 'owl'
(20) /ṯunṯupɨ/ → [ṯunṯúp]   'back'

The only clear exception that I have found where /p/ occupies a phonemic coda

position in my data seems to be sound-symbolic in nature:

(21)   ṯupṯuṯ   'over eat'

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There is also a word in Jakway et al. (1987: 123) that could be another

exception and is not attested in my data:

(22) <yukapkia>   'black monkey'

The structure of this word is suspicious, though, as the <i> written in <kia>

seems to be a palatalization operating on /k/ (the palatalization process is described in

§3.3.2). Therefore, we would have an underlying structure of the form /i.u.ka.pi.ka/ →

[jukápkʲa]. The elision of the third vowel of the word (the /i/) is a common process in

that context in Wampis, which exhibits pervasive vowel elision phenomena (see §6.4.4).

I am unaware of a root for the word /iukapika/, though it may be semantically related

to /iukaipi/ 'dirty'.

3.2.2.2. Voiceless dental stop /t̪/

The voiceless stop /t̪/ is a dental consonant, not an alveolar. Not only can this

be seen in an articulatory analysis but also in the fact that the nasal /n/ gets assimilated

and realized as a dental [n̪] when it follows /t̪/, which indicates a dental feature

received by the nasal:

(23)
anɨn̪t̪ɛɛʲmʲat̪
anɨt̪ai-ma-t̪a
heart-vʙᴢ-ɴᴍʟᴢ
'mind'

The distribution of /t̪/ is similar to that of /p/: underlyingly, it occurs at the

beginning of the syllable, but not as a coda. Different environments are shown in (24)–

(26). At the surface level, on the other hand, /t̪/ can occur as a syllable coda (27).

(24) #C   /t̪u/ → [t̪ú]   'say'
(25) V.CV   /it̪i/ → [ít̪i]   'wasp'
(26) N.CV   /hint̪a/ → [hínt̪ʲa]   'trail'
(27) /kupit̪a/ → [kupít̪]   'ant sp.'

As I said earlier, because there is no dental vs. alveolar stop opposition, in the

remaining chapters of this dissertation I will transcribe the voiceless dental stop with a

/t/ symbol, without marking the dental feature.

3.2.2.3. Voiceless velar stop /k/

The following examples show the velar stop /k/ in word-initial and word-

internal positions.

(28) #C   /kanu/ → [kánu]   'canoe'
(29) V.CV   /ikama/ → [ikʲám]   'forest'
(30) N.CV   /kɨnkɨ/ → [kíŋkɨ]   '*sachapapa* (*Dioscorea trifida*)'
(31) /ipaku/ → [ípʲak]   'achiote (*Bixa orellana*)'

3.2.2.4. Glottal stop /ʔ/

The status of the glottal /ʔ/ is more difficult to discern than that of the other

stops. The glottal stop has a very restricted distribution, occurring intervocalically only

in a few words in my data. Unlike the other marginal phoneme (the palatal nasal, cf.

§3.2.3.3), the glottal stop does occur in native Wampis words, though most of them are

interjections. Here are some examples where the glottal occurs:

(32) /haʔa/ 'yes'

(33) /i͡tsã tɨaʔaɪ̃/ 'time between 1-3 p.m.'[59]

(34) /kiaʔaɪ̃/ 'at sunset'

(35) /aiʔai/ 'beetle sp.'

All in all, the best arguments for considering the glottal as a phoneme despite its

marginal distribution in the Wampis system are: a) the glottal stops in these words

cannot be omitted; i.e. they are integral part of the word, or the words are otherwise

considered incorrect; b) there are indeed contrastive pairs with other consonants (cf.

/haʔa/ [haʔá] 'yes' vs /haṭá/ [haṭá] 'die!'); and c) its occurrence would not be

explainable by other means such as allophony or contact.

3.2.3. Nasal consonants

Wampis has bilabial /m/ and an alveolar /n/ nasal segments. The velar nasal

[ŋ], which was considered as a phoneme by Beasley and Pike (1957), is not considered

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59. This expression is composed of *i͡tsã* 'sun' and the root *tɨa* 'incline'. The analysis of *tɨaʔaɪ̃* is a bit complicated as the word is already lexicalized, but it is possible that etymologically it comes from *tɨa* 'incline' and *a = ɨ̃* 'copula = Locative'; i.e. its literal meaning would be 'when the sun is inclining'. Many words and expressions referring to the parts of the day in Wampis include a description of a position of the sun ("incline", "vertical", etc.). It is possible that the glottal was inserted between words, an optional process that is still observed in current Wampis. The same cluster /ʔaɪ̃/ occurs in example (34).

to have phonemic status in the present analysis.

The behavior of nasal consonants is a particular point of interest for Jivaroan languages. Unlike Awajun (Corbera Mori 1994; Overall 2007; Payne 2008), Wampis does not de-nasalized its nasals. That is, /m/ and /n/ in Wampis do not have the allophones [ᵐb] and [ⁿd], respectively. As will be discussed later in this chapter (§3.8.5), /m/ and /n/ do not triggered systematically the voicing of stops in Wampis either; a characteristic that has been reported for Shuar (Turner 1958b; Pellizzaro 1969; Turner 1992; Pellizaro & Náwech 2005)[60] or Achuar-Shiwiar (Fast 1975a; Fast 1975b; Fast et al. 1996).

3.2.3.1. Bilabial nasal /m/

Underlyingly, the bilabial /m/ appears in word-initial, syllable-initial and syllable-final positions, but not word-finally. At the surface level, [m] can occur word-finally following vowel elision, as shown in (39).

(36) #N   /miʈika/   →   [miʈík]   'equal'
(37) V.NV   /mama/   →   [máma]   'manioc'
(38) VN.   /ampuʃa/   →   [ampúʃ]   'owl'
(39) /kaɨma/ → [kawím]   'many'

---

60. But notice that Saad (2014) states that there is no obligatory voicing of stops after a nasal consonant in Shuar.

3.2.3.2. Alveolar nasal /n/

The alveolar nasal has the same restrictions as /m/. Examples (40)–(43)

illustrate its occurrence in different positions.

(40) #N   /nasĩ/   →   [násĩ]   'wind'
(41) V.NV   /uɨnu/   →   [wɨ́nu]   'mouth'
(42) VN.   /nanʈu/   →   [nánʈu]   'moon'
(43) uunʈa → [uúɳ] 'big'

3.2.3.3. Marginal consonantal nasal phoneme /ɲ/

A palatal nasal phoneme /ɲ/ occurs only in two words in my data. Those words

are /kaɲiru/ [kaɲír] 'parasitic fish species' and /muɲusunka/ [muɲusúŋ] 'ammunition'.

The word /kaɲiru/ does not seem of Jivaroan origin; cognates of this word are found

quite widespread in the Amazon to designate several species of infamous parasitic

catfish. It may have been borrowed through Spanish <kanero> though it is also

possible that it was borrowed from another Amazonian language (the equivalent

Portuguese term, <kandirú> is apparently of Tupí origin (Houaiss & Villar 2001)).

Notice that this word appears written as <kaniru> with an /n/ in Berlin (1994: 89):

this corresponds better with the Wampis phonological system. The word /muɲusunka/

comes from Spanish <munición> 'ammunition'. Strictly speaking, /ɲ/ is to be

considered a phoneme , despite not being an original Wampis consonant. Due to its

restricted, non-productive occurrence, and to the non-native origin of the couple of

words where it is found, I list /ɲ/ as a very marginal phoneme. This marginal /ɲ/ must

not be confused with the palatal allophone of /n/ (see §3.3.2) which results from a

regular palatalization pattern.

3.2.3.4. Nasal consonants in coda and word-final positions

Previous analyses of Jivaroan languages have stated the existence of a phonemic

velar nasal /ŋ/, whose occurrence would be restricted to coda and word-final positions.

With reference to Wampis, Beasly and Pike (1957) consider this velar nasal to be a

phoneme in the language. Furthermore, according to said authors, the alleged velar

phoneme ŋ would have the allophone [ɲ] in certain environments. The supposed

phonemic status of ŋ is problematic according to my analysis. In addition, under the

analysis presented here there is no reason to posit [ɲ] as an allophone of the supposed

velar nasal phoneme either. First, in the data collected for this dissertation, the nasal

/n/ surfaces as a velar [ŋ] after assimilation to a velar consonant /k/. This occurs also

at the end of the word but the assimilation process is obscured in the **surface form**

because of a systematic apocope process (§6.4.5.1). For instance, Beasley and Pike

(1957: 2) give the following examples:[61]

(44)

/namáŋ/	→	[namáŋ]	'flesh'
/titíŋ/	→	[titíŋ]	'scorpion'
/tátaŋ/	→	[tátaŋ]	'pottery board'

Examples like the ones shown in (44) are the result of a very surface analysis by Beasley and Pike. The actual phonological forms of 'flesh', 'scorpion' and 'pottery board' are /namankɨ/, /ṭiṭinki/ and /ṭaṭanku/, respectively. When they are in the nominative case, their pronunciations are [namáŋ], [ṭiṭíŋ] and [ṭaṭáŋ], following a pervasive apocope rule. However, the full phonological forms of these words surface when another morpheme, for instance the accusative =*na*, is added. This is shown in (45).

(45)

namankɨ=na	→	[namaŋkín]	'flesh (ACC)'
ṭiṭinki=na	→	[ṭiṭiŋkín]	'scorpion (ACC)'
ṭaṭanku=na	→	[ṭaṭaŋkún]	'pottery board (ACC)'

Hence, the final surface velar nasal [ŋ] is explained by assimilation of /n/ to an underlying velar stop, which is then dropped on the surface in the nominative form,

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61. I transcribed Beasley and Pike's examples as they are given in the cited text. The accent marks in the underlying forms appear in the original. In my analysis, a metrical high tone can be derived through rules described in §6.4, thus, I do not use "accent" marks in underlying forms except in some necessary cases where the high tone is not metrical but lexical, i.e. when the high tone is part of the lexical representation of words (cf. §6.5). See Chapter VI for the analysis of Wampis prosody.

which is the form given in Beasley and Pike's 1957 article.[62] This assimilation process is

entirely predictable, hence there is no need to posit the velar nasal as a phoneme.

The examples of ŋ in coda position (word-internally) given by Beasley and Pike,

as in (46), are also explainable by assimilation of /n/ to a following velar stop.

(46)
/waiŋkiu/ → [waiɲgióu] 'found' (Beasley & Pike 1957: 2)
/ukuiŋkiata/ → [ukuiɲgiata] 'Open it!' (Beasley & Pike 1957: 2)

Finally, the palatalized realization of the spurious ŋ, which can also be observed

in (46), does not occur in my data in the context where it precedes the stop consonant.

In such cases, the nasal surfaces as [ŋ] (i.e. assimilated to the next consonant).[63]

However, this palatal realization can be accounted for as a trace of the palatalization of

/n/ when preceded by /i/, as described in §3.3.2. In sum, there is no reason to postulate

a phoneme ŋ, and both [ŋ] and [ɲ] are two distinct allophones of /n/.

With regard to /m/, it follows a similar process as /n/ concerning palatalization

(it palatalizes when preceded by /i/—see §3.3.2). However, /m/ does not assimilate in

---

62. The elision of the stop consonant is due to a restriction in Wampis which prohibits complex codas. After the last vowel is dropped due to apocope, the sequence Nasal + Stop is an impossible coda in Wampis. The only consonants allowed in the margins of the coda are the Affricates. See §4.3 for a detailed explanation of this process.

63. Notice also that it seems a bit unnatural to claim that there is no assimilation of the /n/ to the following /k/. I certainly have not examples like (46) in the data.

front of /k/ or /ṭ/ in coda position (either word-internally or word-finally, following an

elided consonant), as shown in (47)–(48).

(47)

iímkaṭsa

ɨɨma-ka-ṭasa

advance-INTENS-PURP

'intending to advance'

(48)

poúmtan

paumita=na

fish.sp=ACC

'palometa (ACC)' (Wampis *paumita* < Spanish *palometa* 'fish sp.')

The distribution of nasal consonants in front of a voiceless stop is given in Table

3.2.

Table 3.2. Distribution of nasals in front of obstruents

	__/p/	__/ṭ]	__/k/
/m/	[m]	---	[m]
/n/	---	[ṇ]	[ŋ]

Overall (2008) has proposed a nasal hyperphoneme N that is realized as [m],

[n], and [ŋ] in front of stops. As Overall has noticed, this is a useful characterization

because sometimes there is a floating nasal phoneme that is realized as a nasal

consonant N, as shown in the next examples. (Notice also that in Wampis the consonant

N can surface without the need of a stop following it.) As an illustration, compare (49)

with (50).

(49)
hɨ̃ɨ̃n   ~   *hɨ̃ɨ̃*
hɨ̃ɨ̃
house\1PL/2PL/3.POSS
'his/her/our/your (PL)/their house'

(50)
núwɨ̃
nuɨ̃
woman\1PL/2PL/3.POSS
'his wife'

      Additional examples of a homorganic N surfacing in front of a stop are given in

(51)–(52).

(51)
warímpʲa
warĩ=pa
what=Q
'what?'

(52)
níŋkʲa
nĩ=ka
3SG=FOC
'he'

In the current analysis, I prefer to keep two types of nasals separate as they seem to be of different origins. The first type is a lexically-specified phonological segment /m/ or /n/ (as the first /n/ of /nua/ in example (50)). The second is an "floating" nasal phoneme that can be realized as pure nasality on a vowel or as a nasal consonant (as in examples (49) or (51)–(52), respectively).

Barring minor details in analysis, the present analysis supports Overall's (2008) claim that the velar nasal [ŋ] does not possess phonemic status in Jivaroan languages.

3.2.4. Fricatives

The fricatives consonants in Wampis are the alveolar /s/, the palato-alveolar /ʃ/ and the glottal /h/.

3.2.4.1. Alveolar fricative /s/

The alveolar /s/ occupies only syllable initial position. It occurs between vowels following an open syllable, and can occur syllable-finally only in surface form, after apocope.

(53) #C	/suku/	→	[súku]	'type of basket'
(54) V.CV	/mukusa/	→	[mukúsa]	'black'
(55) /t͡sɨasa/		→	[t͡sɨás]	'poison'

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3.2.4.2. Palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/

The palato-alveolar /ʃ/ follows the same restrictions as /s/. /ʃ/ is the only

consonant in the available data that never appears before the high central vowel /ɨ/.

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of /ʃ/.

(56) #C	/ʃuara/	→	[ʃuár]	'person'
(57) V.CV	/ataʃu/	→	[atáʃ]	'hen'
(58) VC.	/áiʃimanku/	→	[ɛíʃmaŋ]	'man'[64]
(59) /áiʃiru/		→	[ɛíʃur]	'my husband'

3.2.4.3. Glottal fricative /h/

The glottal fricative /h/ is commonly produced with a more fortis realization

(with more closure) in stressed syllables. However, this seems to be a rather minor

variance and Wampis speakers did not seem to feel a major difference between fortis

and lenis realizations of /h/. In syllable-final position the glottal fricative is usually

lengthened. The next examples show the occurrence of the glottal fricative in different

positions:

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64. One could analyze the phonological representation of this word as /aiʃmanku/, without a second vowel /i/ after /ʃ/. The reason for this is that said vowel never surfaces in the actual pronunciation of the word as a result of vowel elision (one rule of vowel elision is to drop the third vowel from the left). However, the elision of the vowel is entirely predictable and the word 'man' is clearly related to /áiʃi/ 'husband', so there is certain basis to state that the phonological form is /aiʃimanku/. In relation to cases like the example presented above, an issue that awaits future research is what the psychological reality of phonological representations of words is like in languages such as Wampis, where vowel elision is very pervasive.

(60) #C	/hĩa/	→	[hĩɯá] 'house'
(61) V.CV	/aha/	→	[áha] 'garden'
(62) /uɨha/		→	[uwíh] 'hand'

There have been reports of nasality associated with the glottal fricative /h/ in the related language Awajun (Payne 1990a; Corbera Mori 1994; Payne 2008). The relation between /h/ and nasality has been discussed in Matissof (1975) and is reported in other languages of the Amazon region such as Yagua (Payne & Payne 1990). In Awajun, /h/ comes from a merger of Proto-Jivaroan *h* and *r*. Overall (2007: 31 and ff) has hypothesized that there was an intermediate stage in Awajun in which *r* > $\tilde{h}$ > *h*; in other words, apparently in Awajun /h/ and /h̃/ were distinguished in past stages of that language. Furthermore, Overall observes that several examples show that a nasal vowel adjacent to /h/ in Awajun correspond to an oral vowel adjacent to /r/ in other Jivaroan languages such as Shuar. Further evidence in support of this finding is given with Wampis examples in Table 3.3.[65]

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65. The Awajun and Shuar examples are cited from Overall (2007: 35).

Table 3.3. Reflexes of Proto-Jivaroan *r and *h

Awajun	Shuar	Wampis	Proto-Jivaroan	Gloss
aha	aha	aha	*aha	'fell (trees)'
ãha	ara	ara	*ara	'sow seeds'
uha	uha	uha	*uha	'tell'
ũha	uha	uha	*ura	'open'

In Wampis, nasality spreads through the fricative /h/, but it is not clear that /h/ is the locus of nasality; i.e. /h/ does not seem to trigger nasalization.[66] Rather, nasalization seems to be related to an underlying nasal vowel. This seems to correspond with Overall findings for Awajun, where the /h/ that seems to trigger nasalization is a reflex of Proto-Jivaroan *r, which continued to be /r/ in Wampis.[67]

3.2.5. Affricates

Wampis possesses an alveolar affricate /t͡s/ and a palato-alveolar /t͡ʃ/. As we saw in section §3.2.1, affricates enter in phonemic contrast with their fricatives

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66. There are a few examples that may suggest that this was not the case in the past. For instance, some speakers sometimes nasalize the word *hu* 'proximal demonstrative', pronouncing [h̃ũ], suggesting that /h/ may be the locus of nasality (since /hu/ is otherwise pronounced with an oral vowel in most cases).

67. But notice that there are examples in Awajun where a nasal vowel surfaces adjacent to /h/ where the cognate in other Jivaroan languages is /h/ (and not /r/). These examples are problematic as they show that in Awajun nasal vowels may or may not be a reflex of the change *r > h.

counterparts. Beasley and Pike (1957) described voiced allophones for the affricates,

but these simply do not occur in my data. As the name implies, the affricates are to be

considered one co-articulation rather than two different segmental articulations. This

can be seen in certain phonetic reductions involving affricate consonants, as shown in

(63), where /a͡tsa/ is reduced to [t͡sá], but never [sá]. This indicates that /t͡s/ is

considered synchronically as one segment by Wampis speakers.[68] On the surface level,

affricates are the only segments that can occur word finally in the coda margin, after a

nasal consonant. No other consonant can occur in that position:

(63) /t̪i̪nt̪i̪t͡sa/ → [t̪i̪nt̪i̪t͡s] 'Proper name'

3.2.5.1. Voiceless alveolar affricate /t͡s/

The voiceless occurs at syllable-initial position and can follow a close or open

syllable. The affricate /t͡s/ seems to be incompatible with the vowel /i/: I have not

found any examples of this consonant co-occurring with said vowel. The next examples

illustrate the occurrence of /t͡s/.

(64) #C	/t͡samarainta/ →	[t͡samaréɛn̪]	'proper noun'
(65) V.CV	/i͡tsã/	→	[í͡tsã]	'sun'
(66) VN.CV	/i͡ntsa/	→	[í͡ntsa]	'river'

68. Notice also that in Wampis there are no consonant clusters syllable-initially. The sole
exception is [Cr] (where C is a stop) in a very specific case: only after vowel elision is this cluster
allowed.

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(67) /tɨntĩtsa/ → [t̪ɨnt̪ĩts] 'proper noun'

3.2.5.2. Voiceless palato-alveolar /t͡ʃ/

The distribution of /t͡ʃ/ is similar to that of /t͡s/. Syllable finally, it only occurs

after vowel deletion.

(68) #CV   /t͡ʃinki/   →   [t͡ʃíŋki]   'bird'
(69) V.CV   /t͡ʃit͡ʃa/   →   [t͡ʃít͡ʃa]   'speak'
(70) VN.CV   /int͡ʃi/   →   [ínt͡ʃi]   'sweet potato'
(71) /tikít͡ʃi/   →   [tíkit͡ʃ]   'other'

3.2.6. The rhotic /r/

The rhotic /r/ varies mostly freely between a flapped [ɾ] and an approximant [ɹ]

realization from speaker to speaker, and even in the same speaker. Of these two

variants, the flap is the most common one. The rhotic does not occur at the beginning of

words. Examples (72) and (73) illustrate the occurrence of this segment.

(72) /pɨnkɨra/ → [pʷɨ́ŋkɨɾ] ~ [pʷɨ́ŋkɨɹ] 'good'
(73) /arut̪ama/ → [aɾút̪am] ~ [aɹút̪am] 'spirit of power'

Some speakers (including at least one of my teachers) occasionally also

produced a slight trill-like realization of the rhotic intervocalically, but in most cases

this segment varies between [ɾ] and [ɹ]. The rhotic will be transcribed with the symbol

<r> for the remainder of the dissertation.

3.2.7. Marginal palatal /j/

There is only one item in Wampis where the glide /j/ can be analyzed as a phoneme: the suffix -*ji* '3.PT + DECL'. Notice that, for the most part, glides (including the palatal glide) in Wampis are completely predictable, occurring word-initially and intervocalically (cf. §3.7.3 and §4.2).[69] The only case where the palatal glide is not predictable is with -*ji*, where /j/ can occur word-internally after a consonant:

(74)
mã̃ámji
mã-á-ma-ji
kill-HIAF-IMM.PT-3PT. + DECL
'He killed.'

Compare with the surface forms the ablative =*ia* assumes: following a consonant, the ablative surfaces as [ia] in (75); following a vowel, it surfaces as [ja] in (76):

(75)
huabália
Huabal = ia
Huabal = ABL
'from Huabal'

---

69. Notice that there are no diphthongs in Wampis. Vowels in vowel clusters are considered in different syllables. Thus, while the first vowel of a cluster after a consonant, e.g. *Cia* (where C = consonant), is an on-glide in terms of articulation, it is treated as a vowel for all purposes concerning syllable formation, tone assignment and metrical foot, as well as vowel elision. Therefore, they are considered vowels throughout this dissertation. For Wampis, glides are considered positional allophones of high vowels intervocalically or word-initially.

(76)

kut͡ʃánmaja

kut͡ʃa = nVma = ia

lake = LOC = ABL

'from the lake'

It is very likely that the morphophonological environment has played a decisive

role in the development of the suffix *-ji* '3.PT + DECL'. In fact, the modern form *-ji* seems to

be a reanalysis of what historically was a sequence probably related to the old past

marker **ia*[70] and the third person perfective marker *-ĩ ~ -i*. This sequence **ia + *-i* may

have collapsed to *-ji*. Further, because this suffix frequently occurs with the declarative -

i (which "fuses" to the preceding *-i*), *-ji* has been reanalyzed as a single Person + Mood

portmanteau suffix:

(77) *aʃí wɛíŋkaru tíɲu árma**ji***

aʃi	uaina-ka-ara-u	tu-inu	a-ara-ma-**ji**
all	see-INTENS-PL-NMLZ	say-NMLZ	COP-PL-IMM.PT-**3.PT + DECL**

'They saw everything.'

The best evidence for the reanalysis of *-ji* as a single morphological unit is that

the suffix *-ji* is dropped completely in non-declarative contexts. This means that the *-ji* is

considered a single unit marking 3.PT and declarative, so it has to be deleted in non-

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70. Synchronically, the suffix *-ia* marks remote past in Wampis.

declaratives structures. To illustrate this, consider how the suffix *-ji* does not occur

marking third person in the verb 'go' in (78) (in an interrogative clause) and the copula

in (79) (where the copula is relativized by the demonstrative *nu*), respectively:

(78) *urúk puhú wɨármia*

uruk	puhu-u	**wɨ-ara-mia**
how	live-NMLZ	go-PL-DIST.PT

'How did they live?'

(79) *urúk . . . nahaánarukit tíɲu árma ńuna óuhmatsattahɛɛ*

uruka	nahaana-ra-u=ki=ita	tu-inu	**a-ara-ma**	nu=na
how	make-DISTR-NMLZ=RETH=COP	say-NMLZ	COP-PL-IMM.PT	NON.VIS=ACC

auhumatu-sa-tata-ha-i

inform-ATT-DEF.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am going to tell what they say [about] how . . . [people] transformed [into an animals].'

     From the above discussion, the conclusion is that *-ji* is no longer analyzable as

different morphemes, and thus it must have the underlying form /ji/. Because the glide

of *-ji* is no longer predictable, /j/ is better analyzed as a unique phoneme.

3.3. Consonant allophonic variation

     This section is dedicated to studying the systematic allophonic variation in

Wampis. Variations related to syllable-structure and morphophonology are treated in

Chapter IV and Chapter V, respectively.

3.3.1. Bilabial labialization

The following rule formalizes the labialization of bilabial consonants /p/ and

/m/ in front of a high-central vowel:

C   →   Cʷ/ __ɨ
[+bilabial]

The following examples illustrate this rule:

(80) /pínkɨra/ →   [pʷínkɨr]   'good'
(81) /amɨ/   →   [ámʷɨ]   'you'

This allophonic change does not have any consequence in the prosody or

grammar of Wampis, so I do not generally transcribe it, except if necessary, as in the

above examples.

3.3.2. Consonant palatalization

The following rules formalize the palatalization of stop and nasal consonants.

Rule 1 predicts that a stop is palatalized after /i/ or /iN/, i.e. a progressive

palatalization. Rule 2 states that a nasal consonant is palatalized after /i/ and before

another vowel. (Notice that N=nasal consonant.)

Rule 1: Palatalization of a Stop consonant

C   →   [Cʲ]/ i(N) __
[+stop]

Rule 2: Palatalization of a Nasal consonant

N   →   [Nʲ]/ i __ V

The examples in (82) illustrate this rule when the consonant follows /i/, and

(83) illustrates the palatalization of a nasal between /i/ and a vowel.

(82)

/ipaku/	→	[ipʲák]	'*achiote* (*Bixa orellana*)'
/íkama/	→	[íkʲam]	'forest'
/iṭurt͡ʃaṭa/	→	[iṭʲúrt͡ʃaṭ]	'difficult'

(83)

| /imaĩ/ | → | [ĩmʲɛ̃ɛ̃] | 'way over there' |
| /iniṭa/ | → | [iɲíṭ] | 'inside' |

The domain of palatalization is not only local (i.e. affecting a consonant adjacent

to /i/). Palatalization affects the consonant of the onset of the next syllable after /iN/.

The next examples show the same the palatalization of a stop consonant after an /iN/

sequence. An interesting note is that in the case of a /iN.C/ cluster, the nasal following

/i/ is not palatalized because it is assimilated to the following consonant (see also (85)–

(86) below):

(84)

| /kinṭa/ | → | [kíṇṭʲa] | 'afternoon' |
| /inṭaʃi/ | → | [iṇṭʲáʃ] | 'hair' |

Palatalization applies across morpheme boundaries too, as shown in (85)–(86).

Notice that in (85) nasality surfaces as a nasal assimilated to the next velar stop.

(85)

níŋkʲa

nĩ = ka

3sg = foc

'he'

(86)

pɛíŋkʲamu

paina-ka-mau

boil-intens-nmlz

'boiled'

      Palatalization may optionally surface even in occasions where the high vowel /i/

is deleted, as in (87), where the /i/ of the future nominalizer *-tinu* is deleted. So,

apparently palatalization applies at an intermediate level of derivation, otherwise the

palatal realization on the surface is not easily explainable.

(87)

mã̃ániɲnum

mã-á-nai-tinu = numa

kill-loaf-recip-fut.nmlz = loc

'Where they will fight each other.'

      In accordance with the first and second palatalization rules given above, when

there are two consecutive nasals, the second one undergoes palatalization, but not the

nasal consonant that is adjacent to /i/. In practice, two consecutive nasal consonants

only occur after vowel elision, as the next examples illustrate:

(88)

sukúṛṭiɲɲaʃa

suku-ra-tinu＝na＝ʃa

shrink.head-DISTR-FUT.NMLZ＝ACC＝ADD

'The head-shrinking too (ACC)'

(89)

nahánaṛṭiɲɲaka

nahana-ra-tinu＝na＝ka

make-DISTR-FUT.NMLZ＝ACC＝FOC

'What is going to transform (ACC)'

Figure 3.1 shows an spectrogram with the acoustic realization of

[nahánaṛṭiɲɲaka] 'what is going to transform' from example (89). Notice the low F1

(slightly higher than the F1 of the adjacent [n]) and high F2 of [ɲ], indicated by

arrows—this is typical of palatal sounds (Ladefoged 2005: 163). In addition, notice the

transition of F1 and F2 of [ɲ] into the following vowel [a]. The complex word

[nahánaṛṭiɲɲaka] 'what is going to transform' shown in Figure 3.1 illustrates the

palatalization process within one word; however, it will be seen that the same

palatalization process also occurs beyond the word (the latter phenomenon is discussed

below).
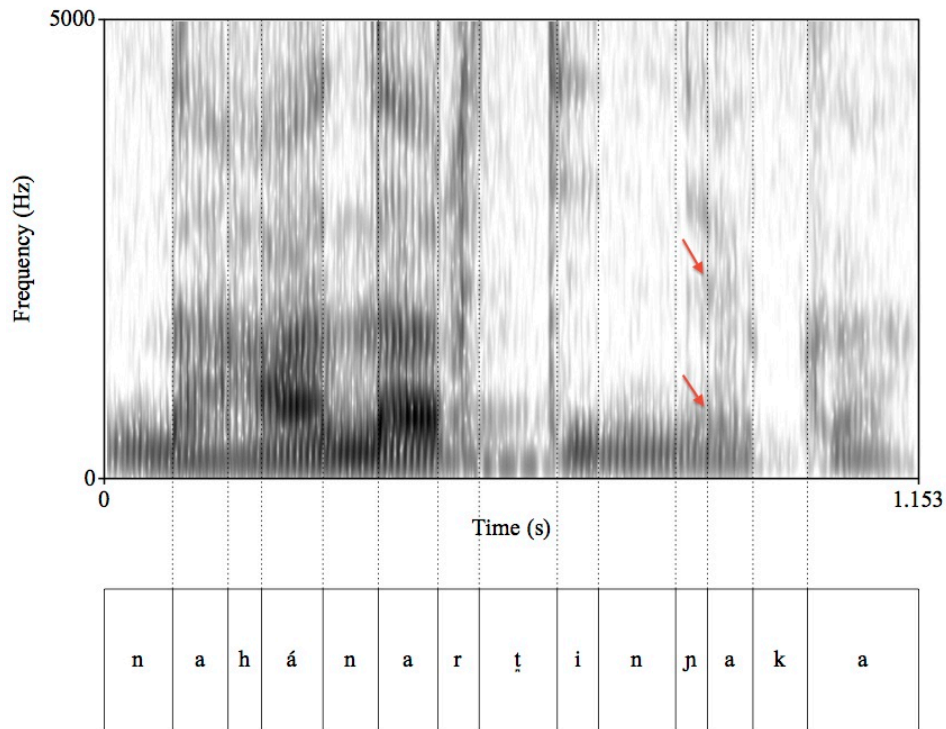
Figure 3.1. Non-local palatalization of an /n/ after an /in/ sequence of a preceding syllable

Palatalization also occurs beyond the word boundary. In this context, the final

nasal consonant is palatalized to [ɲ] if the next word begins with a vowel (recall that,

per the second palatalization rule given above, a nasal consonant becomes palatalized

in the context: i__V). In such cases, an interesting phenomenon of what can be called

"amalgamation" frequently occurs, whereby two grammatical words are pronounced in

one phonetic chain. When this happens, the surface [ɲ], which is the last segment of the

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first word, effectively "connects" to the first vowel of the next word. This only occurs

word finally when /n/ follows the vowel /i/. For instance, the sequence of two

grammatical words in (90)—the nominalized verb 'eat' and the subordinated copula

('being')—after vowel elision, is pronounced as a phonetic chain [jurumíɲásã] in the

text from where it comes.

(90)

| *jurumín* | + | *asã* | → | [jurumíɲásã] |

iu-ru-ma-inu   a-sã
eat-APPL-REFL-NMLZ   COP-SUB/3SG.SS
'Being a big eater . . .'

Figure 3.2 shows the spectrogram where [jurumíɲásã] is pronounced. As can be

seen, [ɲ] surfaces following /i/. As in the previous figure, notice the low F1 and high F2

of [ɲ], as well as the transition of its F1 and F2 into the following vowel [a]. Note, in

addition, that there is no pause between the two grammatical words.[71]

---

71. Acoustically, it seems like there is an [n] that transitions into an [ɲ]. In terms of length, the
whole segment always occurs relatively long (for instance, compare with the other nasal /m/ in
the spectrogram). It is possible to even consider having a sequence [nɲ] or a long palatalized
[nːʲ]. Wampis speakers consider that what they pronounce is a palatal [ɲ], which is reflected in
the way how they write it: <ñ>. Correspondingly, I transcribe it also as [ɲ].
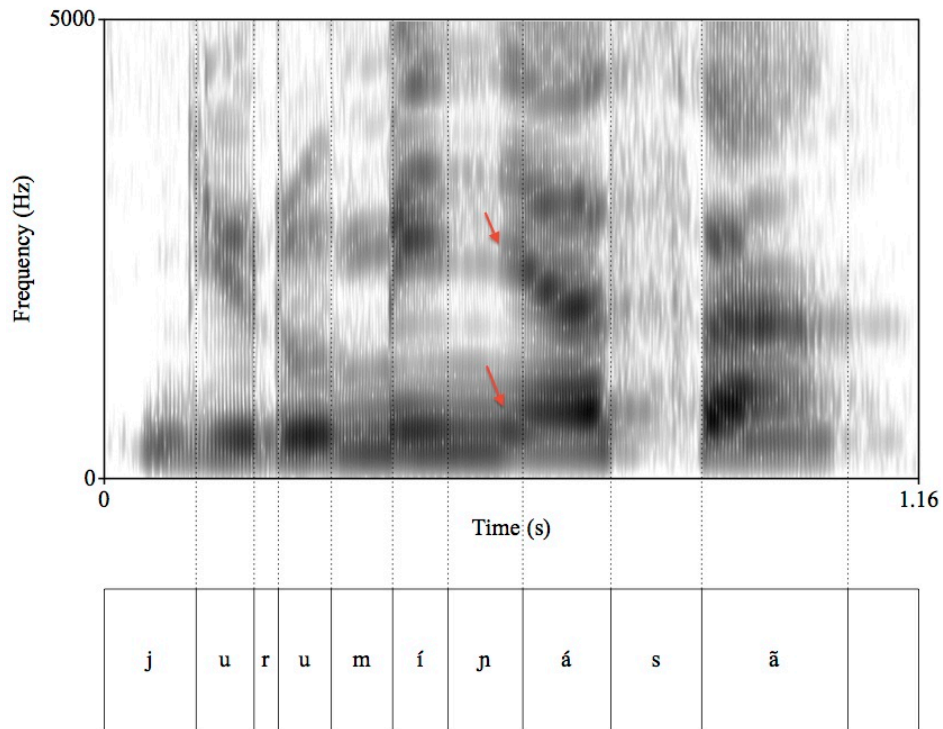
Figure 3.2. Spectrogram showing a surface palatal nasal [ɲ] in word boundary

Quite interestingly, based purely on acoustics, one may think that [ɲ] forms a

syllable with the following [a]. Nevertheless, speakers do not consider instances like the

above example as one word. There seems to be a well delimited distinction between the

acoustic nature of "amalgamation" of two words via palatalization and the

psychological reality of "word". While there are clear cases of cliticization and

mismatches of grammatical and phonological words in Wampis (see §6.8), I do not have

any attestation in which speakers considered cases like [jurumíɲásã] as one word. I did

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not devote much time to research this particular phenomenon; however, I did carry

short tests to look for speakers' judgments of syllable and stress (in which we trained

tapping on a table to identify number of syllables and stressed syllables). Speakers

would consistently separate the grammatical words, e.g. [jurúmin][72] and [ásã], and

would tell me the number of syllables for each word, e.g. "three" in [jurúmin] and

"two" in [ásã]. Additionally, I also asked directly if they consider cases like

[jurumíɲásã] to be one or two words, and speakers would consistently tell me that there

were two words, even in cases when I commented that I was hearing one word. I have

no single case of the contrary attested. A plausible explanation for the speakers'

identification of two distinct words in these cases is that each element in the acoustic

chain surfaces with its own high tone (i.e. an acoustic high pitch), thus they are

considered two phonological words for the purpose of prosodic analysis (it will be seen

that, from the point of view of Wampis prosody, one defining notion of a phonological

word in Wampis is having at least one high tone—see §6.8 for details).

Finally, it seems that palatalization of stops is becoming optional among

younger generations. People well in their 40s and above palatalize consonants, but I

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72. When there is no vowel following, /n/ is not palatalized.

found that this was not always the case with younger speakers. More data is needed to

evaluate this possible generational change.

3.3.3. Affricativization of /ʃ/

The fricative /ʃ/ and affricate /t͡ʃ/ are neutralized following another consonant.

This is formalized by the following rule:

/ʃ/ → [t͡ʃ] / C __

Examples of the neutralization of /ʃ/ and /t͡ʃ/ are given below. In (91), the last

vowel of the root is deleted, and because [n̪t̪t͡ʃ] is an impossible cluster in Wampis, the

intermediate [t̪] is also deleted (no stop can occur in the margin of a complex coda).

(91)
t͡sawánt͡ʃa
t͡sauan̪t̪a = ʃa
day = ADD
'days too'

(92)
hĩu̯ánt͡ʃa
hĩa = na = ʃa
house = ACC = ADD
'to the house too'

3.3.4. Dissimilation of affricates

After vowel elision, when two affricates are to occur next to each other, the first

affricate in the sequence becomes an alveolar stop. In the next example, following

vowel elision,[73] the /ʃ/ of =ʃa becomes [t͡ʃ] (as per the rule given in §3.3.3). When this happens, at an intermediate level, it comes in contact with the /t͡ʃ/ of *tikit͡ʃ* and dissimilation occurs.

(93)
tikít͡tʃa
tikit͡ʃi = ʃa
other = ADD
'another too'

In practice, the chances that two affricates occur adjacent to each other are very restricted. A limited set of items attaching to a stem that possesses another affricate must occur in the appropriate morphophonological context: =ʃa 'Additive', -t͡ʃa 'Negative' and the historically related form t͡ʃau 'Negative nominalizer'.

3.4. Optional variation of consonants

3.4.1. Fricativization of /t͡ʃ/

In word-final environments, the affricate /t͡ʃ/ can be realized as a fricative, neutralizing the opposition with the alveolar /ʃ/. The following rule formalizes this variation:

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73. In this case, vowel elision applies to the third vowel (from the left). Wampis deletes the last vowel of a word, and then each alternating vowel starting from the third vowel from the left. Note that some morphemes, like =ʃa above, are immune to apocope. Vowel elision is explained in Chapter VI.

$\widehat{t\int}/ \rightarrow [\int] / \_\#$

The neutralization of $\widehat{t\int}/$ and $/\int/$ at the end of words can be observed

comparing (94) with (95):

(94)

ţíkiʃ

ţikit͡ʃi

'other'

(95)

ţíkiʃ

ţikiʃi

'knee'

As we can see, the underlying $\widehat{t\int}/$ of 'other' becomes a fricative. This surface

form is undistinguishable from 'knee' in the nominative form.

Notice that the fricativization process is particular of $\widehat{t\int}/$, as it does not happens

with the alveolar affricate $\widehat{ts}/$, as shown in (96).

(96)

ţiņţít͡s

ţiņţít͡sa

'proper noun'

3.4.2. /h/ → [f]

Very occasionally, it is possible to hear the glottal fricative /h/ being realized as

a labiodental fricative [f] or even as a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ], as in (97).

(97)

óuf̪t̪ukɛɛ

Auhut̪ukai

'proper noun'

This occasional change /h/ → [f] may be due to influence from Peruvian

Amazonian Spanish. In this variety of Spanish, there is a similar permutation between

/x/ and /f/ (e.g. <juan> > [fan] 'proper noun', <falta> > [xualta] 'fault') found in

Amazonian Spanish,[74] whose influence may be at the origin of the Wampis process. In

Peruvian Amazonian Spanish, the change x > f ~ ɸ occurs preceding back vowels in

word-initial or word-internal positions (Ramírez 2003; Vallejos 2014). However, unlike

Peruvian Amazonian Spanish, I have no examples of /h/ → [f] occurring at the

beginning of the words in Wampis, only word-internally.

3.5. Distribution of consonants

Table 3.4 summarizes the distribution of the Wampis consonants that I have

described in the preceding sections. The table refers to the possible combinations of

phonemes in the underlying structure of Wampis words. Note that underlyingly, the

Wampis language has a strong preference for simple open syllables, and it generally

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74. This permutation is also present in the Spanish spoken by the Wampis, which is based on
Amazonian Spanish.

avoids CC clusters not involving a nasal as first element. This structure, however, is completely overridden when vowel elision applies. Vowel elision processes are very pervasive in Wampis and they obscure quite considerably the rather straightforward underlying patterns of Wampis words. (Because vowel elision is associated with the prosodic structure of the language, it is analyzed in Chapter VI, see §6.4.4.) Table 3.4 is largely based on my database but I also checked Jackway et al.'s dictionary (1987). Thus, while I do not claim that the results shown in this table are necessarily exhaustive, they are the most comprehensive for Wampis to this date, giving a very good general idea of Wampis consonant restrictions and combinatory patterns.

In general, no consonant is allowed word-finally in the underlying representation of words. In fact, there are very few items (including clitics and suffixes) that end with a consonant in Wampis—and in most of those cases, a historical reconstruction with a final vowel in the morpheme is almost always clear. The word-final no-consonant restriction does not apply at the phonetic level, where consonants can occur at the end of the word after final vowel elision. I do not count here onomatopoetic words that can have a glottal or another consonant word finally, as they can be regarded as a-systematic.

Table 3.4. Distribution of consonants in Wampis

	/#__/	/V.__/	/N.__/	/__./	/__#/	/__i/	/__ɨ/	/__a/	/__u/
/p/	✓	✓	✓	---	---	✓	✓	✓	✓
/t/	✓	✓	✓	---	---	✓	✓	✓	✓
/k/	✓	✓	✓	---	---	✓	✓	✓	✓
(/ʔ/)	---	✓	---	---	---	✓	---	✓	---
/m/	✓	✓	---	✓	---	✓	✓	✓	✓
/n/	✓	✓	---	✓	---	✓	✓	✓	✓
(/ɲ/)	---	✓	---	---	---	✓	---	---	✓
/s/	✓	✓	---	---	---	✓ᵃ	✓	✓	✓
/ʃ/	✓	✓	✓	---	---	✓	---	✓	✓
/t͡s/	✓	✓	✓	---	---	---	✓	✓	✓
/t͡ʃ/	✓	✓	✓	---	---	✓	---	✓	✓
/r/	---	✓	---	---	---	✓	✓	✓	✓

ᵃ All of the /si/ sequences in the database occur word-internally.

Turning now to preferred and dis-preferred consonant-vowel pairs, the incompatibility of the vowel /ɨ/ with the palato-alveolars /ʃ/ and /t͡ʃ/ is a significant finding. The language drastically disfavors syllable combinations between palatal affricates and the high central vowel. The incompatibility of /t͡s/ and the vowel /i/ is also very remarkable.[75] Though it may not appear clearly from Table 3.4, the

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75. Gnerre (2010) reports a similar situation for Shuar too.

combination /si/ is also very disfavoured in Wampis—strikingly, there is no occurrence

of this combination word-initially, and word internally it is restricted to a few lexical

words, most of them nouns related to flora or fauna, or loanwords from Spanish (e.g.

kirusinka 'kerosene'). By contrast, the combinations /t͡sɨ/ and /sɨ/ are quite frequent.

Thus, it seems that Wampis has a very interesting phonotactic pattern with respect to

the class of sibilants:

- The palato-alveolar sibilants /ʃ/ and /t͡ʃ/ favor combinations with /i/ and disfavor

  combinations with the closest vowel to /i/ in the vowel space, which is /ɨ/.

- The non-palato-alveolar sibilants /s/ and /t͡s/ disfavor combinations with /i/ and

  instead favor combinations with the next closest vowel, which is /ɨ/.

The pattern described above can be thought of in terms of adaptative dispersion;

i.e. in terms of ease of articulation and perceptual distinctiveness. In fact, it has been

found that languages favour certain combinations of consonants and vowels while

restricting other sequences. For instance, Maddieson and Precoda (1992) found that

some languages avoid combinations of glides with cognates vowels, as well as pointed

out that some other languages avoid velars before high vowels. Likewise, in Wampis,

there seems to be preference and avoidance of certain combinations with the class of

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sibilants. In the case of Wampis, it is possible to say that there is a neutralization of $/\widehat{tʃ}/$

and $/\widehat{ts}/$ in specific environments:

$$\widehat{ts} \rightarrow \widehat{tʃ} \: / \: \_\_i$$

$$\widehat{tʃ} \rightarrow \widehat{ts} \: / \: \_\_ɨ$$

It is not possible to say that there is neutralization of /s/ and /ʃ/ because there

are a few examples of /si/ sequences as explained above; however, the strong

preference of /s/ to pattern with /ɨ/ and of /ʃ/ to pattern with /i/ suggests that ease of

articulation[76] may have played a key role in determining combinatorial patterns of

sibilants and vowels in Wampis. A more thorough study that takes into account other

factors, such as vowel frequency, for instance, may shed more light into the striking

patterns found in Wampis, and will constitute a good of point of future research.

3.6. Vowel phonemes

Wampis possesses a system with four contrastive vowel qualities, including a

high central vowel /ɨ/ that is quite typical of Amazonian languages (Dixon &

Aikhenvald 1999; Payne 1999a). The system consists of eight vowels: there are four

contrastive oral vowels and each has a contrastive nasal counterpart. Thus, the relevant

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76. Lindblom and Maddieson (1988) show that ease of articulatory effort seems to play a role in
determining languages' consonants sets.

features of the Wampis vowel system are height, frontness/backness and oral/nasal

prosody. The vowel system is presented in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5. Wampis vowel inventory

	Front	Central	Back
High	i ĩ	ɨ ɨ̃	u ũ
Low		a ã	

3.6.1. Vowel quality

In order to accurately describe vowel quality, measurements of the first and

second formants of vowels for thirty Wampis words were taken (details of the study are

described below). The results of these measurements allow us to know the actual place

of articulation of vowels over acoustic space.

One Wampis woman, 29 years old, and one Wampis man, 42 years old, were

recorded saying a series of thirty words. The words were recorded three times in

isolation and one time within the carrier sentence [tʃitʃámka _____ táhi núwɛiti]

which translates as 'the word _____ is what we say' (this carrier sentence was

suggested by my Wampis teachers). Measurements of F1 and F2 formants were then

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taken using PRAAT, a free software for phonetic analysis developed by Paul Boersma

and David Weenink (http://www.praat.org). The measurements of F1 and F2 were

made at the mid-point of the vowel to diminish possible consonant perturbation effects.

The mean values of the first and second formants for each vowel are presented in Table

3.6. Nasal vowels were not measured.

Table 3.6. Means for F1 and F2 measurements of Wampis vowels

Vowels	F1	F2
i	441.586	2595.739
ɨ	481.88	1597.941
a	777.873	1768.847
u	393.645	1079.221

The relationship between the F1 and F2 is summarized in a vowel space plot.

This was done by matching grid references of the means of F1 and F2 of each vowel.

Figure 3.3 shows the plot-chart for Wampis vowels.
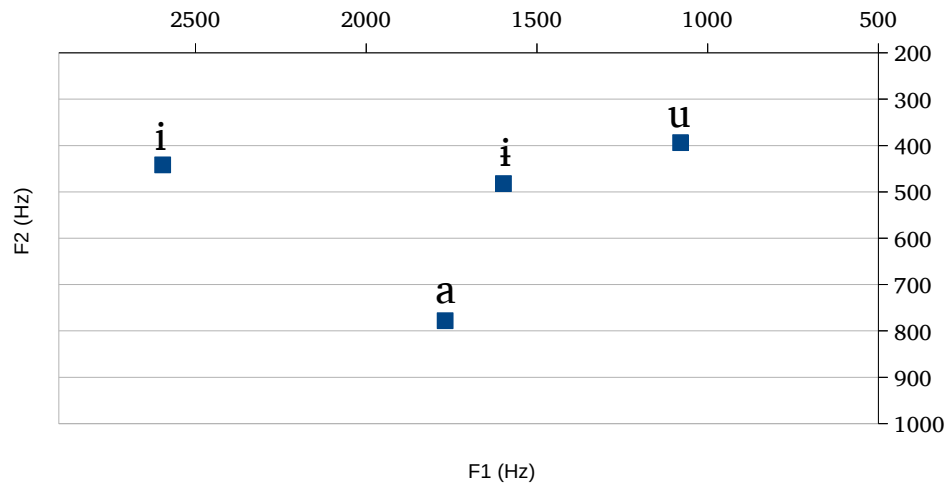
Figure 3.3. Plot-chart of Wampis vowel acoustic space

3.6.2. Vowel oppositions

The following oppositions confirm the phonological status of /a, i, ɨ, u/.

(98)

i vs ɨ

/intʃi/   'sweet potato'   vs   /sɨntʃi/   'strong'

i vs u

/ţi/   'intensifier'   vs   /ţu/   'say'

i vs a

/ţakiţa/   'hatch (N)'   vs   /ţakaţa/   'work (N)'

ɨ vs u

/nukɨ/   'only that'   vs   /nuku/   'mother'

ɨ vs a

/ɨa/   'look for'   vs   /aa/   'write'

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u vs a

/nuku/   'mother'   vs   /nuka/   'leaf'

3.6.3. Oral versus nasal contrasts

The following contrastive examples show the phonemic status of oral versus

nasal vowels.

(99)
i vs ĩ
/hii/   'fire'   vs   /hiĩ/   'his eye'

ɨ vs ɨ̃
/uɨɨ/ [wɨ́ɨ] 'salt'   vs   /uiɨ̃/ [wɨ́ɨ̃]   'he is gone'

u vs. ũ
/uuru/   'cry several'   vs   /ũuru/   'shake (earthquake)'

a vs ã
/sasa/   'small waterfall'   vs   /sãsã/   'hoatzin (*Opisthocomus hoazin*)'

3.6.4. Distribution of vowel clusters

As Table 3.7 shows, combinations of all vowels are possible in Wampis with the

exception of /iɨ/ and /ɨi/ clusters.

Table 3.7. Distribution of vowel clusters

	/i/	/ɨ/	/u/	/a/
/i/	✔	---	✔	✔
/ɨ/	---	✔	✔	✔
/u/	✔	✔	✔	✔
/a/	✔	✔	✔	✔

The caveat is that clusters of phonological non-identical vowel are liable to

become a cluster of glide + vowel if the first vowel in a VV cluster is a high vowel /i/ or

/u/. In the case of the vowel /ɨ/ in an *ɨV* cluster, a velar approximant [ɰ] can be

inserted optionally (i.e. the cluster may become [ɨɰV] on the surface form). See §3.7.3

and §4.2 for more details about glides.

Vowels /i/ and /ɨ/ are neutralized in the vicinity of each other, as they do not

co-occur. This pattern seems to relate to the neutralization of sibilants before these

same vowels /i/ and /ɨ/ (see §3.5).

3.7. Vowel allophony

3.7.1. Assimilation of /a/

The vowel /a/ is raised when it precedes the high vowel /i/ and /u/. This

pattern can be summarized with the following rule:

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{V} & \rightarrow & \text{V} & / & \_\_\_ \text{V} \\
[+\text{low}] & & [+\text{high}] & & [+\text{high}]
\end{array}
$$

From the rule stated above, the sequences /ai/ and /au/ are pronounced [ɛi]

and [ou], respectively. Optionally, these sequences may surface as [ɛɛ] or [oo],

respectively—in fact, Wampis speakers show quite a bit of alternation between these

possible realizations. Word-initial and word-final environments seem to favor the

realizations [εε] and [oo], whereas word-internally the preferred realizations are [εi]

and [ou]. Notice that this surface alternation does not happen with the sequence /aɨ/.[77]

The specific allophonic rules are presented in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8. Assimilation of /a/

Specific allophonic rules	Examples	Gloss
/ai/ → [εi] ~ [εε] /__i	/nai/ → [nɛ́i] ~ [nɛ́ɛ]	'tooth'
/au/→ [ou] ~ [oo] /__u	/au/ → [óu] ~ [óo]	'distal demonstrative'
/aɨ/ → [ə]/ __ɨ	/aɨ́ta/ → [əɨ́t̪]	'green (not ripe)'

The surface realizations [εε] and [oo] may be a recent development, as neither

Beasley and Pike (1957) nor Jakway et al. (1987) report them. Therefore, this change

seems to be following a relatively transparent direction towards the direction of the

quality of a raised vowel, e.g. *ai > εi > εε. This change has not been reported for

other Jivaroan languages. The word /auhu/ 'common potoo' (*Nyctibius griseus*) seems to

be "immune" (probably because of its apparent onomatopoetic nature) to the rule of

---

77. This may be due to the the rather infrequent combination of these vowels in that order.
There is only five words with the sequence /aɨ/ in the database.

assimilation of /a/ and it is pronounced [aúhu].

3.7.2. Lower allophones of high vowels

When they do not received high tone, the high vowels /i/, /ɨ/ and /u/ have

lowered lax allophones [ɪ], [ə] and [ʊ], as illustrated in the next examples.

(100)

/kuhi/	→	[kúhɪ]	'kinkajou (*Potos flavus*)'
/hakɨ/	→	[hákə]	'warm water'
/kuiu/	→	[kújʊ]	'guan sp.'

This allophony does not have any further consequence for the Wampis grammar.

Therefore, I only transcribe these allophones when necessary to illustrate their

occurrence, like in the examples above.

3.7.3. Glides

The approximants [j] and [w] in Wampis can be analyzed as positional

allophones of the high vowels /i/ and /u/ in initial position and intervocalically.[78] In

other environments they are prohibited.

(101) /iauaã/ → [jawáã̃]

The formation of glides can be more clearly seen in sandi environments:

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78. With the one exception /j/ in the suffix *-ji* '3.PT'. See §3.2.7.

(102)

ája

a = **ia**

cop = REM.PT

(103)

píŋkirt͡ʃowɛit̯ʲi

pɨnkɨra-t͡ʃa**u** = aiṯi

good-NEG.NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'It is not good'

In (102), when the copula *a* carries the remote past suffix *-ia*, the glide [j]

surfaces. Likewise, in (103), when the base *pɨnkɨra-t͡ʃau* 'not good' hosts the copula

= *aita*, the glide [w] surfaces.

According phonemic status to the glides would add more segments to the

Wampis inventory and, therefore, a new tier of at least sixteen potential oppositions per

#GV and VGV environment: *ji, jɨ, ja, ju; jĩ, jɨ̃, jã, jũ; wi, wɨ, wa, wu; wĩ, wɨ̃, wã, wũ*. The

occurrence of the glides can be predicted with no major problems; thus, it is better to

posit them as positional allophones of /i/ and /u/.

3.7.3.1. Fricativization of [w]

The approximant [w], when preceding a high front vowel /i/, becomes

fricativized. This change is formalized in the following rule:

[w] → [β]/__i

The following examples illustrate the above rule:

(104)

/ui/ →[βíi] 'I'

/saaui/ → [saáβi] 'transparent'

/uinka/ → [βíŋkʲa] 'blue'

Sometimes, [w] also surfaces as a labiodental approximant [ʋ] in the same

environment. This is also a minor change and is not transcribed unless necessary.

3.8. Other hypo-articulatory (casual speech) phenomena

In this section, some other cases that are not generally systematic are described.

These can be analyzed as cases of hypo-articulation, as they do not occur in isolation

but in normal speech; they alternate with otherwise general rules.

3.8.1. De-palatalization

Occasionally, speakers do not palatalize a consonant in an environment that

would otherwise require palatalization. This is not frequent and may be due to hypo-

articulation, as the same word generally occurs palatalized. Here are a couple of

examples that in my data show both realizations.

(105)

miɲiṱṱahɛɛ ~ miniṱṱáhɛɛ

mini-ṱaṱa-ha-i

come-DEF.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I will come.'

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(106)

kíṉt̠ʲa ~ kíṉt̠a
kinta
'Afternoon'

In addition, the first /n/ of */pininka/* never seems to undergo palatalization, it is

pronounced [piníŋ] and not [piɲíŋ]. This is probable due to consonant dissimilation.

3.8.2. Palatalization of [w] and /h/

Sometimes the glide [w] and the fricative consonant /h/ are optionally

palatalized after a high vowel /i/.

(107)

| /iuant͡ʃi/ | → [iwánt͡ʃ] ~ [iwʲant͡ʃ] | 'devil' |
| /ihu/ | → [íhu] ~ [íhʲu] | 'palm heart, *chonta* (*Astrocarium chonta*)' |

3.8.3. Alternation [mʷɨ] ~ [mu]

In rapid speech, the sequence [mʷɨ] is sometimes realized as [mu].

(108)

| /amɨ/ → | [amʷɨ] ~ [ámu] | 'you' |
| /kamɨ/→ | [kamʷɨ] ~ [kámu] | 'interjection' |

3.8.4. Lenition of /ʃ/

Though very infrequent in my data, the palato-alveolar /ʃ/ may surface as a

velar fricative [h] intervocalically. For example, /amɨ=ʃa/ 'you too (2sg=add)' may

surface as [ámʷɨha]. I observed this variation primarily in Candungos (Upper Santiago),

but not in communities of the Middle Santiago such as Puerto Galilea or Huabal.

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However, I was told by my teachers that the debuccalized realization may be pronounced by any Wampis speaker sometimes in rapid speech and they did not consider it a marked error (their explanation ran along the lines of "people sometimes speak like that"). Thus, it seems that this is a case of hypo-articulation rather than a dialectal variation.

3.8.5. On the voicing of stops

In previous works on Jivaroan languages (Beasley & Pike 1957; Turner 1958b; Turner 1992; Gnerre 2010), stops have been described as assimilating to a preceding homorganic nasal. With regards to Wampis, Beasley and Pike state: "In the middle of words, after nasal consonants, however, voiced allophones of the stops and affricates appear. The /p/ may be voiced preceding /ɾ/, and /k/ may be voiced before /m/ and /ŋ/" (1957: 1). I have not found any example of voiced affricates in my data. As for stops, this process of voicing is not systematic and, save for a few examples in discourse (which may be considered casual speech), voiced stops generally do not occur before nasals. In elicitation, when words were pronounced in isolation, stops following a nasal consonant are never voiced. One may argue that in the past there used to be a productive voicing rule of stops following a nasal consonant, judging by geographic and

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proper names that have survived such as <Candungos>, <Cangaza>, <Huambisa>, <Chinganaza>, <Ayambis>, and so forth. These are, mostly, Spanish renditions of Jivaroan names (some of them dating back to colonial times), though in principle the Spanish would have been well-used to hearing the difference between a voiced and a voiceless stop. However, all of these names are pronounced with voiceless stops in Wampis, at least synchronically:, e.g. <Candungos> [kaṉṯúnkus], <Cangaza> [kaŋkás], <Huambisa> [wampís], <Chinganaza> [t͡ʃinkanás], and so on. It may as well be the case that these place names were based on the speech of other Jivaroan groups where voicing of stops is apparently more frequent, such as Shuar.[79] Sociolinguistic factors may as well be playing a role, as my teachers sometimes regarded voicing as "not Wampis".

Voicing of stops in the environment of a nasal does happen in Wampis but it is rather infrequent; certainly far from systematic. When it does happen, the environment that is by far more relevant to the voicing of stops is /N.__r/, not just /N.__/ or /__r/. Even in these instances, though, voicing is not systematic and voiced and voiceless realizations alternate. It is interesting to notice that the voicing of stops in the

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79. For Shuar, Saad (Saad 2014: 18) states that voicing of stops after nasal occurs but is optional.

environment of a nasal consonant was quickly corrected in transcription, with speakers

stating that it was better transcribed with a voiceless grapheme (e.g. <p> instead of

<b>). In the following example, which has a close phonetic transcription, the relevant

part is how the nominalized verb *iruna-tu-ra-mau* (which is glossed as 'get together')

surfaces. We notice that the pronunciation of this morphologically complex form

surfaces as [iɾúnðɾamu] (the relevant context is underlined in the example), with the

underlying /t̪/ being voiced. However, other stops that occur in the example in the

immediacy of a nasal or /N.__r/ are not voiced (for instance, see the word

[*nawaṉt̪rumhɛɛ̃*] 'with your daughter', where /t̪/ is not voiced in spite of following /n/).

Thus, it must be concluded that voicing is not systematic.

(109) *iruṉðramu ámʷɨ nawaṉt̪rumhɛɛ̃ puhúst̪asan*

iruna-t̪u-ra-mau	amɨ	nauanṯa-rumɨ=haĩ	puhu-sa-ta-nu
get.together-APPL-DISTR-NMLZ	2SG	daughter-2SG=COM	live-ATT-PURP-1SG.SS

'I [want] to live with your daughter.'

3.8.6. On devoicing of vowels

Devoicing of vowels was also reported for Wampis by Beasley and Pike: "Certain

vowels which in the middle of words in a restricted word list are clearly voiced, and are

members of the ordinary voiced vowel system, lose their voicing when unstressed, and

when the suffixes following them are dropped from the word" (1957: 6). I have not

found such process. It may be that since the 1950s devoicing of vowels has lead to

vowel elision, which is quite spread in Wampis as some of the examples in this chapter

have shown.[80] Therefore, devoicing of vowels can be regarded as a previous historical

step to elision.

What I did find during acoustic analysis is that speakers may rarely pronounced

the last vowel of a word with very little energy. In other words, some final vowels in

words with more than two underlying vowels—the last vowel of a word with more than

two underlying vowels undergoes apocope, as will be seen in detail in §6.4.4 (apocope

is a systematic process in Wampis)—may actually occur in citation forms (during

elicitation), but in a very shortened form realized with much less energy. They are

hardly perceivable and in fact I noticed them primarily after looking at spectrograms

generated by PRAAT. These vowels are not devoiced, they show a little voicing as

illustrated with the word /uísuṭa/ 'ant sp.' (which is otherwise pronounced [wísuṭ]) in

Figure 3.4.

---

80. See §6.4.4 for an analysis of vowel elision.
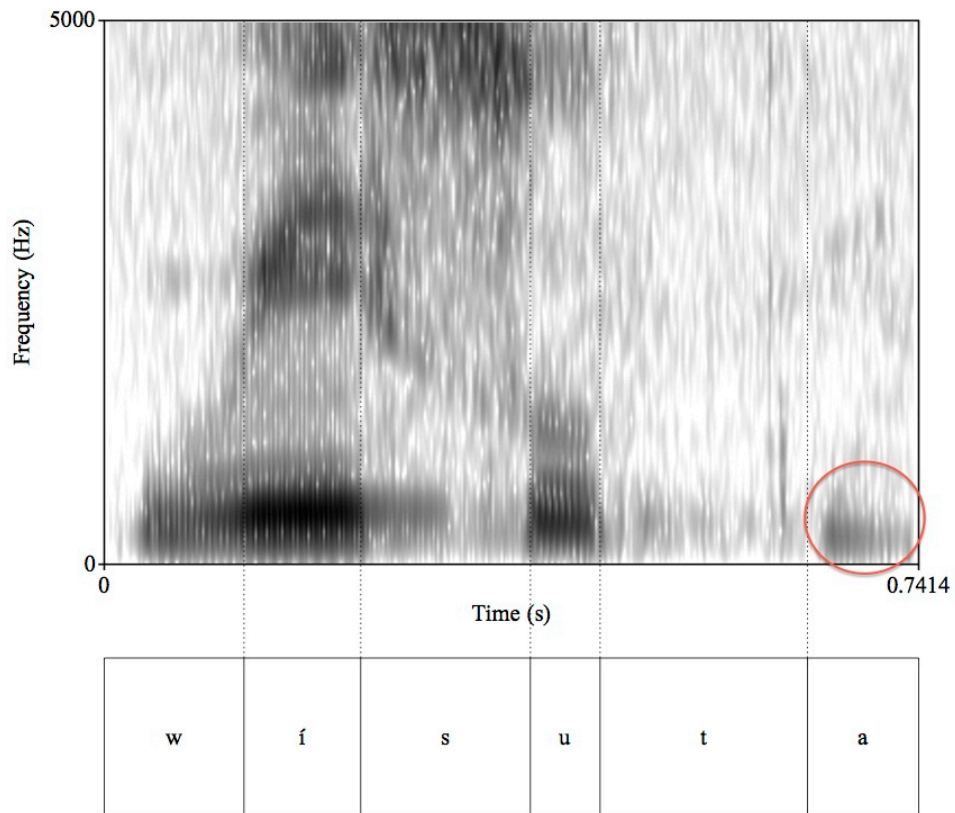
Figure 3.4. Spectrogram of [wísuṭa] showing a very reduced vowel at the end

The phenomenon of vowels not undergoing apocope in Wampis is very rare, in discourse as well as in elicitation vowels in final position undergo apocope.

3.9. Loanwords

3.9.1. Spanish loanwords

Two types of loanwords from Spanish coexist in Wampis: those which comply with the Wampis phonological system and those which do not. Most Wampis people are

generally familiar with Spanish (many of them, especially middle-aged and younger are

bilinguals) and therefore are able to pronounce Spanish words without major

phonological adaptation. It is plausible to think that the borrowings that do not undergo

phonological adaptation are more recent than the ones that have been adapted, though

some recent borrowings may have been adapted due to their importance for language

policy, such as *papí* 'book' (from Spanish <papel> 'paper'). Therefore it is possible to

find common Spanish words as part of a Wampis speaker's everyday speech, such as

[polisía] 'policeman' (from Spanish <policía>), and Spanish loanwords that have been

reinterpreted following Wampis rules, such as /suntara/ → [suntáɾ] 'soldier' (from

Spanish <soldado>). Both types of loanwords are fully integrated into the Wampis

language rules when not in careful speech, i.e. they are bound to Wampis rules such as

high tone shift when they receive morphemes that have an effect in their phonetic

realization, cf. for */bála/* 'bullet' (from Spanish <bala>), the pronunciations is

identical to Spanish: [bála]. However, when this item receives the accusative =*na* it

changes the placement of the high tone, just like regular Wampis nouns do (cf. §6.6):

[balán] (/bala=na/ 'bullet=ACC'). Table 3.9 presents a sample of Spanish borrowings

used in Wampis.

Table 3.9. Sample of Spanish loanwords in Wampis

Wampis	Spanish	Gloss	Phonological adjustment
/mat͡ʃu/ [mát͡ʃu]	<macho>	'male'[a]	o>u
/panka/ [páŋka]	<pan>	'bread'	C#+-ka
/uru/ [úru]	<oro>	'gold'	o>u
/iskupíṭa/ [iskupíṭ]	<escopeta>	'shotgun'	e>i; o>u
/papí/ [papí]	<papel>	'book'[b]	e>i
/arusa/ [arús]	<arroz>	'rice'	o>u; rr>r; C#+-a
/iusa/ [júsa]	<dios>	'god, church'	C#+-a; dio> iu C#+-ka;
/iumunka/ [jumúŋka]	<limón>	'lime'	liu>iu
/irinku/ [iríŋku]	<gringo>	'white person'	#Cr>#VrV; o>u; g>k
Non-adapted loanwords			
/esṭe/	<este>[c]	'pragmatic marker'	
/karṭut͡ʃo/	<cartucho>	'cartridge' (for gun)	
/bala/	<bala>	'bullet'	
/linṭerna/	<linterna>	'flashlight'	
/gasolina/	<gasolina>	'gas'	
/kanṭa-ma/	<cantar>	'sing'	

[a] In Wampis, this is a familiar term to refer to a son.

[b] In Spanish, <papel> means 'paper', not 'book'.

[c] This is a Spanish demonstrative that means 'this', but in Peruvian Spanish it is used also as a hesitation device. The Wampis used this word with the latter function.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the examples presented in Table 3.9 is that in Wampis there is a paragogical vowel that by default seems to be /a/. In words ending with a nasal consonant, the paragogical syllable /-ka/ is added. Whenever the Wampis requirement that underlyingly words must end in a vowel (V#) seems to be at risk of being violated by the loanword, these paragogical segments, /a/ and /ka/ are

inserted to preserve the Wampis word structure requirement.

3.9.2. Quechua loanwords

Though not too numerous, Quechua loanwords are not uncommon in Wampis. It

is uncertain when the contact between Wampis and Quechua started. Most borrowings

probably are very old, originating from at least the 17th century or later. Quechua has

never been spoken in the Santiago area, thus it is conceivable to think that Quechua

words could have been incorporated into Wampis as a result of the expansion of the

Quechua language by missionaries working in the Amazon in colonial times. As we saw

in Chapter II, the Wampis were never fully colonized or fully evangelized, therefore it

may be the case that loans from Quechua were incorporated as Quechua gained

notoriety in the larger Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon area as some sort of lingua

franca. However, the Wampis (or pre-Wampis) may have been in contact with Quechua-

speaking peoples prior to the above pointed time, as they traded with Andean groups

before the Spanish conquest. Some of these groups, for instance the Cañari (and even

proposed Jivaroan groups such as the Guayacundos), were probably already

quechuanized by the time the Spanish arrived. In fact, the Inca had expanded Quechua

to the northern Andean territories as they expanded their territory, and were pushing to

conquer the Upper Marañon region before the arrival of the Europeans.[81] Therefore, while some borrowings may have come as a result of the expansion of Quechua in colonial or more modern times, it is also quite possible that some of them originated in pre-Hispanic times.

Table 3.10 shows examples of Quechua borrowings that occur in Wampis.[82] Most loans from Quechua in my database are nouns or adjectives. As we can see, there is little re-adjustment changes of some of the original Quechua words into Wampis. One interesting fact is the insertion of the vowel /a/ to comply with the Wampis (C)V(N) pattern, cf. 'town'.

There are some words that come ultimately from Quechua but were most likely borrowed through regional Amazonian or even standard Peruvian Spanish (which has been influenced by Quechua) in recent times. For instance, Wampis *kantʃa* 'sports field' is a pan-Spanish borrowing from Quechua; the word *apu* 'community chief', which is also present in Spanish, designates a socio-political institution that was introduced in the 20th century in many communities in the Amazon as a way to have a visible leader

81. Notice that the Quechua variety that was expanded by the Incas was not the same as the one used by missionaries later (Cerrón-Palomino 1987).

82. Stark and Muysken (1977) and Cerrón-Palomino (1994) were consulted for Quechua words.

in the newly created towns.

Table 3.10. Sample of Quechuan loanwords in Wampis

Wampis	Quechua	Gloss	Phonological adjustment
/sint͡ʃi/ [sínt͡ʃi]	< sinchi >	'strong'	i > ɨ
/iaakaṯa/ [jaákaṯ]	< llákta >	'town'	a > aa; V-insertion
/ima/ [íma]	< ima >	'Intensifier'[a]	
/pínkui/ [piŋkui]	< pinkúyu >	'flute'	u > ∅
/kut͡ʃa/ [kút͡ʃa]	< kucha >	'puddle, lake'	
/kat͡ʃu/ [kát͡ʃu]	< kachu >	'horn (to call)'	
/ʃaa/ [ʃáa]	< chara >	'corn sp.'	t͡ʃ > ʃ; r > ∅
/apu/ [ápu]	< apu >	'chief'	
/kant͡ʃa/ [kánt͡ʃa]	< kancha >	'sports field'	
/iat͡ʃa/ [ját͡ʃa]	< yacha >	'wise, clever'	

[a] In Quechua, this word is polysemous. It is an intensifier for exclamative expressions, as well as an interrogative word 'What?', it also means 'thing'.

Muysken (2010; 2013) has noticed certain similarities in the way the copula

clitics work in Ecuadorian Quichua and Jivaroan languages (particularly, Shuar),

though his analysis focuses on the form, not the diverse functions and contexts where

the copula occurs, which seem to differ between the Shuar copula and the Ecuadorian

Quichua copula.

3.9.3. Loanwords from other languages

There is a number of words in Wampis that seem to proceed from other

Amazonian languages, most notably from Cariban and Tupi-Guarani languages. The exact way how these words entered into Wampis is unknown yet (and it is theoretically possible that they come from an original unidentified proto-source). However, the fact that many of these words are also found in other Jivaroan languages may indicate that they rather were present or borrowed in past states of Jivaroan.

Gnerre (2010) speculates that some words in Jivaroan languages may come from other Amazonian languages. Table 3.11 provides a few examples of these words and their possible sources.

Table 3.11. Some Wampis words that may come from other Amazonian languages

Wampis	Gloss	Possible source (according to Gnerre (2010))
/ṭuná/ [ṭuná]	'waterfall'	Cariban
/t͡sukanká/ [t͡sukaŋká][a]	'toucan'	Tupí
/iauaã/ [ɲawã́a]	'dog (also jaguar)'	Tupí
/kanú/ [kanú]	'canoe'	Arawak

[a] It is possible that the sequence -ka that occurs in certain loanwords from Spanish is forming this word too, thus we would have the structure tsukan-ka.

In addition, Gnerre (2010) has argued for a potential genetic connection of Jivaroan with Arawak, and Wise (2014) has presented evidence of contact, rather than genetic relationship, between Jivaroan and Arawak. Much of the discussion is yet

insufficient to make any definitive statement.

3.10. Notes on transcription

Throughout this dissertation I follow IPA conventions for representing the Wampis consonants and vowels. However, for practical reasons, some decisions have been made regarding transcription of examples.

Because the dental stop /t̪/ does not have any other non-dental counterpart, I have used the dental symbol <t̪> in this chapter, but I will represent it simply with <t> in the remaining of the dissertation (this a practical decision already made by Overall (2007) for Awajun). I use the symbol <r> to represent the Wampis rothic phoneme whose realization may vary between [ɹ] and [ɾ]. For practical convenience, other "minor" allophonic variation is not represented in the remaining of the dissertation (unless a close phonetic transcription is necessary to prove a statement). For instance, the allophone [mʷ] of /m/, which only occurs before /ɨ/, or the allophone [β] of the glide [w], which only occurs before /i/, are not represented, since they occur in very specific environments. Other phenomena that is widespread in the language, such as palatalization, is represented in the phonetic transcription of examples. In addition, I will mark the most likely locus of nasalization with a tilde Ṽ, and an

underlying high tone with an accent mark V́, following the observations made

throughout Chapter VI, which is dedicated to the prosody of Wampis.

CHAPTER IV

ALLOPHONIC GLIDE DERIVATION, EPENTHETIC GLIDE

INSERTION AND PHONOTACTICS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the formation of glides in Wampis, as well as the syllable

and word structure of the language. Glides are important in Wampis because they are

treated as consonants for the purposes of word-internal vowel elision (cf. §6.4.5). Once

glides are formed, syllables become relevant for the purpose of establishing rhythmic

feet and vowel elision, which is very pervasive in Wampis. Hence, the structure of

syllables are treated also in this chapter, before analyzing the morphophonology and

prosody of the language, which will be seen in Chapters V and VI, respectively. In this

chapter, as well as in Chapters V and VI, I will be adopting a rather rigorous formalism

for greater illustration at the moment of describing word derivations. There are two

main advantages in positing several steps in derivation of words: first, it is useful to

describe very complex processes; second, it is also useful to show possible deep forms,

especially useful for those seeking to do comparative work with other Jivaroan

languages, and as a helpful reference for internal reconstruction. However, I do not

make any claim in terms of the cognitive processes that the several steps described in some examples here may represent. There are several theories that can help understand the link between the mental representation of words, their storage in our lexicon and their actual realization. The relevance of a language like Wampis for those theories is yet to be explored.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: §4.2 offers an analysis of the formation of glides, and §4.3 describes the phonotactic patterns of Wampis, including an analysis of the syllable structure and combinatorial restrictions.

4.2. Derivation and insertion of glides

There are three phonetic glides in Wampis: [w], [j] and [ɥ]. Glides in Wampis are of two classes: first, [j] and [w] are positional allophones of the phonemes /i/ and /u/, respectively. As stated in §3.7.3, the glides [j] and [w] are not considered as part of the underlying phonemic inventory of Wampis[83] on grounds of analytical parsimony. Second, there are epenthetic glides [j], [w] and [ɥ] that are optionally inserted after a homorganic vowel. In this section, I analyze the derivation and insertion of glides in Wampis.

83. With the exception of the /j/ that occurs in the suffix -ji '3.PT' as explained in §3.2.7.

The surface realization of glides is predictable for reasons that have to do with syllable constraints. What is more, it is not necessary to establish a difference between Vowel + Glide sequences (VG or GV) and Vowel + Vowel sequences; i.e. a contrastive opposition of [aj] vs. [ai], or [wa] vs. [ua] is never found in Wampis.

Glides are formed very early in the phonetic derivation of words. Once created, they count as consonants for purposes of word internal vowel elision (but not apocope) and metrical high tone assignment, as will be seen in §4.2.2 (see also §6.4). In general, glide formation can be seen as the result of the interplay with syllable constraints that:

(a) disfavor non-identical vowel sequences (i.e. two-mora) of the form $V_1[+\text{high}]V_2$;

(b) prefer onsets over codas; and,

(c) prefer simple onsets over complex onsets.

From the list of constraints just mentioned, (a) favors the formation of glides in a V_1V_2 environment where V_1 is a high vowel, and (b), (c) govern the mapping between segments and onset and coda positions. The interaction of these constraints can be seen at work in the next examples with simple words.

(1)

/nua/	→	[nú.wa]	'woman' (not *[nwa])
/t͡ʃui/	→	[t͡ʃú.wi]	*'paucar (Icteridae sp.)'* (not *[t͡ʃwi])

/sua/ → [sú.wa] 'huito (*Genipa americana*)' [not *[swa])
/hĩa/ → [hĩ́.ɰa] 'house' (not *[hɰa])
/kuiu/→ [kú.ju] 'Spix's guan'

As a consequence of (a)–(c) above, an important principle of word-formation in Wampis is that glides are allowed word-initially and intervocalically. Accordingly, the following rules apply in Wampis for the formation of glides. Rules in A and B explain the derivation of glides as allophones of /i/ and /u/. Rule C explains the epenthetic glides.

A. Allophonic glides [j] and [w] are formed in intervocalic position. Two rules can be associated with this type of derivation.

(A.i). Any vowel cluster involving a $VV_1V(V)$ sequence, where V_1 is the high vowel /i/ or /u/, becomes V.GV(V).

$V\ V_1\ V\ (V)$ →   V.GV(V)
  |
{i, u}

The examples in (2) illustrate this rule.

(2)
/auanki/   → (awaiŋki)   → [awɛ́iŋki]   'give back'
/asɨuai/   → (asɨwai)   → [asɨ́wɛɛ]   'adze' (from Spanish <azuela>)
/kauaikama/ → (kawaikama) → [kawɛ́ikʲam]   '*loro machaco* viper' (*Bothriopsis bilineata*)
/iuant͡ʃi/   → (iwant͡ʃi)   → [iwánt͡ʃ]   'mythological character'

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/kaiuka/	→ (kajuka)	→ [kajúk]	'black agouti'
/naiampi/	→ (najaimpi)	→ [najɛ́im]	'sky'
/uuɨha/	→ (uwɨha)	→ [uwɨ́h]	'hand'

(A.ii). Any sequence of the form VVV$_1$V, where V1 is the high vowel /i/ or /u/,

becomes VVGV. The following rule captures this pattern:

V V V$_1$ V   →   VV.GV

    |

   {i, u}

The rule in (A.ii) is similar to the previous rule (A.i), but the important

difference is in the position of V$_1$ (which represents the high vowel /i/ or /u/). This rule

serves to explain (infrequent but attested) instances like the ones in (3).

(3)

| /inaiia/ | → (inaija) | → [iɲɛ́ija] | 'stop, leave' |
| /ankaiia/ | → (ankaija) | → [aŋkɛ́ija] | 'wasp sp.' |

B. High vowels /i/ and /u/ (but not /ɨ/) in word-initial position become glides

[j] and [w], respectively, when they are followed by a different vowel. The following

rule formalizes this change.

V$_1$ V$_2$ →   GV/#___

 |

{i, u}

The examples in (4) illustrate the above rule.

(4)

/iapi/	→	[jápi]	'face'
/iumi/	→	[júmi]	'water, rain'
/uakani/	→	[wakán]	'soul'

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/uɨ/	→	[wɨ́ɨ]	'salt'
/uinka/	→	[wíŋkʲa]	'blue'
/uaura/	→	[woúr]	'act.in.frenzy'

It is important to note that the high vowel /ɨ/ never becomes an approximant [ɰ]; so it never occurs in word-initial position as a glide. The velar approximant [ɰ] in Wampis only occurs intervocalically and it is purely epenthetic, as illustrated by the examples in (5).

(5)

| /ɨakama/ | → | [ɨɰákma] | 'hunt' |
| /hĩa/ | → | [hĩɰa] | 'house' |

More details on the velar approximant [ɰ] are given in §4.2.4, see also next point, rule C.

C. Epenthetic glides [j], [w] and [ɰ] are optionally inserted. Any sequence of the form V_1V_2, where V_1 is a high vowel and is not word-initial, may insert a homorganic glide intervocalically. Examples:

(6)

/uiaitahai/	→	(wijaithai)	→	[wíjɛithʲɛɛ]	'I am'
/sua/	→	[súwa]		*huito (Genipa americana)*'
/uɨahai/	→	(wɨɰahai)	→	[wíɰahɛɛ]	'I am going'

4.2.1. Importance of the ordering of rules

Rules in A and B must apply in that order; that is, glides must be formed intervocalically before they are created at the beginning of the word. Consider (7):

(7)

/iia/	→	[ijá]	'fall'
/uuɨha/	→	[uwɨ́h]	'hand'
/uui/	→	[uwí]	'peach-palm (*Bactris gasipaes*)'
/ɨuɨkama/	→	[ɨwɨ́kma]	'make go, guide'

If we apply rule B in all of the above examples, the derivations of those words

would be incorrect, e.g. *[jia] for 'fall', *[wuɨha] for 'hand', [wui] for 'peach-palm', and

so on. For further illustration, consider the following examples with the forms [íwa]

'giant mythological cannibal' and its metathesized variant [úja]. In both cases we have

to posit intervocalic glide formation first, otherwise we would derive the words

wrongly.

(8)

| /iua/ | → | [íwa] | (not *[jua]) |
| /uia] | → | [úja] | (not *[uja]) |

The formation of allophonic glides must apply at the level of the morpheme,

because once the allophonic glides are formed, they stayed the same for most other

subsequent derivational and inflectional processes. Consider a complex word like 'I am

eating':

(9)

júawɛɛ
iu-a-ua-i
eat-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'He is eating.'

In (9), we have a word that underlyingly contains several vowels: /iu-a-ua-i/. So following the rule A discussed in the previous section, the derivation would be [iwawɛɛ][84] (intervocalic glide formation applies first, so the second /u/ becomes [w]). This is not the correct output, though. Thus, we have to explain the surface form [júawɛɛ] as derivations occurring in the root /iu/ 'eat' and the suffix /ua/ '3.SBJ', respectively, rather than on the complex word.[85]

However, allophonic glides can be reverted to their underlying vowel form following vowel elision if the derived glide is incompatible with the well-formedness of the word. This is illustrated in (10)–(11). First, let us state that in Wampis a third vowel of a word (from left to right) undergoes elision if it is in a CV sequence (vowel elision is analyzed in detail in Chapter VI). In the examples, the vowel to be deleted is underlined.

(10)
kut͡ʃánmaja
kut͡ʃa = nu̲ma = ia
puddle = LOC = ABL
'from the puddle'

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84. Recall from §3.7.1 that the sequence /ai/ is pronounce [ɛi] or [ɛɛ].

85. Morphophonological processes in Wampis are fairly complex. Many morphemes exhibit particular behaviors. Morphophonology is analyzed in Chapter V.

(11)

ikámia

ikam<u>a</u>=ia

forest=ABL

'from the forest'

In (10), the ablative /ia/ surfaces as [ja], since it is in intervocalic position.

However, in (11), it surfaces as [ia]. This occurs because, after vowel elision, the glide

is between a consonant and a vowel, which contradicts the Wampis principle that glides

are allowed word-initially and intervocalically. As a result, the palatal [j] reverts to [i].

This means that in Wampis there must be re-checking rules that ensure that rules of

well-formedness are not violated. The following ordered derivation illustrates the

interplay between vowel elision, glide formation and re-checking rules:

(12)

Input: /ikam<u>a</u>ia/   'from the forest'

Glide formation: *ikam<u>a</u>ja*

Vowel elision: *ikamja*

Re-check: *ikamia*   ([j] reverts to [i])

Output: [ikámia]

With regard to rule C, which explains the insertion of optional epenthetic glides,

it must be preceded by rule B (derivation of glides word-initially). The examples in (13)

show that if rule C applies before rule B, the output of the words would be incorrect

(the incorrect derivations are given in parenthesis).

(13)

/iakuma/   →   [jakúm]   'howling monkey' (not *[ijakma])

/uais/	→	[waís] or [wajís][86]	*'Ilex guayusa'* (not *[uwais])
/uarĩ/	→	[warĩ́]	'what' (not *[uwarĩ])
/ui/	→	[wíi][87] '1sɢ' (not *[iwi])	
/iutaĩ/	→	[jútɛĩ] 'food' (not *[ijutɛĩ])	

4.2.2. Properties of glides

Glides exhibit the following properties:

• Glides are consonant-like for the purpose of word-internal vowel elision. For instance, in a word like 'rest' in (14) the glide is treated as a consonant: the third vowel from the left (which is to be deleted) is the third underlying /a/ (if the glide counted as a vowel, then the third vowel would be the second /a/ from the left):

(14) /aiamatana/ → a.ja.ma̲.ta.na̲ → [ajámat] 'rest (ᴀᴄᴄ)'

• From the above point, it follows that glides are do not count as moras. Evidence of this it that words that have only one mora on the surface lengthen their vowel to comply with a two-mora restriction for words in Wampis—it will be seen in Chapter VI that the prosodic word in Wampis requires two-moras. A word like /ui/ '1sɢ' derives a glide, then it must lengthen its vowel /i/: /ui/ → [wíi]. In addition, because glides are

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86. The second realization, [wajís], is the realization with the optional epenthetic [j] inserted.

87. Mono-vocalic roots lengthen their vowel to comply with a two-mora per prosodic word restriction in Wampis.

not moraic, they are not tone bearing units.

• Interestingly, however, glides are not treated as consonants for the purpose of word-final vowel elision (apocope). In (15), just like the last vowel /ɨ/ is deleted in the word 'root', it would be expected that the last vowel /a/ of the word 'from the puddle' be deleted; however, it is not deleted.

(15)

/kankapɨ/ → (kaŋ.ˈka).pɨ̱ → [kaŋkáp] 'root'
/kutʃanumaia/ → (ku.ˈt͡ʃa).(nṵ.ˈma)ja̱ → [kut͡ʃánmaja] 'from the puddle'

4.2.3. Epenthetic versus allophonic glides

A potential problem of analysis arises around the distinction between surface epenthetic glide and allophonic glide forms of an underlying vowel. In some cases, if the nature of the underlying vowel is not determined, the phonological derivation may result in unprecedented word formations. For instance, it can be posited that the word [júwi] 'squash' can have two possible underlying representations: /iui/ or /iuui/. In the first hypothesized case, /iui/, rules of initial glide formation (rule B) and C (medial glide insertion) could derive [júwi]. But notice that rules must be applied in order, thus rule A.i (intervocalic glide formation) must apply first. However, in that case, the derivation should be [íwi], not [júwi] as the word occurs. Hence, the only way to derive [júwi], with the rules as claimed to be ordered above, is by positing an underlying form

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/iuui/ which results in [júwi] after applying the rule in A.ii and B:

(16)

/iuui/ 'squash'

Intervocalic glide formation (Rule A.ii): iuwi

Initial glide formation (Rule B): juwi

Output: [júwi]

The following examples show that regarding glides, following the rules is

important for the correct derivation of similar surface forms:

(17)

a. /ui/   →   [wíi]   '1SG'

b. /uui/   →   [uwí]   'peach-palm'

(18)

a. /ia/   →   [jáa]   'who'

b. /iia/   →   [ijá]   'fall down'

(19)

a. /iua/   →   [íwa]   'mythological character'

b. /iuua/   →   [júwa] 'cousin of female'

(20)

a. /t͡ʃiua/   →   [t͡ʃíwa]   'trumpeter (bird sp.)'

b. /t͡ʃuanka/   →   [t͡ʃuáŋ] or [t͡ʃuwáŋ][88] 'buzzard'

In (17), if the word for 'peach-palm' were /ui/ phonemically, we would expect

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88. The realization [t͡ʃuwáŋ] shows an optional epenthetic glide [w].

its phonetic realization to be [wíi], just like the form for the first person singular pronoun. Instead, we have [uwí]. Likewise, in (18), /iia/ 'fall down' differs from /ia/ 'who' in the number of moras underlyingly, otherwise it would be expected that both would have the same phonetic realization. The same holds for the pair /iua/ and /iuua/ in (19): the difference is in the underlying moras; whereas (20) shows a phonetic near minimal pair between a word that has an allophonic [w] ('trumpeter') and a word that has a epenthetic [w] ('buzzard'). Therefore, an underlying (V)V$_1$V$_1$V$_2$ sequence must be posited to account for the realizations [uwí], [íja] and [júwa] respectively. Thus, the difference here is that no glide insertion (i.e. ∅ → G) is claimed for these words; rather, it is posited that a change V → G occurs (in this case, ɨi, uɨ → G/V__V). For (20), it is clear that in the word 'trumpeter' there has to be an underlying /u/, otherwise the glide [w] cannot be explained. On the other hand, in 'buzzard' the glide [w] is optional, as evidenced by the fact that there are two possible realizations of the word, [t͡ʃuáŋ] or [t͡ʃuwáŋ].

Epenthetic glides can always be optionally inserted in the environments u__i, u__a, and ɨ__a in rapid speech.

(21)

/kuiʃi/	→	[kuwíʃ] ~ [kuíʃ]	'ear'
/muit͡sa/	→	[muwít͡s] ~ [muít͡s]	'type of jar'

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/nua/	→	[núwa] ~ [núa]	'woman'
/tsiasa/	→	[tsɨɰása] ~ [tsɨ́as]	'dart poison'
/kuitama/	→	[kuwítam] ~ [kuítam]	'look after'[89]

With relation to this, epenthetic glides are actually more frequently not inserted, and this can be used to help decide whether a glide is epenthetic or not. Therefore, whereas it is possible to find realizations such as /nua/ → [núwa]~[núa] 'woman', that same alternation does not occur with words such as /iuui/ 'squash'; i.e. *[yúi] never occur as an alternate realization of [júwi]. This suggests that, for Wampis, the underlying segments have to be mapped into syllable positions, but non-underlying (epenthetic) segments do not.

Finally, in some other cases, there is also incidental evidence that helps distinguish between epenthetic and allophonic glides. For instance, the word /uuɨha/ [uwíh] 'hand' has the variant pronunciation [ɨwíh] (i.e. there are two variant underlying lexical forms). Thus, underlying representations such as /uuɨha/ and /ɨuɨha/ must be posited, otherwise—i.e. if we analyze the word as /uɨha/~/ɨɨha/ in its lexical underlying form—in the second case (/ɨɨha/), there would be no need of inserting a glide, as sequences of two identical vowels are perfect in Wampis. Hence, we must

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89. This is a borrowing from Spanish <cuidar> 'look after'.

propose /uuɨha/~/ɨuɨha/ as the lexical representations for these variants, both being derived by applying the same rule in A.i given at the beginning of §4.2.

4.2.4. On the approximant [ɰ]

Unlike the other high vowels, the high central vowel /ɨ/ does not have an approximant allophone in intervocalic position,[90] though, as we saw in the previous section, a velar epenthetic glide can be inserted next to it. There are no examples of VɨV sequences in roots in my data. Most examples of such sequences come from morphologically complex words. In these cases, /ɨ/ does not change to [ɰ] but it may insert an homorganic glide, or just form a triphthong, as illustrated in (22)–(23).

(22)
kɨɨ́amu ~ kɨɨ́ɰamu   (not *[kɨ́ɰamu])
kɨɨ-a-mau
burn-IPFV-NMLZ
'fire' ('what is burnt')

(23)
nakúɨamu ~ nakúɨɰamu   (not *[nakúɰamu])
nakuɨ-a-mau
extend.arm-IPFV-NMLZ
'arm's extension'

The epenthetic insertion of [ɰ] is completely optional when /ɨ/ is followed by

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90. This contrasts with Awajun, where [ɰ] is an allophone of /ɨ/ (Overall 2007).

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/a/, but [ɰ] is never inserted when /ɨ/ is followed by /u/:[91]

(24)

| /sɨuka/ | → | [sɨúk] 'type of heron' |
| /íkɨu/ | → | [íkɨu] 'young child' |

The velar glide is the most infrequent of the glides and in many cases it is not inserted at all. The velar glide, apparently, is becoming an unproductive synchronic phone. Sometimes, a fricative [ɣ] surfaces instead of [ɰ] when followed by /a/:

(25)

/ɨakamata/	→	[ɨakmat] ~ [ɨɰákmat] ~ [ɨɣákmat]	'hunt'
/hĩa/	→	[hĩa] ~ [hĩɰa] ~ [hĩɣa]	'house'
/pɨaka/	→	[pɨák] ~ [pɨɰák] ~ [pɨɣák]	'bed'

At this point in the derivation of words, where glides are formed, the notions of phonotactics and syllable structure become relevant for some morphophonological processes, as well as for explaining the rhythmic pattern of Wampis, on which stress, vowel elision and metrical tone assignment depend. Thus, now the discussion turns to the phonotactics and the syllable in Wampis.

4.3. Phonotactics

In this section, the syllable patterns found in Wampis are discussed. Syllables constitute the minimal structure where phonemes are organized into sequences, which

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91. There are very few examples of this sequence of vowels in the data, so perhaps the apparent bias against the insertion of [ɰ], in this case, may be the result of very low frequency in discourse.

in turn form higher units to such as morphemes and words. Categories such as vocalic

and consonantal segments can be distinguished and defined in terms of their

distribution within syllables. Syllables are also important for determining constraints on

clusters and which sequences are valid for building words, as well as for determining

the rhythmic patterns of the language. For methodological reasons, I will suggest that a

hypothetical syllable structure is needed at an intermediate level of derivation. This

hypothetical syllable structure provides a template where syllables are mapped onto

rhythmic feet. After syllables and feet are mapped, vowel elision applies. Vowel elision

causes that, on the surface, words in Wampis present a complex structure that obscures

a rather quite simple underlying structure.

4.3.1. Syllable structure in Wampis

Underlyingly, words in Wampis exhibit a rather very simple pattern that can be

formalized as:

(C)V(N)

(C = consonant, V = vowel, N = Nasal consonant)

where the only indispensable element is the syllable nucleus, which is always a vowel.

There are no syllabic segments (i.e. elements that can occur in the "V" slot) other than

vowels in Wampis. A strong lexical-level restriction of Wampis is that, underlyingly,

consonants never occur at the end of the word—in that environment only vowels are

allowed (see §3.5). At an intermediate stage of derivation, when glides are derived and

feet are formed, before vowel elision, for analytical purposes, I propose that Wampis

exhibits the syllable structure illustrated by Figure 4.1 (where σ = syllable, O = onset,

R = rhyme).[92]
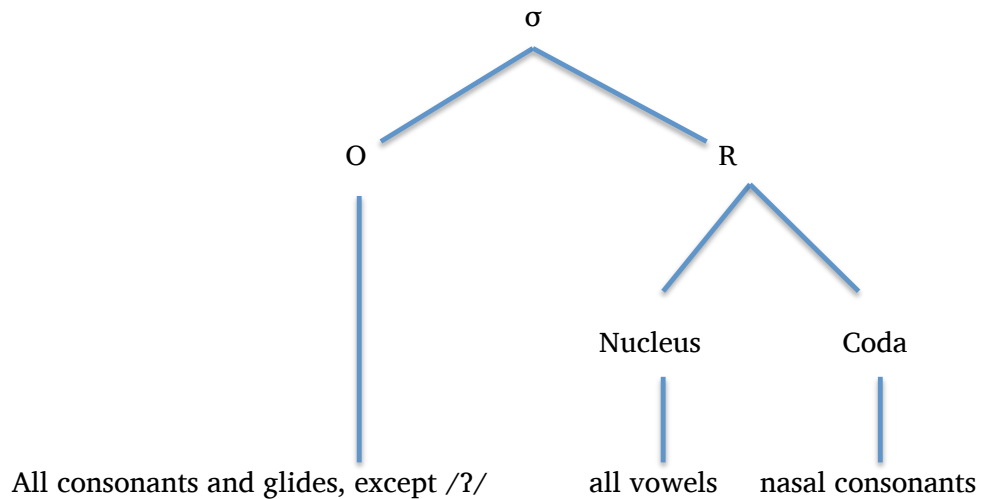
Figure 4.1. Syllable structure at an intermediate stage (before vowel elision)
Note: *ɰ, r* and the marginal palatal *ɲ* do not occur word-initially.

Representing the hypothetical syllable structure at an intermediate level of

derivation is important for understanding the formation of rhythmic feet on which

vowel elision depends in Wampis. Table 4.1 provides a provisional list of combinations

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92. This syllable structure will be redefined later as the analysis progresses.

of vowels and consonants based on the structure provided in Figure 4.1 (V = vowel,

C = consonant (other than nasal), G = Glide, N = nasal consonant). Some new syllable

types will be added when re-syllabification occurs after vowel elision (this is discussed

later in this same section).

Table 4.1. Provisional distribution of syllable types in Wampis

Word-Initial	Word-Medial	Word-Final
V, VN, CV, NV, GV, CVN, NVN, GVN	V, VN, CV, NV, GV, CVN, NVN, GVN	V, CV, NV, GV

Word-initially and word-medially, the syllable structures at this intermediate

stage of derivation are the same, with the caveat that [ɯ̞], /r/ and the marginal nasal

consonant /ɲ/ do not occur at the beginning of words, only word-medially. For now, let

us consider the examples of the syllable types (the relevant portions are bolded).[93]

Word-initial and word-medial

(26) V
/amɨ/   → **a**.mɨ   → [ámɨ] 'you'

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93. Two things may be noticed by the reader when looking at the examples: first, on the surface forms, there are examples of consonants at the end of words; second, I consider sequences of two vowels (i.e. two moras) in different syllables. This two facts are discussed below, in this same sub-section.

/íkama/ → **i**.ka.ma → [ík^jam] 'forest'

/uruna/ → **u**.ru.na → [urún] 'poor'

/hĩat͡ʃi/ → hĩ.**a**.t͡ʃi → [hĩ́at͡ʃ] 'small house'

/sɨuka/ → sɨ.**u**.ka → [sɨúk] 'type of heron'

(27) VN

/ankanta/ → **aŋ**.kan.ta → [aŋkán] 'free'

/ɨntsa/ → **ɨn**.t͡sa → [ɨ́nt͡sa] 'river'

/ampuʃa/ → **am**.pu.ʃa → [ampúʃ] 'owl'

/t͡saankuna/ → t͡sa.**aŋ**.ku.na → [t͡saaŋkún] 'tobacco (ᴀᴄᴄ)'

(28) CV

/tukɨ́/ → **tu**.kɨ́ → [tukɨ́] 'always'

/hakɨ/ → **ha**.kɨ → [hákɨ] 'warm water'

/paki/ → **pa**.ki → [páki] 'peccary'

(29) NV

/nuku/ → **nu**.ku → [núku] 'mother'

/mukusa/ → **mu**.ku.sa → [mukúsa] 'black'

/miʃu/ → **mi**.ʃu → [míʃu] 'cat'

/nanamata/ → na.**na**.ma.ta → [nanámat] 'flight'

(30) GV

/uaua/ → **wa**.wa → [wáwa] 'type of palm'

/iapi/ → **ja**.pi → [jápi] 'face'

/iamá/ → **ja**.má → [jamá] 'just now, newly'

(31) CVN

/kant͡sɨ/ → **kan**.t͡sɨ → [kánt͡sɨ] 'type of plant'

/pampa/ → **pam**.pa → [pámpa] 'sandstone'

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/iurankɨ/   → ju.**raŋ**.kɨ   → [juráŋ] 'fruit'

(32) NVN

/nunka/   → **nuŋ**.ka   → [núŋka] 'land, earth'
/namankɨna/   → na.**maŋ**.kɨ.na → [namaŋkín] 'meat (ACC)'

(33) GVN

/iants͡e/   → **jan**.ts͡ɨ   → [jánts͡ɨ] 'frog sp.'
/aiumpana/   → a.**jum**.pa.na   → [ajumpán] 'rooster (ACC)'

  Word-final

(34) V

/nuĩ/   → nu.**ĩ**   → [nu/̃í] 'there'
/hĩa/   → hĩ.**a**   → [hĩ́a] 'house'
/aa/   → a.**a**   → [áa] 'outside'

(35) CV

/apa/   → a.**pa**   → [ápa]
/panki/   → paŋ.**ki**   → [páŋki] 'boa'

(36) NV

/iamá/   → ja.**má**   → [jamá] 'newly'
/mama/   → ma.**ma**   → [máma] 'manioc'

(37) GV

/kaia/   → ká.**ja**   → [kája] 'stone'
/t͡ʃiua/   → t͡ʃi.**wa**   → [t͡ʃíwa] 'turmpeter (bird)'

Some of the previous examples have presented some data that includes: a)

consonants other than nasal occurring in coda position and at the end of the word, b)

sequence of vowels being analyzed in different syllables. Now the discussion turns to

explaining this two important points.

The first phenomenon—consonants other than a nasal consonant in coda

position, including word-final position—occurs after vowel elision leads to re-

syllabification. The syllable structure provided previously in Figure 4.1 helps us

understand how syllables are mapped onto rhythmic feet in Wampis. After glide

formation, feet are formed (glides are treated as consonants for word-internal elision,

which depends on the rhythmic stress pattern of the language). A thorough analysis of

the rhythmic pattern of Wampis is provided in Chapter VI, but let us state for the

moment that Wampis forms iambic feet from left to right.[94] Once feet are formed, the

last vowel of the word is deleted if this vowel is in a CV syllable. Then, counting from

left to right, the third vowel and every other alternating vowel in a CV syllable is also

deleted. After the processes of vowel elision (word-final and word-internal vowel

elision), re-syllabification occurs. After re-syllabication, the form of the word is

identical to its surface output form. The following examples illustrate re-syllabification

_____

94. It will be seen in Chapter VI that a metrical high tone is assigned to the most prosodically
prominent foot (which is the first from the left) if the word does not have a lexical tone.

in Wampis—I include the stages of glide formation, feet formation, vowel elision and re-

syllabification for greater illustration (vowels to be deleted are underlined—see the line

labeled "feet"):

(38)

Input:	/uuɨha/	'hand'
Glide:	u.wɨ.ha	
Feet:	(u.ˈwɨ).ha̲	
Vowel elision:	u.wɨ.h	
Re-syllabificaiton:	u.wɨh	
Output:	[uwɨ́h]	

(39)

input:	/iurumakat͡ʃi/ 'small cooked manioc'
glide:	jurumakat͡ʃi
feet:	(ju.ˈru)(ma̲.ˌka).t͡ʃi̲
vowel elision:	ju.ru.m.ka.t͡ʃ
re-syllabificaiton:	ju.rum.kat͡ʃ
output	[jurúmkat͡ʃ]

In (38), the lexical representation of the word is /uuɨha/. After vowel elision,

the word re-syllabifies (there are two syllables in the surface form), so the

consonant *h* is found at the end of the surface form of the word. In (39), a similar

process of derivation occurs with /iurumakat͡ʃi/. After vowel elision, *m* re-

syllabifies and closes the second surface syllable, in turn, the affricate t͡ʃ does the

same and closes the last surface syllable. It is crucial for the derivation of the

word 'small cooked manioc' to posit that glide formation must occur first,

because only after the glide is formed we can count three vowels from the left

(the third vowel is the /a/ of the sequence /ma/) when vowel elision occurs. In

other words, only after glide formation feet are parsed and vowels are deleted,

and the surface forms of words can be derived correctly, as shown in (39).

It is necessary now to redefined the syllable structure given previously in

Figure 4.1. On the surface, the maximal syllable in Wampis is now defined as:

(C) (R) V (C) (T)

(where C = consonant, R = rhotic, V = vowel, T = affricate).

Figure 4.2 illustrates the structure of the maximal syllable in Wampis.
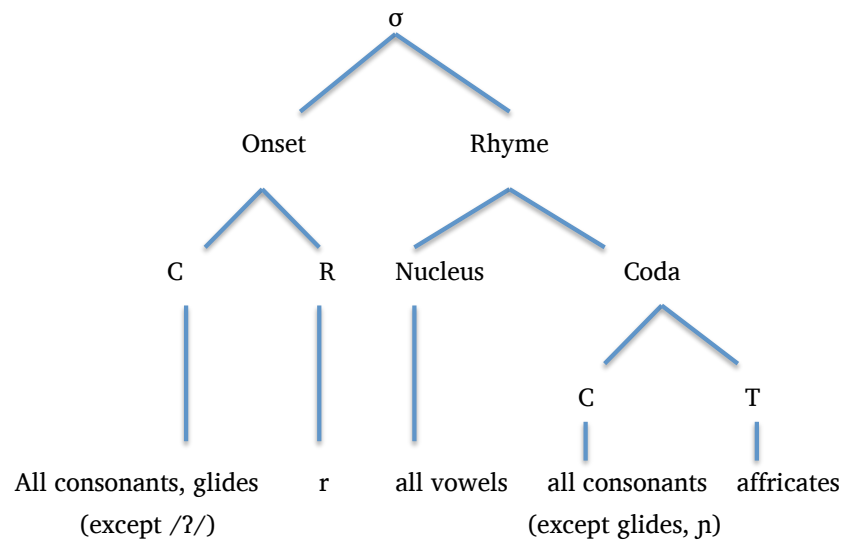
Figure 4.2. Maximal syllable structure in Wampis

Note: *ɰ, r* and the marginal palatal *ɲ* do not occur word-initially. Only stops occur with *r* in complex codas.

Finally, we need to add some new syllable types to account for surface forms of words. Table 4.2 lists all syllable types found on Wampis words.

Table 4.2. Distribution of syllables types in Wampis

Word-Initial	Word-Medial	Word-Final
V, VN, CV, NV, GV, CVN, NVN, GVN	V, VN, CV, NV, GV, CrV, CrVC, CrVN, CVN, CVC, NVN, GVN,	V, VN, CV, NV, GV, CrV, CrVN, CrVC, CVN, CVC, NVN, CVNT, GVNT

Word-initially, the same syllable types as given in Table 4.1 are maintained. Word-medially and word-finally there are new types added because of vowel elision. The new syllable types are:

word-medially: CrV, CrVC, CrVN, CVC; and

word finally: VN, CrV, CrVC, CrVN, CVN, CVC, NVN, CVNT, GVNT.

The only complex onset allowed is Cr. Importantly, in this case only stops occur in the position of "C". The only complex coda allowed is NT and occurs

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only word-finally. In theory the syllable type CrNT is possible, but is not attested

in the data. Here are examples of the newly-added syllable types, the relevant

portions are in boldface (for examples of the rest of syllable types, see (26)–(37)

above):

Word-medial

(40) CVC

| /kakaramana/ | → ka.ka.ra̠.ma.na̠ | → ka.**kár**.man 'powerful man (ᴀᴄᴄ)' |
| /iankipikit͡ʃi/ | → jaŋ.ki.pi̠.ki.t͡ʃi̠ | → jan.**kíp**.kít͡ʃ 'collared peccari (ᴅɪᴍ)' |

(41) CrV

| /nauanturumina/ | → na.wan.tu̠.ru.mi.na̠ | → na.wán.**tru**.min 'your daughter (ᴀᴄᴄ)' |
| /huakarika/ | → hu.a.ka̠.ri.kʲa | → hu.á.**kri**.kʲa 'if we stay' |

(42) CrVC

| /aiantaratasa/ | → a.jan.ta̠.ra.ta̠.sa | → a.ján.**trat**.sa 'intending to turn around' |
| /atukaratukati/ | → a.tu.ka̠.ra.tu̠.ka.ti | → a.tú.**krat**.ka.ti 'May he help us!' |

(43) CrVN

| /amikurunaʃa/ | → a.mi.ku̠.ru.na̠.ʃa | → a.mi.**krun**.ʃa 'my friend too' |
| /kautramkaji/ | → ko.u.tu̠.ra.mi̠.ka.ji | → ko.ú.**tram**.ka.ji 'They came for you.' |

Word-final

(44) VN

| /t͡saanku/ | → t͡sa.aŋ.ku̠ | → t͡sa.áŋ 'tobacco'[95] |
| /paanta/ | → pa.aŋ.ta̠ | → pa.án 'clear' |

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95. The final syllables *ku* of 'tobacco' and *ta* of 'clear' are deleted because after vowel elision, /k/ and /t/ cannot be in the margin of a complex coda (only affricates are allowed in that positions,

(45) VNT

/iuantsɨ/ → ju.an.t͡sɨ̠ → ju.**ánt͡s** 'reed'

(46) CrV

/t͡sɨnt͡sakarĩ/ → t͡sɨn.t͡sa.ka̠.rĩ → t͡sɨn.t͡sá.**krĩ** 'his dart'

/piripiri/ → pi.ri.pi.ri → pi.rí.**pri** 'plants used for healing and bewitching'

(47) CrVC

/t͡ʃaaparaka/ → t͡sa.a.pa̠.ra.ka̠ → t͡sa.á.**prak** 'type of traverse flute'

(48) CrVN

/nakanturana/→ na.kan.tu̠.ra.na̠ → na.kán.**trun** (ACC) 'ant sp.'

 /sɨɨturuna/ → sɨ.ɨ.tu̠.ru.na̠ → sɨ.ɨ́.**trun** (ACC) 'cedar' (from Spanish <*cedro*>)

(49) CVN

/ankanta/ → aŋ.kan.ta̠ → aŋkán 'free'[96]

/nauantu/ → na.wan.tu̠ → nawán 'daughter'

(50) CVC

/kantuta/ → kan.tu.ta̠ → kan.**tút** 'type of bird'

/tɨmaʃi/ → tɨ.ma.ʃi̠ → tɨ.**máʃ** 'lice'

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as defined in Figure 4.2).

96. The syllables *ta* of 'free' and *tu* of 'daughter' are deleted because after vowel elision, /t/ cannot be in the margin of a complex coda (only affricates are allowed in that positions, as defined in Figure 4.2).

(51) NVN

/kanampa/ → ka.nam.p<u>a</u> → ka.**nám** 'stone axe'

/kuhan͡ʃama/ → ku.han.t͡ʃam.<u>a</u> → ku.hán.**t͡ʃam** 'opossum'

(52) CVNT

/makan͡tʃi/ → ma.kan.t͡ʃ<u>i</u> → ma.**kánt͡ʃ** 'reed'

/marun͡tʃi/ → ma.run.t͡ʃ<u>i</u> → ma.**rúnt͡ʃ** 'prawn'

(53) GVNT

/naian͡tsa/ → na.jan.t͡s<u>a</u> → na.**jant͡s** 'ocean'

/iuan͡tʃi/ → i.wan.t͡ʃ<u>i</u> → i.**wánt͡ʃ** 'devil'

The second important point to consider is that sequences of vowels are analyzed

as forming different syllables. There are several pieces of evidence that suggest that

sequences of vowels are better analyzed as belonging to different syllables (actually, in

Wampis, the only relevant unit for metrical tone assignment, vowel elision,

reduplication and other processes is the vowel):

• Metrical tone assignment: metrical high tone is assigned to the most prominent foot

(which is the first from the left in an iambic pattern)—see §6.4 for a detailed analysis.

The mapping of syllables with the iambic parsing is crucial. In the next example, the

prosodically prominent portion of the foot is in bolds and the vowel to be deleted is

underlined. Thus:

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(54) /naiantsa/   → (na.ˈjan).tsa̲   → [najánts] 'ocean'

Now consider the following parsing for the word 'small', which derives the

correct output in the language, following the iambic pattern:

(55) /iairatʃi/   → (ja.ˈi).(ra.tʃi)   → [jɛíratʃ] 'small'

If we consider a different parsing, for instance, if we consider that the portion *jai*

is one syllable and we parse (jai.ˈra).tʃi, then we would have to explain why the /i/

receives the high tone instead of /a/ (as the correct output in (55) shows): according to

the (incorrect) analysis (jai.ˈra).tʃi, the *a* of *ra* should receive the metrical high tone. We

would have to proposed ad-hoc rules to explain this and other possible deviations from

the rule of metrical high tone (§6.4.2), with the additional problem that then the rule of

metrical tone assignment in Wampis would become irrelevant to explain otherwise

pretty regular patterns. As I say, this is a most crucial point in the analysis of Wampis

syllable structure, because all relevant processes related to this structure: parsing of

iambic feet, vowel elision, metrical high tone assignment are otherwise very difficult to

explain in terms of regularities. In turn, these regularities explain the form of surface

words and the richly complex prosody of the language.

• Partial reduplication: Partial reduplication in Wampis copies all the phonetic material

until the second mora after glide formation. There is a suffix *-kaua* 'Reduplicative' that

triggers partial reduplication when it is received by the verb and gives a semantics of

repetitive action (this suffix is analyzed in §19.9.4). Consider the following examples

(the material to be reduplicated is in boldface):

(56) ***júa júa****kuã*
iua   iu-a-kauã
REDUP eat-IPFV-REDUP\3SG.SS
'[she/he] eating and eating'

cf. /iuakaua/ → **ju.a.**ku.ã

(57) ***puhú puhú****iɲakua*

puhu puhu-ina-kaua
REDUP living-PL.IPFV-REDUP/3.SS
'[they] living and living'

cf. /puhuinakauã/ → **pu.hu.**i.ɲa.ku.a

In (56), the material to be reduplicated (until the second mora) is [júa]. In (57),

there is a cluster with the vowels /ui/ of /puhu/ 'live' and the plural imperfetive /ina/.

To obtain the right output in reduplication (which is the portion [puhú]), the sequence

/ui/ must be parsed u.i, because the vowel [i] is not reduplicated. This is a strong

evidence that /ui/ is not treated as forming a syllabic unit. The fact that said vowels

belong to different morphemes underlyingly is irrelevant to partial reduplication,

because in (56) vowels from different underlying morphemes are copied without

problem (/iu/ 'eat' and the imperfective /a/, [júa]).

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• Reduction of vowel sequences: Some vowel sequences can be reduced if the vowel is in a prosodic position where it undergoes elision.[97] In the next example, the second /a/ is deleted. Parsing the word as is shown in (58) derives the correct output; once again, that is only possible if it is hypothesized that vowels form different syllables:

(58) /iaĩnaita/ → (ja.ĩ)(na̠.i)ta̠ → [jɛ́ɲit] 'to help each other'

• Optional insertion of epenthetic glides: An additional evidence comes from the fact that in Wampis epenthetic glides can optionally be inserted between V1V, where V1 is a high vowel, as explained in §4.2. This suggests that there is a bias in the language to parse those sequences of vowels into different syllables.

4.3.2. Phonotactic restrictions

As a summary of the previous discussion, the following points characterize the structure of syllables and words in Wampis.

• Because of the allophonic derivation of glides or of epenthetic glide insertion, glides occur in syllable onset position.

• As a result of vowel elision, re-syllabification occurs. When a vocalic nucleus is

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97. Vowel elision is explained in Chapter VI.

deleted, consonants that used to be in onset position in an open syllable (CV) become the coda of a previous different syllable. Consequently, all consonants are permitted in simple coda position in the phonetic derivation (with the exceptions of glides and the palatal *ɲ*).

• Complex onsets and codas can occur on the surface form, but are restricted to specific combinations of phonemes. The only complex onset is the combination Stop + r. And the only complex coda is the combination Nasal + Affricate. As a consequence, all other consonant clusters in Wampis are heterosyllabic.

The following restrictions happen at the level of the word:

• The rhotic *r*, and the marginal consonants glottal *ʔ* and palatal *ɲ* do not occur word-initially.

• Word-initially, the sequence si is unattested—the sequence si is disfavored in other positions as well (very few examples of it in the language). See §3.5 for details.

• The only combinations of vowels that is prohibited is *ïi* or *iï*. See §3.6.4 for details.

• No consonant cluster is allowed at the beginning of the word (the clusters *Stop + r* and *Nasal + Affricate* only occur word-internally and word finally, respectively).

Once the combinatorial patterns and phonotactic restrictions of Wampis words

have been defined, the conditions are set for the analysis of morphophonological

processes and the prosody of the Wampis language. The next two chapters discuss these

topics at length.

CHAPTER V

MORPHOPHONOLOGY

5.1. Introduction

This chapter describes general patterns of morphophonemic change that operate

at the morpheme boundary. The morpheme boundary is the chief morphological

environment that triggers phonological processes in Wampis. Most allophonic rules,

discussed in Chapter III, also apply when morphemes interact with one another. For

issues concerning shift of placement of metrical high tone induced by the presence of a

bound morpheme, see Chapter VI. In other words, this chapter is dedicated to the

analysis of phenomena that occur at the morpheme boundary that do not have to do

with allophony or induced metrical hight tone shift.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: §5.2 provides a brief introduction to

general processes observed in morpheme boundary; §5.3 and §5.4 look at sandhi

processes where mora reduction occurs; §5.5 describes morphemes that trigger vowel

harmony. Next, §5.6 provides an analysis of several morphemes that exhibit different

forms according to the morphophonological environment where they occur. Finally,

other phenomena associated with morphophonology are analyzed in §5.7 and §5.8.

5.2. Morpheme boundary

Morpheme boundary phenomena are really complicated in Wampis; a good number of specific conditions or rules must be hypothesized to understand them. In most cases, morphophonological phenomena in Wampis must be dealt with at the level of individual morphemes; i.e. they concern the behavior of particular morphemes (or processes triggered by specific morphemes) rather than to classes of morphemes. However, certain generalizations can be established so as to describe morpheme juncture phenomena in a more orderly fashion. Table 5.1 shows these general patterns.

Table 5.1. Morphophonological processes in Wampis

Process	Cross-reference
Vowel (mora) reduction:	
• reduction of the last vowel of the stem	§5.3
• reduction of the first vowel of the suffix/clitic.	§5.4
Vowel harmony	§5.5
Other phenomena:	
• degemination	§5.7.1
• optional gemination of consonants	§5.7.2
• optional metathesis	§5.7.3
• Vowel-switching for marking possession	§5.8

5.3. Reduction of the last vowel of a stem

The last vowel of a stem or root is deleted when it is followed by a first vowel of certain morphemes if certain conditions are met. Such conditions can be generalized as being of two types:

a) an immediately preceding vowel of a stem of a specific quality is deleted when the stem receives the suffix;

b) an immediately preceding vowel of the stem, regardless of its quality, is deleted when the stem receives the suffix.

Generally, the types of processes described above can be formalized with the following rule:

$$Vi + Vj \rightarrow Vj$$

where " + " indicates certain morpheme boundaries.

Table 5.2 summarizes the morphemes that trigger the reduction of the last vowel of the stem. The examples in the next sections will sometimes represent derivation of words in several steps, as necessary. Vowels that undergo a morphophonological process will be in boldface type (I will label the line where morphophonological process occur as "sandhi"). Vowels that undergo elision based on the rhythmic pattern of the

language will be underlined.

Table 5.2. Morphemes that trigger reduction of last vowel (mora) of the stem

Morpheme (§functional discussion)	Gloss
-inu (§5.3.1)	'Set I nominalizer'
-u (§5.3.2)	'Set II nominalizer'
-á(u) (§5.3.3)	'High affectedness aktionsart'
-i (§5.3.4)	'Low affectedness aktionsart'
-a (§5.3.5)	'Imperfective'
-ĩ ~ -ɨ̃ (§5.3.6)	'Third person perfective'

5.3.1. Set I nominalizer *-inu*

A final high vowel /u/, /i/ or /ɨ/ of a stem is always lost to the first vowel /i/ of the Set I[98] nominalizer *-inu* 'Agentive nominalizer'. A final low vowel /a/ of a stem is lost to the first vowel of *-inu* if, after glide formation, the stem contains more than two moras. If the stem has less than two moras, the last vowel /a/ of the stem is not lost. In the following examples, I provide first a morphological analysis of the word to illustrate the two (or more) morphemes that form the word. Recall that the relevant environments where the morphophonological process occurs are written in **bolds**.

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98. The are two sets of nominalizers in Wampis, *-inu* belongs to Set I. See Chapter XV for an analysis of nominalization.

(1)

Morphological analysis:

ɨ͡tsɨr**u-i**nu

announce-NMLZ

'announcer'

Derivation: /ɨ͡tsɨruinu/

glide: none

syllable: ɨ.͡tsɨ.r**u.i**.nu.na

sandhi: ɨ.͡tsɨ.**ri**.nu

feet: (ɨ.ˈ͡tsɨ).(ri.ˌn**u̠**)

vowel elision: ɨ͡tsɨrin

output: [ɨ͡tsɨ́rin]

(2)

Morphological analysis:

hintina-karat**u-i**nu

teach-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ

'teacher' (i.e. 'someone who teaches us')

Derivation:

/hintinakaratuinu/

glide: none

syllable: hin.ti.na.ka.ra.t**u.i**.nu

sandhi: hin.ti.na.ka.ra.t**i**.nu

feet: (hin.ˈti).(n**a̠**.ˌka).(r**a̠**.ˌti)n**u̠**

vowel elision: hintinkartin

output: [hintíŋkʲartin]

      With regard to a preceding low vowel /a/ of a stem, when the nominalizer *-inu*

is used*:* a) the low vowel /a/ of a stem is reduced if the stem possesses more than two

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moras as in (3), and b) the low vowel /a/ of the stem is not reduced it the stem

possesses less than two moras as in (4).

(3)
morphological analysis:
uɨk**a-i**nu
walk-NMLZ
'walker'

derivation:
/uɨkainu/
glide: wɨkainu   (two-mora stem: *wɨka* 'walk')
syllable: wɨ.ka.i.nu
sandhi: does not apply
feet: (wɨ.ˈka).(i.ˌn**u̱**)
vowel elision: wɨkain
output: [wɨkɛ́in]

(4)
morphological analysis
iuruma-inu
eat.cooked.manioc-NMLZ
'(big) eater'

derivation /iuramainu/
glide: jurumainu   (three-mora stem: *juruma* 'eat cooked manioc')
syllable: ju.ru.m**a.i**.nu
sandhi: jurum**i**n
feet: (ju.ˈru).(mi.ˌn**u̱**)
vowel elision: jurúmin
output: [jurúmin]

5.3.2. Set II nominalizer *-u*

The last vowel /u/ of a stem is reduced when preceding the set II[99] "subject

nominalizer" *-u.*

(5)
morphological analysis
hintina-tu-u
teach.PFV-APPL-NMLZ
'one who has taught.'

derivation /hintinatuu/
glide: does not apply
syllable: hin.ti.na.t**u.u**
sandhi: hin.ti.na.t**u**
feet: (hin.ˈti).(na̲.ˌtu̲)
vowel elision: hintintu
output: [hintínt^ju]

That the last vowel of the root is the one that undergoes reduction is shown by

the fact that *-u* is never lost when the last vowel of the stem is different than /u/: with a

preceding /i/ or /ɨ/[100] all vowels (i.e. moras) are maintained:

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99. Again, there are two sets of nominalizers in Wampis, *-u* belongs in Set II. See Chapter XV for details on nominalization.

100. There is an apparent exception: when the verb *uɨ* 'go' receives the nominalizer, often times speakers seem to pronounce [wúu] (other times the pronunciation is an expected [wɨ́u]). Two facts may contribute to the apparent assimilation of /ɨ/ to /u/. First, the phonetic environment in which /ɨ/ is found (between [w] and [u]) seems to favor assimilation. Second (not necessarily opposed to the previous point), the nominalized form of 'go' is very common (in terms of frequency), so its high frequency in speech may have led to assimilation.

(6) *ípatiu*

ípati-**u**

shoot + LOAF-NMLZ

'he was one who shot'[101]

(7) *pɨpírɨu*

pɨpirɨ-**u**

turn.around-NMLZ

'he turning around' (Lit. 'an around-turner')

From the above examples, it is preferable to state that the nominalizer *-u* is not

lost in morpheme boundary, rather the last vowel /u/ of the stem is lost. Otherwise, it

would be problematic to explain why the /u/ of the nominalizer *-u* is reduced

sometimes while some other times it is not reduced.

If the vowel preceding the nominalizer *-u* is /a/, then two possible outcomes

may occur depending on whether the vowel /a/ is in an position to be deleted or not:

1) the vowel /a/ of the stem is not reduced if it is in a position where it is not

marked for deletion, or

2) the vowel /a/ of the stem is reduced if the vowel is in an position where it

must be deleted.

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101. The past tense interpretation derives from the use of the aktionsart suffix *-i* 'Low
affectedness'. Aktionsart suffixes are used in perfective contexts (see §13.3).

For instance, for the word in (8):

(8)
arakama-u
plant-NMLZ
'planter'

the following relevant foot parsing is established, and the ouput as indicated in (9).

(9) *derivation for* /arakamau/ 'planter'
feet: (a.ˈra).(ka̠.ˌ**ma**).u
vowel elision: arakmau
output: [arákmoo][102]

It can be seen that the final vowel /a/ of the stem to which the nominalizer *-u*

attaches is not deleted. The vowel that is in the position to be deleted is the previous

vowel /a/ (the third counting from left to right). Now, compare with the next example,

including the relevant part of the word's derivation:

(10) *tɨpɨ́su*
tɨpɨ-sa-u
lie.down-ATT-NMLZ
'one who sat'

derivation for /tɨpɨsau/ 'one who sat':
feet: (tɨ.ˈpɨ).(sa̠.ˌ**u)**
vowel elision: tɨpɨsu
output: [tɨpɨ́su]

In (10), the vowel /a/ of the attenuative suffix *-sa* is in a position where it is

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102. Recall from §3.7.1 that the sequence /au/ is pronounce [ou] or [oo].

deleted according to the metrical rhythmic pattern of Wampis, which deletes the third

mora (if in a CVC cluster) counting form left to right. Thus, said vowel is deleted and

the result is [tɨpísu]. In Chapter VI, It will be seen that only a few morphemes (among

them, the Set II nominalizer *-u*) allow reduction of a mora in a CVV cluster (the usual

environment for vowel elision is CVC). Thus, the fact a mora is reduced in the presence

of the nominalizer *-u* is seen as a property of *-u*.

5.3.3. High affectedness *-á(u)*

A final vowel /a/ of the verb stem is reduced when the stem receives the high

affectedness *-á(u)*. The following example illustrates this behavior: in (11) the verb has

a perfective sense of 'just done action' and uses the 3 person past suffix *-ji*. This

perfective use is only done with the perfective stem of the verb, which is formed with

aktionsart suffixes (see §13.3.2). By contrast, in (12) there is an imperfective stem: this

is evident by the used of the 3 person non-past suffix *-ua* which occurs with the

imperfective (and in future contexts) (see §14.3.2).

(11) *hĩáji*
hĩá-ji
arrive + HIAF-3.PT + DECL
'He just arrived'

(12) *hĭáwɛi*
hĭa-ua-i
arrive + IPFV-3SBJ-DECL
'He is arriving'

      When the final vowel of the stem is reduced preceding the high affectedness

suffix *-á(u)*, no further vowel elision takes place after the rhythmic feet are stablished.

(13) *ahuntóu*
ahuntá-u
add.water + HIAF-NMLZ
'She was one to add water.'

derivation:
syllable: a.hun.ta.á.u
sandhi: a.hun.t**a**.u
feet: (aˈhun).(t**á**.u)
vowel elision: (blocked by previous mora reduction at sandhi)
output: [ahuntóu]

      In (13), it would be expected that the third vowel of *ahuntá* 'add.water + HIAF' is

deleted by the rule of word-internal vowel elision once feet are parsed, as it is the third

vowel and is in a position to be deleted. What is more, recall from §5.3.2 that the

nominalizer *-u* allows for the elision of the preceding mora. However, in this case,

vowel elision is blocked, as there has been a previous reduction of a mora at the "sandhi

step" (morpheme boundary). This is a particular behavior that occurs with the high

affectedness -*á(u)*,[103] because other suffixes allow vowel elision to occur. Compare (13)

with the derivation of the word in (14) with the nominalizer -*inu* (cf. §5.3.1). In (14),

the vowel /u/ of the stem that precedes -*inu* is deleted. Then, the vowel /i/ of -*inu* is in

a position to be deleted, so it undergoes elision. This does not occur in (13) with the

high affectedness aktionsart.

(14) t͡suákraʈɲun
t͡sua-karatu-inu = na
heal-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ = ACC
'the doctor (acc)' (Lit.: 'one who heals us')

derivation: /t͡suakratuinuna/
syllable: t͡su.a.ka.ra.**tu.i**.ɲu.na[104]
glide: t͡su.a.ka.ra.**ti**.ɲu.na
feet: (t͡su.ˈa).(ka̠.ˌra).(ti̠.ˌɲu).na̠
vowel elision: t͡suakraʈɲun
output: [t͡suákraʈɲun]

Some verbs in the database seem not to lose their final vowel when they carry

the high affectedness suffix. Table 5.3 lists these verbs.

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103. And also with the non-imperfective plural -*ara* and the copula clitcs, as explained in §5.4.2
and §5.6.5, respectively.

104. Recall from §3.3.2 that /n/ becomes [ɲ] in an i_V environment.

Table 5.3. Verbs that never reduce their final mora when receiving the high affectedness aktionsart suffix *-á(u)*

Verb	Gloss
akima	'unfasten'
ɨnkɨma	'enter'
mã	'kill'
paka~pɨka	'put in a line'
ta	'arrive'
tankuma	'domesticate animals'

The long form *-áu* of the high affectedness suffix occurs before the apprehensive

-(a)i and the non-imperfective plural marker *-ara.* Examples:

(15) *mantuáwɛipʲa*
mã-tu-**áu**-**ai**-pa
kill-1SG.OBJ-HIAF-PL-APPR-PROH
'Don't kill me!'

(16) *mantuáwaru*
mã-tu-**áu**-**ara**-u
kill-APPL-HIAF-PL-NMLZ
'killers [of my brother]'[105]

An alternative analysis is to propose that a glide [w] is inserted at the

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105. In the text where the example comes from, the expression refers to the killers of the brother of the protagonist of the story. In particular, the applicative refers to the fact that the action is being done to the detriment of the protagonist.

morpheme boundary between the high affectedness aktionsart and the apprehensive *-ai*

or the plural *-ara*. This glide would be obligatory, as it always occurs between these

morphemes (possibly to distinguish vowels that are alike in quality).

The high affectedness aktionsart suffix *-á* and the imperfective *-a* (§5.3.5) are

homophonous, but the high affectedness aktionsart always carries a high tone (i.e. it has a

lexical high tone), whereas the imperfective *-a* does not.

5.3.4. Low affectedness *-i*

A final vowel of a verb stem is deleted when preceding the low affectedness

suffix *-i* if the stem has more then two moras at the point of glide derivation. If, at the

point where glides are derived, the stem has two or less moras, the last vowel of the

stem is not deleted. As an illustration, compare (17)–(18).

(17) *wɨkɛ́imiaji*
uɨka-i-mɨ
walk-LOAF-2SG.SBJ + DECL
'You just walked.'

derivation: /uɨkaimɨ/
glide: wɨkaitasã
syllable: wɨ.k**a.i**.mɨ
sandhi: does not apply (stem *wika* has two moras)
feet: (wɨ.ˈka).(i.mɨ)
vowel elision: does not apply
output: [wɨkɛ́imɨ]

(18) ʃiíkmimɨ
ʃiikima-i-mɨ
blow.nose-ʟᴏᴀꜰ-3.ꜱʙᴊ+ᴅᴇᴄʟ
'He just blew his nose.'

derivation /ʃiikimaimɨ/
glide: does not apply
syllable: ʃi.i.ki.ma.i.mɨ
sandhi: ʃi.i.ki.mi.mɨ
feet: (ʃi.ˈi.(ki.ˌmi).mɨ
vowel elision: ʃiikmimɨ
output: [ʃiíkmimɨ]

There are two exceptions to the statement that words with less than two moras

do not lose their final vowel preceding the low affectedness suffix -*i*. The verbs *tu* 'say'

and *maa* 'bathe' lost their last vowel when receiving the low affectedness. In (19) there

is an example with 'say'—I "skip" the step of foot formation, as it is not really relevant

for illustrating what happens to *tu* + *i* (no vowel elision based on rhythmic pattern

applies in this case):

(19) *titʲáhɛɛ*
ti-ta-ha-i
say + ʟᴏᴀꜰ-ɪᴍᴍ.ꜰᴜᴛ-1ꜱɢ.ꜱʙᴊ-ᴅᴇᴄʟ
'I will say.'

derivation: /tuitahai/
glide: does not apply
syllable: tu.i.ta.ha.i
sandhi: ti.ta.ha.i
output: [titʲáhɛɛ]

Next, (20) presents an example with 'bathe'. The root *maa* is represented in a

"fused" form with the low affectedness aktionsart suffix *-i*.

(20) *mɛíthʲɛɛ*
mai-ta-ha-i
bathe + LOAF-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I will bathe.'

derivation: /maaitahai/
glide: does not apply
syllable: ma.**a.i**.ta.ha.i
sandhi: ma.**i**.ta.ha.i
feet: (ma.ˈi).(ta̠ˌ.ha).i
vowel elision: maithai
output: [mɛíthʲɛɛ]

There is at least one root with fewer than two moras in the database that does

not merge with *-i* due to glide creation: *au* 'parboil'.

(21) *awíthʲɛɛ*
au-i-ta-ha-i
parboil-LOAF-IMM.FUT-2SG.SBJ-DECL
'I will parboil [the manioc]'

The low affectedness never occurs with a verb ending in /ɨ/. Recall that there is

a restriction in Wampis that prohibits vowel clusters of the form /ɨi/ or /iɨ/ (§3.6.4). In

general, it is very difficult to decide whether the low affectedness *-i* is lost to a previous

vowel /ɨ/ of a stem, because it is not known if the low affectedness is really present in

the first place (in addition, there are also few verbal roots that end in a vowel /ɨ/ and

that can carry the low affectedness suffix). Some examples from elicitation suggests that

with a verb ending in /ɨ/, the low affectedness *-i* is not reduced but is assimilated:

(22) *mihɨ́itmɨ*
mihɨ-**i**-ta-mɨ
stink-LOAF-IMM.FUT-2SG.SBJ + DECL
'You will stink.'

5.3.5. Imperfective *-a*

The imperfective *-a* is never deleted. In morphological complex verb forms, a

final vowel /u/ of the stem is reduced when the verb receives the imperfective *-a*. For

instance, in (23) the verb stem is complex, consisting of the root *hintina* 'teach' and the

applicative *-tu*. When the verb receives the imperfective *-a*, the /u/ of the applicative is

reduced.

(23) *hintíntawai*
hintina-t**u**-**a**-ua-i
teach-APPL-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'He teaches [him/them].'

derivation for /hintinatuawai/ 'He teaches [him/them]'
glide: hintinatuawai
syllable: hin.ti.na.t**u**.**a**.wa.i
sandhi: hin.ti.na.t**a**.wa.i.ti
feet: (hin.ˈti).(na̱.ˌt**a**).(wa.ˌi).ti
vowel elision: hintintawaiti
output: [hintínt^jawɛiti]

In addition, a final vowel of a morphologically simple verb form belonging to

the Imperfective conjugation II[106] is always reduced when the verb receives the

imperfective -*a*. (A discussion of verb conjugation patterns is found in §12.8.) For

instance, *puhu* 'live' belongs to the Imperfective conjugation II, thus its last vowel /u/ is

reduced and occurs as *puha* in its imperfective form. Following a Jivaroan tradition

initiated by Overall (2007), for practical purposes I gloss this (and other similar

examples) using a " + " symbol to signal that there are identifiable morphemes

occurring in a "fused" form.

(24) *puháwɛi*
puha-ua-i
live + IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'She/he is living.'

This only occurs with verbs that belong to the Imperfective conjugation II. For

instance, the verb *amu* 'finish' belongs to a different imperfective conjugation, so it does

not loose its final vowel to the imperfective -a.

(25) *amúawɛi*
amu-a-ua-i
finish-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'She/he is finishing.'

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106. The Imperfective conjugation II is characterized by losing the last mora of the root or stem
when it carries the imperfective -*a*. See §12.8.1.1 for details.

Because the patterns of conjugations are not always predictable, they are treated

in a separate part of the grammar, in §12.8.

5.3.6. Third person perfective *-ĩ̃~-ɨ̃*

A final vowel /i/ of the stem is reduced when it receives the third person

perfective suffix *-ĩ̃~-ɨ̃*.[107]

(26) *patî́*
pati-ĩ
sound.shot + LOAF-3.PFV
'It just sounded (i.e. a sound of a gun shooting).'

The third person is not reduced with a preceding vowel of a quality different

than /i/.

(27) *at͡ʃík͡ʲarɛĩ*
at͡ʃi-ka-ara-ĩ
grab-INTENS-PL-3.PFV
'They just grabbed him.'

The third person perfective provokes the occurrence of the long form of the

associated motion suffix *-ki(ni)* (see §5.6.3).

5.4. Vowel (mora) reduction of the suffix\clitic at morpheme boundary

Certain suffixes reduce their first vowels when they are in contact with a

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107. In theory, the third person perfective *-ĩ̃~-ɨ̃* should reduce a vowel /ɨ/ of the stem, but there
are no examples of *-ĩ̃~-ɨ̃* occurring preceding a vowel /ɨ/ as the morphological conditions for
that to happen are minimal (no verbal suffix preceding the potential occurrence of the third
person perfective ends in an /ɨ/).

preceding vowel of the stem. Similarly to what has been described in the previous

sections, the vowel of the stem can be required to be of a specific quality for the vowel

of the suffix or clitic to be deleted; or in some other cases the first vowel of the suffix or

clitic will be deleted regardless of the quality of the preceding vowel of the stem. The

general rule that formalizes this type of vowel reduction of the suffix or clitic at

morpheme boundary is:

$$V_i + V_j \rightarrow V_i$$

where " + " indicates certain morpheme boundaries, as explained in the

following sections.

The following morphemes presented in Table 5.4 lost their first vowel when in

contact with a preceding vowel of a stem. They are explained in the following sub-

sections.

Table 5.4. Morphemes that reduce their first vowel (mora) in morpheme boundary

Morpheme (functional description)	Gloss
-ina (§5.4.1)	'Plural imperfective'
-ara (§5.4.2)	'Non-imperfective plural'
-i (§5.4.3)	'Declarative'
-ai (§5.4.4)	'Apprehensive'
=api (§5.4.5)	'Sudden realization', 'Tag question'

5.4.1. Plural imperfective *-ina*

The initial /i/ of the plural Imperfective *-ina* is reduced with an immediately

preceding final /i/ or /ɨ/ of the stem or root. With a final stem vowel /a/ or /u/,

nothing happens and the /i/ of *-ina* is not reduced (30). Examples (28) and (29)

illustrate the behavior of *-ina* with a preceding vowel /ɨ/ and /i/, respectively.

(28) *wínawɛɛ*
uɨ-ina-ua-i
go-PL.IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'They are going'

(29) *umíɲawɛɛ*
umi-ina-ua-i
complete-PL.IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'The are finishing.'

(30) *tuíɲawɛɛ*
tu-ina-ua-i
say-PL.IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'They are saying.'

5.4.2. Non-imperfective plural *-ara*

The initial vowel /a/ of the non-imperfective plural suffix *-ara* is reduced with a

preceding vowel of the same quality.

(31) *wɛíŋkʲaru*
uaina-ka-ara-u
see-INTENS-PL-NMLZ
'There [were] ones to see.'

derivation: /uainakaarau/
glide: wa.i.na.ka.a.ra.u
syllable: wa.i.na.k**a.a**.ra.u
sandhi: wa.i.na.k**a**.ra.u
feet: (wa.ˈi).(na̲ˌ.k**a**).(ra̲.ˌu)
vowel elision: waink**a**ru
output: [wɛíŋkʲaru]

       Similarly to what happens with the high affectedness *-á(u)*, the reduction of a

mora blocks further vowel elision of the remaining vowel when feet are parsed. In the

case of *-ara*, once the initial vowel of /a/ is reduced, the remaining /a/ of the stem is

not deleted. In the next example, the vowel /a/ of *-ara* is lost to a previous vowel /a/ of

the stem. The remaining vowel /a/ would be in a position (third mora from the left) to

be deleted, but it does not undergo elision. Here another phenomenon associated to the

fascinating prosody of Wampis must be introduced: when a vowel in a position to be

deleted is not deleted, the marking of vowels for elision is pushed one mora to the right

(and then every other alternating vowel is deleted).

(32) *umárartatuak*

uma-ra-tata-ua＝ka

drink.PFV-DISTR-DEF.FUT-3.SBJ＝Q

'are they going to drink?'

derivation: /umaraaratatauaka/

glide: u.ma.ra.a.ra.ta.ta.wa.ka

syllable: u.ma.**ra.a**.ra.ta.ta.wa.ka

sandhi: u.ma.**ra**.ra.ta.ta.wa.ka

feet: (u.ˈma).(r**a**ˌ.ra).(t**a**.ta).(w**a**.ka)

re-check vowel elision: (u.ma).(r**a**.ra).(ta.t**a**).wa.k**a** (vowel to be deleted pushed one mora to the right)[108]

vowel elision: umarartatuak

output: [umárartatuak]

5.4.3. Declarative *-i*

The declarative suffix is reduced with a preceding stem-final /i/ or /ɨ/ vowel.

Again, I use the practice of glossing a "＋" symbol, which means that there are more

than one discernible morpheme "fused" together after a morphophonological process.

(33) *táhi*

ta-hi

say＋IPFV-1PL.SBJ＋DECL

'We are saying'

(34) *támɨ*

ta-mɨ

say＋IPFV-2SG.SBJ＋DECL

'You are saying'

---

108. Notice that the vowel *a* before the glide [w] is deleted, so the [w] reverts to [u] in the derivation.

The declarative suffix *-i* surfaces with stems that end in vowel different than /i/

or /ɨ/, as shown in (35).

(35) *táhɛi*
ta-ha-i
say + decl-1sg.sbj-decl
'I am saying.'

5.4.4. Apprehensive *-ai*

The apprehensive *-ai* losses its first vowel /a/ next to a preceding vowel /a/ of

the stem.

(36) *náki ɛ́ipʲa*
naki **a-a**i-pa
lazy cop-appr-proh
'Don't be lazy.'

(37) *a͡tʃíkɛipʲa*
a͡tʃi-ka-ai-pa
grab-intens-appr-proh
'Don't grab it.'

5.4.5. Sudden realization and tag question =*api*

The vowel /a/ =*api*, which is used to mark sudden realization and in tag

questions (cf. §18.9), is reduced when it follows a vowel /a/ of the stem.

(38) *jatsúrnapi*
ia͡tsu-ru = na = api
brother-1sg = acc = sud.realz
'[They are killing] my brother!'

5.5. Vowel harmony

The restrictive $=ki$ (cf. §18.3) and the suffix *-ki(ni)* 'do action while moving' (cf.

§13.3.2.6) undergo processes of vowel harmony. Vowel harmony involves the vowels

/i/ and /ɨ/. A particular pattern in Wampis (as will be seen from the discussion in

§5.5.1 and §5.5.2) is that, regardless of order, the high front vowel /i/ dominates over

the high central vowel /ɨ/ for purposes of vowel harmony. It is interesting that vowel

harmony between /i/ and /ɨ/ somehow "reflects" the phonotactic restriction that

prohibits clusters /iɨ/ or /ɨi/ (§4.3.2).

5.5.1. Restrictive $=ki$

The vowel of the restrictive $=ki$ always undergoes vowel harmony with a last

high front vowel /i/ of the stem. In the case of $=ki$, it is the vowel of the clitic which

changes: ɨ → i. Compare the realizations of $=ki$ (39) as opposed to (40).

(39) *nuĩ́ŋki*[109]
nu = ĩ = kɨ
non.vis = LOC = RESTR
'there only'

_____

109. One of the surface manifestations of underlying nasality is the occurrence of a nasal
manifestations of nasality is the occurrence of [n] after the vowel that is lexical locus of nasality
when some morphemes are added to he root. See §6.10 for more detailed discussion of nasal
prosody.

(40) *húkɨ*

hu = kɨ

PROX-RESTR

'this only'

Interestingly, the harmony process does not occur if the underlying vowel of the

root is not a high front vowel, even when the underlying vowel of the root is deleted on

the surface:

(41) *wampískɨʃa*

uampisa = kɨ = ʃa

Wampis = RESTR = ADD

'The Wampis only'

There are a few examples where sometimes the no application of vowel

harmony (when it is expected) is problematic to explain. It is very frequent that a

narrative ends with the following prosodic word:

(42)

nút͡ʃikɨti

nu-t͡ʃi = kɨ = iti

NON.VIS = DIM = RESTR = COP.3 + DECL

'That only is.'

The non-application of vowel harmony in (42) is only apparent. The 3 person

copula clitic = *iti* reduces its first vowel /i/ when it is preceded by a vowel /ɨ/ of the

stem. The relevant parts of the derivation would be:

(43) *derivation* for /nút͡ʃikɨti/

syllable: nu.t͡ʃi.kɨ.**i**.ti

sandhi₁: mora reduction: nút͡ʃikɨti

sandhi₂: vowel harmony: blocked

output: [nútʃikɨti]

       However, there are similar examples where vowel harmony applies:

(44)

nuĩ́ŋkiti

nuĩ = kɨ = iti

NON.VIS = RESTR = COP.3 + DECL

'There only is.'

       In this case, the reverse order of morphophonological process must apply. This

behavior is not very well understood. It may be the case that *nutʃĩkiti* 'that only is' is an

idiosyncratic form, perhaps a consequence of the relative high frequency with which it

occurs in narratives. One important observation from (43), however, is that when mora

reduction occurs between the stem and the copula clitic, other vowel elision processes

are blocked.

5.5.2. Do while moving *-ki(ni)*

       The associated motion suffix *-ki(ni)* 'do while moving' (§13.3.2.6) triggers

optional vowel harmony with a high central vowel /ɨ/ of a preceding syllable of a

verbal stem. In practice, this optional process of vowel harmony is infrequent, as there

are few verb stems that contain an *ɨ* and at the same time are able to receive the

associated motion suffix *-ki(ni)*.

(45) *piɨ́tki wɨ́maji*

piɨtu-ki   wɨ-ma-ji

flash.lightning-WHILE.MOVING   go-IMM.PT-3.PT + DECL

'Flashing of lightning went on.'

(46) *wakɨ́tkin*

uakɨtu-ki-inu

return-WHILE.MOVING-NMLZ

'one who returned (i.e. a returner)'

      The root of the verbs in the above examples possess an /ɨ/, as evidenced in the

next examples where there is no vowel harmony.

(47) *piɨ́tawɛɛ*

piɨta-ua-i

flash.lightning + IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'It is flashing (lightnings).'

(48) *wakɨ́tɛiɲawai*

wakɨta-ina-ua-i

return.IPFV-PL.IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'The are returning.'

5.6. Different forms of suffixes or clitics

      Some suffixes and clitics have different forms: most of these different forms vary

between a long and short form, but at least in the case of the locative $=nVma$ the

variation in form has to do with an intra-morphemic vowel. The use of the distinct

forms of these morphemes is morphophonologically conditioned, except for $=nVma$

where no apparent condition is found. However, for practical purposes $=nVma$ is

presented in this section, as $=nVma$ shares with the other morphemes the fact that it

can occur with different forms. Table 5.5 lists these morphemes.

Table 5.5. Morphemes that exhibit different forms

Morpheme (functional description)	Gloss or Category
=nVma	'Locative'
á(u)	'High affectedness aktionsart'
-ki(ni)	'Do while moving'
=(n)ĭ	'Locative'
-(n)ĭ	'Different subject'
=aita~=ita; =aiti~=iti	Copula clitics

5.6.1. Locative $=nVma$

The realization of the locative $=nVma$ varies between [=nama] and [=numa].

One may be tempted to suggest that such variation possibly arose from a process of

vowel harmony: some noun roots that end with a vowel /a/ tend to prefer the form

[nama], whereas others ending in a high vowel tend to appear with the form [numa]:

(49)

kajánam	*wampíspum*
kaia=nama	uampisa=numa
stonce=LOC	Wampis=LOC

nuŋkánam	*t͡sukíŋŋum*
nunka = nama	t͡sukinta = numa
earth = LOC	corner = LOC

There are, however, plenty of examples where a potential vowel harmony

hypothesis is not verified. Many words may appear with either form [nama] or [numa]

regardless of the final vowel of the stem, as shown in (50).

(50)

ikʲamnam ~ ikʲámnum	*ĩt͡sánam ~ ĩt͡sanum*
ikama = nVma	ĩt͡sa = nVma
forest = LOC	river = LOC

5.6.2. High affectedness *-á(u)*

The high affectedness suffix *-á(u)* occurs with the form *-áu* before apprehensive -

ai and non-imperfective plural *-ara*. The details are described in §5.3.3.

5.6.3. Do while moving *-ki(ni)*

The suffix *-ki* has a long form *-kini* that occurs when preceding the 3 person

perfective *-ĩ ~ -ḭ̃*. The next example shows both realizations of this suffix (the example

comes from two consecutive lines of the same text). In the example, *-ki(ni)* occurs with

the long form first, when "fused" with the third perfective suffix, and with the short

form in the next line:[110]

---

110. There is an underlying nasalization in the suffix *-ki(ni)*. Nasalization sometimes surfaces as
a high pitch. See §6.10 for details.

(51) *tikítʃik t͡ʃankín ʔɛímkʲamuanúna huru**kní** . . . núu út͡ʃi **hurukí** wisatahkamã́*

tikít͡ʃiki	t͡ʃankina	aima-ka-mau＝a＝nú＝na
one	basket	fill.up-INTENS-NMLZ＝COP＝NON.VIS＝ACC

hu-ru-**kiní**
take-APPL-WHILE.MOVING＋3.PFV

nu	út͡ʃi	hu-ru-**kĩ**	wɨ-sa-tahkamã́
NON.VIS	child	take-APPL-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS	go-ATT-FRUSTR\3SG.SS

'[The child] took one basket that was filled. . . that child when he wanted to go, having taken [the basket]. . .'

5.6.4. Locative ＝*(n)ĩ* and Different subject -*(n)ĩ*

The locative ＝*(n)ĩ* occurs with a long form [nĩ] following a vowel /i/ of the stem. The different subject -*(n)ĩ* is historically related to the locative homophonous form, and follows exactly the same pattern. Compare (52), where the form of the locative is ＝*ĩ*, with (53), where the long form is used.

(52) *huĩ́*
hu＝ĩ
PROX＝LOC
'here'

(53) *hintíɲi*
hinti＝nĩ
trail\1PL/2PL/3.POSS＝LOC
'In his trail.'

The following are examples of *-(n)ĩ* as a different subject marker, showing the

same alternation:

(54) puhákuĩ
puha-ku-ĩ
live + IPFV-SIM-DS
'While I am living...'

(55) puhákmin
puha-ku-mi-nĩ
live + IPFV-SIM-2SG-DS
'While you are living...'

5.6.5. Copula clitics

Copula clitics in Wampis have a long and short form as shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6. Forms of copula clitics in Wampis

Speech act participant	3 person
aita ~ ita	aiti ~ iti

The use of the long or short form depends on several criteria. After glide

derivation:

• With a preceding cluster of vowels in the root or stem, the long forms are always use.

A glide (either allophonic or epenthetic) is always present in these cases. The next

examples illustrate this behavior.

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(56) *aróuwɛithɛɛ*

arа-u = aita-ha-i

plant-NMLZ = COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am a planter.'

(57) *waã́ɲɛiti*[111]

uaã̃ = aiti

hole = COP.3 + DECL

'It is a hole'

(58) *jamɛ́ijɛiti*

iamai = aiti

now = COP.3 + DECL

'It is now.'

• With a single final vowel /a/ of the stem, the short forms are used.[112]

(59) *pínkirɛiti*

pínkɨra = iti

good = COP.3 + DECL

'It is good.'

---

111. The palatal [j] nasalizes to [ɲ] as nasalization spreads from the nasal vowel of the root to the glide.

112. One could ask why the short form and not the long form is used. It is possible to propose that there is vowel reduction of the stem, rather than insertion of the short form. But notice that this makes it harder to explain examples like (57), where there is no deletion of the vowel of the stem.

(60) *jɛítmɨ*

ia = ita-mɨ

who = COP-2SG.SBJ

Who are you?

glide derivation: /iaitamɨ/ → jaitamɨ (the stem [ja] has a final single vowel /a/)

(61) *kanúsiɛithɛɛ*

kanusa = ia = ita-ha-i

Santiago.river = ABL = COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am from the Kanus (area).'

• With a single final vowel /i/ and /u/ of the stem, the long forms are used if the stem

has two or less moras.[113] An epenthetic vowel is inserted if there is no allophonic glide:

(62) *nɨ̃́jɛiti*

nɨ̃ = aiti

3SG = COP.3 + DECL

'It is him.'

(63) *kusújɛiti*

kusu = aiti

murky.water = COP.3 + DECL

'It is murky water.'

• With a single final /u/ of the stem, the short forms are used if the stem has more than

---

113. There are some exceptions to this. The form *nɨ̃ = kɨ = iti* '3sg = restr = cop.3' ('he only is')
which surfaces as [nɨ̃́ŋkiti], only has two moras but uses the short form of the clitic.

two moras.

(64) *karápuiti*

karapu＝iti

nail＝COP.3＋DECL

'It is a nail' (*karapu* 'nail' from Spanish ＜clavo＞)

• With a single vowel /i/ of the stem, the short forms are used if the stem has more

than two moras—but in this case, the mora of the first vowel /i/ of *-iti* is reduced:

(65) *tikítʃiti*

tikit͡ʃi＝iti

other＝COP.3＋DECL

'It is another one.'

• With a preceding vowel /ɨ/ the stem, the short forms are used and the first mora of

/ɨ/ is always reduced:

(66) núkɨti

nu＝kɨ＝iti

NON.VIS＝RESTR＝COP.3＋DECL

'That only is.'

(67) *niríti*

nɨrɨ＝iti

fruit＝COP.3＋DECL

'It is a fruit.'

(68) *nukápɨthi*
nukapɨ = ita = hi
many = COP = 1PL.SBJ + DECL
'We are many.'

Notice that because there is reduction of a mora to a preceding vowel /i/ or /ɨ/,

as we saw previously with the high affectedness *-á(ɯ)* (§5.3.3) and the non-imperfect

plural *-ara* (§5.4.2), further elision of vowels is blocked. Compare (68), where the vowel

/ɨ/ is not deleted, with (69), where /ɨ/ is deleted:

(69) *nukápt͡ʃouwɛithi*
nukapɨ-t͡ʃau = aita-hi
many-NEG.NMLZ = COP-1PL.SBJ + DECL
'We are not many.'

• Finally, if the vowel that precedes the copula clitic receives a high tone (or has a high

tone in its lexical representation), then a glide is inserted and the long forms are used,

regardless of number of moras or vowel quality.

(70) *unt͡suríjɛiti*
unt͡surí = aiti
numerous = COP.3 + DECL
'They are numerous.'

(71) t͡sunájɛiti

t͡suná = aiti

T͡suná = COP.3 + DECL

'It is Tsuná.'[114]

5.7. Other phenomena

5.7.1. Degemination of stops

Roots or stems lose their surface final stop consonant with an identical initial

consonant of an immediately subsequent morpheme. Thus the consonant cluster is

reduced according to the pattern illustrated by the following rule:

$$C_i + C_i \rightarrow C_i$$

where C = stop, and " + " indicates morpheme boundary.

Example (72) shows an instance of this process (the vowels that are to be

deleted are underlined); the consonants that merge in the surface form are bolded.

(72) óohma**t**in

áuh̲umat̲u-**t**in̲u

inform-FUT.NMLZ

'one who will inform'

The degemination of consonant stops strictly occurs in the context of a

morpheme boundary; it does not occur if the consecutive consonants belong to the same

---

114. *Tsuná* is a proper noun.

morpheme. For instance, the definite future *-tata* does not merge its initial consonant

when the first /a/ is deleted:

(73) *óohmatsattahɛɛ*
auh<u>u</u>mat<u>u</u>-sa-**t<u>a</u>t**a-ha-i
inform-ATT-DEF.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am going to tell.'

5.7.2. Optional gemination of consonants

The locative *=nVma* can optionally insert a homorganic initial consonant when

the root that receives it appear ends in a vowel:

(74) *limánnumia*
Lima=nVma=ia
Lima=LOC=ABL
'from Lima'

5.7.3. Optional metathesis

Metathesis is not systematic in Wampis. However, there are some examples of

metathesis in the language. It seems like morphemes that possess an /r/ favor

metathesis. The first person possessive suffix *-ru* tend to be particularly susceptible to

undergoing optional metathesis. For instance, consider the word *nuku͡tʃi* 'grandmother'

(that the underlying representation of 'grandmother' is *nuku͡tʃi* is evident from (75)). In

(76), the vowel /u/ of the 1 singular possessive *-ru* surfaces in its "normal" position:

(75) *nukutʃín*

nukut͡ʃi=na

grandmother=ACC

'my grandmother (ACC)'

(76) *nukútʃrun*

nukut͡ʃi-ru=na

granmother-1SG=ACC

'my grandmother (ACC)'

However, examples from texts and casual speech show that speakers

metathesized forms can occur:

(77) *nukútʃur*

nukut͡ʃi-ru

grandfather-1SG

'my grandmother'

Here is another example of metathesis with a different suffix, the distributed

action *-ra* (so, again, the common element seems to be the /r/ of the suffixes)—this *-ra*

is a verbal suffix (cf. §13.3.2.4 for an analysis of *-ra*):

(78) *nɨkapár warukú timaji*

nɨkapɨ-rã   ua-ru-ka-u timaji

feel-DISTR\3.SS climb-APPL-INTENS-NMLZ NARR

'Having felt her, he climbed toward her.'

Metathesis in lexical roots does not occur, with very rare exceptions. The only

instances of apparent metathesis that I have found with lexical roots come from

alternations of one noun and one verb (plus possible derivations of each of them).

Interestingly, these two items are homophonous—whether they are historically related

is not known, but synchronically they do not seem to be related. The noun for 'devil'

seems to be based on the noun for the mythological character Iwa (/iua/) 'Mythological

giant cannibal') and the verb 'last' seems to be related to 'be alive'.[115] The items are

shown in (79).

(79)

/iua/ [íwa]   ~ /uia/ [új̇a]   'Iwa (a mythological character)'
/iuant͡ʃi/ [íwant͡ʃ]   ~ /uiant͡ʃi/ [új̇ant͡ʃ]   'devil' (also an alternate name for the
      mythological character *Iwa*)
/iua/ [iwá]   ~ /uia/ [ujá] 'be alive'
/iuantu/ [iwántu]   ~ /uiantu/ [ujántu]   'last' (probably related to 'be alive')

5.8. Vowel-switching for marking possession

A subclass of nouns marks a noun as possessed by a 1pl/2pl/3 person by

switching the vowels /a/ or /u/ of the root in the last surface vowel into ɨ̃ or ĩ̃. The

patterns of this vowel-switching phenomenon for marking possession are explained in

detail in §10.4.1.

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115. Probably a nasal variation *iuã* triggered the occurrence of the nasal consonant /n/ before -
t͡ʃĩ (this -t͡ʃĩ very likely is the diminutive (which has the same form in current Wampis)), and also
before -*tu* (maybe the applicative suffix -*tu*?).

CHAPTER VI

PROSODY

6.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the prosody of Wampis in the following way: §6.2 gives an overview of preliminary works in other Jivaroan languages and provides some important definitions to understand the phenomenon of stress and tone in Wampis. §6.3 defines the mora in Wampis, §6.4 is dedicated to stress. Next, §6.5 describes the tone system of Wampis, followed by a description of phenomena of high tone placement shift in §6.6 and a summary of stress and tone in §6.7. In §6.8, the prosodic word in Wampis is defined. §6.9 and §6.10 provide notes on utterance-level prosody and nasal prosody in Wampis.

6.2. Previous works and preliminary notions

Other Jivaroan languages have been varyingly described as having one or more of the following categories:

• Stress (Wampis) (Beasley & Pike 1957)

• Stress, Tone, "Tone-stress" (Shuar) (Turner 1958b)

• Pitch-accent (Shuar) (Gnerre 2010)

- Stress, Accent (also mention of Tone) (Achuar) (Fast 1975a)

- Accent/Pitch Accent (Awajun) (Payne 1990a; Corbera Mori 1994; Overall 2007)

As we can see, there has been some confusion in the way how previous works (especially early works) have described the prosody of Jivaroan languages. The most authoritative studies of the prosody of other Jivaroan languages are provided by Payne (1990a) and Overall (2007), both for Awajun. These authors treat the Awajun prosodic system in terms of pitch accent. Overall provides the following rule of thumb for said language: "The principle of "one word per accent, one accent per word" is an important criterion and diagnostic of wordhood" (2007: 96). We will see Wampis does not exactly fit within this criterion.

The Wampis system has remained practically undescribed until the present work, with the only exception being passing comments about "stress" in Beasley & Pike (Beasley & Pike 1957). The analysis proposed here follows the lead of Hyman's call for a property-driven account of prosodic systems (Hyman 2006; Hyman 2009), rather than necessarily trying to assign the language to one versus another "type", given the considerable typological variation found across languages. Hyman proposes that there is two prototypes of prosodic systems: Stress and Tone, and claims that there is no "Pitch

accent" prototype. Prototypical stress systems (e.g. Czech) and prototypical tonal

systems (e.g. Madarin Chinese) are relatively well understood, but there are languages

that are less-studied that appear to combine characteristics of stress and tone system.

Wampis is an example of these type of languages that do not exhibit a classical tone or

stress system, but are "somewhere" in the middle. These languages have been

traditionally labelled "pitch-accent" systems and have posed descriptive and theoretical

problems for linguists (Hyman 2006). Several studies have cast serious doubts about

"pitch-accent" as a typological concept. In fact, Hyman (2009; 2010) demonstrates that

the label "pitch-accent" has been used to describe very different phenomena; thus, there

is no unified concept of pitch-accent: "pitch-accent is not a coherent notion, rather a

'pick and choose' among the properties that characterize prototypical tone vs. stress-

accent systems" (Hyman 2006: 172). On the other hand, applying Hyman's property-

driven approach to word-prosody typology to Iquito (a Zaparoan language spoken in

Peru), Michael (2011) shows that it is possible, and more elegant, to describe so-called

"pitch-accent" languages in terms of the two prototypes of stress and tone suggested by

Hyman.

I will propose that the prosodic system of Wampis exhibits a stress system that is

distinguishable from a tone system. By proposing a system that distinguishes stress and

tone in a parsimonious fashion, a better understanding of the Wampis system is gained,

and (otherwise unconnected) phenomena of vowel elision and tone assignment find

their motivation, at least partially, in their association with a "covert" stress system.

The Wampis word prosodic system is complex, it exhibits a stress system which depends

on a rhythmic pattern, and a tonal system which is partially dependent on stress.

Before going into analytical details, some terminology and definitions need to be

introduced. With regard to the two prototypes of stress and tone, what I understand as a

language with stress is one in which there is an indication of word-level metrical

structure that meets two criteria: obligatoriness and culminativity. Obligatoriness is

understood as the criterion by which every lexical word has at least one syllable marked

for metrical prominence. Culminativity is understood as the condition by which every

lexical word has at most one syllable marked for prominence (Hyman 2006: 168). With

regard to tone, I follow Hyman's broad definition: "a language with tone is one in which

an indication of pitch enters into the lexical realization of at least some morpheme"

(2006: 167).

I will propose that Wampis exhibits a low-density tone system. I understand by

"low density tone system" a prosodic system in which many syllables or moras do not carry a lexical tone (Gussenhoven 2004). However, we will see that one of the defining requirements for prosodic words in Wampis is to have at least one high tone (i.e. an acoustic feature of high pitch). When Wampis words do not have a lexically-specified tone, they fulfill the tone requirement via a metrical tone. High tone in Wampis is contrastive. I will distinguish between three types of high tones:

• Metrical high tone: A metrical high tone is a high tone that is dependent on the

  metrical system of the language.

• Lexical high tone: A lexical high tone in Wampis is a high tone that is present in the

  lexical representation of roots, affixes and some clitics.

• Grammatical high tone: A grammatical high tone is a high tone that expresses a

  grammatical category (i.e. a toneme).

  High tone is represented by an accent marked above the vowel V́.

  What I understand as prosodic word is a constituent that is higher than the syllable and foot but lower than the intonational phrase (Hogg & McCully 1987). In Wampis, the prosodic word is defined as the domain where stress, tone assignment and a minimal two-mora requirement are satisfied.

6.3. The mora and mora requirement

The mora is the unit that determines syllable weight. In Wampis, the mora equals the vowel, codas are irrelevant for stress and tone assignment (see David Payne (1990a) for a similar treatment of the mora in Awajun). In Chapter VI, I analyzed the metrical feet as being formed at an intermediate stage of derivation where the only consonants allowed in coda position are the nasals /n/ and /m/. Notice how the second vowel (in an open syllable) attracts the high tone in the words in (1), even though there are contiguous closed syllables, and even though the structure of the syllable changes from open to close in [arútam] (nominative, where *ru* is an open syllable) and [arútman] (accusative, where *rut* is a closed syllable). The changes to the surface syllable structure do not affect stress and high tone assignment.

(1)
kakáram
kakarama
'powerful person'

arútam
arutama
'power vision' (nominative)

arútman
arutama=na
power.vision=ACC
'power vision (ACC)'

The mora is the tone bearing unit (TBU) in Wampis. When there is an induced

shift of tone placement by the presence of another morpheme that triggers the shift (like

the locative =*nama* in (2)), the high tone changes to another vowel:

(2)
wã́a   *wãánam*

uãa   uãa=nama

hole   hole=LOC

Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2 show the difference in tonal contour in the above

words. The sharp contrast in pitch contour indicates that the high tone falls on the

vowel; which is considered to be the tone bearing unit.
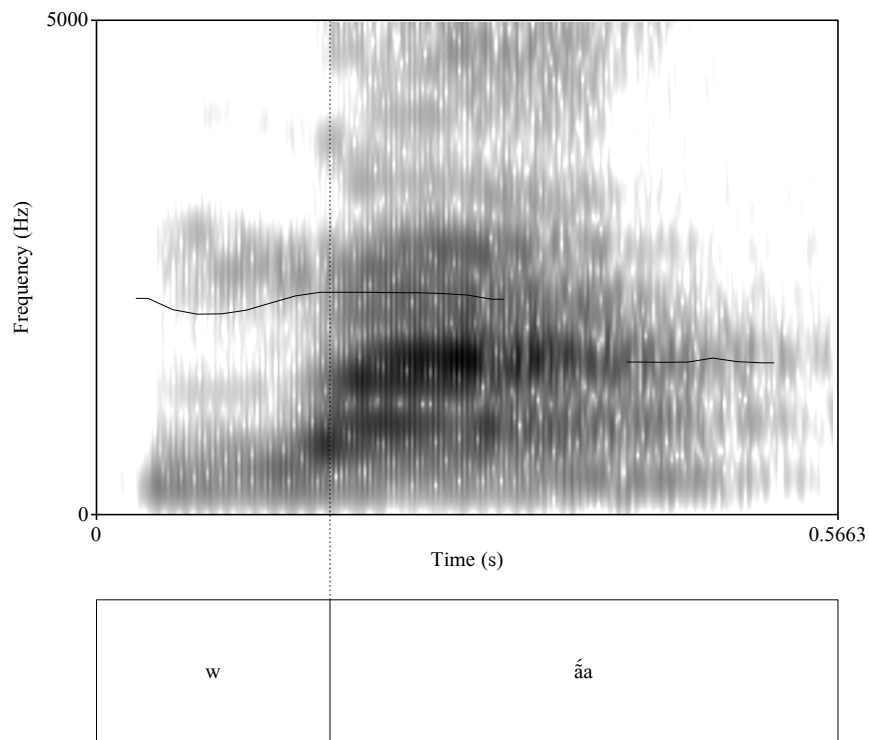
Figure 6.1. Spectrogram showing pitch contour of [wã́a] 'hole'

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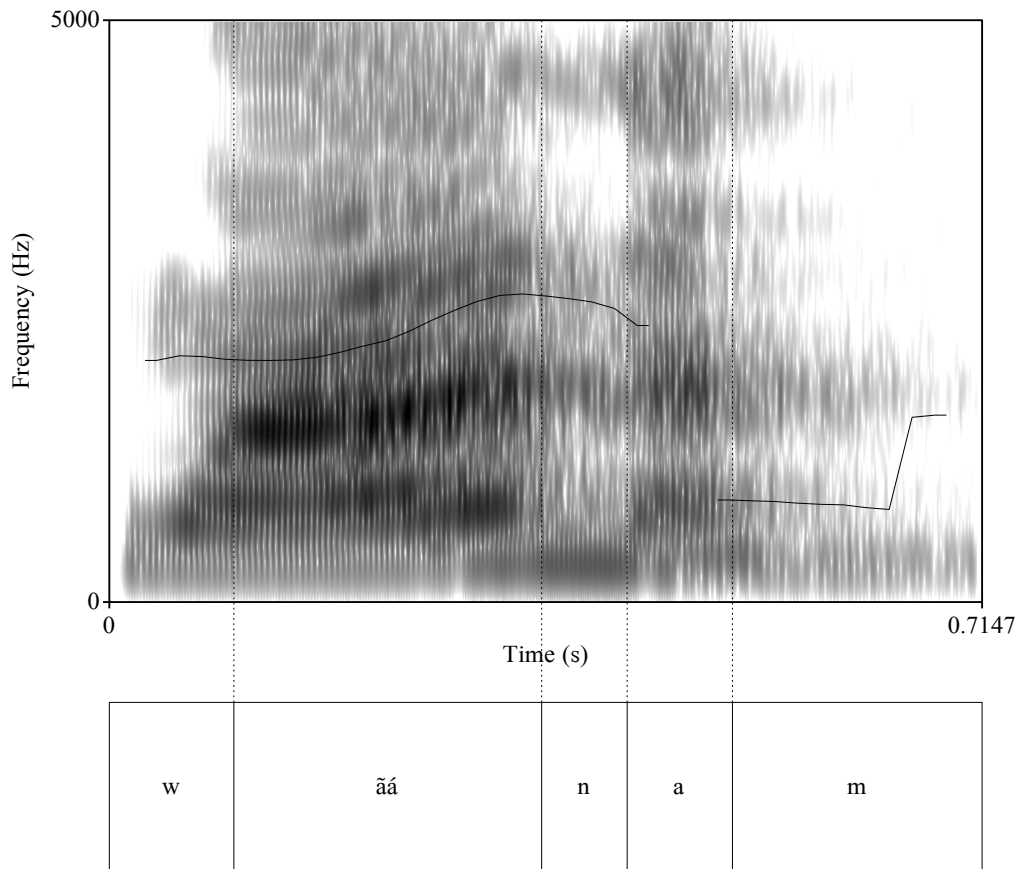
w	ãá	n	a	m

Figure 6.2. Spectrogram showing pitch contour of [wãánam] 'in the hole'

Prosodic words in Wampis are minimally bimoraic. Words that only have one mora in their lexical representation lengthen their vowel to comply with this two-mora restriction. Compare the realizations of *hu* 'Proximal demonstrative' and *nĩ* '3SG' when they occur alone and when they occur with other morphemes.

(3)

/hu/ [húu]   'Proximal demonstrative'   /huka/ [húka]   (hu=ka 'PROX=FOC')
/nĩ/ [nĩ́i]   '3SG'   /nĩna/ [nĩ́ɲa]   (nĩ=na '3SG=ACC')

An important note to remember from Chapter IV is that moras are counted after

glide derivation; for instance, a word like *ui* '1SG' lengthens its vowel /i/ after the glide

[w] is derived, because glides do not count as moras.

(4) /ui/ [wíi] '1SG'

6.4. Stress in Wampis

This section presents an introduction to the study of stress and tone in Wampis.

It is generally recognized that stress is the manifestation of a rhythmic structure (Hayes

1995). Consequently, the aim of this study is to show that stress in Wampis follows a

rhythmic pattern and that the complex interaction with tone can be partially associated

with this pattern.

Stress in Wampis is not completely predictable. Nevertheless, I propose that a

great proportion of words in Wampis follows a rhythmic pattern that is manifested in an

iambic foot structure in words with more than two moras. A high tone is attracted by

the most prominent constituent of the metrical parsing unit (i.e. the foot) and assigned

to a mora following strict rules. Though restricted to certain combinations (which are

not infrequent in actual speech), there can be more than one high tone in a prosodic

word (if a metrical high tone interacts with a lexical high tone), thus the principle of

"one accent per word", which is how typical so-called pitch-accent systems are

described, is not an accurate description for Wampis. Regarding stress, it is important to

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distinguish between words that have two moras (the minimum allowed in the language)

and words that have more than two moras.

6.4.1. Stress and tone in bimoraic words in Wampis

Wampis treats morphologically simple bimoraic words differently than other

words (recall that there are no monomoraic prosodic words). Morphologically simple

bimoraic words are uncontroversial in terms of their prosody: a high tone is always

assigned to the first mora of the word. This pattern can be described in terms of extra-

metrical restriction: in Wampis there appears to exist a general extra-metrical

restriction: extra-metricality of the last mora. There are almost no exceptions to this

pattern of assigning a high tone to the first mora in bimoraic words, only roots with

lexically-specified high tone (and a few interjections and ideophones) do not follow this

rule. The words in (5) illustrate the pronunciation of morphologically simple bimoraic

words in Wampis:

(5)

/apa/	[ápa]	'father'
/ĩt͡sa/	[ĩ́t͡sã]	'sun'
/hĩa/	[hĩ́a]	'house'
/paki/	[páki]	'white-lipped peccary'
/kanka/	[káŋka]	'*boquichico* (*Prochilodus sp.*)'
/númi/	[númi]	'tree'
/núku/	[núku]	'mother'
/ui/	[wíi]	'1sg'

Most morphologically complex words have more than two moras underlyingly (though on the surface they may occur with two moras because of vowel apocope). When underlyingly bimoraic words carry additional morphology (and therefore become words with more than two moras), they become susceptible to shift in the placement of their high tone, which is induced by some suffixes and clitics (§6.6).

6.4.2. Stress in words with more than two moras

Unlike underlyingly bi-moraic words, the prosody of words with more than two underlying moras in Wampis is complicated. Pervasive vowel elision processes apply in words with more than two moras, posing difficulty for the analysis of the prosody. In this study, I propose that the vowel elision processes of Wampis are related to a historical rhythmic pattern. My hypothesis is that this rhythmic pattern is still visible in the language, but it is somehow obscured precisely because of vowel elision. However, I claim that vowel elision can be seen as a manifestation of the stress pattern in current Wampis, rather than as an element that obscures the rhythmic pattern.

The proposed hypothesis of development of a rhythmic pattern in Wampis is formalized in the following terms:

• In past stages of Wampis, prosodic prominence was found in a rhythmic iambic

pattern.

• Unstressed elements were unvoiced; in later historical stages devoicing of unstressed

vowels turned into a process of vowel elision.

There is some evidence of voiceless vowels in past stages of Wampis. Voiceless

vowels are mentioned in Beasley & Pike's study of Wampis phonology: "certain vowels

which in the middle of the words in a restricted word list are clearly voiced, and are

members of the ordinary voiced vowel system, lose their voicing when unstressed, and

when the suffixes following them are dropped from the word" (1957: 4). There is no

evidence of voiceless vowels in current Wampis, but see §3.8.6 for a possible related

phenomenon.

The rhythmic pattern of Wampis that I propose consists of left-to-right parsed

iambic feet, i.e. feet that are right-headed, as illustrated in Figure 6.3 (where W = Weak

position in the foot, S = Strong position in the foot).

Left-to-right iamb
(W ˈS)
– – – – →
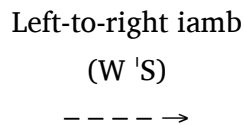
Figure 6.3. Parsing directionality in Wampis

A possible historical scenario for the hypothesis outlined above would have an

ideal foot parsing with CV syllables as presented below (we will see that this analysis

for the most part is applicable synchronically for current Wampis):

$$(\text{CV. } ^{\prime}\textbf{CV})\ (\text{C}\underline{\text{V}}.\ _{\text{|}}\text{C.V})\ (\text{C}\underline{\text{V}}.\ _{\text{|}}\text{CV})\ \text{C}\underline{\text{V}} \ldots$$

Prosodic prominence was established for the first foot from the left. Therefore,

the strong position of the first metrical foot was assigned a metrical high tone. If we

abstract the moras (which are the relevant TBU), we have the second mora as the most

prominent for metrical high tone assignment: (V V́) (V V). . .

At some point, Wampis speakers presumably started to de-voice vowels in weak

positions, which led to vowel elision. In turn, vowel elision led to re-syllabication:

CV.CVC.CVC.CVC. . .

Having outlined a possible scenario of development of the Wampis system, the

discussion now turns to the more detailed analysis of Wampis data for words that have

more than two moras. I use the symbol $^{\prime}$ to represent the primary stress of the word (the

most prominent prosodic position in the metrical feet). As in previous chapters, vowels

that are deleted on the surface are represented with an underline. High tone is

represented with an accent on top of the vowel (V́).

With words that possess more than two moras, the Wampis system forms

metrical feet at an intermediate stage of derivation after glide derivation (§4.2) and

morphophonological processes such as mora reduction at morpheme boundary (§5.3).

As mentioned previously, Wampis parses iambic feet of the form (W S). As an

illustration, consider the derivation of the root *maa* 'bathe' in [mɛíthʲɛɛ]. In the

derivation, we see that at the level of sandhi the second /a/ of root is reduced in the

presence of the low affectedness aktionsart suffix -*i*. Only then the feet are formed and

word can be derived with the correct output.

(6) *mɛíthʲɛɛ*
maa-i-ta-ha-i
bathe-LOAF-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I will bathe.'

derivation: /maaitahai/
glide: does not apply
syllable: ma.a.i.ta.ha.i
sandhi: ma.i.ta.ha.i
feet: (ma.ˈi).(ta̠.ha).i
vowel elision: maithai
output: [mɛíthʲɛɛ]

The next examples illustrate the iambic foot. For ease of representation, I do not

include intermediate stages if they do not apply (for instance if there is no vowel that

becomes a glide, I "skip" the glide derivation step).

(7) /namaka/ 'fish'
syllable: na.ma.ka
feet: (na.ˈma).k<u>a</u>
vowel elision: namak
output: [namák]

(8) /t͡sauanta/ 'day'
glide: t͡sawanta
syllable: t͡sa.wan.ta
feet: (t͡sa.ˈwan).t<u>a</u>
vowel elision: t͡sawan (/t/ is also dropped, because it cannot occur in coda margin)
output: [t͡sawán]

(9) /paantama/ 'plantain'
syllable: pa.an.ta.ma
feet: (pa.ˈan).(ta.m<u>a</u>)
vowel elision: paantam
output: [paántam]

(10) /maata/ 'to bathe' (*maa-ta* 'bathe-NMLZ')
syllable: ma.á.ta
feet: (ma.ˈa).t<u>a</u>
vowel elision: maat
output: [maát]

(11) /hintinakaratuinu/ 'teacher' (*hintina-karatu-inu* 'teach-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ')
syllable: hin.ti.na.ka.ra.t**u**.**i**.nu
sandhi: hin.ti.na.ka.ra.t**i**.nu
feet: (hinˈti).(n<u>a</u>.ka).(r<u>a</u>.ti.)n<u>u</u>
vowel elision: hintinkartin
output: [hintíŋkʲartin]

(12) /pɨaka/ 'bed'
syllable: pɨ.a.ka
feet: (pɨ.ˈa).ka
vowel elision: pɨak
output: [pɨák]

(13) /kuhant͡ʃama/ 'opposum'
syllable: ku.han.t͡ʃa.ma
feet: (ku.ˈhan).(t͡ʃa.m<u>a</u>)
vowel elision: kuhant͡ʃam
output: [kuhánt͡ʃam]

(14) /t͡ʃit͡ʃastasanu/ 'in order to speak' (*t͡ʃit͡ʃa-sa-tasa-nu* 'speak-ATT-PURP-1SG.SS)
syllable: t͡ʃi.t͡ʃa.sa.ta.sa.nu
feet: (t͡ʃi.ˈt͡ʃa).(s<u>a</u>.ta).(sa.n<u>u</u>)
vowel elision: t͡ʃit͡ʃastasan
output: [t͡ʃit͡ʃástasan]

(15) /tikít͡ʃiki/ 'one'
syllable: ti.ki.t͡ʃi.ki
feet: (ti.ˈki).(t͡ʃi.k<u>i</u>)
vowel elision: tikít͡ʃik
output: [tikít͡ʃik]

From the above examples, the next rule of metrical high tone assignment can be

posited:

Rule of metrical high tone assignment in Wampis: A metrical high tone is given to

the left-most prominent constituent in the iambic structure.

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This rule predicts that a metrical high tone occurs in the first foot counting from the left. The foot is right-headed, thus the second mora receives the metrical high tone ((V 'V́) (V V) . . .).

The words in (16) further illustrate the rule of metrical high tone in use:

(16)

/aiamarukatasanu/ → *Glide:* ajamarukatasanu → [ajámruktatasan] 'in order for me to defend' (*aiamaru-ka-tasa-nu* 'defend-INTENS-PURP-1SG.SS')

/ɨakamau/	→	[ɨákmoo][116]	'hunter'
/kaaʃapa/	→	[kaáʃap]	'ray (fish)'
/kakarama/	→	[kakáram]	'powerful person'
/kusɨa/	→	[kusía]	'*sabalo* (fish sp.)'
/kuiʃi/	→	[kuwíʃ]	'ear'
/kunt͡ʃai/	→	[kunt͡ʃéi]	'type of fruit'
/namaka/	→	[namák]	'fish'
/tutupini/	→	[tutúpin]	'straight'
/uɨnunt͡ʃi/	→ *Glide*: wɨnunt͡ʃi	→ [wɨnúnt͡ʃ]	'clavicle'

To complete the analysis of Wampis stress, the acoustic correlates of stress and the processes of vowel elision are presented next.

6.4.3. Acoustic correlates of stress

Measurement of length in vowels as well as in pre- and post-nucleus consonants was done in order to establish a possible acoustic correlate to stress. From the acoustic analysis, two factors seem to correlate to stress:

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116. Recall that the sequence /au/ is pronounced [ou]~[oo], and [ai] is pronounce [ɛi] ~ [ɛɛ] (§3.7.1).

• Stressed vowels are lengthened (they are longer than unstressed vowels)

• Onset stop consonants of stressed syllables are lengthened.

To analyze the acoustic correlates of stress, a short study was carried out. This study consisted in the examination of vowels and consonants in five words repeated three times in isolation plus 1 time in a carrier phrase (the token given in the carrier phrase was the one analyzed). Three speakers were recorded saying the following words:

kunkukakɨ	[kuŋˈkúkak]	'only *Ungurahui (Oenocarpus bataua)*'
tutupini	[tuˈtúpin]	'straigth'
tikit͡ʃikiʃa	[tiˈkíʃkiʃa]	'one more'
ʃukukakɨ	[ʃuˈkúkak]	'only the shell'
akutata	[aˈkútat]	'to hurt'

These items were chosen because they preserve a structure where at least two vowels and two stops occur word-medially, so they can be measured and compared. The mean results of the measurements are presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1. Measurement of vowel and consonant length in pre-tonic, tonic and post-tonic positions

Pre-tonic vowel	Tonic vowel	Post-tonic vowel
0.57 s	0.88 s	0.62 s
Pre-tonic consonant (onset of stressed syllable)	Post-tonic consonant	
0.142 s	0.102 s	

As can be seen, tonic vowels are overall longer than pre-tonic and post-tonic vowels. In addition, the pre-tonic consonant (the onset of the stressed syllable) is considerably longer than the post-tonic consonant. For the study, the post-tonic consonants were the onset of the next unstressed syllable, thus they are in comparable position with the pre-tonic consonants, which were the onset of stressed syllables. Note that for the word *tikitʃikiʃa* [tiˈkíʃkiʃa], the post-tonic consonant measured was the second surface [k], not the [ʃ] in the surface coda.

An illustration of difference in length measurements is given in Figure 6.4 with the word *tikitʃikiʃa* [tiˈkíʃkiʃa] 'one more', where the tonic vowel is the second /i/. Correspondingly, this vowel is longer in duration (0.82 s) than the other two unstressed vowels (pre-tonic /i/ = 0.40 s, post-tonic /i/ =0.61 s).[117] Similarly, the pre-tonic consonant (the first /k/ in the example) is also lengthened (0.140 s). Compare with the second /k/, which is shorter (0.93 s).

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117. There is an underlying vowel that comes after the second /i/ (the tonic vowel) but is deleted and does not occur on the surface form.
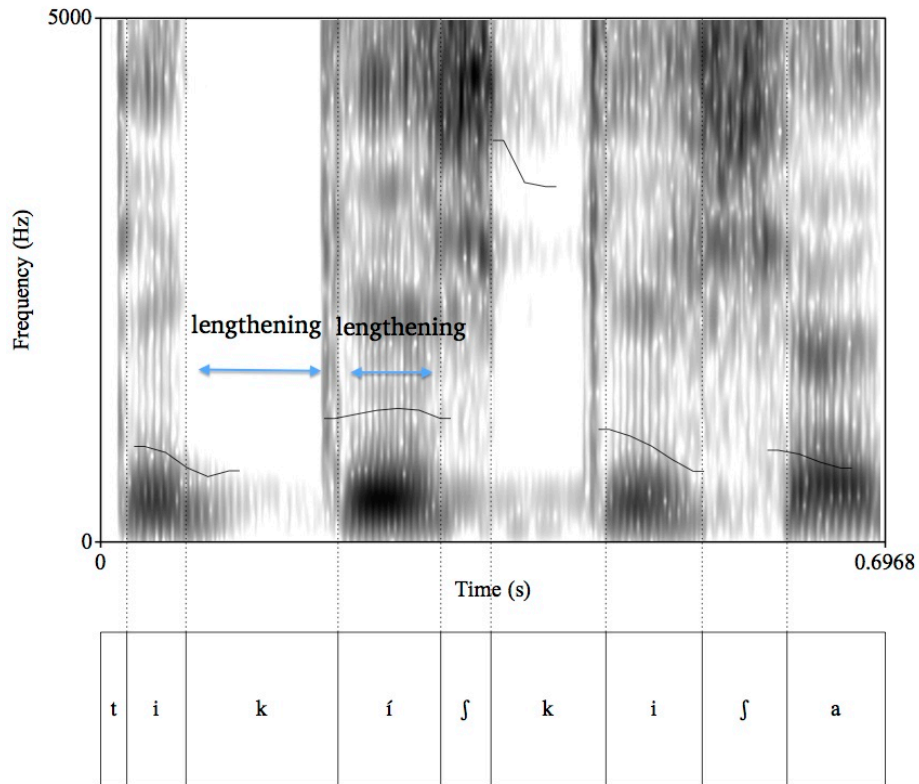
Figure 6.4. Spectrogram of framed token of [tikíʃkiʃa] 'one more'

6.4.4. Vowel elision

The preceding discussion has described the stress system of Wampis as well as

provided acoustic evidence for it. Now I discuss the processes of vowel elision, which

are one of the most interesting and complex phenomena in Wampis. The basic

principles of vowel elision have been introduced already in previous chapters (cf.

§4.2.1).

Vowel elision is pervasive in Wampis, as it is in other Jivaroan languages

(Payne 1990a; Corbera Mori 1994; Overall 2007). Vowels are systematically elided

word-internally and word-finally if certain conditions are met.

6.4.5. Word-final and word-internal vowel elision

Word-final (apocope) and word-internal (syncope)[118] vowel elision apply strictly

in that order in Wampis. Generally speaking, they apply in words of more than two

moras.[119] They operate on both simplex and morphologically complex words.

Apocope: Word-finally, vowels in a CV sequence (where C is any stop except a

glide) are deleted.

Syncope: After vowel apocope, the third vowel starting from the left, and every

other alternate vowel in a CV.C cluster are deleted.

There are some peculiarities and exceptions to the above rule, which will be

described in the following sections, but these rules apply to a large portion of words in

Wampis.

I argue that apocope and syncope are for the most part another manifestation of

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118. In previous works on Awajun, the term syncope have been used to mean word internal vowel elision in general (not only of unstressed vowels) (Payne 1990a; Overall 2007). I use syncope in the same sense.

119. Underlyingly the last syllable in a word is phonologically either CV or V in Wampis, since there can be only vowels in word-final position. This was described in Chapter IV.

the rhythmic pattern of Wampis described in the previous section. The reason for this

argument is that the wovels that are deleted in Wampis precisely correspond to vowels

that word-internally are in a weak position in the iambic feet. Vowel apocope can be

described by invoking extrametricality of the last mora, i.e. this particular element is

ignored by the stress principles of Wampis. Consider the word *arutama*, which deletes

the last vowel /a/:

(17)
/arutama/ 'Power vision (a spiritual concept)'
feet: (aˈru)(ta͜ˌm̲a̲)
output: [arútam]

When morphology is added to the word, and the vowel /a/ which was deleted is

no longer in word-final position, he vowel is again incorporated into the rhythmic

pattern. Now the second /a/ from the left is deleted by syncope, as it is the mora in a

weak position, and the third /a/ surfaces:

(18)
/arutamakɨ/ 'only *Arutam*', =kɨ 'restrictive'
feet: (aˈru)(t̲a̲ˌma)kɨ̲
output: [arútmak]

The regular process of apocope deletes the vowel of a final CV syllable occurs

first; that is, this rule applies prior to syncope. The examples in (19) show instances of

the rule of apocope in simplex words.

(19)

/ipaku/	→	(iˈpa)ku̲	[ipʲák]	'Bixa orellana'
/t͡ʃan.ki.na/	→	(t͡ʃanˈki)na̲	[t͡ʃáŋkin]	'basket'
/mui͡tsa/	→	(muˈi)t͡sa̲	[mui͡ts]	'type of jar'
/arutama/	→	(aˈru)(tama̲)	[arútam]	'spirit of power'
/himara/	→	(hiˈma)ra̲	[himʲár]	'two'
/uuɨha/	→	(uˈwɨ)ha̲	[uwɨ́h] 'hand'

The next examples show the process of apocope in morphologicallly complex

words.

(20)

takát

taka-ta

work-NMLZ

'work'

(21)

t͡ʃankiṉán

t͡ʃankina = na

basket = ACC

'the basket (ACC)'

(22)

jatst͡ṹr

iatsu-ru

brother-1SG.POSS

'my brother'

A GV syllable in final position is immune to apocope. In (23), words with a final

GV syllable do not delete their last vowels. The first word, 'branch' is morphologically

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simple; the second word, 'from the lake', is morphologically complex. Compare with

maataĩ 'place to bathe (N)' where the last vowel is not deleted either. For the process of

syncope, glides are relevant and treated as regular consonants in onset position.

(23)
kanauɨ   →   [kanawɨ]
'branch'

kutʃa-numa-ia →   [kutʃanmaja]
lake-LOC-ABL
'from the lake'

maataĩ   →   [maátɛɛ̃]
'place to bathe'

      Syncope is also a recurrent process in Wampis. This is a different process that

deletes the third moraic vowel counting from the left (i.e. from the beginning of the

word) and then every other second vowel.

(24)
akahiki = na 'male braid hairstyle = ACC'
feet: (aˈka)(hi̯ˌki)na̲
vowel elison: akahkin
output: [akáhkin]

(25)
tutupini-t͡ʃi   'straitgh-DIM'
feet: (tuˈtu)(pi̯ˌni)t͡ʃi̲
vowel elision: tutupnít͡ʃ
output: [tutúpnít͡ʃ]

The following example illustrates syncope with a complex verb form. Apocope

does not apply (the last vowels form a VV cluster) but syncope still applies.

(26)

taka-sá-tata-ha-i

work-ATT-DEF.FUT-1SG.SUBJ-DECl

'I am going to work'

feet: (ta'ka)(sa̲ˌta)(haˌi)

vowel elision: takástahai

output: [takástahɛɛ]

Syncope occurs only when the output of the apocope process allows the correct

syllable formation, as explained in Chapter V. For instance, the final vowel in *ipakukɨ*

'only Huito' is deleted, but if syncope were to subsequently apply, it would produce an

impossible coda for Wampis. Therefore, the process of syncope is blocked, and the

derived word is [ipakuk], not *[ipakk].

(27)

Ipaku = kɨ 'huito (Genipa americana = restr)

feet: (i'pa)(kuˌkɨ)

vowel elison: ipakuk

output: [ipʲákuk]

The same "blocking" of syncope occurs in certain word-internal configurations

related to N.CV sequence. The next subsection describes this in detail.

6.4.5.1. Elision of CV in N.CV sequence

If vowel elision occurs in a N.CV sequence, an NC cluster where C is any one

stop (/p/, /t/, /k/) would result, but such a cluster is disallowed in Wampis, as a stop

consonant cannot map into the margin of a syllable coda (see §4.3). This constitutes an

important characteristic of the Wampis re-syllabification structure: to avoid the

unaccepted sequence, entire open syllables—both C and V together—are deleted after a

nasal consonant. The consonant-deletion rule is formalized by the following rule, which

applies word-finally and word-internally.

/C/   →   ∅/N__.
  |
[+stop]
or [+nasal]

The next examples illustrate the above rule in word final position.

(28)

/uunta/	→	[úun]	'big'
/nauantu/	→	[nawán]	'daughter'
/paapanku/	→	[paápaŋ]	'raft'
/kunampɨ/	→	[kunám]	'red squirrel'

Elision of CV syllables in N.CV clusters is also possible word-internally. First,

consider /paantama/ 'plantain' in the nominative form (which is unmarked). This word

deletes its last vowel (via apocope), which yields the intermediate form [paantam]. If

the rule of syncope applies, that would yield the surface form [paantm], but the

syllabications [pa.ant.m] or [pa.antm] are impossible in Wampis. Thus, the process of

syncope does not apply to preserve the correct word structure:

(29)

paantama

feet: (pa'an)(ta‚ma̲)

vowel elision: paantam

output: [paántam]

However, when other morpheme is added, syncope applies. In (30), apocope

applies deleting the last mora, then syncope syncope applies deleting the third mora.

Here is a fascinating detail in Wampis re-syllabification process: since a stop cannot be

on the margin of a complex coda, and cannot form a complex onset with a nasal (as we

saw in Chapter IV, the only complex onset allowed in Wampis is [Stop + rhotic] and the

only complex coda allowed is [Nasal + Affricate]), the solution of the language is to

completely delete an entire word-internal syllable to ensure that the word formation is

derived.

(30)

paantama = na   'plantain = ACC'

feet: (pa'an)(ta̲‚ma)na̲

vowel elision: paántman

rechecking: paánman (/t/ is in impossible position, gets deleted)

output: [paánman]

The only occasion when the underlying stop in a N.CV cluster is not deleted is

when, because of vowel elision, the stop forms a sequence with the rhotic. Compare

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(31) and (32).

(31)
nauantu 'daughter'
feet: (naˈwan)tu̲
vowel elision: nawant (/t/ is impossible in coda margin, gets deleted)
recheck: nawan
output: [nawán]

(32)
nauantu-ru＝haĩ 'daughter-1SG＝COM' ('with my daughter')
feet: (naˈwan)(tu̲ˌru)(haˌĩ)
vowel elision: nawantruhaĩ
output: [nawantruhɛ̃ɛ̃]

      Finally, another point to notice is that affricates can occur in surface final

complex codas, as shown in the next examples in which said consonants are not deleted

when their phonemic syllabic nucleus is elided:

(33)
/aunt͡su/   →   [aúnt͡s] 'Spix's guan'
/marunt͡ʃi/   →   [marúnt͡ʃ] 'prawn'
/tɨntɨ́t͡sa/   →   [tɨntɨ́t͡s] 'proper name'

6.4.5.2. Special vowel elision in CVV sequences

      Some sequences of the form CVu and CVi allow internal vowel elision if the

vowel is in a weak position where it can be deleted. Bound morphemes associated with

this behavior are listed in Table 6.2. The vowel that can be elided in these morphemes

is their first vowel (/a/ in all cases).

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Table 6.2. Bound morphemes that allow internal vowel elision

Morphemes	Gloss
-mau	Set II nominalizer "non-subject" nominalizer
-t͡ʃau	Negative nominalizer
-nai	Reciprocal
-nau	Benefactive

In (34), the second vowel /a/ from the left (the vowel /a/ of -*nai* 'reciprocal) is in a weak position in the metrical foot (third mora), thus it is deleted. Compare with (35), where the same vowel is not in a weak position in the metrical foot, thus it is not deleted.

(34)
uha-nai-ta 'inform-RECP-NMLZ' ('to communicate among several')
feet: (uˈha)(na̱ˌi)ta̱
vowel elision: uhanit
output: [uhánit]

(35)
kahɨra-nai-ta 'hate-RECP-NMLZ' ('to become enemies')
feet: (kaˈhɨ)(ra̱ˌna)(iˌta̱)
vowel elision: kahɨrnait
output: [kahɨ́rnɛit]

Other examples are given in (36).

(36)

t͡ʃit͡ʃa-m̲a̲u   → [t͡ʃit͡ʃámu] 'speak + ɪᴘꜰᴠ-ɴᴍʟᴢ' ('what is spoken')

t͡ʃit͡ʃa-t͡ʃa̲u   → [t͡ʃit͡ʃat͡ʃu] 'speak + ɪᴘꜰᴠ-ɴᴍʟᴢ' one who does not speak'

Dina-n̲a̲u   → [ðínanu] 'Dina-ʙᴇɴ' (for Dina)

6.4.5.3. Immunity to elision

Some word-final and word-internal vowels of certain morphemes are apparently immune to elision. These lexically specified exception vowels occur both in lexical roots, enclitics and suffixes (cf. Overall (2007: 92) for details on a similar phenomenon in Awajun). It is also possible that these vowels (moras) that are immune to elision are treated as heavy syllables, possibly forming their own foot, which would prevent their deletion. More data is needed to test this hypothesis.

Interestingly, when a vowel is lexically marked as "immune" to elision, the next mora is automatically deleted. That is, the rhythmic feet are re-structured after the immune mora, and new feet are formed (in the new feet, the first mora following the immune mora is always in the weak position in the iamb). For example, the verb root *usuma* 'paint face' never loses its third mora (the vowel /a/), so the next one is deleted.

(37)

usúmakhɛi

usuma-k̲a̲-ha-i

paint.face-ɪɴᴛᴇɴs-1sɢ.sᴜʙᴊ.ᴅᴇᴄʟ

'I painted my face'

A possible feet formation for this word would be (uˈsu)(ˌma)(kaˌha)i, where the syllable */ma/* that contains the immune mora forms its own foot.

There are also suffixes and enclitics that do not delete their vowel in a position where it is expected to be deleted. For instance, compare the behavior of the suffix *-tá* 'imperative' and the suffix *-ta* 'action nominalizer'. The imperative does not undergo apocope, but the nominalizer does.

(38)
[uhaktá]
uha-ka-tá
inform-INTENS-IMP
'inform (her/him)!'

[uhát]
uha-ta
inform-NMLZ
'to inform'

Table 6.3 lists the grammatical morphemes that do not delete a vowel when they are in a position where they would be expected to be deleted. Some of the morphemes always occur in final position of the word. Some of the morphemes have a lexically specified high tone. In the table, A = Apocope, S = Syncope.

Table 6.3. Bound morphemes immune to vowel elision in Wampis

Morpheme	Gloss	Comment
=ka	Focus	Immune to A (always final)
=kɨ	Restrictive	Immune to S, not to A
=ni	Allative	Inmmune to S
=tí	Plural Speech Act participant	Inmmune to A and S
-tá	Imperative	Immune to A and S
-ʃa	Additive[120]	Immune to A (always final)
-mi	Hortative	Immune to A (always final)
-ti	Jussive	Immune to A (always final)
=api	Tag question	Immune to A and S
-tasa	Purpose	Last vowel immune to A and S, first vowel not immune

Selected examples with some of these morphemes are given in (39).

(39)

Focus =*ka*

ʃuara=ka   →   [ʃuárka] ('person=FOC')

Plural Speech Act participant =*tí*

uampisa=tí   →   [wampistí] (Wampis=SAP 'We the Wampis'))

Imperative -*tá*

uha-ka-tá   →   [uhaktá] (inform-INTENS-IMP 'Tell him!')

Additive =*ʃa*

t͡sunki=ʃa   →   [t͡súŋkiʃa] ('water.being=ADD 'the water being too')

---

120. The vowel of this suffix sometimes underwent apocope in the speech of one of my teachers from Boca Chinganaza in contexts where other speakers would not delete the vowel. Thus ausha

Apparently, when apocope is blocked syncope still occurs. In *arutama＝na＝ka,*

the vowel of ＝*ka* 'focus' is marked for non-elision; after elision does not apply, syncope

applies in the word as expected, deleting the third mora:

(40)
arutama＝na＝ka
spirit.power＝ACC＝FOC
'to Arutam'

feet: (aˈru)(ta̱ˌma)(naˌka)
vowel elision: arutmanka
output: [arútmaŋka]

However, syncope does not occur with vowels that are immune to elision. In the

example below, the last vowel /*a*/ would be liable to be deleted per the process of

apocope, but since the vowel of ＝*ʃa* 'additive' is "immune" to elision, it is not deleted.

When it is not deleted, syncope applies and it would be expected that the vowel /ɨ/ of

＝*kɨ* 'restrictive' is deleted. However, the vowel of this morpheme is also immune to

vowel elision, so deletion does not happen at all.

(41)
hapákɨʃa
hapa＝kɨ＝ʃa
deer＝RESTR＝ADD
'deer only too'

6.5. Tone in Wampis

In Wampis words, the alternations in pitch are associated with a prosodic feature

of high tone. In the previous section, we have seen that high tone in Wampis is partially

predictable and associated with the stress pattern exhibited by the language—this what

I called the metrical high tone in §6.2. However, there are words and morphemes that

are lexically-specified for tone—that is, what I defined as a lexical high tone in §6.2.

Wampis also possesses what I defined in §6.2 as grammatical high tone: in Wampis, the

vocative and the genitive cases are marked with a high tone on the last vowel of the

word. Thus, in Wampis there is metrical tone, dependent on the rhythmic stress patterns

of the language; and there is lexical tone, which is unpredictable. In addition, some

morphemes trigger the shift of the high tone to a different place in the word. In this

section, a general view of these patterns are presented and the analysis presented in the

preceding section is further refined.

All prosodic words in Wampis have at least one high tone, and if a given

prosodic word lacks lexically specified high tone (which is very common), a high tone is

assigned to the syllable bearing primary stress, according to the rules given in §6.4.

Hence, the tonal system depends in part on the stress system of the language for

meeting the requirement of at least one high tone per word. Acoustically, the feature of high pitch is interpolated from the left margin of the word and rises to the pitch peak. After the peak, there can be abrupt drops in pitch and contours are formed. This section examines the tonal system, and its interaction with the stress system, in greater detail.

The tone bearing unit in the Wampis language is the mora, as stablished in §6.3. The tone system in Wampis is a privative H/∅. Phonetically, because the mora (and not the syllable) is the tone bearing unit, contours over VV clusters may create H/L or L/H patterns, but there is no evidence of phonemic low tone as far as I have investigated. Rather, moras in Wampis can be specified as bearing a high tone or not. Wampis does not exhibit a prototypical tone system, i.e. a system in which every syllable or mora has a high tone in their lexical representation. Some roots, clitics and affixes have a lexical high tone, but many other do not.

Evidence of contrastive high tone in Wampis comes from tonal minimal pairs, such as the ones presented in (42).

(42)
/hu/ [hũú] 'type of moss'   vs   /hũ/ [hűu] 'Proximal'[121]

---

121. Speakers vary the pronunciation of this word between a nasal and an oral vowel.

/kaapi/ [kaáp] 'tamshi vine'   vs   /kaapɨ/ [káap] 'fly'
/tukɨ/ [túkɨ] 'whole'   vs   /tukɨ́/ [tukɨ́] 'always'

The spectrograms in Figure 6.5 and Figure 6.6 show the pitch track of the words

[túkɨ] 'whole' and [tukɨ́] 'always'. This indicates that, in effect, high tone is contrastive

in Wampis.
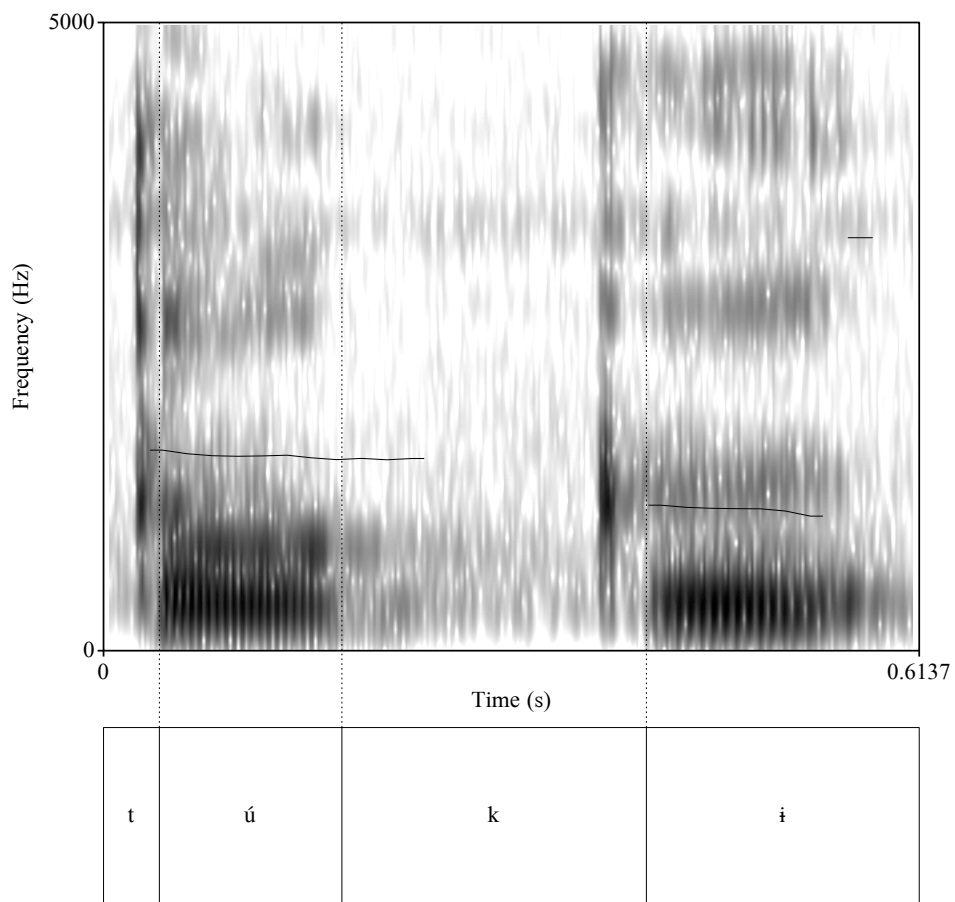
Figure 6.5. Spectrogram showing the pitch track for [túkɨ] 'whole'
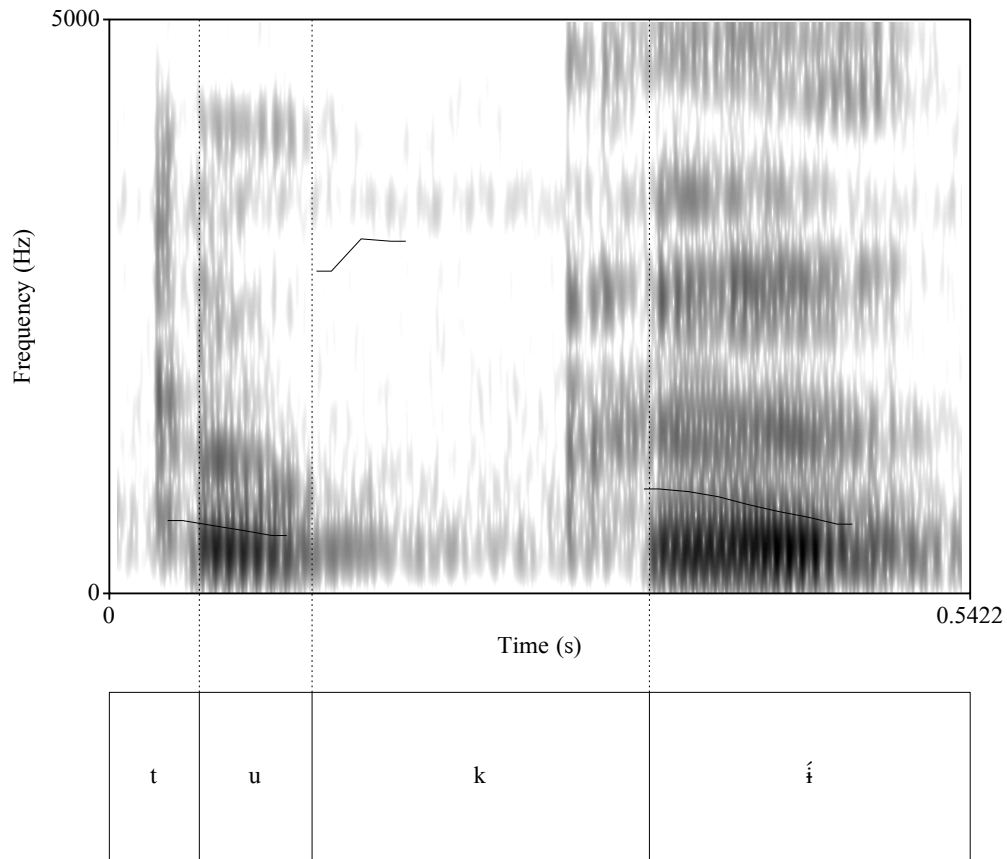
Figure 6.6. Spectrogram showing the pitch track for [tukɨ́] 'always'

I have stablished previously in this chapter that there is a metrical high tone and there is a lexical high tone in Wampis. A lexical high tone is insensitive to the metrical patterns of the language, and never shifts the placement of their high tone. Certain morphemes induce tone shift one more to the right (see next section). The accusative =na, for instance, always induces this shift. Compare the realizations of *kankatʃĩ* 'little boquichico (*Prochilodus sp.*) in the nominative and accusative form with the realizations

of /aúhu/ and /pínkɨra/ 'good' in identical cases:

(43)

Nominative			Accusative		
kankaʧi	→	[kaŋkáʧ]	kankaʧi=na	→	[kaŋkaʧín]
aúhu	→	[aúhu]	auhu=na	→	[aúhu]
pínkɨra	→	[píŋkɨran]	pɨnkɨra=na	→	[píŋkɨra]

From the above examples, *aúhu* and *pínkɨra* are considered to have a lexical

tone: their high tones are unpredictable and they never shift their placement (i.e. the

vowel with which they occur is lexically specified to bear them). I mark a lexical high

tone with an accent mark V́ in the lexical representations of words that have been

identified to bear them with some exceptions: most underlyingly monomoraic verb

roots in the database have a lexically-specified high tone, so it is not necessary to write

accent marks for them.

6.6. Induced metrical high tone shift in non-predicates

The placement of metrical high tone may change if certain morphemes from a

subset (see Table 6.4 below) are added. These morphemes have an effect on the

distribution of metrical high tone in Wampis nouns, adjectives and some adverbs where

they can attach. Two and three syllable nouns are, in particular, sensitive to the effect

of these morphemes for the purpose of the distribution of tone.

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6.6.1. Two and three mora stems

Most nouns with two and three underlying moras are subject to shift their metrical high tone placement when some morphemes are attached. In general, the shift occurs one mora to the right. Table 6.4 lists the morphemes that trigger tone shift. The morpheme =ʃa only affects two mora words.

Table 6.4. Morphemes that induce high tone shift in two and three mora words in Wampis

Morpheme	Gloss
=haĩ	Commitative
=na	Accusative
=nVma	Locative[a]
-nau	Possessive
-ru	1sg Possessor
-mɨ	2sg Possessor
-rĩ	1pl/2pl/3 Possessor
=kɨ	Restrictive
=t͡su	Inferential
=ʃa	Additive

[a] Triggers tone shift one mora to the next in bimoraic words. With three and four moraic words it can attract tthe high tone to itself.

The examples in (44) demonstrate the change in the placement of tone when these

suffixes are added.

(44)

Nominative	Stem + Morpheme	Gloss
nú.ku [núku] 'mother'	nuku-ru [nukúr]	'mother-1SG'
uam.pí.sa [wampís] 'Wampis'	uampisa=na [wampisán]	'Wampis=ACC'
há.pa [hápa] 'deer'	hapá=ʃa [hapáʃ]	'deer=ADD'
hɨ.ã̃ [híã] 'house'	hɨã=kɨ [hɨɰák]	'house=RESTR'
sú.a [súwa] 'female name'	sua=haĩ [suwáhãĩ]	'Sua=COM'
ín.t͡sa [íntsa] 'river'	intsa=nama [intsánam]	'intsa=LOC'

Contrast with examples of the same words when the carry a morpheme that does

not conditions the shift of high tone, for instance, the focus =*ka*.

(45)

Nominative	Stem + =ka 'focus'
nu.ku [núku] 'mother'	nuku=ka [nukúka]
u.un.ta [úun] 'old'	uunta=ka [uúnka]
ha.pa [hápa] 'deer'	hapa=ka [hápaka]
hɨ.ã̃ [híã] 'house'	hɨa=ka [híãka]
su.a [súwa] 'female name'	sua=haĩ [súwaka]
intsa [íntsa] 'river'	intsa=nama [intsánam]

6.6.2. Special tone effect with -*t͡ʃĩ* 'diminutive' and =*nVma* 'locative'

In words with two moras, the diminutive -*t͡ʃĩ* lengthens the vowel of the second

mora (which immediately precedes it). If we count the lengthened vowel as two moras,

the high tone is placed on the second mora. Therefore, the diminutive has the effect of

shifting the high tone not one but two moras to the right, as indicated in the next

example.

(46) /mama/ 'manioc' → [máma]   vs   /mama-t͡ʃi/ 'little manioc' → [mamaát͡ʃ]

Figure 6.7 and Figure 6.8 show the spectrogram with the relevant pitch contours

for the words in (47).
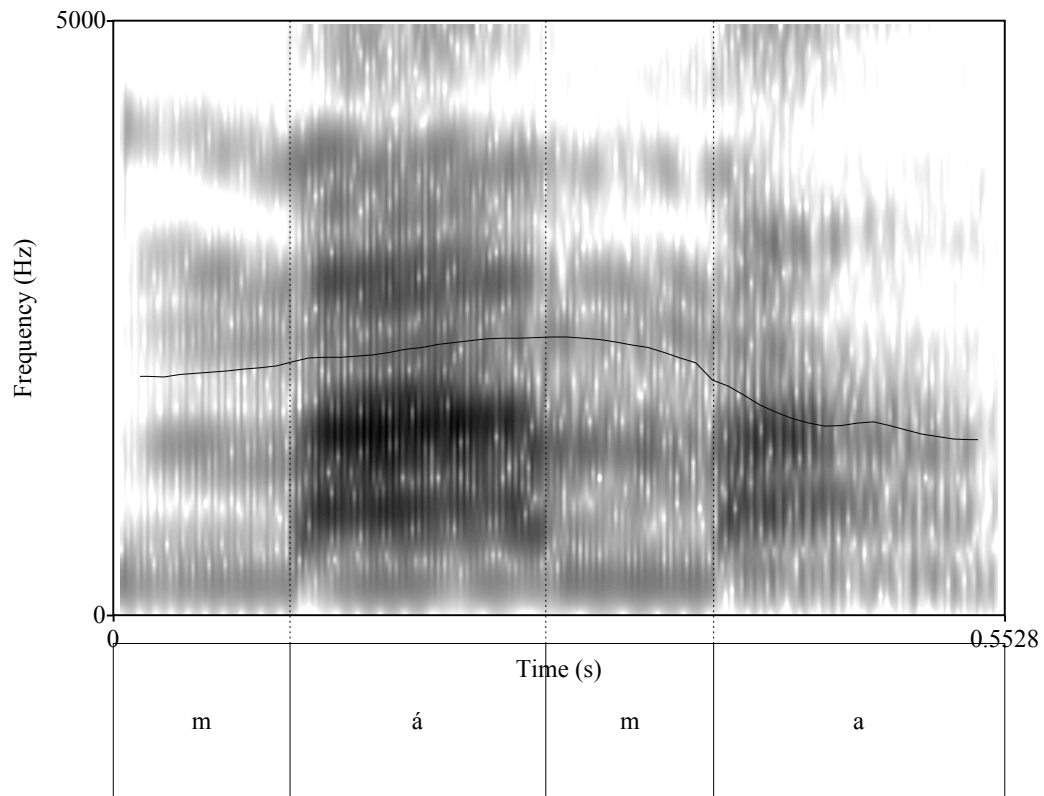
Figure 6.7. Spectrogram with pitch track for [máma] 'manioc'
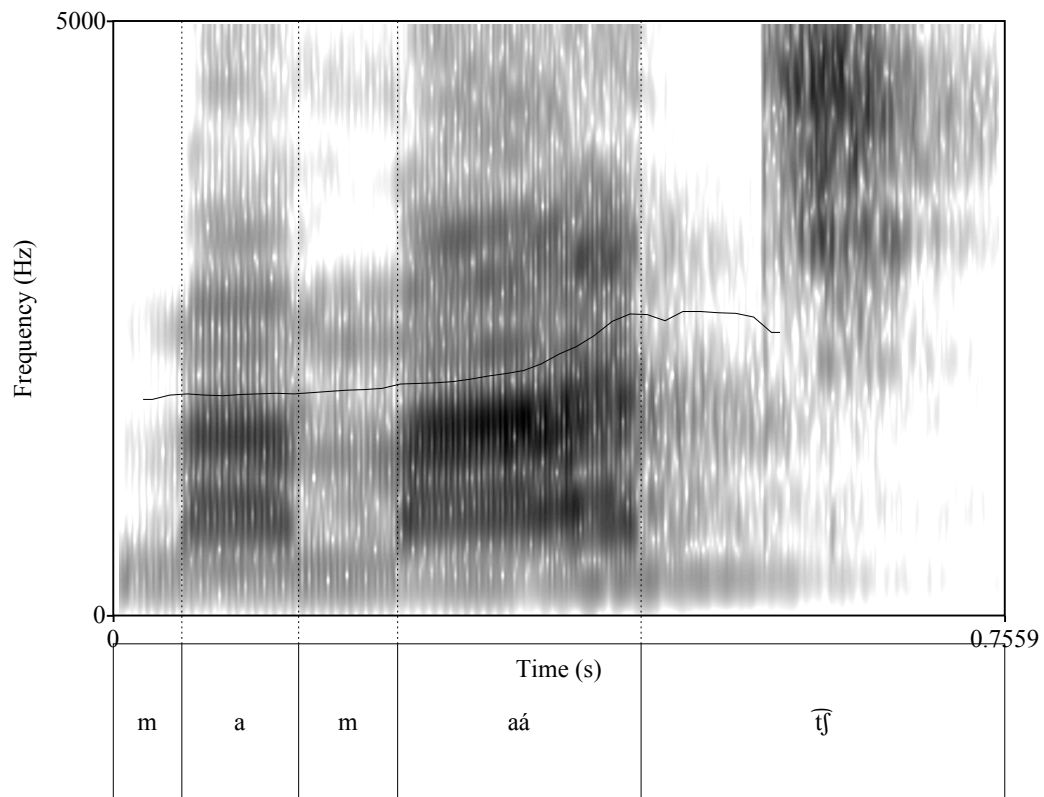
Figure 6.8. Spectrogram with pitch track for [mamaátʃ] 'little manioc'

The effect of the diminutive -tʃi does not occur when the underlying mora

immediately preceding the diminutive is toneless. In this case, -tʃi does not change the

placement of the high tone.

(47)
/uampisa/ 'Wampis' → [wampís]   vs /uampisatʃi/ → [wampísatʃ] 'little manoc'

The locative =nVma induces tone shift rightward in two-mora words, but in

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words with three underlying moras or more it can attract a high tone to itself. In this

case, it allows for two high tones to exist in a single word, as it does not suppress the

metrical high tone on the stem, but the high tone of $=nVma$ is more prominent Notice

that $=nVma$ does not have a lexical tone, as evidenced by the fact that it does not bear

a high tone when occurring on two mora words. Figure 6.9 shows the waveform of the

word *wampisa-numa$=ka$* [wampísnúmka] 'in Wampis'. The two high tones are indicated

by arrows in the second vowel (in the stem) and in the third vowel (in the suffix

$=nVma$).
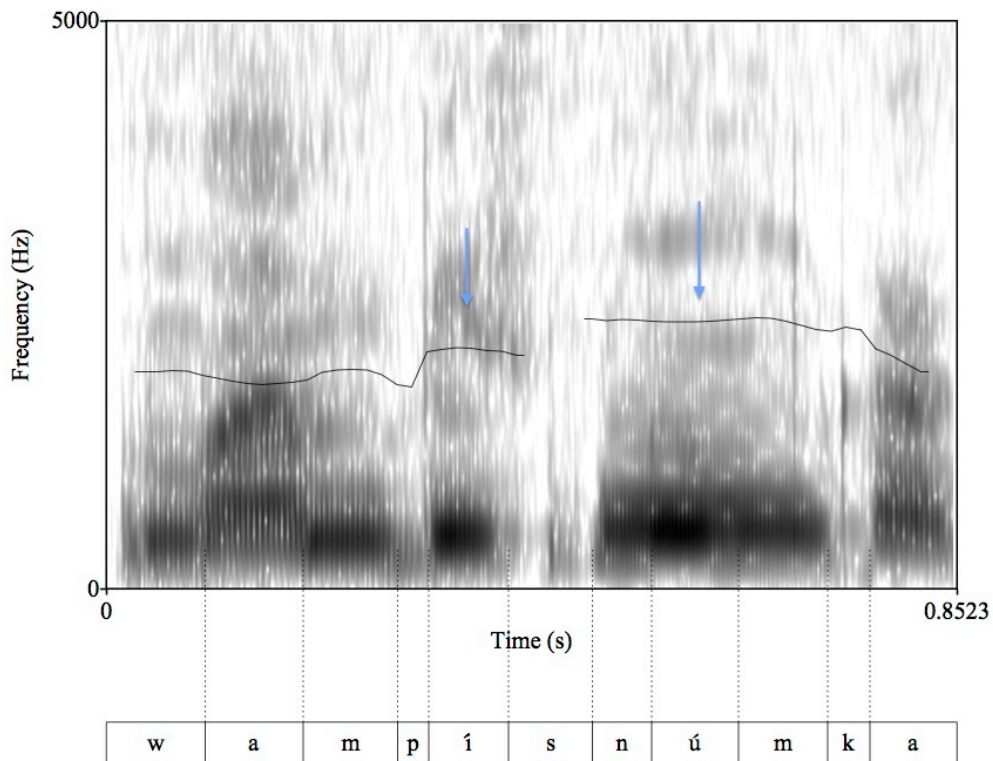
Figure 6.9. Spectrogram with pitch track for [wampísnúmka] 'in Wampis'

6.6.3. Four mora stems

As far as I can tell, stress and high tone placement in nouns with four underlying syllables or more are mostly predictable with the rules of stress and tone given in the discussion above. No tone placement shift of the kind observed with two and three mora stems is noticed, except if a morpheme with lexical tone is added. The next examples show derivations with four syllable words. Notice that =n*a* does not induce tone shift in these words, unlike what was described in §6.6.1 for two and three mora stems

(48)

arutama = na   'spirit of power = ACC'
feet: (aˈru)(ta̠ˌma)na̠
vowel elision: arutman
output: [arútman]

paantama = na   'manioc = ACC'
feet: (paˈan)(ta̠ˌma)na̠
vowel elision: paantam
output: [paántam]

6.6.4. Nominal morphemes that have lexical tone

Nominal bound morphemes that are lexically specified for high tone surface as the most prominent phonetically. However they do not completely block the metrical high tone of the stem; i.e. the metrical high tone and the lexical high tone interact.

There is a nice phonetic effect in which a high tone accommodates to the presence of another high tone: the right most (the lexical high tone of the added morpheme) achieves a higher high pitch, and the one to the left (the metrical stem tone) achieves an intermediate pitch. This is demonstrated in Figure 6.10 with the word *ut͡ʃit͡ʃa* 'we the young too'. The root *ut͡ʃi* has two moras, so it receives a high tone in the first mora [út͡ʃi] (cf. §6.4.1). The Plural Speech Act participant =*tí* (see §11.5.6) bears a lexical high tone. The other morpheme added is =*ʃa* 'additive', which does not have lexical tone. It can be observed that there is one first high pitch in the first vowel, and then a second pitch in the third vowel that corresponds to =*tí*. This is realized with a relatively higher pitch than the first one. By comparison, the second vowel does not have tone, therefore its pitch is rather low. The last vowel of the word apparently surfaces with a high pitch too, but in this case it is an acoustic effect of occurring after a high tone, and it indeed falls through afterward. The actual Hertz estimates for the first three vowels in Figure 6.10 are 120.4Hz, 65.1Hz and 145.9Hz, respectively.[122]

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122. Measured at approximately 3/4 of vowel periodicity.
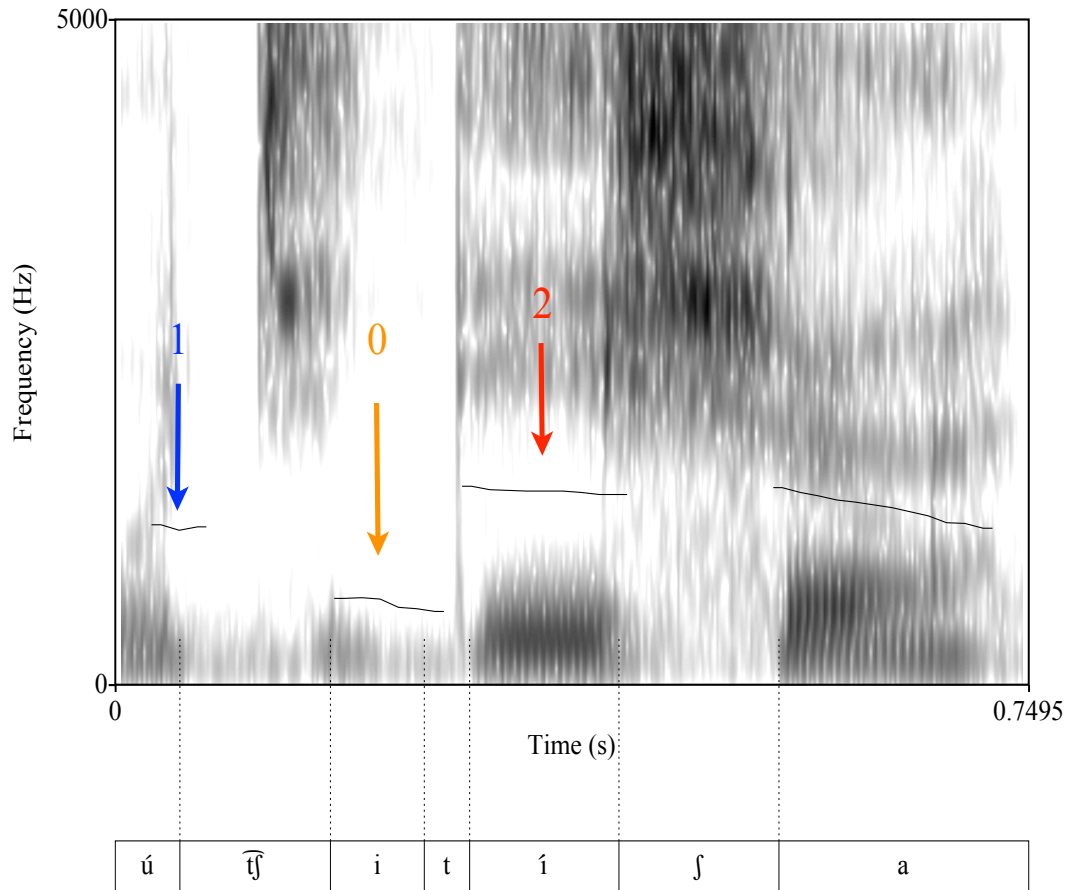
Figure 6.10. Spectrogram of the word [ut͡ʃitíʃa] 'we the young too'

In the next example, the morpheme =á 'First' is added to =tí. =á also bears a

lexical high tone. The noun stem to which both =tí and =á are added is [hintínkartin]

'teacher', which has a metrical high tone in its second mora, as per the rule of metrical

high tone (§6.4.2). The complete word surfaces as [hintínkartintíjá] with the most

phonetically prominent high tone being the right most (the lexical high tone of =á

'First'). Figure 6.11 shows that actually more than one high tone can occur in a word.

The high tones are indicated by arrows. Note that there is a glide inserted between $=tí$ and $=á$.
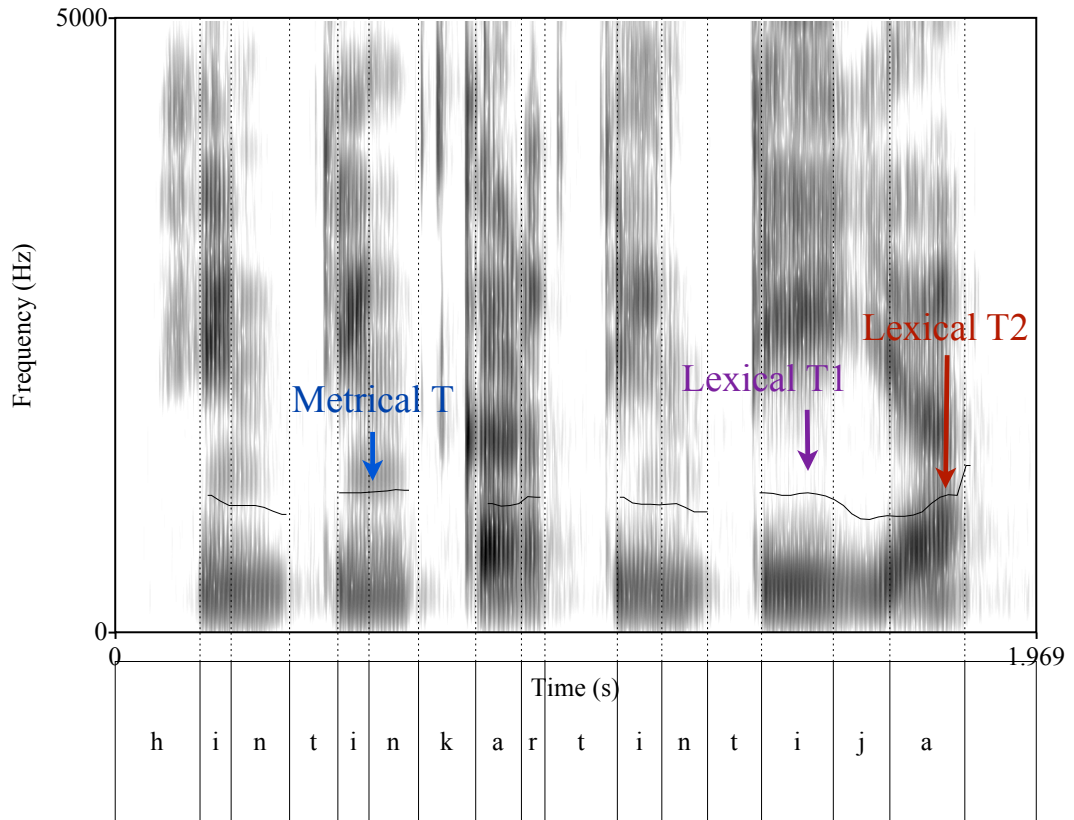
Figure 6.11. Spectrogram with pitch track for [hitinkartintija] 'we the teachers first'

6.6.5. Grammatical high tone

The distribution of high tone is further complicated by the use of autosegmental morphemes that themselves involve the use of a high pitch in the last vowel of the noun. They are shown in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5. Autosegmental tone morphemes in Wampis

Morpheme	Gloss
V́#	Locative
v́#	Genitive
Shifts tone one mora rightward	Vocative

There are at least two purely autosegmental morphemes in Wampis: the locative

and the vocative. The vocative blocks final-vowel deletion and assigns a high tone to

this vowel.

(49)

Nominative	Vocative
ja͡tsúr	*ja͡tsurú*
ia͡tsu-ru	ia͡tsu-rú
'brother-1SG.POSS'	'brother-1SG.POSS\VOC'

Like the vocative, the genitive is marked with a high tone in the last vowel of

the word.

(50)

Nominative	Genitive	
ʃuar	*ʃuará aharĩ*	
ʃuara	ʃuará	aha-rĩ
person	person\VOC	farm-1PL/2PL/3.POSS
	'the person's farm'	

The locative high tone moves the location of the tone one mora rightward,

regardless of the number of syllables in the root:

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(51)

Nominative	Locative
ínt͡sa	int͡sá
'river'	'in the river'

6.6.6. Distribution of tone in predicates

The distribution of tone in verbs generally follows the same pattern of tone assignment described so far; but in comparison with nouns, there is a relative increase in the number of verbs with lexical tone. Most verbal roots with one underlying mora and with four underlying moras (or more) have a lexical tone in my data. Bimoraic and trimoraic verbal roots vary, and a good proportion of them have no lexical high tone.

As with non-predicates, there are also some affixes with lexical high tone as well as affixes that effect a shift in the assignment of tone. The suffixes that have been identified as carrying lexical high tone are presented in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6. Verbal suffixes that bear a lexical high-tone

Suffix	Gloss
-á(u)	High affectedness aktionsart
-tá	Imperative
-hkamá	Terminative
-tahkamá	Frustrative

In addition, some suffixes appear to carry a lexical high-tone, because sometimes their surface occurrence with a high tone is unpredictable. However, other times they surface with not high tone. This behavior is not well understood at the moment. These suffixes are presented in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7. Verbal suffixes that sometimes surface with an unpredictable high tone

Suffix	Gloss
-sa	Attenuative
-mi	Hortative
-ti	Jussive

The following principles characterize high tone assignment in Wampis verbs:

a. If a verb is monomoraic, it usually carries lexical high tone which surfaces as the most phonetically prominent. Compare the realizations of *ui* 'go' which bears a lexical high tone when it occurs with the imperative *-tá* which also carries a lexical high tone. Unlike what occurs with nouns, this time the lexical high tone that surfaces as the most phonetically prominent is the left-most lexical tone. Compare *ui* 'go' with *uha* 'tell, inform'. The verb *uha* does not have a lexical high tone, so when it carries the imperative, the imperative surfaces as the most prominent.

(52)

wísata　　　vs.　　*uhaktá*

uí-sa-tá　　　　　　uha-ka-tá

go-ATT-IMP　　　　tell-INTENS-IMP

'Go!'　　　　　　　'Tell him!'

　　　b. If a verb has two or more moras, it receives metrical tone unless the verb has

a lexical high tone (which is not common in verbs of two or three moras):

(53)

uhakamaji 'she/he told'

feet: (uˈha)(ka̱ˌma)ji

vowel elision: uhakmaji

output: uhákmaji

　　　c. Certain suffixes have lexically specified high tone: e.g. *-tá* 'Imperative':

(54)

jɛintá

jaina-tá

help-IMP

'Help her/him!'

　　　Similar to what occurs with nouns, in cases like (54) both the metrical and the

lexical high tones can co-occur. In this case, the lexical high tone is phonetically more

prominent than the metrical high tone. Figure 6.12 shows evidence for this statement.
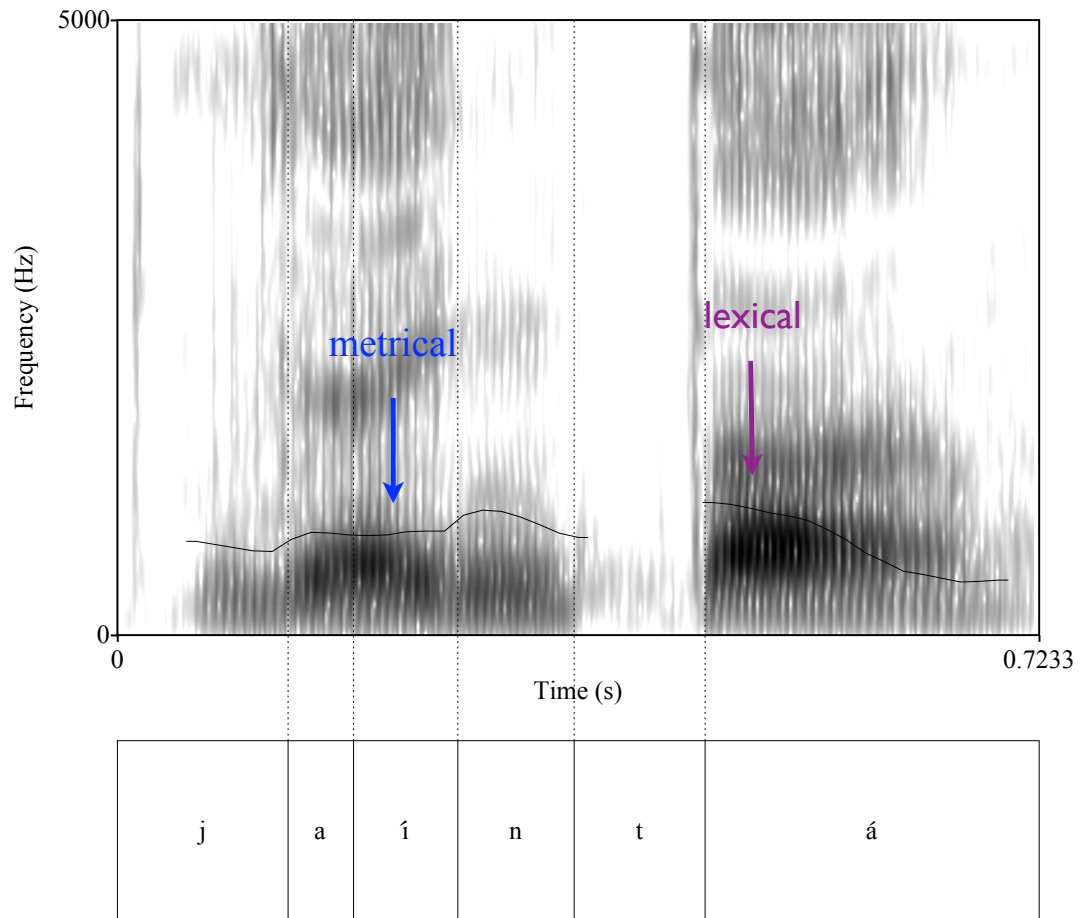
Figure 6.12. Spectrogram with pitch track for [jeintá] 'Help her/him!'

6.7. Summary of stress and tone

It seems evident from all the previous discussion that the prosodic system of

Wampis does not really fit well in the so-called category of "pitch accent": stress in

Wampis is not only realized via high pitch (i.e. high tone)—this is a traditional

definition of "accent" (one high pitch per word); rather stress in Wampis is a mix of

articulatory cues related to vowel and consonant lengthening in addition to high pitch;

stress is also manifested in the vowel elision patterns described in the preceding sections. On the other hand, I have shown that in Wampis there can be more than one phonetic realization of high tone in a word; what is more, some roots, affixes and clitics of different nature (verbal, nominal, etc) have a lexically-specified high tone. Lexically-specified high tone disregards the stress pattern of the language. In addition to that, high tone has functional load in the language, as it marks case. So, in light of the facts just mentioned, how "pitch-accent" is Wampis? I argue that an answer to that question is circular in principle, because we would have to start by giving a very ad-hoc definition of "pitch-accent", which would not fit any well known cross-linguistic prototype. The present attempt at analyzing Wampis prosody, on the other hand, shows that Wampis can be analyzed in terms of two very well known prototypes of prosodic system: stress and tone. Wampis is not a prototypical stress language nor is it a prototypical tone language, it has features of both ends of the continuum.

6.8. The prosodic word

From the discussion above, the minimal prosodic word in Wampis is defined as a word with at least two moras (i.e. two TBU), one high tone, one foot and one primary stress. The requirement to have at least one high tone per prosodic word in Wampis is

achieved by metrical rules or by lexically specifying the high tone.

Wampis codas have an interesting behavior in the sense that they are apparently weightless for the minimal word restriction (i.e. only vowels = TBUs are relevant). This is important for the current analysis, as the stress pattern is centered around the tone bearing unit (i.e. vowels).

There are some processes of cliticization where the copula and a demonstrative occur together (in this way the demonstrative relativizes the copula), as in (55). The copula itself can become cliticized to another word when relativized by a demonstrative, as in (56). These constitute interesting cases where the grammatical word and the prosodic word do not match.

(55) *núu ʃuár anú*

nu   ʃuara   a = nu

NON.VIS person COP = NON.VIS

'that who is a person'

(56) *núu ʃuáranú*

nu   ʃuara = a = nu

NON.VIS person = COP = NON.VIS

'that who is a person'

6.9. Notes on utterance-level prosody

6.9.1. Declarative intonation contour

Generally, declarative sentences show a decrease in pitch at the end of the utterance. This decreasing in pitch usually is not dramatically deep—I have only rarely found strong falling contours at the end of utterances, except of course when there is a relatively long pause after the utterance. In this occasion, the last syllable may actually show a deep falling contour and the vowels are pronounced very short and with low intensity. Figure 6.13 shows an instance with a sentence that was uttered as an introduction to a story, therefore there was a long pause before the story began. The sentence is [húu óuhmattɛ̃ɛ̃ŋka aúhu tutɛiɲɛiti] 'this is story is called Auhu'. Note in particular the last sequence of the utterance ([ti]), which can be barely seen in the spectrogram (it is indicated with an arrow). There is also a creaky voice in the transition between the words [óuhmattɛ̃ɛ̃ŋka] and [aúhu]. Whether creaky voice is a regular phenomenon in the prosody of words or not remains to be examined more carefully.

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húu	óuhmatēĩŋka	aúhu	tútãɲēĩti
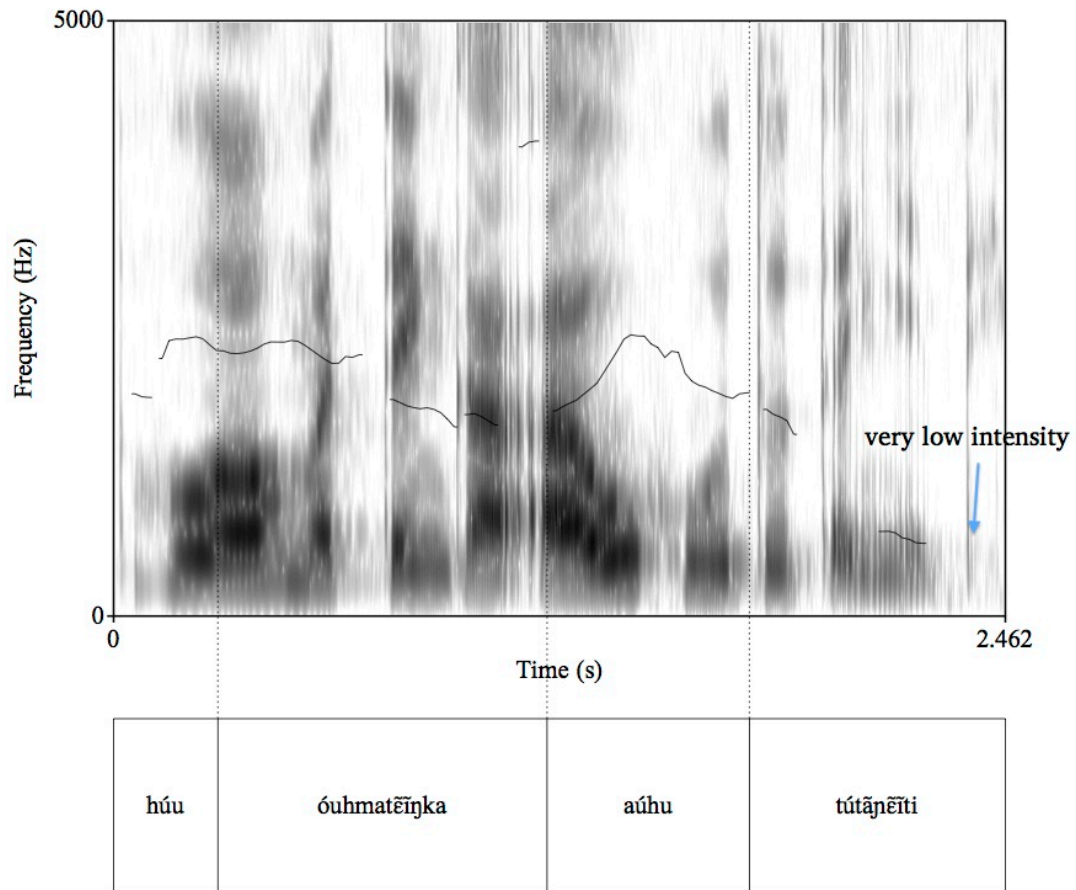
Figure 6.13. Prosodic contour of 'this story is called "Auhu"'

6.9.2. Non-declarative intonational contour

Interrogative utterances do not show a final rising in pitch, but the question word receives the highest level of pitch. Imperative utterances may have a final rising pitch if the tone of the imperative suffix *-tá* surfaces; i.e. if there is no other lexical tone in the verbal root. Otherwise, a command utterance does not necesarily end with a high

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contour pitch. A similar pattern is shown in hortatory utterances with the suffix -mí.

An example of an interrogative intonation contour is given with a question [íi urúk puhúmɛinkit] 'how can we live?' in Figure 6.14. The highest pitch is received by the pronoun *íi* '1pl' (which is pragmatically focused in this sentence) and then by the question word *uruka* [urúk] 'how'.
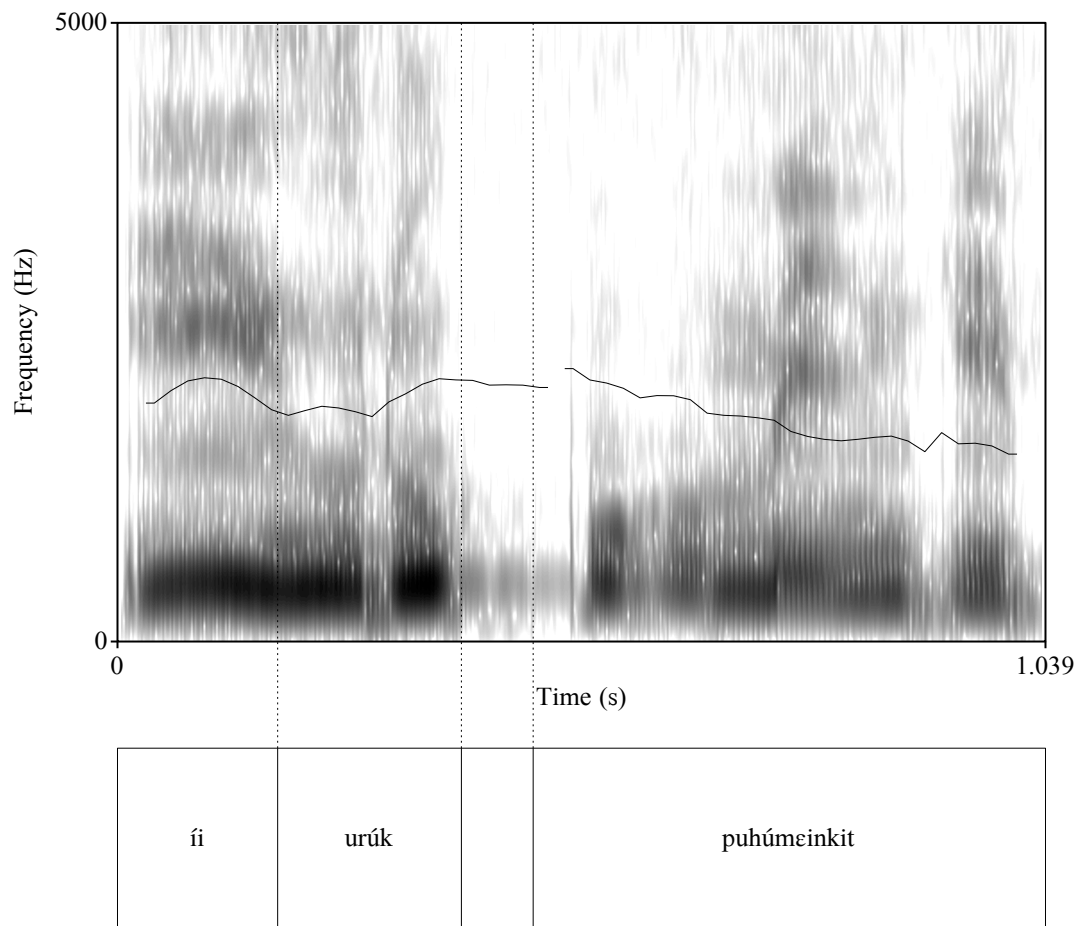
Figure 6.14. Prosodic contour of 'how can we live?'

6.9.3. Prosody of the *anemamu,* the protocolar salutation ceremony of the Wampis

The *anemamu* (anɨma-mau 'salute-ɴᴍʟᴢ') is the intense formal salutation

ceremony of the Wampis. It is a fascinating event that is still perform among these

people in special occasions such as in calendar festivities (Peru's independence day,

celebration of the community's foundation, etc) or when a stranger (i.e. non-Wampis)

comes to the community and ask for permission to stay. Usually, each community has a

performer or performers that are actually admired because of their skills in the

performance and their knowledge of the traditional protocol. In the past, this ceremony

was held when the men of a war party were invoked to the house of the party leader or

when someone came to visit or ask for help. The ceremony put together the leader of

the visiting party and their host. They spoke in turns to each other with their mouths

covered by the left hand, moving their spears with the other hand towards each other

and stomping with their feet rhythmycally, speaking in a forceful manner and at a fast

rate. Genealogies were recited and then a discourse stated the motive of the visit. After

that, each men in the visiting party took their turns to salute the host and the same

ceremony was repeated.

The analysis of an *anɨmamu* speech that was rehearsed for me shows that, unlike

declarative and non-declarative speech, the intonational pitch contour of the greeting

ceremony is maintained through the utterance, with shorter pauses. There is no

significant rising of the pitch at the phrase level, except if an element of it is

pragmatically highlighted. Figure 6.15 shows the phrase [wík^ja kámɨ áminkʲa sɨɨ́

táhamɨ] 'I tell you thanks' in the salutation speech. We can see that the pitch contour

does not fall through at the end. The highlighted word is *sɨɨ* 'thanks'.
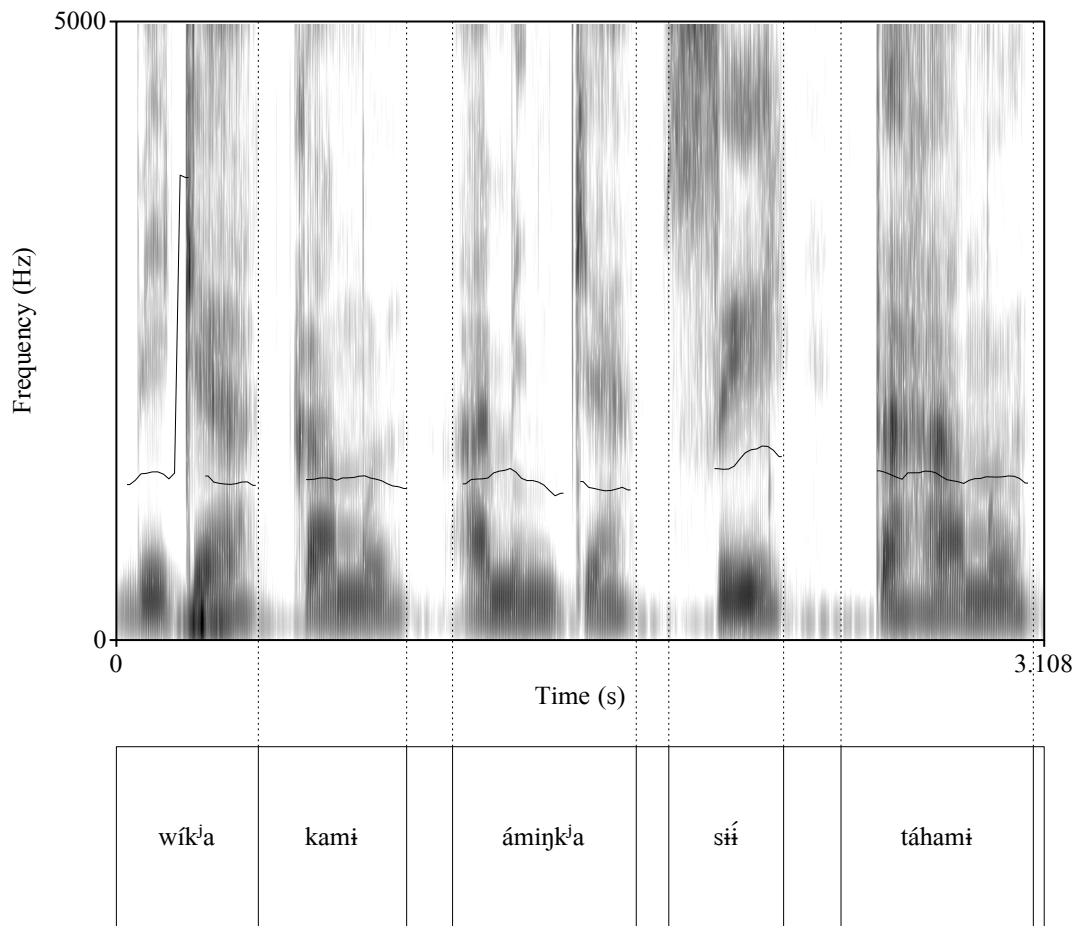
Figure 6.15. Prosodic contour of 'I tell you thanks'

6.10. Nasal prosody in Wampis

As we saw in Chapter III, Wampis possesses nasal vowels that contrast with their oral counterparts in roots and affixes.

(57)

nuɨ	→	[núwɨ]	'clay'
nuɨ̃	→	[núwɨ̃]	'his wife'
ũha	→	[ṹha]	'open'
uha	→	[úha]	'tell'

As described for Awajun by Overall (2007: 250 and ff.), the domain of nasality in Wampis is defined by a sequence of nasal vowels, glides and nasal consonants. It is possible that the velar fricative /h/ also belongs in the nasality domain, though this is not very well understood yet.

Nasality may originate in a root or an affix, and then spreads over vowels, nasals and glides rightward and leftward until it finds an obstruent (non-glide, non-nasal). Examples (58) and (59) illustrate this point with close phonetic representations.

(58)

[nũɨ̃ɲá]
nu-ɨ̃-ia
NON.VIS=LOC=ABL
'from there'

(59)

[ɲɔ́õ]

jaũ

'yesterday'

In (58), the locus of nasality is the locative =ĩ. It spreads its nasality over the

morphemes located to the right and to the left. The first vowel of the ablative -ia is in a

position to create a glide. That this glide is nasalized is corroborated by the fact that it

surfaces as the palatal nasal [ɲ]. In (59), the nasality of the vowel of the root spreads

leftward since that is the only direction where it can spread. Notice that the word

phonemically is /iaũ/ and therefore the first vowel becomes a glide. The glide is then

nasalized following the same pattern observed in (58), thus surfacing as [ɲ].

6.10.1. Alternation between Ṽ and VN and between Ṽ and V

One of the most fascinating problems of defining the nasal domain in Wampis is

the fact that nasal vowels can alternate with oral vowels and with VN sequences. The

perplexing alternations between nasal and oral prosodies have also been mentioned for

other Jivaroan languages (Turner 1958b; Pike & Larson 1964; Overall 2007; Payne

2008). I have found that the alternations between oral and nasal vowel productions do

not correspond to specific groups (i.e. female vs male speakers, dialectal variation) but

rather depend on the individual speaker: some speakers frequently nasalize vowels,

some not, and not infrequently some speakers just vary between producing nasal and

oral realizations.

Nasality is difficult to define in the environment of a nasal consonant, but the

evidence at hand almost shows that when a nasal consonant surfaces as a correlate of

phonemic nasality, it suppresses other features associated with nasality, such as spread.

This can be seen in derived words, compare:
(60)
[jóũnt͡ʃuk]
iáunt͡ʃukɨ
'long ago'

(61)
[ɲɔ́�õ̃]
iáũ
'yesterday'

In (60) we have the word *iáunt͡ʃukɨ* 'long ago' which is historically related to *iaũ*

'yesterday'. Notice that in *iáunt͡ʃukɨ* nasality does not spread over contiguous vowels and

glides, as occurs with *iaũ* in (61): the surface glide of *iaunt͡ʃukɨ* never becomes [ɲ].

Nasality seems to have the capacity to surface in different forms regardless of

the morphological environment. This alternation seems to be pretty idiosyncratic. It is

very possible that this idiosyncrasy has a regular historical explanation that is not well

understood from the synchronic data. In general, issues concerning nasality, its surface

realizations and correlates (e.g. spread) need more detailed research.

6.10.2. Nasality as high pitch

Another fascinating and typologically interesting feature of Wampis nasality is
the fact that an underlying nasal morpheme can be realized as an oral vowel with high
pitch. This seems to be a corollary of nasality apparently losing its functional load, thus
the need of the language to assign an alternative acoustic cue to phonemic nasalization.
Thus, third person singular possessor and third person same subject switch reference
morphemes are marked with a phonemically nasal autosegmental morpheme. In the
next example, we can see how they surface with a high pitch:

(62) [naŋkí   hu-kí]
    nankĩ   hu-kĩ
    spear\1PL/2PL/3.POSS   carry-WHILE.MOVING + 3SG.SS
    'he having carried his spear […]'

The underlying nasal of this suffix surfaces when other morphemes are added.
For instance, the focus =*ka* triggers the surface realization of the nasal as [ŋ] with
nanki 'spear' (the relevant part is underlined): [naŋkĩ̱ŋkʲa] 'his spear'; and the
conditional =*ka* likewise triggers the surface realization of a nasal consonant with the
verb stem *huki*: [hukĩ́ŋkʲa] 'if he had taken . . .'

Different works on nasality in Jivaroan have proposed a nasal archi-phoneme N

to account for the alternations described above (Turner 1958a; Overall 2007; Payne

2008). This may be an excellent way for understanding the historical development of

the alternations. Nevertheless, it is not very significant for accounting for the synchronic

behavior just observed: it does not completely describe all the different expressions of

nasality in Jivaroan languages and the issue of their partial unpredictability still

remains to be more thoroughly explored in Wampis.

In summary, nasality in Wampis is a domain that may find phonetic substance as

a nasal itself, a sequence of oral plus nasal (VN), sometimes even an oral vowel, or a

high pitch.

CHAPTER VII

INTRODUCTION TO MORPHOLOGY

7.1. Introduction

This brief chapter provides an overview of the types of morphological units

found in Wampis, including the discussion of certain issues that pertain to multiple

parts of speech. The discussion in this chapter gives the appropriate background for the

detailed analyzes of word classes and their properties presented in the upcoming

chapters.

This chapter has the following structure: §7.2 describes the morphological

profile of Wampis in typological terms. This is followed by a discussion about the levels

of the root, stem and word in Wampis in §7.3. §7.4 discusses relevant notions related to

word classes and roots. In §7.5, there is a brief discussion about clear a not-so-clear cut

boundaries between word classes. §7.6 presents types of morphemes according to their

bound or free nature. Next, §7.7 looks at processes of reduplication, that involve

copying complete or partial portions of words. §7.8 describes compound words. Finally,

§7.9 offers a brief discussion of particles and how they will be treated in the grammar.

7.2. Wampis morphological typology

According to Comrie (Comrie 1989), the morphological typology of words in a language can be described with reference to an index of synthesis and an index of fusion. The index of synthesis concerns the number of morphemes that can occur in a word. The index of fusion concerns the degree of merging or overlay of meanings in one morpheme, and how easily morphemes can be separated from each other. Wampis major word classes, nouns and verbs, vary a little in regard to these two parameters. Concerning the index of synthesis, Wampis nominal words are polysynthetic and predicate words are highly polysynthetic. With regard to the index of fusion, they are agglutinative with some degree of fusion. Closed classes of words that somewhat share some morphology with nouns (but not totally, as we will see in Chapter VIII), such as pronouns and determiners, are generally polysynthetic and agglutinative. Adjectives in Wampis exhibit some morphology but they rarely contain more than two or three morphemes (i.e. the root plus a bound morpheme) at any given time.[123] Adverbs are mostly isolating in Wampis, though a small subclass of manner adverbs receives person

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123. It will be seen in Chapter IX that adjectives can host case and postpositional clitics. Because of this, adjectives look like they have more complex morphology than they really have. Clitics are hosted by the last element of the NP (which usually happens to be the adjective, as they occur post-nominally).

marking that agrees with the grammatical person of the verb present in the clause.

It is shown in this chapter that Wampis has a number of items that clearly are affixes and some other forms that are clearly independent words (e.g. nouns). In addition, Wampis possesses clitics, including postpositional forms that operate at the level of the phrase and are phonologically dependent on a host. One of the salient features of Wampis is the copious morphology with which a word can occur, which is sometimes "obscured" by the pervasive processes of vowel elision. The language has many affixes (mostly suffixes) as well as a good number of clitics, so long words standing as utterances are not infrequent. Here is only an example of the beautiful and complex ways in which the morphology of the language works to create long expressions in Wampis:

(1) t͡ʃit͡ʃámrumɛint͡ʃouwɛithʲɛi
t͡ʃit͡ʃa-ma-ru-mai-inu-t͡ʃau = aita-ha-i
speak-REFL-APPL-POT-NMLZ-NEG.NMLZ = COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I cannot advice [him]' (Lit: 'I cannot be a speaker myself for him').

7.3. Root, stem and word

There is a long tradition in linguistics to recognize different elements within words. For instance, within the American structuralist tradition, Bloomfield (1933) recognized the importance of distinguishing between roots and other affixes.

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Subsequent works have distinguished between the analytical levels of root, stem and

word. In this dissertation, a root is defined as an unanalyzable, morphologically simple

form that contains the main portion of the semantic content of the word (Payne 1997).

Examples of verbal and nominal roots are presented in (2) and(3), respectively. Note

that verbs need affixation to be used in utterances,[124] except when they occur in

auxiliary constructions, whereas noun roots do not necessarily need some type of

affixation to be pronounceable words.

(2)
uaina   'see'
uɨ   'go'
taka   'work'
kanu   'sleep'

(3)
ʃuara   'person'
kinkɨ   'wild potato'
himpɨ   'hummingbird'
panki   'boa constrictor'

     A stem is a root or a root plus any derivational suffixes that can further receive

inflectional morphology. For instance, in Wampis the verbal root *uaina* 'see' can carry

the causative prefix *V-*; the resulting stem can then receive inflectional suffixes before

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124. A finite verb requires to be marked for aspect, tense, person and mood.

being used in an utterance.

(4)

i-uaina

CAUS-see

'make discover, show'

A word in Wampis is made up of one morpheme or a combination of

morphemes. The stem *i-uaina* in (4) needs to occur in a fully inflected word (in the case

of verbs, they need obligatory aspect, tense, person and mood morphology) to be

pronounceable. An example is given in (5), where the verb carries the intensive *-ka*[125]

and the person marker *-hamɨ* '1SG > 2SG' (where the declarative *-i* is reduced and "fused"

to the preceding vowel *ɨ* of *-hamɨ*).

(5) *iwɛínkattahmɨ*

i-uaina-ka-tata-hamɨ

CAUS-see-INTENS-DEF.FUT-1SG > 2SG + DECL

'I am going to showing you.'

In Wampis, a word can consist of a single root, a stem, or an inflected stem. For

instance, *ʃuara* 'person' is monomorphemic and can be used in a phrase in a form where

root, stem and word all converge:

125. The intensive *-ka* is an aktionsart suffix. Aktionsart suffixes are used to the marking of
aspect in Wampis. This property is analyzed in Chapter XIV.

(6) *núu ʃuár áhaku*

nu　　ʃuara　a＝hak-u

NON.VIS person COP＝HAB.PT-NLMZ

'That used to be a person.'

It is important to state that certain morphosyntactic categories in Wampis are

marked by the absence of morphology. For instance, exclamative mood is realized with

the stem verb plus person and tense markers, but it lacks additional phonetic material

(7), unlike declarative mood which is marked with *-i* 'declarative' (8):

(7) *ɛímkʲamah*

aima-ka-ma-ha-∅

fill-INTENS-REC.PT-1SG.SBJ-EXCLAM

'I filled [the basket]!' (exclamative)

(8) *ɛímkʲamhɛɛ*

aima-ka-ma-ha-i

fill-INTENS-REC.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I filled [the basket]' (declarative)

Other categories in Wampis are marked by failure of vowel elision in a stem,

when it would be otherwise expected (see §6.4.4 for details on vowel elision). In most

cases, the non-elision of the vowel is accompanied by either of two supra-segmental

phenomena: high tone or nasalization. For instance, the vocative is characterized by

blocking vowel elision and attracting a high tone to the last vowel of a word. For

comparison, a simple nominative possessed form is shown first in (9), followed by the

vocative in (10):

(9) *jatsúr*
iatsu-ru
brother-1SG
'my brother' (nominative)

(10) *jatsurú*
iatsurú
brother-1SG\VOC
'my brother!' (vocative)

7.4. Grammatical categories and roots

There is a good deal of literature about grammatical categories. The early

structuralist tradition emphasized that word classes should be defined purely in

distributional terms (Bloomfield 1926). To quote Jespersen: "some grammarians. . .

maintain that the only criterion should be the form of the words" (Jespersen 1992

[1924]: 60). The morphosyntactic distribution of words are diagnostic, but distribution

alone does not suffice to explain why a language possesses a certain category (Payne

1999b). What is more, a distributional analysis may reveal "a myriad of classes, and

gives us no method for deciding between parts of speech and minor syntactic

categories" (Croft 2001: 83). Thus, while distributional morphosyntactic properties are

useful to identify categories of words, I also take a more functional approach, relating

the categories found in Wampis to conceptual categories construed via cognitive models

of perception and memory: "the lexical and grammatical resources of a language are

therefore not semantically neutral—inherent to their nature is the structure of

conceptual content for symbolic reasons" (Langacker 1988: 63). Haspelmath

summarizes a relatively long tradition of typologically-oriented works: "languages

cannot be compared directly on the basis of their grammatical categories. We need a

tertium comparationis that is not language-particular, but is universally applicable"

(2012: 114).

The most universally predictive criteria to establish word-class membership

seems to be semantic (Givón 2002a), especially the criterion of temporal stability for

nouns (as opposed to verbs).[126] According to Croft (2001), words that are lexicalized as

prototypical nouns refer to concepts that occupy the most time-stable end of a

continuum of temporal stability, whereas prototypical verbs occupy the other end.

Prototypical nouns often belong to the semantic class of objects, whereas prototypical

verbs belong to the semantic class of actions. The semantic class of property concepts

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126. The concept of time-stability is less useful with certain semantic sub-classes of verbs (e.g. stative verbs like 'live' are conceivable as predicating a very stable process) and adjectives (or property words if there is no adjective category in the language).

(Dixon 1982) is somewhat in between the ends of the continuum, and are often (though

not universally) lexicalized as a distinct word class of adjectives. "Object roots" are

defined as roots that typically denote an animate or inanimate object. "Action roots" are

defined as roots that denote a prototypical volitional action. "Property roots" are

defined as roots that denote a property such as age, dimension or value. Following

Croft's's 2001 ideas, roots in Wampis can be classified as "object-roots", "action-roots"

and "property-roots".

Continuing with Croft's ideas, he identifies an additional functional parameter

relevant to parts of speech, namely the propositional act functions of reference,

modification and predication. According to said scholar, OBJECT, ACTION and PROPERTY

enter in a relationship with the propositional act-types reference, predication and

attribution. The semantic categories of objects, properties and actions are, respectively,

the "typological prototypes of referring, attributive, and predicating constructions"

(Croft 2001: 87). The combination of these concepts will help define the prototypical

members of part of speech classes for Wampis. Table 7.1 shows simple examples of

these act-types and root classes.

Table 7.1. Examples of roots and propositional act-types in Wampis

	Reference	Modification	Predication
Object	nua 'woman'		
Property		pínkɨra 'good'	
Action			uɨ 'go'

Thus, "object-roots" are prototypically used referentially, "property-roots" are prototypically used as attributes, and "action-roots" are prototypically used as predicates. In (11), the "object-root" *nua* has a referential function (it refers to the object 'woman'), the "property-root" *pínkɨra* has a modifying function (it modifies 'woman'), and the "action-root" *uɨ* has a predicating function (note it has to be inflected to be used):

(11) *óu núwa píŋkɨr wíawɛɛ*

au   nua   pínkɨra uɨ-a-ua-i

<small>DIST</small> woman good   go-<small>IPFV</small>-3.<small>SBJ-DECL</small>

'That good woman is going.'

Of course, in Wampis as in many other languages, not all nouns denote physical objects (there can be abstract objects/concepts), not all verbs denote volitional actions, and not all adjectives denote properties (or certain properties are not denoted by adjectives). These terms refer to prototypes of each major category. Understanding grammatical categories in terms of prototypes allows us to choose key lexemes to start

checking the morphosyntax of a language. This does not mean that I will pre-judge that

categories such as "verb" or "adjective" exist in Wampis a priori; rather, I take this

approach to grammatical categories as both methodologically helpful to establish

prototypical members of major classes and theoretically grounded in the study of

human cognition (Langacker 1976; Miller & Johnson-Laird 1976; Langacker 1987).

However, the grammatical categories of a language need to be determined by

morphosyntactic properties, to quote Croft: "categories in a particular language are

defined by the constructions of the language" (Croft 2001: 85). In that regard, word

classes often cannot be equated across languages. Grammatical categories defined for

different languages depend on language-specific criteria (Croft 1984; Lazard 1992; Croft

2001; Dryer 2006; Haspelmath 2007).

Accordingly, in the next chapters, for each major word class, I will present a

discussion in terms of their prototypical members, but I will also provide the relevant

morphosyntactic evidence that have helped defined such categories in Wampis. As an

example, we have just seen that the concepts of 'woman' and 'good' have the

prototypical functions of object reference and property modification, respectively. There

is no special morphology associated with these prototypical functions, as shown in (11)

before. However, when 'woman' or 'good' occur in predicative function, they occur in a

different construction. In other words, when they are used in a function that is different

from their prototypical one, it is "marked" somehow by the language. In this specific

case, a copular construction occurs to allow nouns and adjectives to function

predicatively:

(12) *óu núwɛiti*
au   nua=iti
DIST   woman=COP.3+DECL
'That is a woman.'

(13) *óu pínkirɛiti*
au   pínkɨra=aiti
DIST   good=COP.3+DECL
'That is good.'

      Thus, the fact that nouns and adjectives need to be morphosyntactically treated

to become "similar" to verbs (by adding a copula) to be used predicatively, provides a

first piece of evidence for stating that there is a basic difference between verbs, and

nouns and adjectives in Wampis (a verb does not need a copula to be used

predicatively). Detailed evidence with plenty of examples will be presented in the

respective chapters where I define the Adjective (Chapter IX), the Noun (Chapter X) and

the Verb (Chapter XII) in Wampis. In addition, Wampis also possesses minor classes,

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which are analyzed in Chapter VIII (I include an analysis of Adverbs in this chapter, see

§8.6).

7.5. Fuzzy boundaries and clear-cut boundaries

As often happens in languages around the world, the boundaries between certain

categories are sometimes untidy in Wampis. For instance, *nat͡sa* 'single (a person

without a partner)' can be used referentially, but it can also be used attributively, in

which case it means 'young'. The same root is used in the verb *nat͡sa-ma* 'be timid, be

embarrassed', although in this case it carries the verbalizer *-ma* (see §12.6.2). Table 7.2

provides a sample of roots that exhibit "untidy" boundaries, i.e. roots which can be used

in more than one way (referentially, attributively or predicatively) without marking the

root with special (i.e. derivational) morphology. Examples like the ones given in Table

7.2 actually do not abound in Wampis. In fact, at least with reference to the two cross-

linguistically major categories of word classes, nouns and verbs, ambiguous or labile

categoriality is usually not an issue in Wampis. In this language, certain roots are

usually used predicatively and certain other roots referentially: there is not a lot of

cross-over or overlap. In more informal words, object-naming roots are not as freely

used in predicative function—or vice versa—unlike, for instance, in English.

Table 7.2. Examples of roots used in different propositional act functions

Root	Reference	Predication	Attribute
uunta	✓ 'adult'		✓ 'big', 'old'
nanki	✓ 'spear'	✓ 'fish with hook'	
wiɨ	✓ 'salt'	✓ 'add salt'	
tanku	✓ 'domestic animal'		✓ 'tamed'
munt͡su	✓ 'breast'	✓ 'be breastfed'	
sint͡ʃiᵃ	✓ 'brave one'		✓ 'strong'
hɨ̃a	✓ 'house'	✓ 'arrive'	

ᵃ Also used as an intensifier adverb.

Adapting the terms proposed in Lehmann (2008), it can be said that Wampis is a language with fairly high root categoriality with regard to nouns and verbs. Though zero derivation exists, it is not a common process in Wampis, and usually derivational morphemes (nominalizers and verbalizers) mark the change to a different grammatical class.

On the other hand, the distinction between the adjective and noun categories is more subtle. Many of the words that are used in attributive function in Wampis are actually formal nominalizations. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between roots that have undergone a derivational process (namely nominalization) as *umi-inu* in (14)

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but can in that nominalized form be used attributively, from roots that are used for

attributive functions without the need of a derivational morpheme, as *pínkɨra* in (15),

which can be considered a "true" adjective.

(14) *út͡ʃi umín wɨ́awɛɛ*

ut͡ʃi	umi-inu	uɨ-a-ua-i
child	complete-NMLZ	go-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'The dutiful child is going.' (*umi-inu* 'someone who completes', translated as 'dutiful')

(15) *út͡ʃi pɨ́ŋkɨr wɨ́awɛɛ*

ut͡ʃi	pínkɨra	uɨ-a-ua-i
child	good	go-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'The good child is going.'

　　　More detailed analysis of the structural differences between nouns and

adjectives is presented in Chapter IX. There, I propose that adjectives constitute a

different class from nouns and verbs in Wampis.

　　　Some roots can be used either attributively or adverbially. For instance, *sint͡ʃi* can

be used either attributively as in (16) or as an adverb modifying a predicate as in (17).

The only way to know when *sint͡ʃi* works attributively or adverbially, in this case, is by

looking at the syntactic context where *sint͡ʃi* occurs.

(16) *t͡samaréɛn mãánin sínt͡ʃikʲa áhaku*

t͡samarainta	mãá-nai-inu	sɨnt͡ʃi＝ka	a＝hak-u
Tsamarainta	kill-RECP-NMLZ	strong＝FOC	COP＝HAB.PT-NMLZ

'Tsamarain used to be a strong warrior.'

(17) *síntʃi júwawεε*

sintʃi iu-a-ua-i

a.lot eat-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'He eats a lot.'

In (16), *síntʃi* functions attributively, modifying the noun. An evidence that it is modifying the noun (apart from the semantic interpretation) is the presence of the focus marker =*ka*, which attaches to the last element of the NP (so *sintʃi* is inside the NP 'a strong warrior', modifying the noun head). On the other hand, in (17) *sintʃi* functions adverbially, modifying the predicate—this is clear in the example, as there is no overt NP in which *sintʃi* could be taking place, it necessarily modifies the verb.

Though the semantically and propositional-act based theory of parts of speech proposed by Croft (1984; 2001) is helpful to establish prototypical elements of major parts of speech that can be compared cross-linguistically, as we saw earlier, more structural (morphological and syntactic) criteria need to be invoked to attest and define major word classes in a language's own terms. In other words, we need operational definitions by which to connect the theoretical categories to the variation found in the data. Table 7.3 summarizes some important morphosyntactic features that are related to prototypical members of each major word category in Wampis.

Table 7.3. Morphosyntactic properties of major word categories in Wampis

Properties	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Adverb
Take copula clitics when functioning as predicate	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Head of NP	Yes	No	No	No
Replaced by pro-forms	Yes	No	No	No
Modify by uɨantu 'Group'	Yes	No	No	No
Can be possessor	Yes	No	No	No
Take Tense, Person and Mood morphology	No	No	Yes	No
Take aspectual and aktionsart morphology[a]	No	No	Yes	No
Take morphological plural marking	No	No	Yes	No
Take switch-reference marking	No	No	Yes	No
Can be verbalized with -ma 'verbalizer'	Yes	Yes	No	Some[b]
Can be nominalized with Set I or Set II nominalizers	No	No[c]	Yes	No
Can be adjectivalized with -rama 'Adjectivalizer'[d]	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
It is gradable (occurs in comparative constructions, superlative, etc)	No	Yes	No	No

[a] Aspectual morphology occurs at a different level of the verb piece (more towards the root). Tense, Person and Mood occur in the periphery of the verbal piece (away from the root).

[b] Mostly restricted to temporal adverbs.

[c] Some adjectives derive their antonyms using the negative nominalizer -t͡ʃau.

[d] The adjectivilazer -rama (§9.8.3) is not very productive synchronically (there are plenty of examples of it in the lexicon, though).

Note that adverbs are also included in the table, since it is a major category in other languages, although in Wampis the category of adverbs is a semi-closed "not-noun, not-verb, not-adjective" sort of category. Detailed analysis and criteria for each of these (and other) categories are found in the subsequent chapters.

7.6. Bound and free morphemes

Bound morphemes are morphemes that cannot occur as words on their own. Free morphemes are morphemes that can occur on their own. Bound morphemes in Wampis include some roots, affixes and clitics.

With regard to major root classes in Wampis, noun and adjective roots are free. Most verb roots in Wampis are bound in most cases, because they cannot occur in the clause without certain morphology. Finite verbs need to be marked for aspect, person, tense and mood. There are some exceptions to this, most notably specific (and very infrequent) auxiliary constructions where the auxiliary verb carries the inflection and the main verb appears in its bare root form.

7.6.1. Affixes: derivation and inflection

There is only one prefix in Wampis (the causative *V-*, see §13.2.2.1.1); the rest of affixes are suffixes. Following a traditional linguistic distinction, affixes can be divided

into derivational and inflectional formatives. Derivational affixes create an inflectable

stem from a root or another stem. Inflectional suffixes are required by the syntactic

environment where the root appears and add a particular grammatical function to the

latter.

The difference between inflection and derivation, while useful in some

languages, is not always clear-cut in others (Payne 1985). In Wampis this distinction is

not clear in some parts of the grammar. Certain Wampis verbal suffixes probably

constitute the best example of morphology where the borderline between derivation

and inflection becomes fuzzy. Following Overall (Overall 2007), I will label these

suffixes as "Aktionsart" (see §13.3.2 for details). Table 7.4 lists these suffixes.

Table 7.4. Aktionsart suffixes in Wampis

Suffix	Gloss
-á(u)	'High affectedness (of Patient or Location)'
-i	'Low affectedness (of Patient or Agent of instransitive verb)'
-ka	'Intensive'
-ki(ni)	'Do while moving'
-ra	'Distributed action'
-sa	'Attenuative'
-ri	'Do in proximity/while coming'
-u	'Do in another location'

The suffixes presented in Table 7.4 have a derivational function: they create new stems with (sometimes subtle) different meanings from verbal roots. The following examples illustrate the derivational use of some of the above suffixes:

(18)

wɨ 'go'	→	*wɨ-ka* 'walk, travel' (with intensive *-ka*)
$\widehat{tʃitʃa}$ 'speak'	→	$\widehat{tʃitʃa}$*-ra* 'advise' (with distributed action *-ra*)
ihu 'stab'	→	*ihu-ra* 'grind, squeeze' (with distributed action *-ra*)
hapi 'pull, drag'	→	*hapi-ra* 'pull up' → *hapi-ra-ki* 'pull up to carry' (with distributed action *-ra* + do while moving *-ki*)
ahũ 'throw in the water'	→	*ahũ-á* 'knock down' (with high affectedness)

Most verbs very frequently occur with one of these suffixes to appear in certain morphosyntactic contexts: with most past tense markers and in the future, the aktionsart suffixes are usually required. And to mark perfective aspect, the verb plus aktionsart stem is obligatory. For instance, the verb *kankɨ* frequently occurs with the intensive suffix *-ka* and must occur with this suffix for 'just-done actions' marked with the perfective (note that there is no apparent new meaning[127] added in these cases: the

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127. But this is open to question. It is very difficult to know for sure whether the aktionsart is adding some meaning (other than grammatical) to the root in this case. Not all aktionsart suffixes are available for every verbal root, but sometimes the verb can take a different aktionsart suffix. For instance, when adding the attenuative *-sa* to *kankɨ*, the meaning of the action was explained to me as being a gentle or slow rolling.

aktionsart suffix is filling an morphosyntactic requisite for the verb to be used in

perfective sense):

(19) *kaŋkɨ́kɛĩ*
kankɨ-ka-ĩ
roll-<small>INTENS</small>-3.<small>PFV</small>
'It just rolled.'
cf *kankɨ-i* 'roll-3.<small>PFV</small>'

 But in imperfective environments, the aktionsart suffixes cannot occur:

(20) kaŋkɨ́awɛi
kankɨ-a-ua-i
roll-<small>IPFV</small>-3.<small>SBJ</small>-<small>DECL</small>
'It is rolling'
cf. *kankɨ-ka-a-ua-i* 'roll-<small>INTENS</small>-<small>IPFV</small>-3.<small>SBJ</small>-<small>DECL</small>'

 So it seems that aktionsart suffixes, apart from a derivational function, have a

more grammatical function akin to inflection, in the sense that they are obligatory in

certain morphosyntactic environments, or otherwise the expression is agramatical. In

turn, aktionsart suffixes are in complementary distribution for instance with the

imperfective suffix, and their co-occurrence is prohibited.

 From the preceding discussion, it can be seen that some morphemes in Wampis

(of which the aktionsart suffixes provide an illustration) pose problems with regard to

their classification as either derivational or inflectional. Table 7.5 summarizes the

behavior of the aktionsart suffixes with regards to some features that are traditionally

associated with canonical behavior of inflectional and derivational suffixes (based on

Doris L. Payne (1985) and Haspelmath (2002))

Table 7.5. Canonical inflection and derivational properties with relation to aktionsart suffixes

Canonical Inflectional	Canonical Derivational	Comments related to aktionsart suffixes
Correlates with something elsewhere in the syntactic structure	Does not correlate with something elsewhere in the syntactic structure	Do not correlate with something elsewhere in the syntactic structure (e.g. not agreement markers)
Obligatory	Optional	Obligatory in certain morphosyntactic contexts
Yield same concept as base	Yield new concept	Both (sometimes subtle new concept)
Relatively abstract meaning	Have non-predictable, more concrete meaning	"Obscure", abstract meaning in some cases
Participate in paradigm of oppositions	Do not participate in a paradigm of oppositions	In complementary distribution with imperfective
Do not change category of word	May change category of word	Do not change category of the word
Result in new lexical terms	Result in new lexical terms	They can derive new stems (with new meaning)
Occur towards root	Occur towards word edge	Occurs towards root
Non-recursive	Recursive	Can be recursive

Thus, in this dissertation what is meant by "derivation" versus "inflection" is

really a continuum (cf. Bybee (1985)). While I will try to characterize morphemes by

referring to their derivational or inflectional properties, it must be borne in mind that

certain elements simply may be used as both derivational and inflectional in certain

contexts.

In relation with the above idea, an important note to be considered is that in

Wampis there is a good number of nominalization processes that partake in the

grammatical structure of clauses. What is more, grammatical nominalizations have a

significant role in the grammar of Wampis. Some forms that can be considered the

output of "derivational" processes have acquired grammatical status in modern Wampis.

For instance, the nominalizer *-u* can derive agentive nouns from a verb stem:

(21) *nɨkóu*
nɨka-u
know + IPFV-NMLZ
'wise person' ('someone who knows')

The same nominalizer occurs in a (historically) complex past tense where it

occurs in combination with the habitual past =*hak*:

(22) *wampíshɛ̃ awarúnhɛ̃ mãánihakaru*
uampisa=haĩ auaruni=haĩ   mãá-nai=hak-ara-u
Wampis=COM Awajun=COM kill-HIAF-RECP=HAB.PT-PL-NMLZ
'The Wampis and Awajun used to fight'

7.6.2. Clitics

Clitics attach to a host and form a phonological word with it. Several phonological, morphological and syntactic parameters have been proposed for defining clitics, and for differentiating them from affixes (Zwicky 1977; Zwicky & Pullum 1983; Aikhenvald 2003; Anderson 2005; Schiering 2006). Within this work, a clitic is defined as a grammatically independent but phonologically bound morpheme that functions at the level of the phrase. As opposed to affixes, clitics do not operate only over single words. As opposed to particles, which can occur on their own, clitics do not phonologically occur on their own, although cross-linguistically it is common that clitics have free-standing counterparts, especially clitics historically derived from pronouns. Clitics do not constitute a single word class in Wampis in terms of prototypes, morphological distribution, grammatical function or semantics—they are, at most, a phonological class of items. However, for sake of completeness, they are mention in this section, as they are bound morphemes. Table 7.6 lists morphemes analyzed as clitics within this dissertation, with a cross-reference to the sections of the grammar where they are analyzed.

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Table 7.6. List of clitics found in Wampis

Case clitics		Cross-reference
=na	Accusative	§10.4.6.2
Postpositional clitics		
=nVma	Locative	§11.5.1.1
=(n)ĩ	Locative	§11.5.1.2
=ia	Ablative	§11.5.2
=ni	Allative	§11.5.3
=haĩ	Comitative	§11.5.4
=á	First	§11.5.7
=tí	Plural speech act participant	§11.5.6
=á	Affective	§11.5.8
Mood and discourse-related clitics		
=kɨ	Restrictive	§18.3
=ka	Focus	§18.4
=ʃa	Additive	§18.5
=ʃa	Speculative	§18.6
=t͡su	Inferential	§18.7
=ka	Interrogative	§18.8
=api	Sudden realization, Tag question	§18.9
=hama	Mirative	§18.10
Copula clitics		
=aita~=ita	Copula (SAP)	§17.5.3.2
=aiti~=iti	Third person copula	§17.5.3.2

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7.7. Reduplication

As the name indicates, reduplication is the process by which the root or stem (or a part of it) is repeated. Reduplication of verbs and adjectives is relatively productive in the Wampis language. In addition, numerals use partial reduplication to convey a distributional meaning (see §8.8.1). Reduplication can be interpreted as inflection (to convey a grammatical function such as plurality) and as derivation (to create new words). The basic principles of reduplication in Wampis are:

- The reduplicated material usually forms its own prosodic word separate from the base word.[128]

- The reduplicated material always appears before the base word in partial reduplication.

- Nothing ever stands between the reduplicated portion and the base word.

Two types of reduplication can be distinguished in Wampis: total reduplication and partial reduplication. Partial and total reduplication apply to both verbs and nouns; but there is one type of partial reduplication that is triggered by a suffix that is

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128. Some forms show that reduplicated words form one prosodic word; for instance *tipɨtpɨtu* 'decline' clearly is a reduplication from the root *tɨpɨ* 'lie.down'. Such examples are already lexicalized words in the language.

particular to verbs.

Total reduplication, as the name indicates, copies the entirety of the surface

realization of a base word:

(23) *aŋkán aŋkán*
ankanta   ankanta
free   free
'dispersed'

Partial reduplication copies a portion of the base word. The portion that is

copied is all the phonetic material until the second mora. The following example shows

a partial reduplication with a numeral:

(24)
Underlying lexeme: *tikit͡ʃiki*
Output: *tikí tikít͡ʃik*
tiki   tikit͡ʃiki
one   one
'each one'

There is a suffix *-kaua* that triggers reduplication with verbs and that I gloss as

'reduplicative'. This suffix occurs in subordinate verbs and indicates that the action of

the verb is repetitive (see §19.9.4 for details). Reduplication with *-kaua* is based on the

same idea of partial reduplication, but the suffix *-kaua* is added to the verbal stem. The

next examples illustrate reduplication with *-kaua*:

(25) *awá awátkawã*

aua   auatu-kauã

REDUP hit-REDUP\3SG.SS

'hitting and hitting. . .'

(26) *miɲí miɲíɲakuã*

mini   mini-ina-kauã

REDUP come-PL.IPFV-REDUP\3.SS

'coming and coming (many people)'

      Partial reduplication of verbs without the suffix *-kaua* is also possible, and it is

used to intensify the meaning of the verb.

(27) *iʃá iʃámak*

iʃa   iʃama-kũ

REDUP be.afraid + IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS

'while being very afraid . . .'

      There is also total reduplication of adverbs and ideophones. They typically

convey an intensifying sense.

(28) *ímʲɛɛ*   *ímʲɛɛ*

ímai   ímai

far.there   far.there

'very far away'

(29) *t͡sɨút t͡sɨút*

t͡sɨút   t͡sɨút

ideo:pull.off.leave   ideo:pull.off.leave

'Pulling off many leaves'

      Reduplication in Wampis is used predominantly for grammatical purposes,

whereas it is not very productive for derivation of new words. Grammatically,

reduplication serves the functions of distributive sense as in (24), intensity as in (27),

re-iterative or repetitive action as in (26). However, some lexicalized items show that

reduplication may have been also productive derivationally (i.e. used to create new

words) in Wampis. For instance, number four is *aintukV aintukV*. The original meaning

of this root is not know although the word looks like a complex word,[129] but in any case

it is an instance of reduplication. Examples of derivational reduplication in words do

not always follow the rule given above for partial reduplication. Some of them are

included in the list below (all of them are already lexicalized and most are arguably

ideophonic in nature):

(30)
tsɨkɨtskitu	'agile' < cf. tsɨkɨ 'run, jump'[130]
tsɨtsɨ	'dust' (also 'garbage', a modern sense?)
tsɨtsɨka	'cold'
piripiri	'species of plants said to have magical powers'
pintsɨpintsɨ	'monkey sp.'

In addition, there are some (rather infrequent) examples in the data where

reduplication is used in a seemingly derivational function. For instance, in one text, the

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129. The last -*k*V portion is probably the suffix -kɨ 'Restrictive'.

130. Notice that an internal vowel has been deleted but was there historically: *tsɨkɨtsɨkitu* (the underlined vowel is the one deleted).

mouth of the main character is broken and then sewn in such a way that she speaks

without being able to move her lips very much. To transmit the way the character of

the story speaks, the root *mina* 'left' is reduplicated and it was translated as 'out of the

side of her mouth' ('de costadito' in the Spanish translation provided by my teachers).

(31) *mɨnátʃ mɨnántʃ tʃitʃá*

mɨna-t͡ʃi	mɨna-t͡ʃi	tʃitʃa-ã
left-DIM	left-DIM	speak-HIAF\3SG.SS

'Having spoke out of the side [of her mouth]. . .'

7.8. Compounds

A compound word is a word that is formed by two different words. The criteria

for determining compound words can be semantic or formal (Payne 1997: 92).

Formally, in Wampis compound words, both elements retained a high tone and are

susceptible to the vowel elision processes seen in Chapter VI. However, when they

receive inflection, the inflection only attaches to the second element, showing that they

constitute a single unit. For instance, normally the accusative =*na* appears on all

elements of a noun phrase when a determiner is present:

(32) *núna síntʃin ʃuarán*

nu=na	sint͡ʃi=na	ʃuara=na
NON.VIS=ACC	strong=ACC	person=ACC

'to that strong person'

However, in a compound word, like *hapa͜iauaã* 'puma' (*hapa* 'deer' + *iauaã*

'dog'), in a similar morphosyntactic environment, the accusative attaches to the second

root of the compound (*iawaã*) only, not to each element as in (32). Thus, *hapa_iauaã* is

treated as a single word, as shown in the next example.

(33) *núna hapá ɲawáãn*

nu = na   hapa_iauaã = na
NON.VIS = ACC   puma = ACC
'to that puma'

        In addition, compare (33) with (34) below, where the word *tura* 'and,' is added.

In (34), *hapa* 'deer' and *iawã* 'dog' appear as distinct words and therefore each of them

receives the accusative = *na*. Notice that it is impossible for that phrase to have the

reading 'and to the puma'.

(34) *núna hapán túra ɲãwããn*

nu = na   hapa = na   tura   iawã = na
NON.VIS = ACC   deer = ACC   and   dog = ACC
'to the deer and the dog'

        Syntactically, compound words always show a [Modifier-Head] structure,

whereas adjectives in noun phrases can come before or after their noun head (the latter

is the most frequent order). Place names uniformly show a [Modifier-Head] structure,

though in many cases the roots are phonetically reduced:

(35) t͡ʃinkanás   <   t͡ʃinkana + intsa
                                    bamboo.sp + river
'River of bamboo' (for the community named t͡ʃinkanás, Spanish <*Chinganaza*>)

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Semantically, a compound word's meaning is more particular or even completely

different (i.e. unpredictable) from the sum of its parts. The next examples illustrate this

point for Wampis.

(36) *hapá ɲawáã*
hapa_iauaã
deer_dog
'puma'

(37) *uún ɲawáã*
uunta_iawã
big_dog
'jaguar'

(38) *wáki misír*
waki_misir
stomach_ruin
'sad'

In Wampis, compounds can be created by the following combinations:

Noun + Noun (as in example (36) above), Adjective + Noun (as in (37)), and more rarely

Noun + Verb (as in (38)). There are also examples of the intensifier *ima* + Noun:

(39) *imʲá nápi*
ima_napi
INTS_snake
'venomous snake sp.'

7.9. Particles

A particle is generally understood as an invariant element (i.e. it does not receive inflection) that is phonologically independent. In this dissertation, I will not refer to particles as a different word class on their own. Rather, I use the terms Interjection, Ideophone and Grammatical Particle to refer to elements that can be seen as having the properties of being phonologically independent and being invariant. These three categories constitute different classes in the present analysis. Very briefly: Interjections are words that constitute complete utterances by themselves (they are described in §8.11). Ideophones are words that evoke an idea in sound and function mostly adverbially in Wampis but can replace predicates (they are described in §8.12). Grammatical particle is a more restricted term: a grammatical particle is an invariant element that provides some grammatical information (e.g. aspect) to the clause. There are only two grammatical particles in Wampis, *has* and *hak* (see §8.13).

CHAPTER VIII

CLOSED WORD CLASSES

8.1. Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to closed word classes, which are those that are composed of "a fixed and usually small number of members" (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 3). The closed classes of Wampis are: pronouns, demonstratives, interrogative words, non-numeral quantifiers, numerals, interjections and grammatical particles. There are two words that do not fit in any category and constitute their own classes: *tikit͡ʃi* 'other' and *uɨantu* 'group'. In addition, due to their morphosyntactic properties I also discuss in this chapter two word classes that are not strictly closed: ideophones and adverbs. Ideophones are an open class in the sense that the most simple way to create a new ideophone is by imitating any sound, so the inventory of ideophones can always be expanded in theory. The reason for considering adverbs in this chapter is that the only adverbializer in Wampis (which only derives time-adverbs) is no longer productive in the language; hence, in practice Adverbs constitute a semi-closed class. The word classes are presented in this way: §8.2 describes pronouns, §8.3 provides an analysis of determiners, which is followed by a description of the word *tikit͡ʃi* 'other' in §8.4.

Question words are analyzed in §8.5. Adverbs are analyzed in §8.6. Sections §8.7 and

§8.8 describe non-numeral and numeral quantifiers, respectively. Section §8.9 discuses

the word *uɨantu* 'group', and §8.10 discusses the (little) evidence for conjunctions.

Interjections and ideophones are described in §8.11 and §8.12, respectively. Finally,

§8.13 comments on two grammatical particles found in Wampis.

8.2. Pronouns

Pronouns constitute a class of words that are free forms and that can fill the

position of an NP in a clause. Pronouns are referential devices that need an anaphoric

or cataphoric referent in the discourse. In Wampis, pronouns generally have most of the

distributional and morphological properties of nouns. However, differently from nouns,

pronouns cannot be possessed and cannot be modified. Pronouns do not receive

vocative case either.

8.2.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are related to the distinction of grammatical person. Wampis

distinguishes between singular and plural personal pronoun forms. Table 8.1 shows the

personal pronouns found in Wampis.

Table 8.1. Personal pronouns in Wampis

Person\Number	Singular	Plural
1	ui [wíi]	ii [íi] ~ hutí [hutí]
2	amɨ [ámɨ]	atumɨ [átum]
3	nĩ [nḯi]	nita [nítʲa]

When they occur without additional morphology, the 1sɢ and 3sɢ pronouns lengthen their vowels to fulfill the two-mora restriction for phonological words that operates in the language (see §6.8). For first person plural, there are two forms, *ii* and *hutí*. The pronoun *hutí* historically appears to be a combination of the morphemes *hu* 'Proximal demonstrative' and *=tí* 'Plural speech act participant'. The difference between *ii* and *hutí* is not very well understood, if there is any at all. For Awajun, Overall suggests a distinction between the cognate Awajun 1ᴘʟ forms *ii* and *hutii*: according to him, *ii* is specific and usually excludes the 2 person, whereas *hutii* is non-specific and may or may not include the second person (2007: 156). On the other hand, also for Awajun, Corbera (1980: 186) suggests an inclusive (*íi*) vs exclusive (*hutíi*) distinction. I have not found either of those possible distinctions in Wampis. Both *hutí* and *ii* can exclude or include the addressee. However, most examples of *hutí* in Wampis exclude the 2 person, and it is usually used to refer to the Wampis as a group. For

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instance, the next example comes from a conversation between a Wampis speaker and myself as the addressee. The speaker has finished telling me what the Wampis elders hope for their future generations, so he is speaking about the Wampis as a group and the addressee is not part of the intended referent of "our way of thinking":

(1) *núwɛiti hutí anínteiŋkʲa*

nu = aiti   hutí   anɨnta-ĩ = ka
NON.VIS = COP.3 + DECL\GEN   1PL   thought-1PL/2PL/3.POSS = FOC
'That is our way of thinking.'

With that said, in practice *ii* and *hutí* are more or less interchangeable—and *ii* is much more frequent in texts. In (2), for example, *ii* also refers to the Wampis and excludes the addressee. This example comes from a narrative in which the speaker tells me how he was healed after suffering an accident while hunting. He explains in the last lines:

(2) *íikʲa ímanisrikʲa ðoktórnumka wíat͡shi*

ii = ka   imani-sa-ri = ka   doktor = numa = ka
1PL = FOC   do.much-SUB-1PL.SS = FOC   doctor = LOC = FOC

wɨ-a-t͡su-hi
go-IPFV-NEG-1PL.SBJ + DECL
'We, doing so much, do not go to the doctor.'

Example (3) clearly shows that *ii* may exclude the addressee:

(3) *iikʲa kuntiɲan ɨákmakrin, ámɨka hɨ̃ámin wakɨtkitʲá*

ii = ka   kuntina   ɨakama-a-ku-ri-nĩ
1PL = FOC   animal   look.for.game-IPFV-1PL.DS

amɨ   hĭa-mi＝nĩ   wakɨtu-ki-tá
2SG   house-2＝LOC   return-WHILE.MOVING-IMP
'While we go hunting, you return home.'

On the other hand, in (4), *ii* includes the addressee, so it means 'you＋I'.

(4) *jat͡surú haímito mín̠a jaákta soleðád íik^ja him^jará wɨsáthi*

iat͡su-rú   haimito   mina   iaakata   Soledad
brother-1SG   Jaime (DIM) 1SG.GEN town   Soledad

ii＝ka   himará   wɨ-sa-ta-hi
1PL＝FOC   two\ITER   go-ATT-IMM.FUT-1PL.SBJ＋DECL
'My brother Jaime, we (i.e. you and I) will go two times to my town Soledad.'

In sum, there does not seem to be a clear distinction between the 1PL pronouns *ii*

and *hutí*. While in most instances in the text data *hutí* references the idea of a general

group (usually meaning "we—of my group, usually meaning the Wampis"), *ii* is also

used in that way, and both pronouns can include or not the addressee. In terms of

frequency, *ii* is much more frequent in texts. This is perhaps because of the relatively

recent development of *hutí* as a pronoun, which is still clearly associated with *hu*

'Proximal demonstrative' and ＝*tí* 'Plural speech act participant'. Both pronouns are

easily interchangeable and there seems to be a competition between the older (and still

more frequent) form *ii* and the more recently innovated *hutí*. Perhaps more

conversational data and analysis of specific contexts where they occur may reveal

different discourse functions of *ii* and *hutí*.

8.2.1.1. Combining forms of 1sg and 2 personal pronouns

1sɢ and 2 personal pronouns have special allomorphs that occur only with the following morphemes: accusative =na, benefactive/possessive -nau, locative =(n)ĩ and comitative =haĩ. Table 8.2 shows the combining forms of the personal pronouns in Wampis.

Table 8.2. Combining forms of personal pronouns

Person:	1sɢ	2sɢ	2ᴘʟ
Stem:	ui~mi	ami	atumi
Acc =na	[míɲa]~[wíɲa] mina~uina	[ámiɲa] amina	[atúmin] atumina
Loc =(n)ĩ	[míɲeĩ]~[wíɲeĩ] minaĩ~uinaĩ	[ámiɲi] aminĩ	[atúmin] atumini
Com =haĩ	[mihʲɛɛ̃]~[wihɛɛ̃] uimi~mihaĩ	[ámihɛɛ̃] amihaĩ	[atúmhɛɛ̃] atumihaĩ
Ben -nau	[miɲóo]~[wíɲa] minau~uinau	[ámiɲu] aminau	[atúmɲoo] atuminau

As can be seen, in the case of the first person, the use of the combining form is optional: the pronoun can occur as the regular form *ui* or as *mi*. The locative form of the 1sɢ is *minaĩ* and not *minĩ*, as would be expected. A probable explanation is that the base on which the locative marker occurs may be the accusative stem (*mina~uina*).

8.2.1.2. Genitive forms of personal pronouns

The genitive forms of the personal pronoun are formed with the accusative *=na* for most grammatical persons. 1PL form *hutí*, 2PL and 3PL pronouns mark their genitive forms with a high tone on their last vowel. In the case of the 2PL pronoun, there are two possible genitive forms: one with the accusative *=na* and one with the high tone. Table 8.3 shows the genitive forms of the personal pronouns.

Table 8.3. Genitive forms of personal pronouns

Person	Genitive Form
1SG	mina~uina [míɲa]~[wíɲa]
2SG	amina [ámiɲa]
3SG	nina [níɲa]
1PL	iina [íiɲa]
1PL	hutí [hutí]
2PL	atumí~atumina [atumí]~[atumín][131]
3PL	nitá [nitʲá]

_____

131. As can be seen, this form always surfaces as [atúmin] and the final /a/ is dropped following the rule of apocope in Wampis seen in Chapter VI. By contrast, the 2SG genitive form *amina* [ámiɲa] never deletes its last vowel, contravening the rule of apocope which deletes the last underlying vowel of the word.

8.2.1.3. Use of 3 person pronouns as definite articles

The third person pronouns every now and then can act as articles to specify

grammatical definiteness of a noun already introduced in the discourse. In the Wampis

data, a pronoun that functions as a determiner never introduces a new participant in the

discourse.

Notice the use of the 3sG in the next example. The pronoun does not replace the

NP; rather, it specifies that its noun head is definite. In the text from where the example

comes, the character *Mikut* is a referent already established in the discourse. He has

been preparing himself to obtain certain powers by dieting and taking hallucinogenic

plants. In the narrative, there are two people named *Mikut*, so the pronoun is used to

identify one of them:

(5) *nĩi míkut ímatikawa núna ímatiksan umík . . .*

nĩ	Mikuta	imatika-u=a=nu=na	imatika-sã
3sG	Mikut	do.much-NMLZ=COP=NON.VIS=ACC	do.much-SUB\3sG.ss

umi-kã
complete-INTENS\3sG.ss
'The Mikut that did all that, doing that much, having finished . . .'[132]

_____

132. A possible analysis of (5) is that the relative clause headed by the proper noun Mikut is in
an appositive construction with the pronoun *nĩ*; i.e. 'He, [the] Mikut that did all that, . . .'.
However, in the example, the whole NP 'The Mikut that did all that' falls in one single intonation
contour and is specifying a definite referent in the discourse. The interpretation of *nĩ* as an
article was also double-checked with my Wampis teachers.

8.2.2. Cataphoric hesitation pronoun *naa*

The hesitation pronoun *naa* is a cataphoric device: it precedes the mention of a referent that is to occur immediately or almost immediately afterward in the discourse. The pronoun agrees with its subsequent referent in the marking of some derivational and most case, adposition and discourse-related clitics. Pragmatically, *naa* usually expresses a hesitation, and its functional motivation seems to be associated with lexical access; in other words, it stands in discourse in lieu of the noun that the speaker is trying to retrieve. The pronoun *naa* is transparently related to the interjection *naa* that expresses hesitation or doubt (cf. §8.11). However, the pronoun *naa* is clearly grammaticalized as a participant-reference form in current Wampis, as it establishes obligatory case agreement with its noun referent, as is shown below.

In (6), the hesitation pronoun *naa* receives the same marking (accusative =*na* and focus =*ka*) as its referent 'wall'.

(6) ípatɨamuʃa hĭáŋka túkɨ naáŋka taníʃnaka jumpúat͡ʃu

ípatu-a-mau=ʃa	hĭa=na=ka	tukɨ
shoot-IPFV-NMLZ=ADD	house=ACC=FOC	INTERJ

naa=<u>na=ka</u>	taniʃa=<u>na=ka</u>	iumpu-a-t͡ʃau
HESIT.PRO=<u>ACC=FOC</u>	wall=<u>ACC=FOC</u>	break-IPFV-NEG.NMLZ

'The shots at the house did not break umm... the wall.'

In the next example, *naa* stands in place of 'relative'; both *naa* and its referent

agree in the marking of the comitative.

(7) naáhɛ̃ patáĩhɛ̃ wiáruka

naa = haĩ	pataĩ = haĩ		wɨ-á-ara-u = ka
HESIT.PRO = COM	relative\1PL/2PL/3.POSS = COM		go-HIAF-PL-NMLZ = FOC

'Those who went with umm... their relatives.'

In (8), *naa* receives the locative =*numa*, agreeing with its noun co-referent in

the marking of focus =*ka* too.

(8) awarún ɛ́ɛɲaʃa pɨkámar naánmaka jɛíkminmaka

auaruna	a-ina = ʃa	pɨkama-ara
Awajun	COP-PL.IPFV = ADD	form.line.PFV-PL/3.SS

naa = numa = ka	iakimi = numa = ka
HESIT.PRO = LOC = FOC	sand = LOC = FOC

'The Awajun too, having formed a line in, umm, in the sand.'

The morphemes in Table 8.4 are attested to occur on *naa* as a pronoun. The

diminutive and the restrictive can be considered 'derivational',[133] the accusative and the

nominative are case-markers,[134] the locatives, the ablative, allative and comitative are

___

133. Of course the restrictive =*ki* has a discourse-level function too. See §18.3 for a description of this morpheme.

134. Notice the absence of the genitive from the list. The genitive is marked with a high tone on nouns, so probably due to its phonologically-bound nature it cannot be present in *naa*. As we saw in §8.2.1.2, personal pronouns form their genitive form with the accusative =*na,* not with a high tone. However, *naa*, which appears to be a relatively recent reanalysis of a hesitation interjection (§8.11)*,* does not possess a genitive form. The historical relationship between the

post-positional clitics; and the additive and focus markers are discourse-level

morphemes.

Table 8.4. Morphemes attested as marking agreement between the pronoun *naa* and its noun co-referent

Morpheme	Gloss
-t͡ʃi	Diminutive
-nau	Benefactive/Possessive
∅	Nominative
=na	Accusative
=nVma	Locative
=(n)ĩ	Locative
=ia	Ablative
=ni	Allative
=haĩ	Comitative
=kɨ	Restrictive
=ʃa	Additive
=ka	Focus

8.3. Demonstratives

Wampis has four demonstratives: proximal *hu*,[135] medial *aanu*,[136] distal *au*, and

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genitive and the accusative is explained in §10.4.6.3.1.

135. Some speakers pronounce the proximal *hu* as a nasal *hũ*.

136. The source for the medial *aanu* is probably *aa* 'outside' plus the non-visible demonstrative *nu*.

non-visible *nu.* Wampis demonstratives constitute a moderately complex set that is based on one general parameter: VISIBILITY, and within visibility, there is a subsystem based on DISTANCE. As shown in Figure 8.1, the distance-oriented subsystem is based on the speaker's point of view, it does not take the addressee into account.
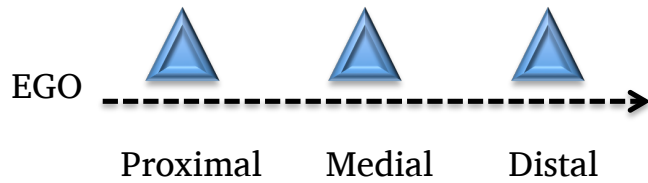
Figure 8.1. Distance-oriented scheme of Wampis demonstratives

Demonstratives possess most nominal morphosyntactic properties: they are able to receive some nominal morphology and replace noun phrases. In addition to this pronominal function (10), demonstratives also function as determiners (9). In both functions, they indicate deixis.

(9) *núka arútmaka kámɨ jóuntʃuk naŋkamás*

nu=ka	arutama=ka		kamɨ	iauntʃukɨ	nankama-sã
NON.VIS=FOC	power.vision=FOC		INTERJ	long.ago	begin-SUB/3SG.SS

'That [belief in] *Arutam* starting long ago . . .'

(10) *húna uháktathamɨ*

hu=na	uha-ka-tata-hamɨ
PROX=ACC	inform-APPL-DEF.FUT-1SG>2SG+DECL

'I am going to inform you this.'

Table 8.5 summarizes the forms of the demonstratives with the attested case, post-positional and discourse-related clitics with which they occur. Forms with an (E) (=Elicited) were only collected in elicitation and are not attested in the natural texts consulted for this study. The locative forms of the demonstratives, especially *huĩ, aĩ* and *nuĩ*, serve as locative adverbs too.

Table 8.5. Demonstratives with case, post-positional and discourse-related clitics

Category	Visible			Non-visible
	Proximal	Medial	Distal	
Nominative	hu	aanu	au	nu
Accusative	hu=na	aanu=na	au=na	nu=na
Locative	hu=ĩ	aanĩ	a=ĩ	nu=ĩ
Ablative	hu=ĩ=ia [huĩ́ɲa]	aanu=ia [aania]	au=ĩ=ia (E) [áwĩɲa]	nu=ĩ=ia [nuĩ́ɲa]
Allative	hu=ni	aanu=ni	au=ni	nu=ĩ=ni [nuĩ́ɲi]
Comitative	hu=haĩ	(?)ᵃ aanu=haĩ (E)	au=haĩ	nu=haĩ
Restrictive	hu=kɨ	aanu=kɨ	au=kɨ	nu=kɨ
Focus	hu=ka	aanu=ka	au=ka	nu=ka
Additive	hu=ʃa	aan=ʃa	au=ʃa	nu=ʃa

[a] Speakers' judgments of this form (only given in elicitation) were ambivalent. While the form is possible, apparently it is not used (and there is no attestation of it in texts in the database), so speakers tend to judge it as marginally acceptable.

While demonstratives share some morphological and syntactic distribution with

other nominal and pronominal classes, demonstratives constitute their own class on the

basis of the following morphosyntactic properties:

- Demonstratives do not receive genitive marking, unlike nouns or personal pronouns.

- Demonstratives can bear the locative =(n)ĩ, as shown in the locative forms in Table

  8.5 above. However, demonstratives do not receive other locative forms such as

  =nVma or V́, whereas nouns and personal pronouns do (see §11.5.1 for details on the

  locative markers).

- The presence of demonstratives in the NP causes obligatory agreement between the

  demonstrative, the noun and any other attributive modifier (i.e. adjectives and

  relative clauses). This is a unique property triggered by demonstratives.

- Demonstratives receive the similative suffix -mamtin, which in my data does not occur

  on nouns or pronouns.[137]

    The first two points refer to morphological impossibilities of demonstratives (in

comparison to nouns and pronouns) and are self-explanatory. The other two points are

explained in the next sub-sections.

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137. The only other words where the similative *mamtin* appear in the data are not nominal:
mɨtɨka-mamtin 'equal-similative' and *tu-mamtin* 'like.that-similative' (*tu* is a demonstrative manner
adverb (§8.6.1).

8.3.1. Demonstratives and agreement

Agreement marking is established between the demonstrative, the noun and any attributive modifier of the noun head (including relative clauses) only when a demonstrative is present in the NP. This is an interesting pattern in Wampis, as nominal agreement seems to be based on the presence of the demonstrative, rather than on the noun. Table 8.6 lists the morphemes that exhibit this agreement behavior when a demonstrative is present.

Table 8.6. Morphemes that display agreement in the presence of a demonstrative

Category	Morpheme
Nominative	Ø
Accusative	=na
Locative	=nVma, =(n)ĩ, V́[a]
Focus	=ka
Additive	=ʃa

[a] The demonstratives only bear the locative form =(n)ĩ; nouns can carry all three locative forms listed above.

The following discussion illustrates how the presence of a demonstrative triggers agreement within the NP. First, it must be noted that nouns alone do not establish obligatory overt agreement. The marking of case and other clitic categories occurs most

frequently in the last element of the NP. For instance, in (11) the accusative is hosted by

the adjective 'good', and in (12) it is hosted by the relativized copula in the relative

clause that is modifying the head noun:

(11) ʃuár píŋkɨran wɛíŋkʲamhɛɛ
[ʃuara pínkɨra]=**na**   uaina-ka-ma-ha-i
person good=ACC   see-INTENS-REC.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I saw a good person.'

(12) ʃuár ʃiír mãánin ánuna wɛíŋkʲamhɛɛ
[ʃuara [ʃiira   mãa-nai-inu   a=nu]]=**na**   uaina-ka-ma-ha-i
person very   kill-RECP-NMLZ   COP=NON.VIS=ACC see-INTENS-REC.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I saw a person that was a such a killer.'

On the other hand, when a demonstrative is present, the marking of the

categories listed in Table 8.6 changes. As stated previously, in such a case, the

demonstrative, noun head and attributive modifiers agree in case or focus/additive

marking. Thus, compare (11)–(12) above with (13)–(14):

(13) *núna ʃuarán píŋkɨran wɛinkʲamhɛɛ*
nu=**na**   ʃuara=**na**   pɨnkɨra=**na**   uaina-ka-ma-ha-i
NON.VIS=ACC   person=ACC   good=ACC   see-INTENS-REC.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I saw that good person.'

(14) *núna ʃuarán ʃiira mãánin ánuna wɛíŋkʲamhɛɛ*
nu=**na**   ʃuara=**na**   ʃiira   mãá-nai-inu   a=nu=**na**
NON.VIS=ACC   person=ACC   very   kill-RECP-NMLZ   COP=NON.VIS=ACC

uaina-ka-ma-ha-i

see-INTENS-REC.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I saw that person that was such a killer.'

As can be seen, unlike (11)–(12), in (13)–(14) the accusative is borne by the

demonstrative, the noun, and the adjective or relative clause in modifying function.

Notice that the structures in (13)–(14) do not constitute an appositive construction, as

evidenced by the fact that the accusative is marked in all modifiers of the noun and in

the noun itself. If it were an apposition, the accusative would be expected to be marked

in the demonstrative and in the last element of the second NP. As an illustration, if

there were an appositive construction in (13), we would expect a construction like

[*nu*=*na*], [*ʃuara pɨnkɨra*]=*na* 'that, a good person'; but not [*nu*=*na ʃuara* =*na*

pɨnkɨra=*na*] 'that good person', which actually occurs in the above example.

The previous examples offered instances of agreement with the accusative =*na*.

Following are some examples with the locative =*nVma*, the focus marker =*ka* and the

additive =*ʃa*. Notice that morphemes can occur stacked, in which case they are also

repeated in the other element(s) of the NP, as in (15).

(15) huĩʃa apát͡ʃ puhútnumʃa unuimaru

hu=ĩ=**ʃa**   apat͡ʃi   puhu-ta=**numa**=**ʃa** unuima-ra-u

PROX=**LOC**=**ADD**   mestizo   live-NMLZ=**LOC**=**ADD**   learn-DISTR-NMLZ

'one that is educated in this mestizo's [way] of life too'

(16) *óoka ʃuárka wɨ́maji*

au = **ka**	ʃuara = **ka**	uɨ-ma-ji
dist = FOC	person = FOC	go.PFV-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

'That person went away.'

(17) *núʃa ɛ́iʃmaɲt͡ʃiʃa kanárui*

nu = **ʃa**	áiʃimanku-t͡ʃi = **ʃa**	kana-ra-u = i
NON.VIS = ADD	man-DIM = ADD	sleep-DISTR-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'That little man too fell asleep.'

Though very rarely, demonstratives can apparently even trigger (optional)

agreement on adverbials. In the data, this is very rare indeed, as adverbial words in

general do not receive case or post-positional marking. This property is illustrated in

(18). As can be seen, the intensifier *ímanis* agrees with the 'non visible' demonstrative *nu*

in the marking of accusative and focus.

(18) *núkap arútmaka irúnɨawɛɛ núnaka ímanisnaka aníakɨat͡shɛɛ*

nukapɨ	arutama = ka	irunɨ-a-ua-i
several	power.vision = FOC	be.together.IPFV-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

nu = na = ka	**ímanis = na = ka**	anɨakɨ-a-t͡su-ha-i
NON.VIS = ACC = FOC	INTS.DEM.ADV = ACC = FOC	remember-IPFV-NEG-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'There are several *Arutam*, that much I don't remember.'

8.3.2. The similative constructions with *-mamtin*

The suffix *-mamtin* 'Similative' attaches to a demonstrative and adds the meaning

of 'similar to X'.

There are two constructions where the similative *-mamtin* occurs. The first

construction has the following structure:

Similative construction 1: [NP = ABL DEM-*mamtin*]

In this construction, the NP is a full lexical noun or pronoun that occurs

preposed and marked with the ablative, whereas the demonstrative co-refers with the

NP head and is marked with *-mamtim*.

(19) *tɨntɨtsaja numámtin*

Tɨntɨtsa = ia   nu-mamtin

Tɨntɨtsa = ABL   NON.VIS-SIMIL

'similar to Tɨntɨts'

(20) *ɲawã́aja numámtin*

iauãa = ia   nu-mamtin

dog = ABL   NON.VIS-SIMIL

'similar to a dog'

The second construction where the similative occurs has the following structure:

Similative construction 2: [NP = COP DEM-*mamtin*]

In Similative construction 2, the noun occurs with a cliticized copula. Though

the semantics of this construction is similar to Similative construction 1, in this case the

reference is more indefinite. In the following example, the speaker is talking about

Nunkui, beings that are related to agriculture, hunting and fertility. People sing magical

songs to *Nunkui*, who can give powers and propitiate good agriculture. Notice that the

speaker uses Similative construction 2 and he does not specify what kind of power

Nunkui has:

(21) *núka núŋkuikʲa poðéra aánmamtin* . . .

nu = ka   nunkui = ka   [**podera = a**   **aanu-mamtin**]

NON.VIS = FOC   Nunkui = FOC   **power** = COP   **MED-SIMIL**

'that Nunkui, [she has] like a power.'[138]

In relation to the above description, the similative may also occur attached to

the demonstrative with no co-referent noun. Similar to the previous example, in this

case the similative also adds an indefinite sense:

(22) *aánmamtin míɲa nukútʃruka tújaji turáʃa ʃíir aníatʃhɛɛ*

aanu-mamtin mina   nukutʃi-ru = ka   tu-ia-ji

MED-SIMIL   1SG.GEN grandmother-1SG = FOC   say-REM.PT-3.PT

turaʃa   ʃiira   ani-a-tsu-ha-i

but   well   remember-IPFV-NEG-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'My grandmother said something like that, but I don't remember well.'

Wampis does not possess indefinite pronouns of the sort English has with *some/*

any-pronouns; however, one way to achieve the function of indefiniteness is with the

similative.

The form of the morpheme *-mamtin* must have been historically complex,

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138. Literally translated by my teachers into Spanish as: *como poder **algo así*** 'like power,
something like that . . .'.

possibly having the form *-mamVtinV*. This assumption is based on the odd phonological

structure of *-mamtin*, which possesses the sequence /mt/, when we would expect /nt/.

Hence, the sequence /mt/ must have been obtained after vowel elision from an old

sequence **mVt*. In addition, underlyingly, morphemes in Wampis never end in a

consonant, so it is more than likely that the suffix *-mamtin* used to have a final vowel

that is synchronically "unrecoverable" in current Wampis. However, because of the

form, the last portion of the similative, */tin/*, may be related to the suffix *-tinu*

'Attributive'. The attributive likely is also part of an old unproductive adjectivilizer

suffix *-patinu* (see §9.8.4), that carries a similar meaning to *-mamtin*: 'propensity to' or

'similar to', e.g. *ʃakarpatin* 'loose' < **ʃaka* 'watery', 'watered-down', **-rĩ* '1PL/2PL/3.POSS',

*-pa (?), **-tinu* 'Attributive'.

8.3.3. Other functions of demonstratives

Apart from their use as determiners and pronouns, there are two other important

extended functions of demonstratives: they can relativize a copula, and they serve as

textual anaphora (this is a typical sub-function of demonstratives, but merits a brief

mention here because of the high frequency with which some demonstratives occur in

that function in texts).

Examples of the relativization property of demonstratives are given in (23),

where there is a "headless" relative, and in (24), where the relative clause is externally-

headed.

(23) *óohumatsattahɛɛ wíɲa puhútruanuna*

auhumatu-sa-tata-ha-i	[uina	puhuta-ru = a = nu = na]
tell-ATT-DEF.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL	1SG.GEN	life-1SG = COP = NON.VIS = ACC

'I am going to tell you about my life' (Lit.: '. . . that which is my life')

(24) *nĩ̃ʃa núu tĩkit͡ʃ ʃuár ánu ut͡ʃirí hukí*

nĩ = ʃa	[nu	[tikít͡ʃi	ʃuara	a = nu]]
3SG = ADD	NON.VIS	other	person	COP = NON.VIS

ut͡ʃi-rĩ	hu-kĩ
child-1PL/2PL/3.POSS	take-WHILE.MOVING\3.SS

'He too, that who was another person, having taken his child . . .'

Constructions that follow the same relativization pattern in adverbial function

usually serve to introduce new information:

(25) *wíi t͡ʃit͡ʃám kámɨ húu puhútahuĩ ánis óo asámtɛɛ̃*

ui	t͡ʃit͡ʃama	kamɨ	[hu	puhuta = a = hu = ĩ]
1SG	problem	INTERJ	PROX	life = COP = PROX = LOC

aani-sã	a-u	a-sa-mataĩ
do.that-SUB\3SG.SS	exist-NMLZ	COP-SUB-1SG/3.DS

'Because, thus, I have a problem here in this life. . .'

A more detailed analysis of relative clauses is presented in Chapter XX.

With regard to the discourse anaphoric function, the non-visible demonstrative

nu functions prominently and frequently as an anaphoric pronoun in narratives.

However, note that all other demonstratives also function anaphorically in texts,

especially the proximal *hu* and the distal *au;* but in comparison with *nu* they are much

less frequent in narratives. This is not unexpected, as narratives usually relate stories

whose protagonists are not present or visible, hence the preference for the 'non-visible'

demonstrative *-nu.*

The anaphoric function of demonstratives occurs frequently in direct speech

reports. In (26), the demonstrative *nu* refers to the whole expression 'May they not

suffer!' (notice that *nu* cannot be the object of 'suffer' because it does not bear the

accusative marker =*na*).

(26) *íɨ̃na ut͡ʃirí huárar wɛítsarɛi núu*

iina	ut͡ʃi-rĩ	huara-ara	[uaitu-sa-ara-i]	[nu]
1PL.GEN	child-1PL/2PL/3.POSS	stay.PFV-PL.SS	suffer-ATT-PL-APPR	NON.VIS

'Our children having stayed, "<u>may they not suffer</u>!", <u>that</u>.'

In the following example, the speaker talks about the foundation of several

modern Wampis villages. He introduces some of them for the first time using their

names (Ampama, Onanga, Kukuasa), and then uses the distal *au* to refer to all of them,

while maintaining the topic. What follows immediately is a direct speech report

construction. Notice that when the speaker says *ut͡ʃitá* 'children (VOC)', he is referring to

the people who were going to create the villages just mentioned before. These people

did not want to come down-river to found a different village, so they are told to found

their own villages:

(27) *takasá puhusmí túsan ampáman úunkan kukúasan óona ut͡ʃit͡ʲá atúmʃa huĩ́ tátaka nakít͡ʲarmɨ aŋkán aŋkán jaákat nahánarum atúmʃa núŋka ajamruktárum*

taka-sa	puhu-sa-mi	tu-sa-nu
work-ATT	live-ATT-HORT	say-SUB-1SG.SS

[Ampama＝na	Uunaka＝na	Kukuasa＝na]	[au＝na]
Ampama＝ACC	Onanga＝ACC	Kukuasa＝ACC	DIST＝ACC

ut͡ʃitá	atumɨ＝ʃa	huĩ
child\VOC	2PL＝ADD	here

ta-ta＝ka	nakita-rumɨ
arrive-NMLZ＝FOC	not.want＋IPFV-2PL.SBJ＋DECL

ankan	ankanta	iaakata	nahana-rumɨ
REDUP	free	town	make.PFV-2PL.SS

atumɨ＝ʃa	nunká	aiamaru-ka-tá-rumɨ
2PL＝ADD	land\ACC	defend-INTENS-IMP-2PL.SBJ

'[I] saying "Let's work" <u>to Ampama, Onanga, Kukuasa</u>**,** <u>to those</u>: "Children, you do not want to come here, [then] each one having created your town, defend the land!"'

The most common way to finish a narration is with the formula in (28), where

the demonstrative *nu* refers to the whole narrative that has been told:

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(28) *núkɨti*

nu＝kɨ＝iti

NON.VIS＝RESTR＝COP.3＋DECL

'That is it.' (Lit.: 'That only is.')

To conclude this section on other functions of demonstratives, it is important to

mention that the distal *au* is frequently used instead of the third person pronoun *nĩ* in

conversations. The distal *au* is also used in comparative constructions (see §9.7.3.1),

and as an interjection (see §8.11).

8.3.4. Resumptive verbs from demonstratives

All demonstratives and the intensifier *ima* receive the verbalizers *-ni* and *-tika*

and become resumptive verbs. See §12.6.4 for a description of resumptive verbs.

8.4. *Tikit͡ʃi* 'other'

The word *tikit͡ʃi* 'other' functions as a demonstrative: it can determine NPs as in

(29) or it can occur pronominally in place of an NP as in (30).

(29) *tíkit͡ʃ númi pɨ́ŋkɨr átɨɲun arákmakmiaji*

tikit͡ʃi   numi   pɨnkɨra a-tinu＝na   araka-ma-ka-mia-ji

other   tree   good   COP-FUT.NMLZ＝ACC   plant-VBZ-INTENS-DIST.PT-3.SBJ＋DECL

'She planted other trees that will be good.'

(30) *tikít͡ʃɨn óuhumatsathɛɛ*

tikit͡ʃi＝na   auhumatu-sa-ta-ha-i

other＝ACC   tell-ATT-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am going to tell another one (i.e. another story).'

However, *tikitʃi* does not exhibit agreement with the noun like demonstratives

do. In (31), the demonstrative *nu* and the noun *ʃuara* agree in the marking of accusative,

but not *tikitʃi.*

(31) *núna tikítʃ ʃuarán atakʃa wɨmaji*

nu=na   tikítʃ   ʃuara=na   atakʃa uɨ-ma-ji

NON.VIS=ACC   other   person=ACC   again go-REC.PT-3.SBJ+DECL

'That other person went away again.'

Furthermore, *tikitʃi* can be modify by determiners (32), showing that it does not

belong to the latter category. Notice that when *tikitʃi* functions as a pronoun, it does

establish agreement with the demonstrative, should a demonstrative occur in the same

NP.

(32) *húna tikítʃin óohmatsathɛɛ*

nu=ka   tikítʃi=na   áuhumatu-sa-ta-ha-i

NON.VIS=ACC   other=acc   tell-ATT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am going to tell this other [story].'

As a final note, it should be mentioned that some speakers have a free variant

tʃikitʃi (with a palatal as first consonant), instead of *tikitʃi.*

8.5. Interrogative words

Interrogative words are based on derivations of the roots *tu* 'where, which', *uru*

'how' and *itu* 'make'; plus the interrogative pronouns *ia* 'who', *uarĩ* 'what'. Interrogative

words are listed in Table 8.7. The semantic fields associated with these roots are also

provided. When there is a lexical source or identifiable formatives in historically

complex interrogatives words, I list them in the respective column.

Table 8.7. Interrogative words in Wampis

Interrogative Words	Gloss	Possible source or Analysis	Associated Semantics
tua	'Which'	tu + a 'Cop' (?)	Type
ia	'Who'		Human
uarĩ	'What'	uari 'thing'	Non-human, Type
tu	'Where'		Location
uruka~uruku	'How'	uru + =ka 'Q'	Manner
itura	'How', 'In which way?'	ituru 'make'	Manner
uruku = numa	'How + Where'	uruka + =numa 'Loc'	Location + Manner
uruka + -mataĩ	'Why'	uruka + -mataĩ '1sg/3 DS'	Reason
uruti~urutia(n)	'When'	uru + -ti 'Time' + a 'Cop' (?)	Time
urutima	'How many', 'How much'	uruti + *-ma (?)	Amount

As can be seen, some question words (especially the ones derived with the roots

uru) are historically complex. Words with the roots *uru* occur with the formatives *-ka* (in

'how'), *-ti* (in 'when') and *-ma* (in 'how many'); however, these suffixal formatives are already fossilized and their meanings are not easily identifiable. The formative **-ka* is very likely a fossilized version of the interrogative clitic =*ka* that is otherwise productive in the Wampis language (see §18.8). Based on semantics and phonetic similarity, the formative **-ti* that occurs with *uru* to form the time question word 'when' could be related to the derivational suffix *-tin* 'time' (which can be shortened to *-tí* (see example (90) later in this chapter), that is used to derive adverbials that express ideas of date and season (see §8.6.2.1). I have found no evidence of a possible source for the formative **-ma*. In addition, *uruka* 'how' has a variant *uruku* that seems to be an old nominalized form bearing Set II nominalizer *-u* 'Subject nominalizer' (§15.4.5). This form *uruku*, in the data, only occurs when the interrogative word bears the locative =*numa* (see example (42)), the inferential =$\widehat{tsu}$ or in combination with a cliticized copula (see (71), down below); intriguingly, these three elements cliticize to nouns (or noun phrases).[139]

The next examples illustrate the use of interrogative words in action:

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139. In only one example in the data *uruku* occurs with the past habitual =*huk*, which occurs with verbs.

(33) *túwa wakíram*

tua   uakɨra-mɨ

which want + IPFV-2SG.SBJ

'Which one do you want?'

(34) jɛ́itʲam

ia = ita = mɨ

who = COP = 2SG.SBJ

'Who are you?'

(35) *arútmaʃa warĩ́mpɛitʲa*

arutama = ʃa   **warĩ** = pa = ita

power.vision = ADD   **what** = Q = COP

'What is Arutam?'

(36) *tuɨ̃́ juwíʃa*

tu = ɨ̃   iuui = ʃa

where = LOC   squash = ADD

'Where is the squash?'

(37) *tuɨ̃ɲá wínam*

tu = ɨ̃ = ia   uina-mɨ

where = LOC = ABL   come-2SG.SBJ

'Where do you come from?'

(38) nihámt͡ʃiʃa urúk noúwɛitʲam

nihamã́t͡ʃi = ʃa   **uruka** nau-u = aita-mɨ

manioc.beer = ADD   **how**   chew-NMLZ = COP-2.SBJ

'How do you prepare manioc beer?'

(39) *káʃiʃa itʲúrsarik mãá jútaĩɲɛiti*

kaʃi=ʃa	**itura**-sa-ri=ka	mãa	iu-taĩ=aiti
night=ADD	**how**-SUB-1PL.SS=Q	kill	eat-NMLZ=COP.3

'How do we hunt at night?' (Lit.: 'At night, how do we normally eat killing?')[140]

(40) *urútian ípatiarat*

urutian	ípatu-ara-ta
when	shoot.PFV-PL-IMM.FUT

'When are they going to shoot?'

(41) urútmak humέiɲɛiti

urutima=ka	hu-mai-na=iti
how.many=Q	take-POT-NMLZ=COP.3

'How many can be taken?'

(42) *urúkunmak wahás*

uruku=**nVma**=ka	waha-sã
how=LOC=Q	stand-ATT/3SG.SS

'How is it where he is standing?'

8.5.1. Morphosyntactic properties of interrogative words

Interrogative words constitute a class that is a little bit uneven. Some

interrogative words are clearly pronominal (for instance *ia* 'who') while others possess

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140. The construction in which a verb is nominalized with the Patient/Location nominalizer *-taĩ* plus a 3 person copula is a normative construction in which the semantic subject is understood as a 1PL (hence the 1PL.SS marker *-ri* occurring on the interrogative word).

some adverbial and verb-like properties (like the words based on *uru* and *itura*). The

basic morphosyntactic properties that serve to group interrogative words together are:

• The presence of interrogative words mark the clause as a question. Interrogative

   words specify the information that is being requested.

• Syntactically, interrogative words remain "in situ" depending on the gramamtical role

   they fulfill and are rarely moved to the front of the clause. That question words occur

   in their "normal" position is apparently a frequent pattern of predicate-final languages

   (Payne 1997: 301).

• Two floating clitics occur only in the presence of interrogative words, =*ki* 'Rhetorical

   question' and =*pa* 'Question marker'.

• Ability to take case and post-position clitics, as well as other nominal-related

   morphology in a similar way that nominals do.

• In addition, interrogative words derived with the (semantically more adverbial) roots

   uru and *itura* can occur with subordinators and have a special set of person markers.

      In what follows, I illustrate the morphosyntactic properties outlined above.

• *Interrogatives words mark the clause as a question*

      The presence of an interrogative word imparts content interrogative mood to the

clause where it occurs. This can be seen in the fact that no other mood suffixes occur on

the verb. Compare (43) with (44):

(43) *wíi napín wakírahɛɛ*

ui   napi=na   uakira-ha-i

1SG   snake=ACC   want+IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I like snakes.'

(44) *wíʃa warín wakírah*

ui=ʃa   wari=na   uakira-ha

1SG=ADD   what=ACC   want+IPFV-1SG.SBJ

'What do I like?'

In (43), the declarative mood is marked with *-i* on the verb. On the other hand,

the morphological position for mood (which is the last position in the verb piece) in

(44) is not phonologically filled. In other words, interrogative mood is marked by the

presence of the interrogative word and the absence of other mood suffixes on the verb.

• *Interrogative words remain "in situ" and are rarely moved to the front*

In Wampis, an interrogative word is rarely moved to the front of the clause;

rather, interrogative words usually remain in their "normal" order where the

constituent replaced by the interrogative would be expected to occur. The canonical

order of major clauses elements in Wampis is Subject Object Verb (or APV/SV).

Adverbial complements normally precede the verb.

In (45), the interrogative word 'who' occurs in the normal position that subjects

occupy, preceding the object.

(45)

A P Verb

ya *ámiɲa awátirmam*

ia amɨ auati-rama-ma

who 2SG hit + LOAF-2.OBJ-IMM.PT

'Who hit you?'

In (46), the complex subject 'Ipak and Sua' occurs first, and the interrogative

word 'how' occurs in the position where the adverbial complement would be expected to

occur.

(46)

   S Verb

ipʲák suwáhɛɛ̃ ***urúk*** *nahánaruwait*

Ipaku Sua = haĩ **uruka** nahana-ara-u = aita

Achiote *Huito* = COM **how** make.PFV-PL-NMLZ = COP.3

'How did Ipak and Sua transform?'

In (47) we have an example with all arguments of the verb 'give'. Wampis has a

symmetrical object system in term of case marking (both objects of a ditransitive verbs

are marked with = *na* 'Accusative'). The subject and the two objects precede the verb.

The interrogative word 'who' is in the place usually occupied by the recipient in

ditransitive constructions.

(47)

A   T   R   Verb

ámɨ tawasán ***jánaʃa*** susáttam

amɨ   tauasa=na   **ia=na=ʃa**   su-sa-tata-mɨ

2SG   feathered.crown=ACC   **who=ACC=ADD**   give-ATT-DEF.FUT-2PL.SBJ

'To whom are you going to give the tawas?'

In (48) the question word 'how' precedes the verb, as normal adverbial

complements do.

(48)

S   *Verb*

nitʲa jaáktanam **urúk** *puhúiɲawa*

nita   iaakata=nama   **uruka**   puhu-ina-ua

3PL   town=LOC   how   live-PL.IPFV-3.SBJ

'How do they live in the city?

• *Presence of floating clitics =ki 'Rhetorical question' and =pa 'Question marker'*

Two floating clitics only occur in interrogative clauses when an interrogative

word is present: =*ki* 'Rhetorical question'[141] and =*pa* 'Question marker'. Both =*ki* and

=*pa* can occur either in the interrogative word, as in (49) and (51); or in some other

constituent of the clause, as in (50), (52). The common element is that the interrogative

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141. This =*ki* also frequently occurs attached to *ia* 'who' in contexts where there is no rhetorical
question. This may be related to a hypothesized old function of =*ki* as a focus-marker: in
Awajun, a cognate form -*ki* is apparently used as a focus marker (Overall 2007: 182). This
function is not clearly present in Wampis.

word needs to be present in the clause for these clitics to occur.

(49) *arútmaʃa warímpɛit*

arutama = ʃa   uarĩ = **pa** = ita

power.vision = ADD   what = **Q** = COP

'What is Arutam?'

(50) *puertáʃa warĩ́ tutɛ́impɛit*

puerta = ʃa   uarĩ   tu-taĩ = **pa** = ita

door = ADD   what   say-NMLZ = **Q** = COP

'How do you say door (i.e. how do you say door in Wampis?)?'

(51) *ajámkaʃa at͡sóo jáki ajamrukat*

aiamaka = ʃa   a-t͡sa-u   ia = **ki**   aiamaru-ka-ta

right = ADD   exist-NEG + IPFV-NMLZ   who = **RHET**   defend-INTENS-IMM.FUT

'[In the old times] There was no rights either, who was going to defend them?'[142]

(52) *ĩ́i urúk puhúmɛiŋkit*

ii   uruka   puhu-mai-inu = **ki** = ita

1PL   how   live-POT-NMLZ = **RHET** = COP

'How can we live?'

• *Ability to take case, postpositions and other morphology related to the noun*

Interrogative words receive case and postpositional clitics, as well as

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142. The speaker is talking about how the Wampis sometimes had to fight back Peruvian's soldiers or police troops that sometimes had abusive behavior toward them. The question is rhetorical; what the speaker tries to say is that there was no other way to stop the abuse but defending themselves.

derivational morphology associated to the Noun. This is a property that interrogative

words share with other pro-nominal classes (see Table 8.4 for case and postpositions

that can be occur on pronouns). The next examples illustrate interrogative words with

different morphology associated with nominals (diminutive *-t͡ʃĩ*, benefactive *-nau*,

accusative *=na*, locative *=(n)ĩ*, ablative *=ia*, and comitative *=haĩ*, respectively).

(53) *jat͡ʃĩtmɨ*
ia-**t͡ʃi**-ita-mɨ
who-DIM = COP-2SG.SBJ
'Who are you?'[143]

(54) húʃa janówɛiti
hu = ʃa   ia-**nau** = aiti
PROX = ADD   who-**BEN**-COP.3
'For whom/whose is this?'

(55) *warín wɛínkʲajam*

uarĩ = **na**   uaina-ka-ia-mɨ
what = ACC   see-INTENS-REM.PT-2SG.SBJ
'What did you see?'

(56) tuĩɲáitmɨ
tu = ĩ = **ia** = ita = mɨ
where = LOC = ABL = COP = 2SG.SBJ
'Where are you from?

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143. The diminutive is used to be polite.

(57) *wíiʃa kut͡ʃí waríʰhⁱɛ̃ɛ̃ sumármaktahɛɛ*

ui=ʃa	kut͡ʃí	uarĩ=**haĩ**	suma-ru-ma-ka-ta-ha-i
1sg=ADD	pig\ACC	what=COM	buy-APP-REFL-INTENS-IMM.FUT-1sg.SBJ-DECL

'With what am I going to buy me pigs?'

- *Interrogative words receive a special set of person markers and can carry subordinators*

Wampis interrogative words *uruka* and *itura* have some unusually complex person marking. These interrogative words employ unique person suffixes that mark the person of the subject of their clause (Table 8.8). These person markers differ from the set of person markers used with finite declarative verbs. Question words can also occur with some subordinating suffixes (see Table 8.9 below): the person markers occur optionally (but frequently) when the interrogative word bears the subordinating suffixes, but they occur rarely when the interrogative word stands alone. For comparison, person markers of declarative forms are also provided in Table 8.8 (for analysis of person marking on verbs, see §14.3). To the best of my knowledge, these unique interrogative-based person markers (as well as the subordinators) do not occur with *ia* 'who', *tu* 'where, which' and *uarĩ* 'what'.

Table 8.8. Person markers that occur on question words *uruka* and *itura*

Category	Interrogative person markers[a] Interrogative word ~ Subordinate	Declarative person markers
1SG	-na ~ -nu	-ha
2SG	-mɨa ~ -mɨ	-mɨ
3SG	-nia ~ -ni	-ua (non-past), -ji (past)
1PL	-ria ~ -ri	-hi
2PL	-rumɨa ~ -rumɨ	-rumɨ
3PL	-ara (with -sa) ~ ∅	-∅

[a] For 3PL and 1PL, the plural imperfective *-ina* can also occur. Nevertheless, in general *-ina* marks number, rather than person (§13.3.3).

The person markers on the left hand within the "Interrogative person markers"

column in Table 8.8 mostly occur with interrogative words:

(58) *urúkakrumɨa aʃámarmɨ*

uruka-ku-**rumɨa** aʃama-rumɨ

how + IPFV-SIM-**2PL** be.afraid + IPFV-2PL.SBJ

'Why are you (PL) afraid?'

There are rare examples of the person markers listed in Table 8.8 occurring on

the verb instead of on the interrogative word:

(59) *urúkak nɨkápɨamɨa*

uruka = ku   nɨkapɨ-a-**mɨa**

how + IPFV = SIM feel-IPFV-**2SG**

'How are you feeling?'

On the other hand, the person-marking forms on the right hand within the

"Interrogative person marker" column occur in subordinate verbs and optionally in

question words as a variants of the suffixes on the left hand[144] (see Chapter XIX for a

complete analysis of subordination in Wampis).

From Table 8.8, it seems that interrogative-word person markers are historically

complex, containing an erstwhile person suffix and the formative *a*. This vowel *a* is

probably related to the copula *a* (see §17.5) that has been reanalyzed as part of the

person marker. It is possible that the copula *a* was "recycled" after itself being dropped

at a previous historical stage, e.g. **uruka a-sa-mɨ* 'how COP-SUB-2SG > *uruka ∅-sa-mɨ* >

uruka-sa-mɨ a 'how-SUB-2SG COP' > *uruka-sa-mɨa* 'how-SUB-2SG'. In fact, constructions with

a morphologically simple interrogative word and a separate subordinated copula can

still be found in the language:

(60) óo urúk asán nuwím aánia

au **uruka** **a-sa-ni** nuɨ-mɨ aani-a
DIST **how** **COP-SUB-3SG** wife\POSS-2SG do.that-IPFV
'Why is your wife like that?'

As stated in the preceding discussion, the interrogative words derived from *uru*

and *itura* can also carry some subordinating morphology, as well as the switch-reference

-mataĩ. The subordinating and switch-reference morphemes found on interrogatives are

indicated in Table 8.9.

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144. Except the 3SG *-ni* that only occurs in question words (in subordinate verbs, third person is
marked with nasalization on the last vowel of the stem).

Table 8.9. Attested subordinating and switch-reference morphology associated with interrogative words

Morpheme	Gloss
-sa	Non-temporal
-ku	Simultaneous
-tasa	Purpose
-mataĩ[a]	1SG/3 Different subject

[a] -mataĩ is used everywhere else in sequential subordinate clauses, but it seems like it is becoming fossilized in question words (see detailed explanation below).

The interrogative *itura* occurs mostly with the subordinator *-sa*, as in (61).

(61) káʃiʃa itʲursariak mãá jutaĩɲɛiti

kaʃi = ʃa	**itura-sa-ria = ka**	mãa	iu-taĩ = aiti
night = ADD	**how-SUB-1PL = Q**	kill	eat-NMLZ = COP.3

'How do we hunt at night?' (Lit.: 'At night, how do we normally eat killing?')

On the other hand, *uru*-based interrogative words occur with any of the four

suffixes presented in Table 8.9. The meaning of *uruka* 'how' apparently changes

according to the marker it receives: with *-tasa* it means 'what for'; with *-sa* and *-ku*, it

most frequently means 'how' but sometimes speakers interpret it as 'why'; with *-mataĩ*,

it means 'why'.

The simultaneous *-ku* in question words is used when a related action in the

discourse is seen as ongoing. In (62), *uruka* 'how' occurs with the simultaneous *-ku*

(notice in this case the 2PL person marking on the question word). The question in the

example is asked with a reason sense of 'why is this happening to you?' (a free

translation equivalent would be: 'What's up with you?'). Notice that the imperfective

marker -*a* occurs with the simultaneous -*ku* (this happens regularly in subordinate verbs

(§19.6).

(62) *húʃa urukákrumɨa*

hu = ʃa   uruka-**ku**-rumɨa

PROX = ADD   how + IPFV-**SIM**-2PL

'How is this?' (i.e. 'Why is this happening to you?')

(63) *húʃa urúkakrik íiʃa húniah*

hu = ʃa   uruka-**ku**-ri = ka   ii = ʃa   huni-a-hi

prox = add   how + IPFV-**SIM**-1PL = Q   1PL = ADD   do.this-IPFV-1PL.SBJ

'How are we doing like this?'

        The reason I analyze the form uruka as 'how + IPFV' is that the vowel /a/ of uruka

does not undergo elision in spite of being in a place to be deleted (Wampis deletes the

third vowel from the left, as explained in Chapter VI). So, my analysis is that the

imperfective fuses with the last vowel /a/ of *uruka*, blocking vowel elision (this is a

regular pattern in Wampis, as explained in §5.3.5). Compare with the surface form of

uruka in (64), where the vowel /a/ is deleted. So, morphologically, it appears as if the

interrogative word is treated like a verbal stem. The facts that *uruka* can take subject

markers, subordinators and apparently imperfective aspect makes them "clausal" (or

verbal) in behavior.

Example (64) illustrates the occurrence of *uruka* with the non-temporal

subordinator *-sa* (notice in this example there is no person marking on the interrogative

word because of the presence of the copula, which takes the person marking).

(64) *íjakur wɨkáhi urúksakit túsar*

ii-a-ku-ri	wɨka-hi
see-IPFV-SIM-1PL.SS	walk + IPFV-1PL.SBJ + DECL

uruka-**sa** = ki = ita	tu-sa-ri
how-**SUB** = RHET = COP.3	say-SUB-1PL.SS

'We go on observing, thinking "how is it?"' (Lit.: '. . . saying: how is it?')

With the switch-reference *-mataĩ*, the interrogative word *uruka* acquires the

meaning of 'why'. The suffix *-mataĩ* is a 1SG/3 different-subject switch-reference marker

that is used everywhere else in sequential subordinate clauses (§19.6.2). The DS

function can be seen in examples like (65), where the subjects of the two clauses are

different:

(65) *urúkamtɛĩnia nuhínʃa atsá ámɨ wɛíŋkamam*

uruka-mataĩ	nuhinta = ʃa	a-tsa	amɨ	uaina-ka-ma-mɨ
how-1SG/3.DS	egg = ADD	exist-NEG + IPFV	2SG	see-INTENS-REC.PT-2SG.SBJ

'Why are there no eggs, [if] you have seen [that there were].'

However, it appears that for many speakers *-mataĩ* is being reanalyzed as an

integral part of *uruk*a, to the point where the word *urukamataĩ* has come to be

considered an unanalyzable word meaning 'why'.[145] Thus, it is not unusual to hear

expressions like the one in (66), where *mataĩ* is not marking 1SG/3 person or different

subject.[146]

(66) *urúkamtaĩ wíam ámɨ juwátʃu*

urukamataĩ	uɨ-a-mɨ	amɨ	iu-á-t͡ʃau
why	go-IPFV-2SG	2SG	eat-HIAF-NEG.NMLZ

'Why are you leaving [when/if] you have not eaten?'

Undoubtedly, the oddities of grammaticalization have led to different kinds of

morphosyntantic behavior in interrogatives. As we have seen, in some cases, it appears

that some complex expressions are being grammaticalized and behave already as

synchronically unanalyzable question words.

As a final point, notice that *uruka* and *itura* can replace not only NPs but also

predicates. When replacing predicates, these question words take all the morphological

markers of the replaced verb.

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145. Perhaps a further step in the grammaticalization of *urukamataĩ* is the phonetic reduction that the word frequently undergoes: in casual speech, speakers reduce the pronunciation of *urukamataĩ* to [urámtɛɛ̃].

146. One could argue that the answer to the whole question necessarily involves a different grammatical subject, as the interlocutor will respond using the first person. Regardless, everywhere else -*mataĩ* is not used with a 2SG subject in the subordinate clause, -*mataĩ* normally marks that a 1SG/3 subject of a subordinate clause and the subject of the main clause are different.

(67) *íi urúk puhúmɛinkit urúkmɛinkit*

ii	uruka	puhu-**mai-inu**=**ki**=**ita**	**uruka-mai-inu**=**ki**=**ita**
1PL	how	live-POT-NMLZ=RHET=COP	**how**-POT-NMLZ=RHET=COP

'How can we live? How can we [do]?'

In the context where the above example comes from, the second clause was translated as <*¿cómo podemos hacer?*> 'how can we do [it]?'. There even seems to be some lexical content to the interrogative word. This and the previous examples suggest that it is possible to consider some question words as interrogative verbs, as they are able to receive some categories associated with verbs.

In fact, some examples suggest that at least *uruka* could be treated as a question verb. In (68), the interrogative word *uruka* receives the future marker *-ta* and the 1PL marker *-hi* (which is taken from the set that occurs only with finite declarative verbs), just like "normal" lexical verbs in declarative mood can. Notice also that the translation suggests some lexical meaning to the interrogative word, as there is no elided verb "do" in the Wampis structure.

(68) *urúkathik jamɛ́iʃa íiŋkʲa aʃí amútmaktathiapi*

uruka-ta-hi=ka	iamai=ʃa	ii=na=ka	aʃi
how-IMM.FUT-1PL.SBJ=Q	now=ADD	1PL=ACC=ADD	all

amu-tama-ka-tata-hi-api
finish-1PL.OBJ-DEF-FUT-1PL.SBJ-SUD.REALZ
'How are we gonna do? Now they are going to kill us all!'

While these examples are not numerous, they are not quite infrequent. In fact, similar examples evidence that the morphosyntactic possibilities of interrogative words in Wampis are unusually complex. Future research with additional data may shed more light on the complex properties of Wampis interrogatives.

8.5.2. Interrogative words in non-interrogative constructions

In many languages, interrogative words are similar or identical to pronouns, especially demonstrative pronouns. Thus they often further function as relativization pronouns or complementizers, a common extended function of demonstratives. In Wampis, interrogative words are not clearly synchronically associated to any demonstrative, as far as I can tell. However, interrogative words can occur in different non-interrogative constructions such as relative clauses, suggesting a possible historical link to a demonstrative. With regard to relative clauses, *ia* 'who', *tuĩ* 'where' and *warĩ* 'what' can occur in "headless" relatives clauses. All examples of relative clauses involving the interrogative *ia* 'who' show it in a fossilized form *iaki < ia=ki* 'who-RHET'.

(69) *jaákmi jáki imá píŋkɨran jaákat nuníkuka kámɨ núka misítnumʃa ʃíir wítin*
jaa-ka-mi　　　[**iaki**　ima piŋkɨra=na　　　jaa-ka-ta　　　nuni-ku]=ka
jaa-INTENS-HORT **who**　INTS good=ACC　　　jaa-INTENS-NMLZ do.that-SIM=FOC

kamɨ	nu=ka		mɨsɨta=numa=ʃa	ʃiira	wɨ-tinu
INTERJ	NON.VIS=FOC		war=LOC=ADD	well	go-FUT.NMLZ

'Let's do (the challenge with) the *yaa!*,[147] [to whom is very good doing the *yaa!*], to that (person), it will go well in the war.'

Example (70) shows a relativization with *tuĩ* 'where'.

(70) *tuín kúntin t͡ʃít͡ʃá ánu wɨkátusar ɨákir*

[tuĩ	kuntina	t͡ʃit͡ʃa	a=nu]	wɨka-tu-sa-ri
where	animal	speak	COP=NON.VIS	walk-APPL-ATT-1PL.SS

ɨa-ki-ri
look.for-WHILE.MOVING-1PL.SS

'[Where the animals make sounds], we having walked, having looked around . . .'

In addition, *uruka* 'how' occurs in adverbial simile constructions. In simile constructions, *uru*-based interrogative words are treated as verbal bases in that they have to be nominalized and received a copula in order to function as adverbials. It is possible that this is a syntactic calque from Spanish, where <*cómo/como*> 'how/like' also functions in simile constructions. An example of a simile construction with *uruka* is given in (71), with the nominalized variant *uruku*:

(71) *ʃuár mãánin urúkuwɛit núnis hiɲáwɛɛ*

ʃuar	mãa-nai-inu	**uruku**=aita	nuni-sã	hina-wa-i
person	kill-RECP-NMLZ	**how**=COP.3	do.that-SUB\3SG.SS	die.PL+IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'They died like warriors.' (Lit.: 'Like is a person warrior, doing that, they died.')

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147. The exclamation *jaa* is what warriors used to yell as a ritual challenge before fighting.

8.6. Adverbs

Adverbs as a lexical class differ from prototypical open classes like nouns and verbs in that they have very little morphological possibilities. Adverbs have a very strong preference for occurring before the predicate, and only locative adverbs show some relative freedom to occur after the predicate.[148] Adverbs are considered a semi-closed class: there is only one element that derives temporal adverbs, *-tin* 'time', that creates words referring to dates and seasons; but it is not very frequently used anymore. Some adverbs seem like grammaticalizations bearing the non-temporal subordinator *-sa*.

For this grammar of Wampis, what I call adverbs cannot be characterized semantically with a single prototype. However, I define adverbs as a functional category by contrasting this group with the functional prototypes of other categories. Thus, unlike adjectives, adverbs do not function attributively; unlike verbs, adverbs do not function predicatively or carry finite morphology; and unlike nouns, adverbs do not

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148. In a count of 120 different clauses where an adverb was present, there were only 8 instances where adverbs occurred after the predicate (and two of those instances were problematic to analyze, as the adverb occurred after a relatively long pause). I did not take into consideration clauses with locative adverbs for this count, as the relative freedom that they have to occur before or after the predicate may not reflect the syntactic behavior of adverbs in general.

have a referential function.[149] Morphosyntactically, unlike nouns, adverbs do not head NPs, they cannot be possessed or be a possessor, and they cannot be modified attributively; unlike adjectives, adverbs do not occur in comparative or superlative constructions. Rather, what I call adverbs modify verbs and adjectives, and impart temporal, locative, or circumstantial information at the clausal level. According to Schachter and Shopen, "adverbs function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns" (2007: 20). However, in Wampis some of the items identified as adverbs by the criteria above can also modify nouns.

Semantically, adverbs are divided in four categories: manner (with several sub-categories), time, location, and the adverbs *áia* and *áiatɨkɨ* which form a small sub-class. Non-numeral quantifiers can also function as adverbs, but apart from their adverbial function, they have determiner and pronominal functions. Non-numeral quantifiers are treated in §8.7.

8.6.1. Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs present how an action is carried out. Wampis manner adverbs modify an action by adding information including: modality, demonstrative manner,

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149. Except for demonstrative adverbs and time adverbs, which somewhat provide deictic information.

intensity, speed, aspect of an event (e.g., repetition) or other manner category. Table

8.10 presents a semantic classification of manner adverbs in Wampis. Adverbs that are

marked with a star * form a subclass that has as its common property that the items

inflect for person (this is discussed further on in this same section).

Table 8.10. Semantic organization of manner adverbs in Wampis

Modality	Gloss (Possible analysis, if available)
aantara*	'in vain'
nankamasa*	'just in any way', 'disorderly'
nɨkasa*,[a]	'truly' (<nɨka 'know'+-sa 'SUB')
kasuntata	'patiently' (<kasunta 'be patient'+ta 'NMLZ'?)
paanta[b]	'clearly', 'evidently'
arantusa	'with respect' (<arantu 'respect'+-sa 'SUB')
Demonstrative Manner	
aa	'like that'
anis~anin	'like that'
imani~imanisa	'that much' (<ima 'intensifier')
huní	'like this' (<hu 'PROX'+=ni 'ALL'?)
nuní	'like that' (<nu 'NON.VIS'+=ni 'ALL'?)
tihu	'so much like this' (<ti 'INTS'+hu 'PROX')
tu	'thus'
antsana*	'thus', 'in the same way'
Intensifier	
ima	'intensifier'
ti	'intensifier'

mɨ	'intensifier'
ʃiira	'very'
sin͡tʃiᵇ	'strongly', 'too (INTS)' (< Quechua <sinchi> 'strong, valorous'
iurata	'too much', 'excessively', 'extremely'
hɨɨpata	'too much', 'excessively', 'extremely'
Speed	
iaitasa*	'slowly'
uariᵇ	'quickly'
uaamakɨ	'quickly'
Aspect	
atakʃa	'again'
arumakɨ	'immediately' (< aruma 'later' + =kɨ 'RESTR')
arurumɨn	'constantly'
t͡sɨkɨn	'suddenly', 'rapidly'
Other	
ʃiira	'well' (also functions as an intensifier)
kaɨmas	'squatting (like a parrot)' (<kaɨma 'squat' + -sa 'SUB')

ᵃ Also an interjection with the lightly reduced form *nɨkas* 'truly'.

ᵇ These items are polysemous and function also as adjectives: *paanta* 'transparent', *uari* 'fast, agile, skillful', *sin͡tʃi* 'strong'.

Modality manner adverbs express a speaker's attitude with respect to a

predicated situation.

(72) *núnaka paán iwɛíɲak t͡ʃit͡ʃárɛi*

nu=na=ka paanta i-uaina-a-kũ t͡ʃit͡ʃa-ra-i

NON.VIS=ACC=FOC clearly CAUS-see-IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS speak-DISTR-3.PFV+DECL

'He talked clearly about that.' (Lit.: 'He talked about that while making him/her see clearly'.)

Demonstrative manner adverbs add information about how an action is carried out by grounding the expression within a particular frame of reference provided by the speaker and usually via gestures.[150] In the following example, the interpretation of the demonstrative adverb depends on previous information given within the discourse (thus, in (73) the demonstrative adverb refers anaphorically to information about how the person had learned to fish):

(73) *ʃikiítʲan masɨ́r namaká ihʲúr júu núka tímaji náa ʃhuár kámɨ núna nuní unuímatrou*

ʃikiita=na	masɨ-rã	namaká	ihu-rã	ju-u
fishing.lance=ACC	edge-DISTR\3.SS	fish\ACC	stab-DISTR\3.SS	eat-NMLZ

nu=ka		timaji	naa	ʃuar	kamɨ
NON.VIS=FOC		NARR	HESIT.PRO	person	INTERJ

nu=na	**nuní**	unuima-tu-ra-u
NON.VIS=ACC	**like.that**	learn-APPL-DISTR-NMLZ

'Having carved the fishing lance, he was one to eat stabbing the fish, umm, that person, he had learned that (i.e. fishing) like that.'

The following utterance was said when a Wampis friend was explaining to me that when a Wampis curses someone, they accompany the cursing with the action of spitting. Thus, in this case, the interpretation of the demonstrative adverb is based on

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150. There are two adverbs, *ímai* and *ímau* both meaning 'far over there', that could be treated here as demonstrative adverbs, but since they also have a locative sense, for descriptive convenience, they are treated in the section on location adverbs §8.6.3.

something external to the spoken discourse, grounded in the speaker's gestures.[151]

(74) *huní wíamɨ kusuii*

huní	wɨ-a-mɨ	kusuii
like.this	go-IPFV-2SG.SBJ+DECL	IDEO

'You go like this, *kusuií*!' (Gesture: speaker spits several time on the floor)

Intensifiers provide the idea of an increase in intensity of the meaning of verbs, adjectives or other adverbs. Being able to modify different parts of speech, intensifiers are probably the most versatile adverbs. The intensifiers *iurata* and *hɨɨpata* (apparently there is no difference in meaning) have the interesting property of occurring in constructions in which the verb is formally negated, even though the predication has a positive meaning:

(75) *jurát úutɨat͡sui*

iurata	uutɨ-a-**t͡su**-u-i
too.much	cry.IPFV-IPFV-**NEG**-3.SBJ-DECL

'He is crying too much.'

(76) *hɨɨpat júwat͡sui*

hɨɨpata	iu-a-**t͡su**-u-i
too.much	eat-IPFV-**NEG**-3.SBJ-DECL

'He is eating too much.'

Speed adverbs are associated to the ideas of 'slow' or 'fast' motion (77).

Aspectual adverbs provide information about the internal structure of an event, i.e.

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151. Note that this is a partially accurate characterization for (74), as in this particular instance the speaker also utters an ideophone *kusuii* which conveys the idea of spitting.

whether it is construed as repeated (78), continuous, and so on.

(77) *mat͡ʃitá at͡ʃíaku ásã nɨ̃́ɨ waámak takásmaji*

mat͡ʃitá	at͡ʃia-ka-u	asã
machete\ACC	grab-INTENS-NMLZ	COP-SUB\3.SS

nĩ	**uaamakɨ**	taka-sa-ma-ji
3SG	**quickly**	work-ATT-REC.PT-3.SBJ + DECL

'Because he had a machete, he worked quickly (i.e. cutting plants to feed the animals).'

(78) *pujátak atákʃa ahána wakɨtkí*

puiata-kã	**atakʃa**	aha = na	uakɨtu-kĩ
become.afraid-INTENS\3SG.SS	**again**	farm = ACC	return-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS

'Having become afraid, having return to the farm again . . .'

Other manner adverbs do not clearly fit semantically in the sub-groups so far

presented. Examples with *ʃiira* 'well' (which also works as an intensifier, sometimes

translated as 'very') and *kaɨmas* 'squatting' are giving in (79)–(80).

(79) *ʃɨ̃́ɨr puhústasar*

ʃiira	puhu-sa-tasa-ri
well	live-ATT-PURP-1PL.SS

'[We] in order to live well. . .'

(80) *kaɨ́mas kaɨ́mas kaɨmas wɨ́na tɨ́maji*

kaɨmas	kaɨmas	kaɨmas	wɨna	timaji
squatting	squatting	squatting	go + PL.IPFV	NARR

'They went squatting, squatting, squatting.'

Another way to classify manner adverbs is according to their morphological

properties. Similarly to Awajun (Overall 2007: 168), there are two types of manner

adverbs in Wampis: 1) Adverbs that take person markers (a small subclass), and 2) Adverbs that do not take person markers.

First, adverbs that take person markers use the same-subject suffixes used in subordinate verbs (§19.4). Table 8.11 lists the items from Table 8.10 that form this small subclass of person-marking adverbs (this is an exhaustive list based on my corpus).

Table 8.11. Person-marking adverbs

Adverbs	Gloss
aantara	'in vain'
antsana	'thus', 'in the same way'
iaitasa	'slowly'
nankamasa	'disorderly', 'just in any way'
nikasa	'truly' (cf. *nika* 'know')

Of the adverbs listed in Table 8.11, only *nikasa* 'truly' is clearly related to a synchronic verbal root *nika* 'know'. To the best of my knowledge, there is no synchronically identifiable verbal source for the other adverbs.

Table 8.12 shows the person suffixes that occur on this subclass of manner adverbs; the grammatical person marked on the adverb and the person marked on the

main verb in the clause co-refer (see examples below). A paradigm with *nɨkasa* 'truly' is

provided.

Table 8.12. Suffixes used by person-marking manner adverbs

Person	Morpheme	nɨkasa 'truly'
1SG	-nu	nɨkasa-nu
2SG	-mɨ	nɨkasa-mɨ
3SG	-Ṽ (nasalization of last vowel)	nɨkasã
1PL	-ri	nɨkasa-ri
2PL	-rumɨ	nɨkasa-rumɨ
3PL	-ara	nɨkasa-ara

The following examples illustrate the person marking on adverbs, as well as the

co-reference with the grammatical person of the verb.

(81) *nɨkásan táhamɨ*
nɨkasa-nu   ta-hamɨ
truly-1SG.SS   say + IPFV-1SG > 2SG + DECL
'I am telling you truly.'

(82) *aántrarumɨ wɨkásmarmɨ*
aantara-rumɨ wɨka-sa-ma-rumɨ
in.vain-2PL.SS walk-ATT-REC.PT-2PL
'You (PL) travelled in vain.'

The marking of person on the person-marking adverbs seems to be optional,

because there are examples where they occur uninflected.

(83) *aántra wahát nakít^jahεε*

aantara	uaha-ta	nakita-ha-i
in.vain	stand-NMLZ	not.want + IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I do not want to be standing in vain.'

In light of this variation, I suggest that it is possible that person-marking

adverbs, which constitute a small class, are being reanalyzed by analogy to the other

adverbs which do not receive person marking. It is possible that these adverbs were old

verbs and thus inherited some person marking of subordinate verbs (however,

synchronically this is only clear with *nikasa* 'truly'; there is no corresponding verb for

the other adverbs listed). Overall (2007: 170) suggests that a similar set of adverbs[152] in

Awajun may be treated as defective verbs.

The second morphologically-defined sub-class of manner adverbs would consist

of those adverbs that do not inflect for person (and, actually, they do not receive any

morphology at all). All adverbs listed in Table 8.10 that are not marked with a star *

belong in this subclass of manner adverbs.

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152. None of the forms that Overall lists coincide with the forms I provide for Wampis. But there
is some coincidence in the meaning (not form) of two Awajun forms: *diipasa* 'slowly' and
wainaka 'in vain'.

8.6.2. Time adverbs

Time adverbs add temporal information to their predicates or predications:

(84) *mína papár úhatin ájaji nuík útʃi asámtaĩ*

mina	papa-ru	uha-tu-inu	a-ia-ji
1SG.GEN	father-1SG	inform-APPL-NMLZ	COP-REM.PT-3.SBJ + DECL

nuiki	utʃi	a-sa-mataĩ
time.ago	child	COP-SUB-1SG/3.DS

'My father told me (this story) years ago, when I was a child.'

Time adverbs are quite frequent in texts. Often times, time adverbs occur in a relative construction. This frequently occurs when the temporal information is new to the discourse.

(85) *núu tsawánta nuíŋka muuká sukuámuka atsúsuiti*

nu	[tsauanta = a nuĩ] = ka	muuká	suku-á-mau = ka
NON.VIS	day = COP there = FOC	muuká\ACC	shrink.head-HIAF-NMLZ = FOC

a-tsu-sa-u = iti
exit-NEG-ATT-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'That day there (Lit.: 'that where it was a day'), there was no head-shrinking.'

Table 8.13 presents a list of time adverbs identified in the Wampis data. I have arranged the adverbs taking into account the possible presence of a shared root. In most instances, these roots are semantically opaque. Thus, roots like **aru* (probably related to *aru* 'be late'), **ia,* and **kaʃi* can be seen in different historically derived words. Furthermore, it is possible to see the presence of old formatives **-ma* (e.g. *aru-**ma***

'later'), and *-*i* and *-*nĩ* (e.g. *aruma-i, iama-i, kaʃi-nĩ*) probably somehow related to the locative =*(n)ĩ*.[153] In addition, it is probable that there is an old formative **pi* in the word *ahampɨkɨ* 'at midnight' (<*ahama-pɨ-kɨ* 'darken-?-ʀᴇsᴛʀ'). As in some manner adverbs, the restrictive =*kɨ* also occurs as a formative in some time adverbs[154] (e.g. *kaʃi-kɨ* 'early morning'). Time adverbs can receive some morphemes that can vary a little their meaning, deriving other time adverbs (some examples are given below).

Table 8.13. Time adverbs in Wampis

Word	Gloss	(Possible) root
ahampɨkɨ	'at midnight'	cf. ahama 'darken'
aruma	'later'	*aru
arumai	'in the future', 'someday'	
ɨkɨ	'not yet'	*ɨkɨ
iamá	'just now', 'newly'	*ia
iamai	'today', 'presently'	
iaũ	'yesterday'	
iaunt͡ʃukɨ	'long ago'	
kaʃi	'night', 'at night'	*kaʃi

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153. While the possible presence of the locative =*(n)ĩ* is semantically plausible, the /i/ of *aruma-i* and *iama-i* is not nasal, so the hypothesized formative **i* in these words may be just a different old morpheme.

154. Recall that the restrictive =*kɨ* undergoes vowel harmony with a previous vowel /i/ (§5.5.1).

kaʃiki	'early morning'	
kaʃikimasa	'very early in the morning', 'at sunrise'	
kaʃinĩ	'tomorrow'	
kaʃi kaʃinĩŋki	'every day', 'all the time'	
kiaʔaĩ	'in the afternoon'	*kia (?)
kiaraĩ	'afternoon', 'at sunset'	
nĩkatkau	'first'	Unidentified
nuiki	'time ago'	*nuiki (?)
tukɨ́	'always'	*tukɨ (?)

Time adverbs can carry only these morphemes: =kɨ 'restrictive', =ka 'focus' and

=ʃa 'additive'. When time adverbs receive =kɨ, and in few occasions when they receive

=ka, different meanings can be derived:

(86) *iamáik*
iamai=kɨ
now=RESTR
'right now'

(87) *jamɛ́ikika*
iamai=kɨ=ka
now=RESTR=FOC
'at the begining' or 'in a little bit' (as in "wait a little bit")

(88) *kaʃínkiʃa*
kaʃini=kɨ=ʃa
tomorrow=RESTR=ADD
'the next morning'

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8.6.2.1. Suffix *-tin* 'time'

The suffix *-tin* derives words that provide the idea of season(s) or year(s), and which can be used as temporal adverbs. Year expressions borrowed from Spanish are also marked with *-tin*, as in (89). *-Tin* is sometimes reduced to the form *-tí*, as seen in (90).

(89) *en el aɲo mil noβesientos sesentatín galiléaŋka nahánaruiti*
in the year 1960-**tin**   Galilea=na=ka   nahana-ra-u=iti
in the year 1960-TIME Galilea=ACC=FOC   make-DISTR-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL
'In the year 1960, he created [the village of] Galilea.'

(90) t͡samatí hĭámtaĩ
t͡sama-**tí**   hĭa-á-mataĩ
ripen-TIME   arrive-HIAF-1SG/3.DS
'When the time of harvest comes . . .'

The terms of the traditional Wampis season calendar used to be derived with *-tin* 'time'. Nowadays, these terms are no longer used frequently, but some people still remember them, and some terms surfaced in some of the narratives collected.

(91)
iurankɨ 'fruit'   →   *iurantin* 'season of fruits'
uui '*pijuayo* (*Bactris gasipaes*)' →   *uuitin* 'season of *pijuayos*'
kuntu 'fat'   →   *kuntutin* 'hunting season (time of fat animals)'
uampuaʃɨ 'ceiba sp.'   →   *uampuaʃtin* 'season of ceibas'
ɨsa 'burn'   →   *ɨsatin* 'dry season'
uaua 'topa (type of palm tree)'→   *uauatin* 'season of topa flowers'

8.6.3. Location adverbs

As the name indicates, location adverbs add information about the physical location of an event or situation. Location adverbs do not take any morphology.

(92) *jóunt͡ʃukka íi puhútaink͡ʲa ím͡ʲεε murá mat͡sámahakaru nuínk͡ʲa*

iaunt͡ʃukɨ = ka	ii	puhu-taɨ̃ = ka
long.ago = FOC	1PL	live-NMLZ = FOC

imai	murá	mat͡sama = hak-ara-u	nuɨ̃ = ka
far.there	mountain\LOC	live.together = HAB.PT-PL-NMLZ	there = FOC

'Long ago, in the place where we lived, far over there in the mountain where we used to live . . .'

(93) *ut͡ʃɨ̃ɲam ajáamas wahásmaji*

ut͡ʃi = nama	**aiaamas**	waha-sa-ma-ji
child = LOC	**close**	stand-ATT-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

'She stood close by the children.'

All words in Table 8.14 are location adverbs. The words *ímai* and *ímau* seem related to the intensifier *ima*. The word *ihus* may be somehow metaphorically related to the verb *ihu* 'stab' (*ihu-sã* 'stab-SUB\3SG.SS'?). And *aiaamas* seems to also have the form of a verb subordinated with *-sa*, but it is synchronically unanalyzable and there is no root to which it can be associated.

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Table 8.14. Location adverbs in Wampis

Adverb	Gloss
aiaamas	'close'
amaini	'other side of the river'
atu	'on the river bank'
ihus	'close'
ímai	'far over there'
ímau	'far over there'

The nouns in Table 8.15 are apparently grammaticalizing as locational adverbs.

Table 8.15. Nouns grammaticalizing as location adverbs

Word	Gloss
atuni	'far off' (< atu=ni 'on the river bank=ALL'?)
iaki	'above'
inita	'inside', 'at the bottom'
nunka	'below', 'under' (< nunka 'land, earth')

The nouns in Table 8.15 are still treated as nouns in that they may occur with a post-positional clitic (94), head an NP, be possessed, and occur in a genitive construction (95). However, quite often these words occur without any type of morphology in clearly locative adverbial function (96).

(94) *i̠nítnum ahápata*

inita = numa   ahápa-tá

inside = LOC   throw.away + HIAF-IMP

'Throw it inside!'

(95) *wã́á i̠nítrĩ*

uã́á   inita-rĩ

cave\GEN   inside-1PL/2PL/3.POSS

'The inside of the cave'

(96) *t͡ʃinkánnum i̠nít i̠ŋki̠áwar*

t͡ʃinkana = numa   inita   i̠nki̠-áu-ara

bamboo = LOC   inside put.inside-HIAF-3PL.SS

'In the bamboo, [they] having put it inside . . .'

Demonstrative bearing the locative *= (n)ĩ* also function as location adverbs, e.g.

nuĩ 'there' (< nu = ĩ 'NON.VIS = LOC'), *huĩ* 'here' (< 'PROX-LOC'). See §8.3 for more details.

8.6.4. *áia* and *áiati̠ki̠* 'only'

The words *áia* and *áiati̠ki̠* both mean 'only' and can modify nouns, predicates or

the entire clause. Like most adverbs, *áia* and *áiati̠ki̠* have bare to no morphological

possibilities: only one single example in the database shows the additive clitic *= ʃa*

being received by *aiati̠ki̠*; in all other examples *áia* and *áiati̠ki̠* appear with no

morphology. In textual data, the difference between *áia* and *áiati̠ki̠* seems to be

contextual and morphosyntactic. First, *áia* shows a strong preference for modifying

nouns (I have found only two examples where it modifies a verb), whereas *áiatɨkɨ* is

varyingly used to modify verbs, nouns, or entire clauses. Secondly, the evidence at hand

suggests that *áia* restricts the reference of a participant in the discourse in combination

with the marking of =*kɨ* on the noun (in a circumfix-like fashion).[155]

(97) ája naŋkíɲak hukɨ̃́

áia   nanki=na=**kɨ**   hu-kɨ̃

only   spear=acc=**restr**   take-while.moving\3.ss

'Having taken only the spear . . .'

(98) *ája nɛ́ik hás*

áia   nai=**kɨ**   has

only eye=**restr**   become

'[The skinned head] had become only eyes.'

On the other hand, *áiatɨkɨ* can modify nouns, verbs and clauses. When modifying

nouns, the scope of *áiatɨkɨ* varies according to its position (this is a property shared with

áia); compare (99) and (100). Note that when *áiatɨkɨ* is present, most of the time the

restrictive =*kɨ* does not occur on the noun (see for instance (100)).

(99) *ájatɨk ɛ́ɛʃmaŋkuk wɨ́na tɨmaji*

áiatɨkɨ áiʃimanku=kɨ   uɨna   tɨmaji

only   man=RESTR   go+PL.IPFV   NARR

'Only men went.'

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155. However, note that =*kɨ* by itself can restrict the reference of a noun, so it does not form a
true circumfix with *áia*.

(100) *nĩ́ŋkʲa ájatɨk jutántʃa anínteimtatʃu*

nĩ=ka	áiatɨkɨ	iu-ta=na=ʃa	anɨntaima-tu-á-t͡ʃau
3SG=FOC	only	eat-NMLZ=ACC=ADD	think-APPL-HIAF-NEG.NMLZ

'He thought not even in the food.'

When modifying verbs, sometimes *aiatɨkɨ* acquires an extended meaning of

'simply', 'merely':

(101) *ájatɨk unt͡súaheε*

áiatɨkɨ	unt͡su-a-ha-i
only	call-IPFV-1SG-DECL

'I am just calling.'

In (102), the scope of *aiatɨkɨ* extends over the clause:

(102) *ájatɨk puhút anía ásar*

áiatɨkɨ	puhu-ta	ani-a	a-sa-ri
only	live-NMLZ	love.IPFV-IPFV	COP-SUB-1PL.SS

'Only because we love life . . . [is that we like having many romantic relationships].'

8.7. Non-numeral quantifiers

Wampis non-numeral quantifiers serve to express an indefinite[156] number or

unspecified amount associated with the reference of a contiguous noun. Unlike nouns or

pronouns, quantifiers in Wampis do not receive any case or post-positional morphology.

Table 8.16 lists non-numeral quantifiers found in the data.

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156. With the exception of *mai* 'both'.

Table 8.16. Non-numeral quantifiers in Wampis

Quantifier	Gloss
aʃi	'all'
ímat͡ʃiki	'a little'
it͡ʃit͡ʃiki	'a little'
kuaʃata	'many'
mai	'both'
mash	'all', 'complete'
mɨtɨ	'full'
nukapɨ	'many', 'several'
pɨnkí	'no (thing)', 'no (one)'
uarumɨ	'a few', 'some'

Notice that *imat͡ʃiki* has the diminutive *-t͡ʃi* and restrictive *=kɨ* as fosilized formatives: *imat͡ʃiki* < **ima-t͡ʃi-kɨ* 'INTS-DIM-RESTR'.[157] It is more than likely that *it͡ʃit͡ʃiki* 'a little' also involves the same combination of the diminutive plus the restrictive, though the historical root is semantically opaque. Synchronically, the quantifier *uarumɨ* 'a few', 'some' can also take the restrictive *=kɨ* and the additive *=ʃa, nukapɨ* 'many' sometimes occurs bearing the diminutive, but in that case it means 'in a little moment'. There are very sporadic instances that show that quantifiers can also take discourse-level marker

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157. The restrictive *=kɨ* undergoes vowel harmony with a preceding vowel /i/, see §5.5.1.

=*ka* 'Focus'. To sum up, quantifiers look like adverbs in that they have very restrictive

morphological possibilities, and only rarely bear any morphology (but notice that they

absolutely do not take case or post-positional markers).

In regard to their syntactic distribution, non-numeral quantifiers are versatile

elements that may come after or before the NP they modify.

(103) *núkap arútmaka irúnɨawɛɛ*

nukapɨ   arutama=ka   irunɨ-a-ua-i

several   power.vision=FOC   be.together.IPFV-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'There are several *Arutam.*'

(104) *arútmaka núkap irúnɨawɛɛ*

arutama=ka   nukapɨ irunɨ-a-ua-i

power.vision=FOC   several be.together.IPFV-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'There are several *Arutam.*'

However, the scope of quantifiers is always restricted to a contiguous NP. In

(105) the quantifier 'several' modifies 'person' only, because the interpretation of

'Arutam' is singular. For 'Arutam' to be interpreted as plural, it needs the quantifier to

occur contiguously, as in (106) .

(105) *núkap ʃuárka arútman wɛíŋkaruiti*

nukapɨ ʃuara=ka   arutama=na   uaina-ka-ara-u=iti

several person=FOC   arutama=ACC see-INTENS-PL-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

'Several people saw the *Arutam* (singular).'

(106) *núkap ʃuárka núkap arútman wɛíŋkaruiti*

nukapɨ ʃuara = ka   nukapɨ arutama = na   uaina-ka-ara-u = iti

several person = FOC   several arutama = ACC see-INTENS-PL-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'Several people saw several *Arutam*.'

      Some quantifiers, like *nukapɨ* 'several', can be intensified:

(107) *ʃĩĩr núkap juwí ukáru*

ʃiira nukapɨ   iuuí   uka-ra-u

very several   squash\ACC   spill-DISTR-NMLZ

'She spilled a lot of squash.'

      Finally, Wampis quantifiers can function adverbially to modify verbs. It even

could be said that there is an adverbial subclass of items that happen to be

homophonous to the non-numeral quantifiers.

(108) *wíkʲa nukáp takáshɛɛ huĩ́*

ui = ka   nukapɨ taka-sa-ha-i   huĩ

1SG = FOC   many   work-ATT-1SG.SBJ-DECL here

'I worked a lot here.'

      Some examples of quantifiers modifying verbs may be semantically ambiguous.

In (109), *nukapɨ* 'many' could be interpreted as being the object of the verb 'plant' or as

adverbially modifying the verb (as it was translated). However, notice that it does not

receive the accusative case marker, so that is an indication that it is not a "true" object,

at least not in a syntactic sense.

(109) *núkap arákmakuiti*

nukapɨ araka-ma-ka-u = iti

many   plant-VBZ-INTENS-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'She has planted a lot.'

For descriptive convenience, I prefer to treat these instances as non-numeral quantifiers in adverbial function. This analysis has the advantage of not creating a new subclass of items when there is no need for it, and it shows the versatility of non-numeral quantifiers, which can occur in different syntactic contexts: determining nouns, in pronominal or adverbial constructions. This is unlike true adverbs (§8.6), which have different syntactic distribution.

8.8. Numerals

Wampis numerals are based on a system of five associated to the counting of complete-hand sets (*uuiha* [uwíh] 'hand').[158] Speakers add the foot (*naui* [náwɨ]) for number 20 and up. The original number system appears to have been composed only of the numbers for 'one', 'two' and possibly 'three'. After number 'three', expressions are complex, and in fact speakers usually prefer to use Spanish numbers from number 'five' and above. For the benefit of the researcher trying to document the language, it is possible for speakers to count beyond twenty in Wampis, but the numbers become extremely long due to the cumbersome syntax necessitated to coin such expressions. In my experience, Wampis people use Spanish numbers for transactions and for doing

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158. Speakers count starting from the little finger of the left hand, palm facing down.

mathematics (as in school). The only Wampis numbers I ever heard in transactions were numbers 'one' to 'four', e.g. *tikitʃiki sol* 'one sol'[159]. It is possible but rather unnatural to use numbers above 'four' for transactions (I only ever heard them when I requested examples). However, examples from texts show that Wampis speakers sometimes use numbers above 'four' for counting the passing of time (days, months or years) and in other occasions such as when they want to count people in a hunting party or hunted animals.[160] Table 8.17 on next page lists Wampis numerals.

I was also told that, for tens, expressions such as *uuɨhana himarana amuá* 'twenty' (compare with 'ten' in Table 8.17), *uuɨhana kampatuma amuá* 'thirty', and so on, are also valid. For these expressions to be semantically congruent with the morphology, one has to assume that the literal meaning is 'the hands two times finished', 'the hands three times finished', and so on. This pattern seems to be based on an idea of base multiplication, rather than the pattern of addition that is used for the most part. Thus, Wampis mixes three known patterns for creating numerals: 1) addition to a base, 2)

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159. The *<sol>*, officially *<nuevo sol>*, is the Peruvian currency. Wampis people also use colloquial Peruvian Spanish to name the currency: *<luca>* 'sol (colloquial)', *<china>* 'half a *sol* (colloquial)'.

160. However, beyond ten they almost always turn to Spanish.

multiplication of a base, and 3) body parts.

Table 8.17. Wampis numerals

Numeral Expression[a]	Number	Meaning
tikit͡ʃiki[b]	1	'one'
himara	2	'two'
kampatuma ~ mɨnaintu	3	'three'
ipak usumak ~ aintuk aintuk	4	'four'
uuɨhana aʃi amuá	5	'all hand finished'
uuɨhana tikit͡ʃikinakɨ iraku	6	'to the hand adding one only'
uuɨhana himarana iraku	7	'to the hand adding two'
uuɨhana kampatuma iraku	8	'to the hand adding three'
uuɨhana aintuk aintuk iraku ~ uuɨhana ipak usumak iraku	9	'to the hand adding four'
uuɨhana mai amuá	10	'both hands finished'
uuɨhana mai amuá tikit͡ʃiɲakɨ (uuɨha) iraku	15	'adding one (hand) to both hands finished'
uuɨhana mai amuá nauɨna mai amuá	20	'both hands finished, both feet finished'

a A short free translation of some words to help understand complex expressions in numerals 5 to 20: *uuɨha* 'hand', *aʃi* 'all', *amuá* 'complete', *iraku* 'adding', *mai* 'both'. See detailed explanation below.

b There is a free variant of 'one' that starts with a palatal affricate instead of the dental /t/: *t͡ʃikit͡ʃiki* 'one'.

Here are some interesting notes that help explain the form and meaning of some

Wampis numerals:

- The numeral *tikitʃiki* 'one', is historically decomposable into the formatives **tikitʃi* 'other' and **ki* 'Restrictive'. The numeral *himara* 'two' has a root **hima*, which also features in the modern root for 'have twins' (*hima-ma* 'two?-VBZ').

- There are two forms for number 'three', *kampatuma* and *minaintu*. The form *kampatuma* appears to be long enough to be historically complex, but I have no evidence for a possible lexical source in current Wampis. The form *minaintu* [minɛ́in] is not very frequent and it is likely related to the root *mina* 'left', cf. also *mina* 'be narrow', *minanV* 'put aside, dodge'.

- There are two forms for number 'four', the reduplication *aintuk aintuk* (<**aintukV*) and the complex form *ipak usumak*. There is no clear source for *aintuk aintuk*, but compare the roots *ai-na* 'fold', *aĩ* 'be with, accompany'. The reduplication itself can be iconically associated with plurality, though it is not semantically transparent how it correlates with the number 'four' specifically. The form *ipak usumak* is related to the cultural practice of face-painting (< **usu-ma-a-ku* 'paint.face-REFL-IPFV-SIM') with a tint obtained from the *achiote* fruit 'Bixa orellana' (*ipaku* in Wampis), which is done with the index finger (the fourth finger if we count, as the Wampis do, starting from the little finger).

- The verb used for expressing the 'complete' hand is based on the root *amu* 'finish' plus

the high affectedness aktionsarten suffix -*á*; whereas the verb used for numbers above

'five' when the hand is not complete (e.g. 'six' through 'nine') is *iru* 'accumulate,

reunite, get together'.

- Interestingly, historically the verb *iru* seems to have been subordinated with the

simultaneous action -*ku* added to an imperfective stem: *iraku* < **iru-a-ku* 'accumulate-

IPFV-SIM'. Thus the meaning of the counting expression with this verb would be 'adding

NUMBER to the hand'.

- Because numbers above 'four' are based on verbal phrases (e.g. 'finished hand'), the

word 'hand' (which is an argument of the verb) takes the accusative =*na*: *uuɨhana*

< *uuɨha*=*na* [uwɨhán]. It is unclear whether this analysis is synchronically "live", as

such numeral expressions seem already conventionalized. In complex expressions where

the 'hand' is not complete, both the word for 'hand' and the added number are marked

with the accusative; for instance a historical analysis for number 'six' would be:

(110) *uwɨhán tikít͡ʃkiɲak íraku*

uuɨha=na	tikít͡ʃiki=na=kɨ	ira-ku
hand=ACC	tikít͡ʃiki=ACC=RESTR	accumulate+IPFV-SIM

'to the hand adding one only'

- Above number 'four', speakers actually employ different expressions for those just

described above, which suggests that the system beyond number 'four' is relatively new

and likely a consequence of modern contact with Spanish (likely through trade) and/or

of the introduction of mathematic concepts associated with school. However, all

different expressions are based on the same idea of 'complete hand' and 'adding to the

complete hand'. For instance, in number 'five', the term *aʃi* 'all' is omitted by some

speakers, or an alternative expression *tikiʧiki uuɨhan amuá* [tikíʧik uwɨhán amuá] 'one

hand finished' is used. For numbers 'ten' or 'twenty', and so on, the word *mai* 'both' can

be replaced by *himara* 'two'.

• Notice that for 'hand' there is a form *ɨuɨha* [ɨwɨh] that varies freely with *uuɨha* [uwɨh].

• There are no ordinal numbers and cardinal numbers do not function as ordinal

numbers (except for very rare examples with *tikiʧiki* 'one') in Wampis. Speakers use *tura*

'and', *nuĩ=ia* (<'there=ABL') 'moreover, in addition' or employ sequential

subordination (§19.7) instead of enumerating a sequence of propositions one after the

other (e.g. instead of saying *First he went to the river; second he got in the canoe; third he*

started the motor, the Wampis expression would be *'Then we went to the river; having done*

that, he got in the canoe; from there he started the motor'. There is also a suffix -á that

means 'First' (§11.5.7).

Numerals do not receive case or post-positional clitics, and like non-numeral

quantifiers, they may occur before or after the noun. The following examples illustrate

Wampis numerals in use.

(111) *nántu kampátum ɨhɨ́mu tímaji*

nantu	kampatuma	ɨhɨ-mau	timaji
moon	three	make.finish-NMLZ	NARR

'Three months passed.'

(112) *ɨwɨján mɛ́i amuá t͡sawán puhusán nuɨ́ ʃíir hásmiajɛi*

ɨuɨha	mai	amu-á	t͡sauanta	puhu-sa-nu
hand	both	finish-HIAF	day	live/be-SUB-1SG.SS

nuĩ	ʃiira has-mia-ha-i
there	well become-DIST.PT-1SG.ABJ-DECL

'Being ten days, there, I healed up.'

8.8.1. Morphological properties of numerals: distributive reduplication and -*á*

'Iterative'

There are two unique morphological processes associated with numerals 'one'

through 'three' in Wampis.[161] The first process is partial reduplication, by which a

distributive meaning is imparted. Examples (113)–(114) illustrate this process.

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161. As seen earlier, the other numerals are complex expressions, which is probably the reason
why they do not undergo the processes described in this section.

(113) *núna nukĩ́n tikí tikítʃik tiʃípiahi*

nu=na	nukĩ=na		tiki	tikitʃiki	tiʃipi-a-hi
nu=ACC	leaf\1PL/2PL/3.POSS=ACC	REDUP	one		peel-IPFV-1PL.SBJ+DECL

'We strip the leaves off one by one.'

(114) *himʲá himʲár namaŋkín susámiahrumɨ*

hima himara	namankɨ=na	su-sa-mia-ha-rumɨ
REDUP two	meat=ACC	give-ATT-DIST.PT-1SG>2PL+DECL

'I gave two pieces of meat to each one of you.'

In a brief related note, the word *ankanta* 'free, dispersed'[162] is typically an adjective, but it can undergo reduplication and acquire a distributive meaning similarly to numerals.[163] A reduplicated form of *ankanta* means 'each one' or sometimes more specifically 'each one dispersed ('one here, another there...')':

(115) *hintíntʲawɛiti aŋkán aŋkán útʃi ma͡tsátu áhakaru ánuna*

hintina-tu-a-u=aiti	ankanta	ankanta	utʃi
teach-APPL-IPFV-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL	free	free	child

ma͡tsatu	a=hak-ara-u	a=nu=na
live.together	COP-HAB.PT-PL-NMLZ	COP-NON.VIS-ACC

'He taught each children that used to lived [there].'

Table 8.18 shows the form of reduplication of Wampis numerals.

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162. 'Free' in the traditional Wampis sense, i.e. living separated from each other, each one in their own space in the forest. *Ankanta* also means 'single (not married)'.

163. Strictly speaking, the reduplication of *ankanta* is not partial reduplication (partial reduplication in Wampis is defined by copying all the phonetic material up to the second vowel), but the word acquires the same distributive meaning so it is mentioned here. See §7.7 for details on reduplication.

Table 8.18. Reduplication of numerals 'one', 'two', 'three'

Root	Distributive reduplication
tikít͡ʃiki	tiki tikít͡ʃiki
himara	hima himara
kampatum	kampa kampatuma

The other morphological process associated with lower numerals in Wampis concerns the occurrence of the suffix -*á* 'Iterative'. The iterative only occurs with numerals and gives the idea of 'repetition *x* times', where *x* = number. Examples:

(116) *hintʲá tikít͡ʃkiá kanáraru*

hintá	tikít͡ʃiki-á	kana-ra-ara-u
trail\LOC	one-ITER	sleep-DISTR-PL-NMLZ

'They slept on the road for one [day].'

(117) *wíi núna himará it͡sɨrkamhamɨ*

ui	nu = na	himará	ɨtsɨ-ru-ka-hamɨ
1SG	NON.VIS = ACC	two + ITER	inform-APP-INTENS-1SG > 2SG

'I just informed you that two times.'

8.9. Noun modifier *uɨantu* 'group'

The word *uɨantu* constitutes a unique class in Wampis. This word always comes after the head of an NP and adds a meaning of 'group' or 'class' represented by the head noun.

The following example is part of an enumeration of beings and entities related to

Wampis worldview. The *tihai* are tall human-like beings that live in the jungle.

(118) *tihɛ́ɛ wɨ́antuʃa áwɛɛ*

tihai	uɨ́antu = ʃa	awai
tihai	group = ADD	exist-3.SBJ-DECl

'There are the Tijai (i.e. as a group) also.'

The next example was translated into Spanish as <*sachamango y sus*

variedades> 'sachamango (*Gustavia subperba*) and its varieties':

(119) *apɛ́i wɨ́antᵤn arákmakuiti*

apai	uɨ́antu = na	arakama-ka-u = iti
sachamango	group = ACC	plant-INTENS-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'She planted *sachamango* and its varieties.'

In a way, the word *uɨ́antu* could be considered a derivational-like item, because

it changes the meaning of the noun. On the other hand, it could be considered an

inflectional-like item because it adds a sense of plurality. Unlike other Wampis

derivational or inflectional categories, however, *uɨ́antu* is not an affix. Semantically,

uɨ́antu does not fit into the prototype of other word classes such as adjectives, adverbs

or other noun modifiers: it does not have attributive function like adjectives, it does not

add manner or other type of circumstantial information like adverbs, it does not have

deictic or pronominal functions like pro-words or demonstratives, and it does not have

a referential function like nouns. Syntactically, unlike other noun modifiers, *uíantu*

always comes after the noun it modifies. In addition, *uíantu* does not agree with the

noun when there is a demonstrative in the NP (unlike nouns and adjectives, see §8.3.1).

The source of this word could be related to an old root **uı̃ã*. The word *uıa* in current

Wampis means 'father in law', which does not seem semantically relatable to the idea of

'group'. However, apparently in Achuar-Shiwiar the form <*wea*> (/uıa/) means

'relative' (Fast et al. 1996: 322), in Shuar the form <*weat*> (/uıatu/?) means 'ancestor'

(Pellizaro & Náwech 2005: 489) and in Awajun <wı̃gã> (/uı̃ã/) means also 'ancestor'

(Uwarai Yagkug et al. 1998: 53). It may be the case that the idea of group is a semantic

extension of a derivation of **uı̃ã* 'ancestor'. In the Wampis vocabulary by Jakway et al.

the entry <*nu weantu*> is given with the meaning 'descendant' (but there is no single

entry for <*weantu*>) (1987: 69).

8.10. Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that are used to connect phrases and clauses. There is

actually little basis to claim that there are true conjunctions as a word class in Wampis.

On the other hand, the language makes plentiful use of hypotactic strategies for

connecting clauses. I define "conjoining" in terms of coordination: two clauses (and in

the case of *tura* also phrases) that are not syntactically dependent one on another. In other words, conjunctions join two or more elements of the same rank. At the intersentential level, conjunctions join independent verbs which can otherwise stand alone as an assertion (Longacre 1970; Longacre 2007). Table 8.19 lists the words that assume a conjoining function.

Table 8.19. Words that function as conjunctions in Wampis

Word	Gloss	Connects
tura	'and', 'then' (occasionally also 'but')	phrases, independent clauses
nuĩia [nuĩɲá]	'moreover', 'also', 'apart from that'	independent clauses
ant͡sa ~ ant͡su	'but', 'rather', 'on the other hand'	independent clauses

These three words come from different sources and show very little in common in terms of semantic prototypes or morphosyntactic properties (the only element in common is that they assume a conjoining function). The word *tura* can join phrases or clauses. In (120), *tura* coordinates a complex NP.

(120) *awarún túra wampistí*

auahuna	tura	uampisa = tí
Awajun	and	Wampis = SAP

'We the Awajun and the Wampis'

Examples (121)–(122) illustrate *tura* connecting clauses. Notice that both joined

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clauses are independent clauses. For instance, in (121) both clauses occur with the

declarative suffix, which indicates that they are independent (subordinate verbs do not

receive mood markers (see Chapter XIX for an analysis of subordination)).

(121) *wikʲa júakun puháhɛɛ túra nĩ́ŋka kanák tɨpáwɛɛ*

ui＝ka	iu-a-ku-nu	puha-ha-i	**tura**
1sg＝foc	eat-ipfv-1sg.ss	live/be＋ipfv-1sg.sbj-decl	**and**

nĩ＝ka	kana-kũ	tɨpa-ua-i
3sg＝foc	sleep＋ipfv＝sim\3sg.ss	lie.down-3.sbj-decl

'I am eating and you are sleeping.'

(122) *arántusa iítʲɛĩ túra ɲawãá arútmaʃa áhaku tímaji*

arantusa	ii-taĩ	**tura**
with.respect	see-nmlz	**and**

iauãá	arutama＝ʃa	a-hak-u	timaji
jaguar	power.vision＝add	exist-hab.pt-nmlz	narr

'[The *Arutam*] we normally see with respect, and there used to be *Arutam*-jaguar also'

The word *tura*, with the addition of the concessive *-ʃa*, acquires the meaning of

'but':

(123) *íikʲa kuntín ájahi turáʃa íi jamɛ́ikʲa ʃuárɛithi*

ii＝ka	kuntina	a-ia-hi	**tura＝ʃa**
1pl＝foc	animal	cop-rem.pt-1pl.sbj＋decl	**and＝concess**

ii	iamai＝ka	ʃuara＝ita-hi
1pl	now＝foc	person＝cop-1pl.sbj＋decl

'We were animals, but now we are people.'[164]

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164. This utterance may be a little confusing. The speaker is referring to the idea, within the

The derived form *turaʃkuʃa* (< *tura-ʃa-ku?=ʃa? 'then-CONCESS-SIM?=ADD?) means

'or', 'or if not'.

(124) *ʃuárkiʃa mããnin turáʃkuʃa umítmakanʃa hámɛin*

ʃuara=kɨ=ʃa   mãa-nai-inu   turaʃkuʃa
enemy=RESTR=ADD   kill-RECP-NMLZ   or.if.not

umitVma-kã=ʃa   ha-mai-inu
damage-INTENS\3SG.SS=ADD   die-POT-NMLZ
'The enemy could kill him, or if not, having hurt himself, he could die.'

    Tura must have been an old verb, because it sometimes occurs with switch-

reference markers and can be nominalized with Set II nominalizer *-mau* 'Non-subject

nominalizer' (cf. §15.4.6). In the following example, tura occurs with the switch-

reference *-mataĩ* '1SG/3.DS':

(125) *nuwántʃa tʃitʃáru hakúiti tʃitʃárkowɛiti turámtaĩ tikitʃnaʃa atíksan*

nua=na=ʃa   tʃitʃa-ru hak-u=iti
woman=ACC=ADD   speak-APPL HAB.PT-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

tʃitʃa-ru-ka-u=aiti
speak-APPL-INTENS-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

tura-mataĩ   tikítʃi=na=ʃa atika-sã
and-1SG/3.DS   other=ACC=ADD DO-SUB\3.SS
'[he] used to give advice to the women, he gave them advice, and doing that to the oth-
er (i.e. the men) too . . .'

    What is more, in a few examples *tura* is translated as 'happen so' or 'do so':

Wampis worldview, that in the mythical past animals used to be people and people used to be
animals.

(126) *túrakɛɛ̃ nántu juatahkamá tuhín*

tura-ka-ĩ		Nantu	iu-a-tahkamá	tuhintu
and + IPFV-SIM-DS		Moon	eat-IPFV-FRUST	be.unable

'[and] while that was happening, Nantu wanting to eat, he could not.'

When *tura* is nominalized with Set II nominalizer *-mau*, it acquires the more temporal meaning 'afterward' (perhaps from an old nominalization meaning 'done so' or 'happened so'?).

(127) *túramu Iwʲántʃ wíu tímaji*

tura-mau	iuantʃi	uɨ-u	timaji
and-NMLZ	Iwanch	go-NMLZ	NARR

'Afterward, Iwanch went away.'

The word *nuĩia* is derived from the non-visible demonstrative *nu* plus the postpositions =*ĩ*=*ia* '=LOC=ABL'. Literally it means 'from there', but as a conjunction it is interpreted as 'also', 'moreover', 'apart from that', depending on the context. Unlike *tura*, which can function at the level of the sentence or phrase, *nuĩia* works at the inter-clausal level.

(128) *sɨámu tímaji núu núwa mamá kunturɨ́a óona nuĩ̃ná paánmantsĩntʃa sɨámu tímaji*

[sɨa-mau		timaji	nu	nua
plead + IPFV-NMLZ		NARR	NON.VIS	woman

mamá	kuntu-rĩ=a		au=na]	**nu=ĩ=ia**
manioc\GEN	arm-1PL/2PL/3.POSS=COP		DIST=ACC	**NON.VIS=LOC=ABL**

[paantama-tʃi=na=ʃa	sɨa-mau	timaji]
plantain-DIM=ACC=ADD	plead + IPFV-NMLZ	NARR

'That woman pleaded with the manioc's branches (i.e. for food), moreover, she pleaded with the little plantain too.'

The word *antsa~antsu* does not inflect or receive any morphology. It marks

contrast between the two clauses it joins. Semantically, *antsa~antsu* assumes different

meaning associated with the concept of "contrast": 'but', 'rather', 'on the other hand'.

(129) *túra ántsu wĩkʲa maátahjamán ʃíir tuhínɲɛithɛɛ*

tura	antsu	ui=ka	mã-á-tahkamá-nu
and	but	1SG=FOC	kill-HIAF-FRUST-1SG.SS

ʃiira	tuhintu=aita-ha-i
very	be.unable=COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'[My wife is good at fishing...] and, on the other hand, when I want to fish, I never can.'
(Lit.: 'I am very unable'.)

8.11. Interjections

Interjections are "words that can constitute utterances in themselves, and that

usually have no syntactic connection to any other words that may co-occur with them"

(Schachter & Shopen 2007: 57). Interjections usually exhibit special phonological status,

and sometimes may disregard the language's normal phonological principles and

restrictions. For instance *mah* 'surprise', 'admiration', does not have the two-mora

requisite of phonological words in Wampis. Morphologically, the particularity of

interjections is that they do not take any affix or clitic. Syntactically, interjections

usually are not part of clauses, but they behave like a whole utterance on their own.

Table 8.20 provides a list of frequent interjections in the data.

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Table 8.20. Common interjections in Wampis

Speaker attitude or emotion	Gloss
aiu	'okay', speakers agrees
haʔhai	expression of laughter when something is funny (frequent in female register)
mah	speaker is surprised, admiration
t͡ʃai	'boo!' (expression to scare someone)
t͡ʃúa	'that's bad!', 'dang!'
síɨ	'what a shame', 'what a pity'
kut͡ʃí kurún	'found you!' (children playing hide-and-seek)
Phatic expression	
au	speaker responds to someone calling his/her name
ha	'true!' 'I agree'
ɨɨ	'uh-huh'
siɨ	'thanks'
t͡ʃii	'yes', 'I see'
haa	'right?', 'huh?' (frequent in female register)
Answers to polar questions	
at͡sá, t͡sá	'no'
haʔá	'yes'
ɨɨ	'yes'
t͡ʃaʔá	'I don't know'
Idea of command	
hastá	'Wait!'
pai	'Ready!', 'Stop (enough)!'
iamaikika	'(Wait) just a little bit'

ɨɨss	speaker scolds a dog

Discourse-oriented	
kamɨ	'so', repair
naa	'hesitation'
nɨkas	'truly'
maa	'hesitation'
tukɨ	'well', 'ok, then'

8.12. Ideophones

Ideophones are sound-symbolic words, i.e. words that provide a "vivid representation in sound . . . in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity" (Doke 1935: 118) and whose "meanings are in the domain of sensory imagery" (Dingemanse 2014: 387). Ideophones are widespread in languages of the Amazonia (Payne 1999a) and they are certainly very important in Wampis discourse. I include onomatopoetic words (words that mimic phonetically the source of sound they try to describe) in the class of ideophones.

Ideophones may present irregular phonological structure. However, an interesting finding in Wampis is that many ideophones are formed based on the template CVCV(C) (see Table 8.21 for examples).

Ideophones in Wampis can function adverbially (an important presence in that

function), modifying predicates. The following examples illustrate this pattern. In (130),

the ideophone *tapít* modifies the verb 'grab'. *Tapít* is an ideophone that conveys the

meaning of grabbing something or someone suddenly or forcefully. It frequently occurs

with *at͡ʃĩ* 'grab'.

(130) *winɨ́na tapít at͡ʃĩ́k juĩ́ juám háma*

winɨ=na	**tapít**	at͡ʃi-kã
mouth\1PL/2PL/3.POSS=ACC	**IDEO**	grab-INTENS\3SG.SS

huĩ ju-á-mɨ	hama
here eat-HIAF-2SG.SBJ	MIR

'[He] having grabbed **suddenly (*tapít!*)** her mouth, [he said] "Here you ate!" . . .'

In (131), the ideophone used is *t͡sakɨ́t*, which conveys the idea of thrusting or

driving an object into the soil.

(131) *naŋkí hukíar hiíɲum kámɨ t͡sakɨ́t t͡sakɨ́t akunár*

nankí	hu-ki-ara	hii=numa	kamɨ
spear\ACC	take-WHILE.MOVING-3PL.SS	fire=LOC	INTERJ

t͡sakɨ́t	**t͡sakɨ́t**	akuná-ara
IDEO	**IDEO**	embed+HIAF-3PL.SS

'[They] Having taken spears, around the firewood *t͡sakɨt!* [they] having embedded [the spears]'

Ideophones differ from adverbs in that ideophones are not only some sort of

descriptive or circumstantial modifier but they can occur without a verb and still depict

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an event, action or situation, i.e. they are capable of recreating "aspects of sensory

imagery, much like quotations recreate aspects of the experience of the quoted speech"

(Dingemanse 2014: 388).[165] For instance, in (132), the ideophone *píh*, which conveys

the idea of jumping, suffices to recreate the action that it depicts; without any co-

occurring verb:

(132) naŋkí a͡tʃík huní píh huní píh

nankí	a͡tʃi-kã	hu = ni	**píh**	hu = ni	**píh**
spear\ACC	grab-INTENS\3SG.SS	PROX = ALL	**IDEO**	PROX = ALL	**IDEO**

'Having grabbed the spear, he jumped over here, over there.' (Lit: 'Having grabbed the spear, over here, **píh**!, over here, **píh**!')

In the same vein, in (133) the ideophone *parát*, which depicts an object falling

into the fire, alone suffices to convey that meaning:

(133) *ampúʃ hiíɲum parát hiíɲum parát*

ampuʃ	hii = numa	**parat**	hii = numa	**parat**
owl	fire = LOC	**IDEO**	fire = LOC	**IDEO**

'The owl fell into the fire!' (Lit.: 'The owl into the fire **parat**!')

When used in discourse, ideophones that imitate or are associated to the sounds

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165. Nuckolls (1996) also calls attention to the performative nature of ideophones, which involve speakers' iconic and indexical gestures and particular intonational dynamics (raising or lowering in pitch, lengthening of sounds, and so on). A study of ideophones involving all of these aspects is beyond the scope of this dissertation and may constitute an exciting topic for future endeavors.

of animals usually occur as complements of a speech verb:

(134) *h̃mm kámɨ t͡ʃít͡ʃéɨŋak*

h̃mm   kamɨ   t͡ʃít͡ʃa-ina-kũ
IDEO   INTERJ   speak-PL.IPFV-SIM\3.SS

'"*h̃mm*!" [the jaguar] was saying. . .'

(135) *páki tás tás tákũ awákou tímaji ut͡ʃín*

paki   **tás**   **tás**   ta-kũ
peccary   **IDEO**   **IDEO**   say + IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS

awaka-u   timaji   ut͡ʃi=na
scare.PFV-NMLZ   NARR   child=ACC

'The peccary was one to scare the young man saying "*tás tás*".'

The Wampis excel at making imitations of animal's voices. What is more, they usually "call" animals using the onomatopoeia specifically associated with the relevant animals (for instance, hunting of birds and peccaries is frequently done by uttering the specific call). Berlin (1994) and Berlin and O'Neill (1981) have shown the importance of sound-symbolism in the formation of animal names in Wampis, from an ethnobiology perspective.

Table 8.21 provides a sample of Wampis ideophones organized by semantic fields. The relationship of sound-symbolism with other parts of the Wampis grammar, as well as the lexicon, is a field of research that remains open for detailed exploration, and

it must be added that sound symbolism is indeed very rich and important in Wampis.

Table 8.21. Sample of Wampis ideophones

Actions/Movements	
haáhat	with no breath
hã́ã́t	pulling off a leaf
kut͡ʃát	hit suddenly (in just one blow)
kusuíi	spitting
kuír	animal or human pack running
mut͡ʃɨ́k	moving without stopping in a reduced area
pakɨ́t	sound of applauding or breaking (ceramics, hard-shell fruits, etc)
pɨ́h	throwing a stone or a small projectile quickly, jump
pɨ́ɨh	making something disappear quickly
takɨ́t	cutting with machete
tapít	grabbing forcefully or suddenly
turít	tearing a piece of cloth
t͡sakɨ́t	driving something (e.g. a spear) into the soil
t͡sɨút	pulling off a palm leaf
t͡ʃakɨát t͡ʃakɨát	swimming (also applies to fish and other animals like river otter, capybara, etc.)
Sensorial (not including sound)	
híra híra	shining, blazzing
sírsír	smell of blood
t͡sápt͡sáp	soft
kúntua kúntua	pain in some body part (arm, leg, etc.) or bone (may related to kuntu 'arm'?)

Human or body sounds	
hat͡ʃía	sneezing
t͡saarít	farting
kunt͡ʃiá kunt͡ʃiá	noise of women or children talking
taɨ́t taɨ́t	noise of adult man yelling
taɨ́tɨt taɨ́tɨt	noise of adult men talking

Animal and nature actions	
ámpin	butterflies flying
kakiá	sound of peccaries eating
tánki tánki	sound of river waves
tákia tánkia	sound of snake slithering
tɨtírɨrɨr	rocks falling from a cliff
úʊ úʊ	sound/breeze preceding a rain
wɨrɨ́	buzzing (bee, wasp, hummingbird)

Sounds of objects being manipulated, breaking, colliding	
pakɨ́t	solid object colliding with another solid object
parát	object falling into the fire
ʃakáu ʃakáu	sound of water dripping, rocks, snails or rattle being moved, also sound of muzzle-loader rifle
tatártau	different objects crashing on each other
t͡sɨút t͡sɨút	sound of palm leaves being pulled out
wáa	poking the fire

Animal voices	
haii haii	dog howling
hau hau	dog barking
h̃mm	jaguar's voice (growling)
hurur	jaguar roaring
píɨ́	tapir's voice

píʃ	curasow's calling
sããsá	hoatzin's calling
tatátat	rooster crowing

8.13. Grammatical particles

Grammatical particles are function words that work at the level of the clause and have grammatical meaning. The defining property of grammatical particles is that they are invariable and do not receive inflection. There are two semi-copula particles in Wampis which I translate as 'become': *has* 'become (+stative)' and *hak* 'become (-stative)'. They can be described as invariable forms that mark change of state. These types of particle are not reported for other Jivaroan languages.

(136) *wíi uún hás*
ui   uunta has
1SG   big   become
'I have become an adult (already).'

(137) *húna urúk tukuín hák*
hu=na   uruka tuku-inu   hak
PROX=ACC   how   shoot.PFV-NMLZ become
'How do I shoot this?'

Likely, both *has* and *hak* are grammaticalizations of two stems containing the root *uaha* 'stand'. It is likely that *has* and *hak* are grammaticalized historically-complex

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forms derived from the verb *uaha* 'stand' used in existential/copular constructions, as indicated in Table 8.22. With the attenuative aktionsart suffix *-sa*, *uaha* combines with a complement that has stative semantics, though the combinatorial meaning is inchoative (i.e. change of state). With the intensive aktionsart *-ka, uaha* yields more dynamic semantics. '>' indicates hypothesized consecutive functional changes.

Table 8.22. Probable grammaticalization path of *has* and *hak*

Source form	> Posture Verb	> Existential/copula	> Change of state
uaha-sa 'stand-att'	'be standing'	'exist', 'be'	has 'become'
uaha-ka 'stand-intens'	'stand up'	'exist'	hak 'become'

The form *has* also functions as an semi-copular verb (i.e. receiving inflection) with the meaning of 'become'. Peña (Forthcoming) analyzes the grammaticalization of *has* in detail.

CHAPTER IX

ADJECTIVES

9.1. Introduction

This chapter analyzes the class of adjectives in Wampis. Adjectives constitute a "semi-closed" class in Wampis. Approximately 40 items constitute the class of adjectives in the language. Wampis possesses adjectivalizers, i.e. derivational morphology that derives adjectives. However, adjective derivation is no longer as productive as it seems to have been. In fact, one adjectivalizer is not very productive at all (the adjectivalizer -*rama,* see §9.8.3) and the other is historically based on nominalization (§9.8.5). There is one adjective-to-adjective derivational suffix that is productive but not very common (-*taku,* see §9.8.2). It seems that the distinction between nouns and adjectives used to be more prominent in past stages of the language, as the existence of adjective-derivational morphemes would suggest.

The fact that there are not many adjectives and that adjective derivation is apparently no longer common does not mean that the language lacks ways to modify nouns. In fact, modern Wampis makes plentiful use of relativization to modify nouns, whereas the adjectives that do exist are more frequently use in predicative function.

Adjectives in Wampis are canonically post-nominal. Because of the cliticizing nature of most case and adposition forms in Wampis, adjectives can host case (but not all cases) and adpositions, which usually attach to the last element of the NP.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: §9.2 provides the basic criteria to define the adjective in Wampis, §9.3–§9.4 distinguish the category of adjectives from verbs and nouns. This is follow by an analysis of the morphological properties of adjectives in §9.5. Next, I describe the Adjective Phrase in §9.6, followed by the analysis of syntactic operations associated with adjectives in §9.7. Derivation of adjectives in dealt with in §9.8, whereas semantic and discoursive properties of adjectives are described in §9.9–§9.10.

9.2. Defining the adjective in Wampis

Adjectives are problematic to define in many languages. There are languages that do not have a clear adjective class; what is more, it is well established that property concepts can be expressed by nouns, verbs or adjectives (Givón 1979: 14; Dixon 1982). However, I will propose that adjectives are a distinct class in Wampis.

Croft (2001: 86 and ff.) offers an analysis in terms of typological prototypes, discussing PROPERTIES as halfway between what he terms conceptual OBJECTS and ACTIONS in

terms of relationality, stativity, transitoriness and gradability. In Croft's terms, a

prototypical adjective is characterized by expressing a property and having a modifying

function. In Croft's view, an Adjective is a language-specific category that corresponds

to the semantics of a PROPERTY, and modifies an entity functioning as an OBJECT. Croft's

proposal for the semantic basis of parts of speech is reproduced in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1. Semantic properties of prototypical parts of speech (from Croft 2001)

	Relationality	Stativity	Transitoriness	Gradability
Objects	nonrelational	state	permanent	nongradable
Property	relational	state	permanent	gradable
Actions	relational	process	transitory	nongradable

For instance, a prototypical adjective in Wampis is *pínkira* 'good'. It fulfills all

prototypical semantic properties of PROPERTIES: it is relational, that is, its definition

involves a reference to another concept (a property of "goodness" cannot be established

without something that is good and something that is bad). *Pínkira* 'good' expresses a

state (as opposed to a process), it is prototypically permanent (that something is good is

typically not seen as transitory) and it is gradable in a scalar dimension (for example,

pínkira can be intesified (§9.7.3.4)).

In addition, semantically, prototypical adjectives represent "single properties of prototype noun entities" (Givón 2002a: 53), encoding characteristics such as physical dimension, physical property, and so on. It will be seen that this can also be said about Wampis adjectives.

Apart from their semantics, adjectives are also defined by their morphosyntactic and discursive features. Perhaps the most cross-linguistically common function of adjectives is that of attribution (Bolinger 1967) in which case adjectives usually occur as modifiers of nouns in NPs. In Wampis, adjectives can also occur as modifiers in NPs, however, they are not as commonly found as noun modifiers as they are in predicative function with a copula. In terms of discourse, adjectives can serve to modify a referent already established in the discourse, or they can help introduced a new referent to the discourse (Thompson 1988). Morphosyntactically, in Wampis, adjectives head AdjPs, but they cannot head NPs or VPs. Unlike nouns, adjectives cannot be marked as possessors. In addition, the unmarked function of adjectives in Wampis is attribution,[166] while the unmarked function of nouns is referential. The following sections will elaborate on the morphological, syntactic, semantic and discoursive distribution of

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166. While adjectives more often occur in predicative function, they are usually marked with a copula construction in that function.

adjectives, but first, I discuss the basic distinctions between adjectives and verbs, as

well as adjectives and nouns.

9.3. Adjectives vs verbs

In Wampis, the distinction between adjectives and verbs is much more

straightforward than the distinction between adjectives and nouns. Morphologically

adjectives are never inflected for any of the core categories associated with verbs, such

as aspect, tense, person and mood, which define the finite verb in Wampis. In addition,

adjectives do not receive any of the switch reference morphology associated with the

subordinate verb in Wampis. In predicative functions, adjectives frequently occur with a

copula, though it is possible that they occur alone in verbless constructions (see §9.7.2

for more details).

9.4. Adjectives vs nouns

The distinction between adjectives and nouns is more subtle than the distinction

between adjective and verbs just seen in the previous section. Table 9.2 summarizes the

basic differences between adjectives and nouns in terms of their morphosyntax.

Table 9.2. Morphosyntactic properties of nouns and adjectives

	Adjective	Noun
Head of NP	No	Yes
Modify head of NP	Yes	Yes
Can be possessor	No	Yes
Can be possessed	Some[a]	Yes
Receive case and Adposition	Only as phonological host	Property of NPs
Gradability	Yes	No[b]
Adjective-derivation with -rama and =hakinu	No	Yes
Adjective-derivation with -taku	Yes	No

[a] But notice that when adjectives are possessed, they are interpreted as nouns; e.g. *ʃiirama-rĩ* 'his/her beauty' (*ʃiirama* 'pretty, good' + *-rĩ* 1PL/2PL/3.POSS).

[b] Nominalizations in modifying function can be modified with *ʃiira* 'very', but not with the intensifiers *ima*, *ti* or *mɨ* (see §9.6). Nouns in referential function are not gradable.

With regard to being the head of an NP, adjectives in Wampis cannot assume this function. For the related language Awajun, Overall (2007: 142) mentions that it is possible for adjectives to occur in headless NPs. The next example from Awajun illustrates this construction:

(1) *níŋka muúntan ʃináu*
nĩ-ka   [muunta-na]   ʃina-u
3SG-FOC [big-ACC]   sing + IMPFV-REL
'it (the kúgkup bird) sang with a big voice' (Lit. it sang a big (one)) (Overall 2007: 142)

I have no attestation of that type of NP in the Wampis database. In fact, notice

that a copula occurs with the adjective in Wampis:

(2) ʃikápt͡ʃia húna amástahmɨ

[ʃikapat͡ʃi=a   hu=na]   ama-sa-ta-hamɨ

[small=COP   PROX=ACC]   give-ATT-IMM.FUT-1SG>2SG+DECL

'I am going to give you this little one.' (Lit.: 'I am going to give you this [who] is little.')

The above example shows a relative clause: the copula is relativized with the

proximal demonstrative. The proximal demonstrative, at the same time, functions as the

head of the object NP.

Concerning modification of nouns, nouns can modify the head of an NP;

however, in that case, word order is much looser. In a quick count of 40 NPs from texts

where a noun to noun modification occurs, 75% (=30) of cases observed the modifier

noun coming before the head. An example is presented in (3).

(3) núu ʃuár páki áhaku tímaji

nu   ʃuara   paki   a-hak-u   timaji

NON.VIS person peccary   exist-PT.HAB-NMLZ   NARR

'That person peccary used to exist.'

This is unlike modification with adjectives, where there is a very strong

preference for Noun-Adjective order. Notice that relative clauses also follow this

pattern, occurring after the noun head. This seems to confirm that the preferred

position for the modification of the head of the NP is post-nominal. To exemplify this

point, consider adjectives like *uunta* 'big'. When *uunta* is used in a pre-nominal position,

it acquires the meaning of 'adult person, elder person, respected person' (by extension,

uunta is used as a noun when meaning 'elder' or 'ancestor'):

(4) *úun pirútʃ ʃuarán mã́hakuiti*

uunta Pirut͡ʃi ʃuara=na mã=hak-u=iti

elder Pirut͡ʃi person=ACC kill=HAB.PT-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

'The elder Piruch used to kill people.'

       In that respect, *uunta* can act as a noun, heading an NP:

(5) *óo úun Limánmajakɛiti*

au uunta Lima=numa=ia=ka=iti

MED adult.person Lima=LOC=ABL=Q=COP.3

'Is that guy (i.e. 'adult person') from Lima?'

       But when *uunta* occurs post-nominally, it is clearly adjectival:

(6) *ou ʃuar úun hĩ́áji*

au ʃuar uunta hĩ́áji

MED person big arrive+HIAF-3.PT+DECL

'That big person just arrived.'

      Interestingly, in lexicalized compound nominals that have an adjective

incorporated, the adjective occurs first and there is no possibility at all that the

Adjective-Noun compound can be interpreted as an adjective modifying a noun. For

instance, *uun̪iauaã* is a compoun noun derived from *iauaã* 'dog' and *uunta* 'big'. So,

uun̪iauaã [uún ɲawaã] 'jaguar' is never interpreted as 'big dog'; the only way to say

'big dog' is by using the canonical Noun-Adjective order:

(7) *ɲawáã úun*

iauaã   uunta

dog   big

'big dog'

(8) *úun ɲawáã*

uun‿iauaã

'jaguar'

      With regard to possession, unlike nouns, adjectives cannot be possessors in

Wampis. On the other hand, like nouns, adjectives can be possessed, but when they are

possessed, their meaning and function is that of (i.e. they become) a possessed noun.

Thus, when *uunta* 'big' is possessed, it acquires the meaning of 'elder one', 'ancestor'

and can head NPs:

(9) *íiɲa úuntrika papáŋhɛ̃ júha hakáru*

iina   uunta-rĩ＝ka   papanku＝haĩ

1PL.GEN ancestor-1PL/2PL/3.POSS＝FOC raft＝COM

iuha   hak-ara-u

walk.in.group HAB.PT-PL-NMLZ

'Our ancestors used to travel by raft.'

      Now compare the following sentences that contain the word *isarama* 'long'. In

(10), *isarama* functions as an adjective, modifying the noun head 'snake'. Meanwhile, in

(11) *isarama* is possessed and is functioning as a noun in a genitive construction:

(10) *nápi ɨsáram tɨpáwɛɛ*

napi	ɨsarama	tɨpa-ua-i
snake	long	lie.down-3.SBJ-DECL

'A long snake is lying down.'

(11) *napín ɨsármarĩn iistá*

napí	ɨsarama-rĩ=na	ii-sa-tá
snake\\GEN	long-1PL/2PL/3.POSS=ACC	see-ATT-IMP

'Look at that snake's length!'

The other points that appear in Table 9.2, such as the morphology associated with adjectives (including case and postpositions), gradability and derivation of adjectives, are discussed in detail in the next subsections.

9.5. Morphology associated with adjectives

Adjectives have a unique suffix *-taku* that derives another adjective that acquires the meaning equivalent of '<small>PROPERTY</small>-ish'. This suffix is explained in §9.8.2.

Adjectives can also receive a restricted number of morphemes that also occur on noun. Table 9.3 shows the suffixes that are shared by adjectives and nouns.

Table 9.3. Nominal suffixes that can be received by adjectives

Morpheme	Gloss
-t͡ʃi	'Diminutive'
-t͡ʃau	'Negative nominalizer'
Possessed noun markers (see §9.4)	

9.5.1. Diminutive *-t͡ʃi* with adjectives

The diminutive *-t͡ʃi* can occur with adjectives as well as nouns. As it is typical of

diminutives, *-t͡ʃi* does not only express smallness but it also can convey an idea of

endearment. The marking of the diminutive in both the modifier and head is optional,

but it occurs in the majority of examples from texts. This suggests that the adjective

tends to have some agreement with the noun head when marked with the diminutive.

(12) *nuĩ́ ʃikáp͡t͡ʃit͡ʃi jahásmoot͡ʃ iŋkɨtún wɛíŋkʲaru tímaji*

nuĩ	ʃikapat͡ʃi-t͡ʃi	iahasVmau-t͡ʃi	inkɨtu-u＝na
there	little-DIM	insignificant.thing-DIM	put.inside-NMLZ＝ACC

uaina-ka-ara-u	timaji
see-INTENS-PL-NMLZ	NARR

'They found there the little insignificant thing that was inside.'

There is a number of adjectives where the diminutive is lexicalized. Some

examples are presented in (13).

(13)

aʃantat͡ʃi	'very old'	cf. *aʃanta* 'elderly person'
ʃikapat͡ʃi	'little', (*ʃikapa* is no longer found as a separate root or word)	
uhumat͡ʃiki	'brief'	cf. *uhumakɨ* 'a little' (*uhuma* 'a little' ＋ *-kɨ* 'restr')
uuntat͡ʃi	'old'	cf. *uunta* 'big'
ut͡ʃit͡ʃi	'young'	cf. *ut͡ʃi* 'child'

9.5.2. The negative nominalizer *-t͡ʃau* and adjectives

Some adjectives can be derived from adjectives, nouns and verbs using the

negative nominalizer *-t͡ʃau*. One of the functions of verbal nominalization is to modify

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nouns (i.e. via relative clauses), so it seems that through this function -*t͡ʃau* can derive

items that become primarily modificational in function. Specifically, -*t͡ʃau* derives

opposites of certain adjectives, as many do not have a lexical antonym pair. -*t͡ʃau* is

specially productive with evaluative adjectives. This is an interesting finding, as it

reveals a semantic tendency of Wampis lexicon related to adjectives: most adjectives

expressing VALUE are positively oriented and do not have a lexical opposite. Examples

are presented in (11)

(14)

pínkira 'good'   —   *pínkira-t͡ʃau* 'bad'
t͡ʃit͡ʃirama 'strong (of current)' —   *t͡ʃit͡ʃirama-t͡ʃau* 'weak'
iman 'superior (of quality or skill)'   —   *iman-t͡ʃau* 'unskilled'
iumintV[167] 'sweet'   —   *iumin-t͡ʃau* 'salty, sour'
iupia 'be wild'   —   *iupi-t͡ʃau* 'docile'

9.5.3. Adjectives and case and post-positional clitics

Phonologically, adjectives can also host case and adpositional clitics (because of

the very nature of cliticization in Wampis). However no adjective can stand alone and

receive case or adpositional marking. However no adjective can stand alone and receive

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167. This word almost always occurs as [jumín], but it occurs as [jumíntrĩ] when it receives the
1PL/2PL/3 possessed marker -*rĩ*. So, it seems that, synchronically, it is still possible to analyze this
word as having a last /tV/ syllable. The deletion of the last syllable (/tV/) is the consequence of
vowel elision: after V is elided, /t/ is deleted because /nt/ is an impossible coda. V is always
deleted because it is in a position to be deleted. This a very regular Wampis pattern.

case or adpositional marking. Crucially, the most phonologically bound cases, the

genitive and vocative (which are marked by high tone), cannot be phonologically borne

by adjectives; they only occur on nouns. Case and adposition clitics that are attested in

the data as being hosted by adjectives are given in Table 9.4 (instances of an adjective

hosting the allative and the ablative were only obtained elicitation).

Table 9.4. Case and adpositional clitics that can be received by adjectives

Morpheme	Gloss
=na	'Accusative'
=nVma	'Locative'
=haĩ	'Comitative'
=ni	'Allative'
=ia	'Ablative'

There are two ways in which case and adpositional clitics can be hosted by

adjectives:

• When adjectives occur at the end of a NP, the case or post-positional clitic occurs on

the adjective. However, because they are case or adpositional markers, the scope of the

clitic is never the AdjP, but the whole NP. In the following example, the adjective hosts

the accusative =na:

(15) *útʃi ʃikáptʃitʃin súsaru*

[utʃi ʃikapitʃi-tʃi] = na   su-sa-ara-u

child little-DIM = ACC   give-ATT-PL-NMLZ

'They gave [him] the little child.'

However, in the next example, the accusative is hosted by the nominalized copula as it

forms a relative clause:

(16) *númi píŋkɨr átɨɲan arákmakuiti*

[numi píŋkɨra a-tinu] = na   araka-ma-ka-u = iti

tree good COP-FUT.NMLZ = ACC   plant-VBZ-INTENS-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'She planted trees that are going to be good.'

Notice that if the adjective occurs in pre-nominal position, it does not carry the

case marker either; rather, the accusative is hosted by the NP head:

(17) *píŋkɨr puhútnasha hukíɲɛithʲɛɛ*

[píŋkɨra   puhu-ta] = na = ʃa   hu-ki-inu = aita-ha-i

good   live-NMLZ = ACC = ADD   take-WHILE.MOVING-NMLZ = COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I carried out a good life too.'

• The second case of adjectives receiving case or adpositional clitics is when a

demonstrative occurs in the NP. Demonstratives have the peculiarity of triggering

agreement between demonstratives, noun head and adjectives present in the NP, as the

next examples show:

(18) *núna ʃuarán kakárman wɛínkʲar*

nu = na   ʃuara = na   kakarama = na   waina-ka-ara

NON.VIS = ACC   enemy = ACC   valiant = ACC   see-INTENS-3PL.SS

'[they] having seen that strong enemy . . .'

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(19) *kartutʃõn susármiahɛɛ utʃĩn natsán núna*

kartutʃo꞊na	su-sa-ara-mia-ha-i		utʃi꞊na
food꞊ACC	give-ATT-PL-DIST.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL[168]		child꞊ACC
natsa꞊na	nu꞊na		
young꞊ACC	NON.VIS꞊ACC		

'I gave cartridges to those young men (i.e. to hunt)'.

In sum, at first look, adjectives may seem to receive some case and post-positional clitics. However, this is merely "accidental" because of either the phonological nature of most case and adposition markers, which are clitics that can attach to the last element of the NP; or because of a morphosyntactic property of demonstratives which trigger agreement with the head of the NP and adjectives. On the other hand, adjectives have at least one unique productive piece of morphology, the derivational suffix *-taku*, that does not occur with any other part of speech.

9.6. The adjective phrase (AdjP)

Adjectives head adjectives phrases. The internal structure of adjective phrases in Wampis is clear: clearly because adjectives are gradable, only intensifiers can modify adjectives. Intensifiers occupy different positions in the AdjP. Table 9.5 shows these

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168. Notice that the plural *-ara* refers to the object. Third person objects are generally not marked on the verb, however a few examples of plural marking referring to a 3 person object occur in the data. It seems like the plural may be undergoing re-analysis to mark not only plurality associated with a 3 person subject, but also with a 3 person object.

positions.

Table 9.5. Syntactic positions in an AdjP

Modifier			
1	2	3	
ima 'Intensifier'	*ʃiira* 'very'	*ʃintʃi͡* 'too, strongly'	+ Adjective
ti 'Intensifier'			
mɨ 'Intensifier'			

Apparently, the intensifiers *ima*, *ti* and *mɨ* are semantically equivalent, the

meaning does not change when one or the other is used:

(20) *au ʃuár mɨ́ ɨsármaɾɛiti*

au   ʃuara   mɨ   ɨsarama = aiti
DIST person   INTS tall = COP.3 + DECL
'That person is very tall.'

(21) *núu ʃuár imá sɨ́ntʃi͡ kakáram áhakaruiti*

nu   ʃuara ima   sɨntʃi   kakarama   a = hak-ara-u = iti
NON.VIS enemy INTS strongly   valiant   COP = HAB.PT-PL-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL
'Those enemies used to be very valiant.'

(22) *núu ʃuár tɨ́ sɨ́ntʃi͡ kakáram áhakaruiti*

nu   ʃuara ima   sɨntʃi   kakarama   a = hak-ara-u = iti
NON.VIS enemy INTS strongly   valiant   COP = HAB.PT-PL-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL
'Those enemies used to be very valiant.'

The intensifiers *ima, ti* and *mi* are in complementary distribution, they cannot

co-occur together in the same phrase.

(23)

*nu ʃuara **tíi imá** sɨnt͡ʃi kakárama áhakaruiti

*nu ʃuara **imá tíi** sɨnt͡ʃi kakárama áhakaruiti

Adverbs *ʃiira* 'very' and *ʃint͡ʃi* 'strongly' can occur together, in which case the

order is *ʃiira sɨnt͡ʃi* (the reverse order is prohibited):

(24) *húka ʃíir sɨ́nt͡ʃi úuntaiti*

hu = ka	ʃiira	sɨnt͡ʃi	uunta = iti
PROX = FOC	very	strongly	big = COP.3 + DECL

'This is way too big.'

Canonically, AdjPs follow their noun head in the NP. The reverse order, N AdjP,

is pragmatically marked—it usually highlights the adjective over the noun and is

accompanied with a slightly forceful prosody.

9.7. Syntactic operations of adjectives

In Wampis, adjectives can have an attributive function, in which case they

modify the head of a NP (§9.7.1). Adjectives can also have a predicative function,

occurring in copular and verbless clauses (§9.7.2). In addition, there is a range of

constructions associated with the expression of comparison and superlative degrees

(§9.7.3).

9.7.1. Adjectives as modifiers of head of NP

In Wampis, adjectives can also occur as modifiers in NPs. The next examples

illustrate adjectives modifying nouns:

(25) *ʃuár náki núka takás júatʃu*

[ʃuara **naki**]   nu＝ka   taka-sã iu-a-t͡ʃau

person **lazy**   NON.VIS＝FOC   work-SUB\3.SS EAT-IPFV-NEG.NMLZ

'A lazy person doesn't eat working (i.e. it suffers to eat).' (Lit.: A lazy person, that [person], working, does not eat.'

(26) *núwa aŋkán t͡sakakú mat͡sátɨa anú*

[nua   **ankanta**]   t͡saka-ka-u

woman   **free**   grow-INTENS-NMLZ

mat͡satɨ-a   a＝nu

be.together.IPFV-IPFV   COP＝NON.VIS

'The single women that were grown up'

9.7.2. Adjectives in copular and non-verbal constructions

In Wampis, adjectives are much more commonly found in predicative function

as complements of a copula than as modifiers to nouns. The following examples

illustrate the occurrence of adjectives in predicate adjectives constructions:

(27) *nĩ́ŋkʲa jat͡ʃéiti*

nĩ＝ka   iat͡ʃa＝iti

3SG＝FOC   wise＝COP.3＋DECL

'He is wise.'

(28) *najówɛithɛɛ*

naiau = aita-ha-i

tall = COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am tall.'[169]

    Adjectives can also occur in non-verbal predicates without a copula:

(29) *wíkʲa najóo*

ui = ka   naiau

1SG = FOC   tall

'I am tall.'

    Interestingly, other unrelated languages of the Amazon also show a preference

for the predicative function of adjective. For instance, Ese Ejja (Takanan) apparently

distinguishes two lexical classes: attributive adjectives and predicative adjectives, and

predicative adjectives are far more frequent in that language (Vuillermet 2012).

9.7.3. Gradability

    Adjectives express properties that are gradable: they can be compared in terms

of "degree" (less, equal, more) or occur in superlative constructions. The following

sections describe different constructions associated with the property of gradability

where Wampis adjectives occur.

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169. The word *naiau* seems to be an old nominalization of an old root *naia* 'be.tall?, be.above?',
related to *naia* 'height, tall, immense', cf. *naia-ma* 'make tall' (where *-ma* is a verbalizer), *naia-impi* 'sky', *naia-ntu* 'full moon', *naiantsa* 'ocean' (< *naia-intsa*, 'immense-river') and also cf.
maybe related *naia-pi* 'type of bird (and mythological hero)'.

9.7.3.1. Adjectives in comparative constructions

There are two comparative constructions in Wampis.

a. In the first construction, the comparand occurs with the focalizer =*ka*, the standard of comparison receives the ablative =*ia* and the adjective occurs with a copula. A demonstrative occurs before the copula, apparently introducing the standard of comparison (notice that de demonstrative is not the subject of the copular verb, which agrees with the entity being compared—this is clear in (31), where the subject of the copula is a 2SG person). Interestingly, several speakers translated the distal *au* as 'more' (<*más*> in Spanish) when I asked if there was any element in the sentence that indicated that meaning.

(30) *nĩ́ŋka ámia óo jatʃ͡ɛiti*

nĩ=ka	amɨ=ia	au	iatʃ͡a=iti
3SG=FOC	2SG=ABL	DIST	wise=COP.3+DECL

'He is wiser than you.'

(31) *ámɨka wíja óo ɨsármɛitmɨ*

amɨ=ka	ui=ia	au	isarama=ita-mɨ
2SG=FOC	1SG=ABL	DIST	tall=COP-2SG.SBJ+DECL

'You are taller than me.'

b. The second construction follows a subordinating strategy and involves the

verb *apatu* 'put together'.[170] In this construction, the standard of comparison appears

with the comitative =*haĩ*[171] and the intensifier *ima* is used to establish the meaning

equivalent of 'more'. The verb *apatu* is subordinated with the switch-reference marker -

ma 'Non-subject to subject' and optionally followed by the conditional -*ka*. The

adjective occurs in a predicate adjective structure heading the whole sentence. The

whole construction can be roughly translate as 'X with Y, if put together, X is more

(Property).' It is possible to consider that this construction has developed from a

coordinated NP (coordinated with with the instrumental =*haĩ*) in an appositive

structure with a subordinated verb; i.e. 'X and Y, if compared, . . .'. This analysis is

consistent with the presence of the 'Non-subject to subject' switch reference marker -*ma*.

Then, -*ma* would be referring to an elided object NP of 'put together' that is co-referent

with the pre-posed coordinated NP.

(32) *nɨ́̃i ámihʲɛ̃ɛ̃ apátkamka namák mɑ́̃atnumka nɨ́̃i imá jaʧ͡ɛ̃iti*

nĩ   ami=haĩ apatu-ka-ma-ka

3SG   2SG=COM put.together-INTENS-NON.SBJ>SBJ-COND

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170. Also 'copulate'.

171. Actually, it is better to consider that there is an Coordinate NP (coordinated with the instrumental =*haĩ*).

namaka	mãa-ta=numa=ka	ima	ia͡tʃa=iti
fish	kill-NMLZ=LOC=FOC	ints	wise=COP.3+DECL

'He and you, if compared, he is better at fishing.'

Notice that in some cases the overt mention of the comparand can be dropped in

the coordinated pre-posed NP. The comparand, however, is referred to in the main

predication:

(33) *ámihʲɛ̃ apátkamka namák mã́atnumka nĩ́ imá jat͡ʃɛ́iti*

ami=haĩ	apatu-ka-ma-ka
2SG=COM	put.together-INTENS-NON.SBJ>SBJ-COND

namak	maa-ta=numa=ka	nĩ	ima	ia͡tʃa=iti
fish	kill-NMLZ=LOC=FOC	3SG	INTS	wise=COP.3+DECL

'If compared with you, he is better at fishing.'

The verb *ii* 'see' usually occurs with *apatu* 'put together', in which case 'see'

takes the subordinating morphology:

(34) *wĩi ámihʲɛ̃ apátka ijámka namák mããtnumka imá jat͡ʃɛ́ithʲɛɛ*

ui	ami=haĩ	apatu-ka	ii-a-ma-ka
1SG	2SG=COM	put.together-INTENS	see-IPFV-NON.SBJ>SBJ-COND

namaka	mãa-ta=numa=ka	ima	ia͡tʃa=ita-ha-i
fish	kill-NMLZ=LOC=FOC	INTS	wise=COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I with you, if compared, I am better at fishing.' (Lit.: 'I with you, if put together and seeing (i.e. considering), I am wiser at fishing.')

9.7.3.2. Comparison of equality

Comparison of equality is done with *mitika* 'equal' (cf. *miti* 'full'). The following

examples illustrate a comparison of equality.

(35) *wíhʲɛ̃ mitíkɛitmɨ*

ui = haĩ	mɨtɨka = ita-mɨ
1SG = COM	equal = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL

'You are equal to me.'

(36) *nɨ̃ɨ ʃuár tíkit͡ʃ mikúta núu nuú míkuthɛɛ̃ mɛ́i mɨtɨ́kʃa*

nĩ	ʃuara	tikít͡ʃi	Mikuta = a	nu		nu	Mikuta = haĩ
3SG	person	other	Mikut = COP	NON.VIS		NON.VIS	Mikut = COM

mai	mitɨka = ʃa
both	equal = ADD

'That person who was the other Mikut with the (original) Mikut, they were both equal too.'

9.7.3.3. "Less" comparison

In sentences that can be considered as equivalents of "less"-comparisons, the

adjective occurs with the negative nominalizer -t͡ʃau and with the verb *imatika* (derived

from the intensifier *ima*).

(37) *amɨ́kʲa wíja namák mãátnumka imátikʲam jat͡ʃát͡ʃuitmɨ*

amɨ = ka	ui = ia	namaka	mãa-ta = numa = ka
2SG = FOC	1SG = ABL	fish	kill-NMLZ = LOC = FOC

imatika-mɨ	jat͡ʃa-t͡ʃau = ita-mɨ
do.much.PFV = 2SG.SS	wise-NEG.NMLZ = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL

'You are less skillful than me at fishing (Lit.: 'doing that much, you are not [so] wise')

Here is a similar construction with the adjective *iman* 'superior':

(38) *íman húu jaméi unúimamu tuíŋa ímantʃou*

iman	hu	jamai	unuima-a-mau	tu-ina	imantʃau
superior	PROX	now	study-IPFV-NMLZ	say-PL.IPFV	superior-NEG.NMLZ

'[Those young men], skilled [as what] they call today's professionals, they were not [as] skilled.'

9.7.3.4. Adjectives in superlative constructions

There is no superlative form in Wampis. Speakers use the intensifiers *ima* or *ti*, or *ʃiira* 'very' and the adjective in an copular construction. There is apparently no difference in meaning when using either *ima, ti* or *ʃiira*, however *ʃiira* occupies a different syntactic position than *ima* and *ti* (see §9.6). Notice that while this is a copular construction, it differs from a typical (typical in terms of frequency) attributive construction. In the latter, the subject usually occurs with the focus =*ka* and the adjective is marked with the copula or in a verbless predication. Example (39)–(40) illustrate this:

(39) *níŋkʲa imá ɨsármajɛiti*

nĩ=ka	ima	ɨsarama=aiti
3SG=FOC	INTS	tall=COP.3+DECL

'He is very tall'

(40) *níŋkʲa imá ɨsárma*

nĩ=ka	ima	ɨsarama
3SG=FOC	INTS	tall

'He is tall'

On the other hand, in the superlative construction, it is the adjective which

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occurs focalized with =*ka,* the copula marks the subject. However, according to my

teachers, this construction can also have an attributive (not necessarily superlative)

meaning. The meaning of the intensifier apparently is augmented in this construction,

so I have tried to mimic this augmentation by translating it as "very, very".

(41) nijɛ́iti ʃíir ɨsármaka

nĩ=aiti   ʃiira   ɨsarama=ka

3SG=COP.3+DECL   very   tall=FOC

'He is very, very tall.' or 'He is the tallest.'

(42) nĩjɛ́iti imá ɨsarmaka

nĩ=aiti   ima   ɨsarama=ka

3SG=COP.3+DECL   INTS   tall=FOC

'He is very, very tall.' or 'He is the tallest.'

9.8. Derivation of adjectives

9.8.1. Zero derivation

There are examples of zero derivation between adjectives, nouns and verbs, but

the direction of historical development is not clear in all cases:

(43)

sintʃi 'strong',   cf. *sintʃi* 'strengh' (N) (<From Quechua *sintʃi* 'strong, valorous')
suata 'dirty', cf. *suata* 'tangled forest' (N)
aʃama 'cowardly', cf. *aʃama* 'be afraid' (V)
sapiha 'nervous, cowardly', cf. *sapiha* 'be afraid'

The intensifier adverb *imani* has been lexicalized as an adjective with the form

iman, in which case it has a meaning that can be translated as 'superior (in quality or skill)'. However, this item may be analyzed as a unique category, midway between adverbs and adjectives, as it does not host case. For instance, in (45) *iman* is treated more like some sort of adverb in its form, though functionally it is modifying the noun head:

(44) *puhútnaka íman iitʃu ɛ́ɛɲa*
puhu-ta = na = ka   iman   ii-t͡ʃau a-ina
live-NMLZ = ACC = FOC   INTS   see-NEG.NMLZ COP-PL.IPFV
'They do not see a superior life.' (i.e. 'They do not think about a better life'.)

       At the same time, *iman* can receive the negative nominalizer *-t͡ʃau*, which derives the opposite meaning of 'unskilled, not so good' (by extension, it can also mean 'fool').

So, in this case, it seems to be treated more like an adjective:

(45) *ʃuár ímant͡ʃu*
ʃuara   iman-t͡ʃau
person INTS-NEG.NMLZ
'unskilled person'

9.8.2. Derivation with *-taku*

       The suffix *-taku* is an adjectivalizer that is unique to adjectives.[172] This suffix has a gradability function. In lay terms, it can be described as a suffix that creates new

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172. There is one form where apparently *-taku* is lexicalized: *maakɨtaku* [maáktaku] 'more or less' (Lit.: 'partly sufficient') that is used adverbially or attributively. The root *maakɨ* 'enough, sufficient, fully' is an interjection typically used to express thanks (i.e. 'It is enough') but can be used occasionally as an adjective or adverb.

adjectives which resemble the meaning of adjectives derived with *-ish* in English, or *-izo*

or *-ento* in Spanish.

(46)

mitika 'equal'	→	*mitika-taku* 'similar'	
ianku 'yellow'	→	*ianku-taku* 'yellowish'	
kapantu 'red'	→	*kapantu-taku* 'reddish'[173]	
uinka 'blue'	→	*uinkataku* 'blueish, light blue'	

Particularly with regard to color terms, the meaning of the derived item is

sometimes difficult to pin-down. This is because of the culturally-specific semantics of

color terms. For instance, in elicitation,[174] the derived color term *iankutaku* 'yellowish' is

used for many light orange things[175] but I was told that there is no term for very bright

orange.[176] And *uinkataku* 'blueish, light blue' can also be applied to a hen's egg. There is

173. The syllable *-tu* of *kapantu* is dropped after vowel elision, so the derived word is pronounced [kapántaku].

174. I carried elicitation with a color catalogue and with multiple cultural and natural objects that belong to the Wampis world.

175. In fact, the definition of this term in Jakway et al.'s vocabulary of Wampis (1987: 134) is 'orange' (<anaranjado> in the original Spanish).

176. I was asking about the fluorescent-like colors used in *chicha* or *cumbia* music posters in Peru. (*Cumbia* music is popular among the Wampis and I observed some posters in the villages advertising shows in the towns of Nieva and Bagua). Of course, the introduction of posters in the villages is a relatively recent phenomenon, so it is understandable that there is no term for the kind of colors used there. I was told that *kapantutaku* [kapántaku] 'reddish' could be used but only "if we force the situation."

an interesting semantic range of distinctions associated with color terms in Wampis that await more profound, culturally-appropriate analysis.[177]

9.8.3. Derivation with *-rama*

The suffix *-rama* creates adjectives from adverbs, verbs and nouns. This suffix is apparently not very productive synchronically, but there are plenty of examples in the language where it can be clearly seen in use. A sample of words derived with *-rama* is given in Table 9.6.

Table 9.6. Sample of adjectives derived with *-rama*

Derived Adjective	Probable Source
asarama~isarama 'long, tall'	no clear source found, perhaps somewhat related to *isa~asa* 'burn'?
kakarama 'strong, valiant'	*kaka* 'give strength'
kampũrama 'thick, wide'	*kampũa* 'type of tree (with thick buttress roots)', 'thick trunk'
kat͡surama 'hard, solid'	*kat͡su* 'harden'
kunturama 'fat, fatty'	*kuntu* 'be.fat', cf. *kuntu* 'arm'[178]
nuɨrama 'fat'	*nuɨ* 'get fat'

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177. For an analysis of color categories in Awajun, see Berlin and Berlin (1975).

178. Though notice that Jakway et al. (1987: 56) have an entry <kuunturam> 'greasy' (Spanish <mantecoso>) so possibly from another unidentified (but related?) lexical root *kuuntu.*

nuparama 'dense (of vegetation), synchronically also 'double''	*nupa* 'increase (weed)' (V), cf. nupa 'weed' (N)
uankarama 'wide'	*uanka* 'be ample', cf. *uanka* 'type of big pot'
iamarama 'new'	*iama* 'just now', 'newly' (Adverb)
iupirama 'wild, sneaky, dour'	*iupia* 'be wild', cf. also the homophonous root *iupia* 'be away'

9.8.4. Unproductive adjectivalizer *-patinu*

There is an old suffix *-patinu* that seems to have functioned as an adjectivilizer; however, it is no longer productive and is found only in a few items. This suffix can be roughly translated as 'propensity to X', 'similar to X', where X is the root with which it occurs. Apparently *-patinu* could derive an adjective from a verb, adjective, noun or even an ideophone (see 'fragile' in the example below). The suffix *-patinu* might be historically complex, probably composed of an old unidentified formative **-pa* and *-tinu* 'Attributive'. Examples:

(47)
tʃĩtʃarpatinu 'chatty, gossipy' < **tʃĩtʃa-rĩ-patin* 'speak-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ADJZ'
ʃakarpatinu 'loose'   < **ʃaka-rĩ-patin* 'water.down-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ADJZ'
pakɨrpatinu 'fragile'   < **pakɨr-patinu* 'sound of object breaking-ADJZ'

9.8.5. Augmentative =*hakin*

The morpheme =*hakin* derives denominal adjectives that express the idea of

unusual largeness. By extension, =*hakin* sometimes creates new items with intensified

and negative connotations. The following examples illustrate the use of =*hakin*.

(48)

tantanɨ 'belly'	→	*tantanɨ=hakin*	'pot-bellied'
uɨnu 'mouth'	→	*uɨnu=hakin*	'big-mouthed'
numpa 'blood'	→	*numpa=hakin*	'all bloodied'
hii 'eye'	→	*hii=hakin*	'big-eyed'

Historically, =*hakin* likely comes from the nominalization of the stem *uaha-ka*

'stand-INTENS', which has been phonologically eroded, plus the agentive nominalizer *-inu*.

So, apparently the old construction was a regular nominalization of 'stand' in its semi-

copular function (in which it means 'become' §17.6). Synchronically, =*hakin* sometimes

occurs as a separate word, occurring with the derived noun after a pause and bearing its

own high tone. Some other times, it occurs phonologically bound to the noun it is

deriving.

9.9. Semantic types of adjectives

Dixon (1982) identifies several types of adjectives in English, based primarily on

their semantics: dimension, physical property, color, human propensity, age, value,

speed. Not all of these types are found in Wampis, but most of them are. Dixon also

indicates that if a language has a distinct class of adjectives, adjectives in that language

at least have the types: age, dimension, value and color. Adjectives that express these

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properties are found in Wampis. On the other hand, I have not found adjectives that can

be associated to the category of 'Speed', most items related to this category are either

adverbs or verbs. Table 9.7 summarizes the types of adjectives in Wampis based on

their semantic properties. Examples are also provided.

Table 9.7. Types of adjectives in Wampis according to their semantics

Type	Example
AGE	*nat͡sa* 'young', *uuntat͡ʃi* 'old', *iamarama* 'new'
DIMENSION	*uunta* 'big', *ʃikapat͡ʃi* 'small, little', *asarama* 'long, tall', *sutara* 'short'
VALUE	*pínkɨra* 'good', *mitɨka* 'equal'
COLOR	*mukusa* 'black', *kapantu* 'red', *puhu* 'white', *iankú* 'yellow'
PHYSICAL PROPERTY	*hakɨ* 'warm', *samɨka* 'fresh', *karia* 'bitter'
SHAPE	*tutupini* 'straight', *tintɨ* 'round'
HUMAN PROPENSITY	*kakarama* 'strong, valiant', *iupirama* 'wild'

9.10. Discoursive functions of adjectives

Thompson (1988) identifies two main discoursive functions of property concept

words: a) to predicate a property of some stablished discourse referent, and b) to

introduce a new discourse referent. Both functions are found in Wampis; however,

predicating a property of some stablished discourse referent is the most frequent use of

adjective. This is not unexpected, though, as Thompson (1988) herself showed that the

favored function of adjectives in English and Chinese was to predicate a property of a

referent that is already introduced in the discourse.[179] In addition, relative clauses play

also similar roles of introducing a new referent in the discourse and indicating a

property of an stablished referent. Thompson (1988) does not take into account relative

clauses, but in a language like Wampis, where relative clauses play a substantial and

most frequent role in modifying nouns, a more elaborated study looking at the

differences or similitudes between the discoursive functions of adjectives and relative

clauses is needed. For the moment, the following examples show the above mentioned

discourse functions of adjectives in Wampis.

Predication of property of an established referent: In (49), the speaker introduces

the '*cueva de los Tayos* (Cave of Oilbirds)' in the first lines (the name *taiu* 'oilbird' is used

metonimically to refer to the cave where those birds live). Then in (49c) he uses an

adjective to predicate a property of the already established referent:

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179. However, the bigger part of the data on which I based my analysis are narratives, perhaps a bigger collection of conversational data may provide a different perspective on the function of Wampis adjectives.

(49)

a. . . . *tajún pat͡ʃísan óuhmatsattahɛɛ* . . .

taiu = na	pat͡ʃi-sa-nu	auhumatu-sa-tata-ha-i
oilbird = acc	mention-SUB-1SG.SS	tell-ATT-DEF.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am going to tell about the *Cueva de los Tayos* . . .'

b. . . . *wík^ja tajúnka píŋkɨ nɨkát͡ʃmiahɛɛ* . . .

ui = ka	taiu = na = ka	pɨnkɨ	nɨka-t͡ʃa-mia-ha-i
1SG = FOC	oilbird = ACC = FOC	nothing	know-NEG-DIST.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I did not know anything about *Cueva de los Tayos* . . .'

c. . . . *núka táju úuntɛiti*

nu = ka	taiu	uunta = aiti
NON.VIS	oilbird	big = COP.3 + DECL

'That *Cueva de los Tayos* is big.'

Introduction of new referent: This line introduces the protagonists of a Wampis

myth:

(50) *joúnt͡ʃuk núwa him^jár **aŋkán** puhú hakú tímaji*

iant͡ʃukɨ	nua	himara	ankanta	puhu	hak-u	timaji
long.ago	woman	two	single	live	PT.HAB-NMLZ	NARR

'Long ago, there used to live two single women.'

CHAPTER X

THE NOUN AND NOUN MORPHOLOGY

10.1. Introduction

This chapter analyzes the morphological properties of nouns in Wampis and includes a description of noun classes. Section §10.2 discusses a working definition for Noun in Wampis. Next, §10.3 describes several nouns classes. Finally, §10.4 analyzes the noun morphology.

10.2. Defining the noun in Wampis

Nouns are one of the two major open word classes in Wampis, the other is the class of Verbs. Morphosyntactically, a noun in Wampis acts as the head of the NP, can be possessed (see §10.4.1) and possessor (see §10.4.4, §10.4.6.3). In addition, only nouns receive the vocative §10.4.6.4 and can be marked with the attributive *-tinu* §10.4.3, as well as modified by *uiantu* 'group' (see §11.3.5). Unlike adjectives, simple nouns are not gradable. Unlike verbs, simple nouns do not receive any inflectional TAM morphology and cannot predicate on their own (they are marked with a copula when used in predicative function).

Semantically, prototypical nouns in Wampis denote concrete objects or entities

and their unmarked use is referential. This coincides with Givón's semantic criteria to

define nouns in terms of temporal stability (Givón 2002a) and Croft's semantic

properties of parts of speech (Croft 2001), respectively—cf. Chapter VII for a discussion.

In discourse, nouns are used to introduce and manipulate referents in the scene (Hopper

& Thompson 1984). For instance, in (1), two of the main characters of a story[180] are

introduced: in (1a) the uncle of the speaker—'my mother's brother') and 1(b) the

family's hunting dog, Akum, who is hurt. The uncle then is only referred to by use of 3

person switch-reference morphemes in the next lines, whereas Akum, having been

introduced in (1b), is anaphorically referred to in (1c) with the proximal demonstrative

hu.

(1)

1a. *hintʲá nukurú úmaĩ maák wahóu*

hintá	nuku-ru	umaĩ
trail\LOC	mother-1SG\GEN	sibling\1PL/2PL/3.POSS

maa-kũ	waha-u
bathe+IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS	stand+IPFV-NMLR

'In the beach my mother's brother was bathing'

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180. This story is authored and owned by one of my teachers, Dina Ananco Ahuananchi. She recorded it, wrote it down in Wampis and graciously shared the text with me for its use in this project.

1b. *akum númpa hakín miɲóon wéiɲa*

Akum   numpa hakin   wina-u=na   waina

Akum   blood   AUG   come+IPFV-NMLR=ACC see+IPFV

'having seeen Akum, who was coming all bloodstained'

1c. *íis húnaka*

ii-sã   hu=na=ka

see-SUB\3.SS   PROX=ACC=FOC

'having examining this (i.e. Akum). . .'

10.3. Noun classes

Noun classes distinguished in Wampis are Proper Nouns, Kinship terms and,

based on their phonological and semantic properties, Compounds. I also refer briefly to

locational nouns. Nouns can also be distinguished for how they are marked when

possessed: there are to types of nouns by this criteria (see §10.4.1).

10.3.1. Proper nouns

Proper nouns are understood as names that denote unique entities frequently

readily identifiable by the other people in the speech community. Traditional Wampis

names can be common nouns in other parts of the grammar, for instance, they can be

cultural artifacts, meteorological events, natural object or names of animals: *Nantu*

'Moon' (male), *Tirinkasa* 'decorative ribbon' (female), *Himpɨ* 'hummingbird' (male),

Yacuma 'howler monkey' (male), *Ipaku* '*achiote*' (female), *Nusɨ* 'peanut' (female). Other

names seem to be nominalizations of verbs: *Nuninku* 'one who walks on wooden planks'

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(male, cf. *nuninka-u* 'walk on wooden planks-NMLZ'), Antiʧu 'one who does not obey'

(male, cf. *anti-ʧau* 'listen + LOAF-NEG.NMLZ').

Traditional proper nouns nowadays are not completely in disused, but most

Wampis people have adopted the Peruvian name style (two given names, paternal

surname, maternal surname). The two given names are usually in Spanish, though in

practice many Wampis use also familiar nicknames based on the traditional name

system. The paternal and maternal surname are usually based on the traditional

Wampis name system. There are some Spanish surnames that are very common, though,

such as Navarro, Velazquez, Graña.

Morphosyntactically, proper names form a small subclass because they can never

be possessed. In addition, proper names can be modified with a demonstrative in

narratives (to specify the reference), but in conversations demonstratives are very rarely

used with proper nouns. In addition, I have no examples of modification of proper

nouns with adjectives.

10.3.2. Kinship terms

There are different criteria for the semantic organization of kinship terms in

Wampis. Particularly interesting are the terms for siblings, siblings-in-law and cousins

which are based on same or different sex of female or male ego. Table 10.1 and Table

10.2 present these terms. Note that the Wampis traditional marriage system was

between cross-cousins.

Table 10.1. Kinship terms for siblings

Lexeme	Male ego	Female ego
ia͡tsu (1 and 2 person) [ja͡tsu] ia͡tʃi (3 person) [ja͡tʃi]	same-sex sibling or parallel cousin	____
uma [uma]	different-sex sibling or parallel cousin	different-sex sibling or parallel cousin
kai [kɛi]	____	same-sex sibling or parallel cousin

Table 10.2. Kinship terms for siblings-in-law and cousin

Lexeme	Male ego	Female ego
sai [sɛi]	same-sex sibling-in-law or parallel cousin	____
iua [jua]	____	same-sex sibling-in-law or parallel cousin
uahɨ [wahɨ]	different-sex sibling-in-law	different-sex sibling-in-law
un͡tsu [un͡tsu]	different-sex cross-cousin	different-sex cross-cousin

Other gendered kinship terms are presented in Table 10.3. The term *ɨnkat͡ʃi*

denotes either 'mother' or 'grandmother'.

Table 10.3. Other gender-based kinship terms

Concept	Male	Female
Grandparent	apat͡ʃi	nukut͡ʃi
		ɨnkat͡ʃi
Parent or parent's same-sex sibling	apa	nuku
		ɨnka
Parent of different-sex sibling	iit͡ʃi	t͡sat͡sa
Parent-in-law	uɨar	t͡sat͡sa[a]
Child	ut͡ʃi	nauanta

[a] The term *t͡sat͡sa* is modernly used as 'mother-in-law' because the term denotes the mother of a cross-cousin, whom a Wampis traditionally married.

When referring to a group children, *ut͡ʃi* means 'child' in general. The word

tiranki is not based on gender, it means 'grandchild'. The Spanish words <cuñado>

'brother-in-law', <papá> 'father', <mamá> 'mamá' and <tío> 'uncle' are also used

as appropriate according to age and context. Kinship terms are the only class of nouns

that can be marked for vocative and possession at the same time.

10.3.3. Location nouns

Nouns that denote a location do not constitute a subclass *per se.* However, it is

important to mention that many can received a locative marker that consist in a high tone V́ on the last vowel, cf. íntsa 'river' vs. intsá 'in the river'. Some of these nouns are grammaticalizing as location adverbs (see §8.6.3).

10.3.4. Compound nouns

Compound nouns are common in Wampis, especially in the areas of plants and animal names. Many animal and sometimes plant name species or subspecies are based on names of animals that are very salient in Wampis culture; cf. *panki* 'white-lipped peccary' > *iunki‿paki* 'collared peccary', *iauaã* 'predatory carnivore'[181] > *suatʃ‿iaauã* 'species of black jaguar' (cf. *sua-tʃĩ* 'huito[182]-DIM').

Morphosyntactically and semantically, compounds form a unit, in the sense that they receive nominal morphology only one time (at the end of the compound). Phonologically, compounds behave as two prosodic words, each part carrying their original high tone and undergoing other processes that occur at the level of the prosodic word, such as vowel elision. For instance, *iakum‿sampi* [jakúm sampi] 'type of fruit' is composed of *iakuma* [jakúm] 'howler monkey' and sampi [sámpi] '*shimbillo* fruit (*Inga*

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181. Used for 'jaguar' and 'dog'.

182. *Genipa americana*, from which a black dye is obtained.

spp.)'. In the compound *iakum̲sampi,* the word for *iakuma* undergoes vowel elision and surfaces with a high tone; *sampi* also surfaces with a high tone, but it does not undergo vowel elision because it only has two moras. Thus, prosodically both components of the compound behave like independent prosodic words.

A good number of Wampis words have arisen from compounding but are synchronically one word (morphologically and prosodically); eg. *naiant͡sa* 'sea, ocean' (*naia* 'big, immense' + *int͡sa* 'river').

Table 10.4 provides examples for the type of combination of roots or stems that are found in compound nouns in Wampis.

Table 10.4. Compound word combinations

Compound	Gloss	Components	Type
hapa iauaã [hápa ɲawáã]	'type of puma'	deer + dog	N + N
uun uuɨh [úun uwɨ́h]	'thumb finger'	big + finger	Adj + N
t͡sama mama [t͡samá mamá]	'manioc sp.'	become.brownish + manioc	V + N
ima napi [imʲá nápi]	'boa sp.'	intensifier + boa	Adv + N

10.4. Morphology

The morphology of Wampis nouns is moderately complex. There are five slots,

1–4 are more derivational suffixes, and I have added a "position 5" for inflectional

morphology. However, this position 5, which designates the category of Case, is not

strictly speaking one morphological "position": the nominative is zero-marked, the

genitive and vocative are marked with a grammatical high tone, and the accusative

$=na$ is a clitic that attaches to the last element of the NP, not just on the noun. With

these observations, I describe Case in this chapter because case markers (with the

exception of the accusative) work at the level of the noun. The structure of the noun

morphology of Wampis is presented in Table 10.5.

Table 10.5. Structure of the Wampis noun

0	1	2	3	4	5
Root	Diminutive	Possessive	Attributive Benefactive Plural.SAP (Diminutive)	Negative	Case

Generally, in Wampis a noun root can function as a stem without receiving

derivation. However, a noun stem can also be complex; in actuality, a phonological

word containing a noun in Wampis can be very complex. There are a number of

discourse-oriented clitics that can be hosted by the noun, and copula clitics that can be

also hosted by a noun in a predicative function. The copula clitics are analyzed in detail

in Chapter XVII. Discourse-oriented and modality clitics are analyzed in Chapter XVIII.

10.4.1. Marking on the possessed noun

Nouns can be classified into two classes (Type I and Type II), depending on how

they are marked when they are possessed. There are no strict discernible semantic

criteria corresponding to the two types of marking. In addition, a few nouns can be

marked as either Type I or Type II.

10.4.1.1. Type I nouns

Type I nouns are characterized by marking the possessed nominal (i.e. the head

noun) with a suffix,[183] which varies somewhat for the grammatical person of the

possessor if the possessor is singular. Thus, as a system the suffixes can to some extent

be viewed as a portmanteaux of person and number. Table 10.6 presents these suffixes.

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183. This corresponds to Overall's 2007 "suffixing class" in Awajun.

Table 10.6. Type I possessed noun marking

Person\Number	Singular	Plural
1	-ru	-rĩ
2	-rumɨ~rumi~-ramɨ	-rĩ
3	-rĩ	-rĩ

As can be seen, for Type I nouns, there is a clear distinction between singular Speech Act Participant (SAP) possessors versus all the rest (including plural SAPs). This is interesting, as in other part of the grammar, plural speech act participants (1PL and 2PL) are marked differently than the rest, specially in the hierarchical system of argument indexation (cf. §14.3). The invariant suffix on the noun for 3rd person singular and all plural possessors might be viewed as just marking that the noun is "possessed".

10.4.1.2. Type II nouns

Type 2 nouns are characterized by a different form of the possessed noun if the possessor is 2SG, 2PL, 1PL and 3 persons. For these persons and numbers, the last vowel of the root changes to either *i* or *ɨ* depending on morphophonological factors explained below. In addition, 3 and 1PL persons receive nasal prosody. For a second person

singular, the noun changes its vowel and adds the person marker *-mɨ*. For first person

singular, the noun does not change its vowel, using instead *-ru* just as in the Type I

paradigm. Type II possession marking is summarized in Table 10.7.

Table 10.7. Type II possessed noun marking

Person\Number	Singular	Plural
1	-ru	Ṽ
2	V-mɨ (OR) V-mi	Ṽ
3	Ṽ	Ṽ

As just noted, in Type II possessed nouns, the quality of the last vowel of the

possessed noun stem changes between *i* and *ɨ*. The allomorphy depends on the quality of

the preceding vowel of the noun stem (after glide derivation, cf. Chapter IV). Table 10.8

presents the criteria for vowel grade in the possessed form, and provides examples with

the corresponding form for 1PL, 2PL and 3. It is important to note that the stem for 2SG

also switches vowels, but in this case the vowel is not nasal. Nouns ending in *i* or *ɨ*

never change their final vowels.

The paradigms in Table 10.9 illustrate the application of possession marking

Types I and II with the nouns equivalent to 'daughter' (Type I) and 'dog' (Type II). In

Table 10.9, optional independent possessor pronouns precede the possessed noun, and

are in their genitive form.

Table 10.8. Criteria for vowel-grade in Type II possessed noun marking

Preceding vowel	Last vowel of Noun (Nominative form)	Last vowel of Noun (Possessed form)	Nominative form	Possessed form
[-front, -low]	a, u	ɨ	nuwa 'woman' numpa 'blood' muuka 'head' uwɨha 'hand' wɨnu 'mouth'	nuwĩ numpĩ muukĩ uwɨhĩ wɨnĩ
elsewhere	a	i	jawaã 'dog' hinta 'trail' kata 'penis'	jawaĩ hintĩ katĩ
NA	i, ɨ	i, ɨ	suwɨ 'throat' japi 'face'	suwĩ japĩ

Table 10.9. Paradigms of Type I and Type II person/possessive marking

	Type I Example: *nauantu* 'daughter'	Type II Example: *muuka* 'head'
1sg	mina nauantu-ru	mina muuka-ru
2sg	amina nauantu-rumɨ	amina muukɨ-mɨ
3sg	nina nauantu-rĩ	nina muukĩ
1pl	iina nauantu-rĩ	iina muukĩ
2pl	atumí nauatu-rĩ	atumí muukĩ
3pl	nitá nauantu-rĩ	nitá muukĩ

10.4.1.3. Possession marking of derived diminutive nouns

Derived diminutive nouns default to Type I possession marking. There is no

exception in the data. Consider the nouns *iauaã* 'dog', *nanki* 'spear', and *uɨnu* 'mouth',

which in their underived form all receive Type II possessive marking. When suffixed

with the diminutive *-t͡ʃi̥*, they switch to Type I. Table 10.10 illustrates this with a

paradigm.

Table 10.10. Possessive marking with nouns derived with the diminutive *-t͡ʃi̥*

Root	Type II marking (1pl/2pl/3)	Diminutive stem: Type I marking (1pl/2pl/3)
iauaã 'dog'	iauaĩ	iawãa-t͡ʃi-rĩ
nanki 'spear'	nankĩ	nanki-t͡ʃi-rĩ
uɨnu 'mouth'	uɨnĩ	uɨnu-t͡ʃi-rĩ ~ uɨnɨ-t͡ʃi-rĩ[a]

[a] I have both forms in my data. Apparently, the third person possessive form *wini* has been reanalyzed as the basic form for 'mouth' by some speakers.

10.4.1.4. Possession marking of idiosyncratic nouns

A few nouns show particular patterns when they appear in the possessed form.

• With a second person possessor, the words *nuku* 'mother' and *apa* 'father' never take

  (of any type) of possessed marking; thus they remain unmarked in their second

person-possessed form. This may be related to the marking of 2 person, which elsewhere in the grammar also triggers peculiar patterns (cf. §14.3.3, §16.3).

- The word *ia͡tsu* 'brother of male' occurs as *iat͡ʃi* [ját͡ʃɨ] with the 3 person possessor. This is surely a phonological reduction of *ia͡tsu-t͡ʃi* (brother-DIM\1PL/2PL/3.POSS). As an aside note, this word occurs often times with the Spanish diminutive *-ito*: [jat͡ʃito].)

- *t͡ʃit͡ʃama* 'speech' has the possessed form *t͡ʃit͡ʃamɨ* even though by the rules given in Table 10.8 it would be expected to have the possessed form *t͡ʃit͡ʃami*. The word *aninta* 'magical song' also has a special possessed form *aninti* (not *anintɨ*, as would be expected from Table 10.8).

10.4.1.5. Arbitrariness of the Type I/Type II distinction

In many languages, semantic categories associated with differences in nominal possession structures correspond to alienable/inalienable, inherent/non-inherent, or possessable/unpossessable features. In Wampis, kinship terms are obligatorily possessed, that is, they are grammatically inalienable. Virtually all nouns in the language, as far as I know, are grammatically possessable.[184]

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184. With the exception of the terms for 'mother' *nuku*, and 'father' *apa*, which do not receive any marking of being possessed when the possessor is second person, as indicated above.

A survey of nouns indicates that there is no clear semantic criterion that allows us to predict which nouns are Type I and which are Type II.

Some kinship terms are of Type I and others are of Type II, though kinship terms of Type I are more numerous. Some examples are given in Table 10.11. Those under the Type II label comprise an exhaustive list of Type II kinship terms in the data.

Table 10.11. Type I and Type II kinship and affine terms

Type I	Type II
aiʃu 'husband'	*auɨ* 'child of *uma*'
apa 'father'	*kai* 'sister (of female)'
iatsu 'brother'	*pataa* 'relative'
iitʃi 'uncle'	*sai* 'brother in law (of male)'
nuku 'mother'	*uma* 'sibling of opposite sex'
utʃi 'uncle'	
amiku/kumpa 'friend' (from Spanish)	

Body terms are more balanced in terms of number of members of one type or the other, though there are more body parts or affines that belong to Type II. Table 10.12 provides examples of Type I and Type II body part terms.

Table 10.12. Type I and Type II body part terms

Type I	Type II
ampu 'guts'	*hii* 'eye'
kuntu 'arm'	*iapi* 'face'
mun͡tsu 'nipple'	*kanau̶* 'branch'
mɨ 'kidney'	*kata* 'penis'
titi 'Adam's apple'	*muuka* 'head'
ukun͡tʃi 'bone'	*su̶* 'neck'
	u̶nu 'mouth'
	u̶ha 'hand'
	sua͡tʃi 'lung'

Table 10.13 gives a few other nouns that belong to Type I versus Type II. Certain nouns that refer to culturally important objects or that can be seen as the extension of a person/property, like 'dog', 'magical song' and 'spear' are Type II. However, other nouns referring to salient cultural objects, such as *tauasa* 'feathered crown' (given only to people of utmost respect) and personal property like 'boat' or 'pot' are Type I.

Table 10.13. Type I and Type II general nouns

Type I	Type II
kanu 'boat/canoe'	*nunka* 'land', 'territory'
pininka 'pot'	*hinta* 'trail'
tauasa 'feathered crown'	*iauã* 'dog'
	anɨnta 'magical song'
	nanki 'spear'

Finally, some nouns can take either Type I or Type II marking. Some examples

are given in Table 10.14.

Table 10.14. Nouns that can be either Type I or Type II

Nouns
haan͡tʃi 'cloth'
hɨã 'house'
iauaã 'dog'
t͡ʃimpui 'stool'

10.4.2. Diminutive -t͡ʃi

As seen in Table 10.5, the diminutive -t͡ʃi occurs immediately after the noun root

and creates a new noun that has the basic semantics of 'smaller N'. The historical source

of the diminutive clearly is the noun ut͡ʃi 'child'. As a suffix -t͡ʃi clearly corresponds to the

canonical [N Adj] word order in Jivaroan languages. Here are some examples of the

diminutive in Wampis:

(2)

numi numi-t͡ʃi
'tree' 'little tree'

t͡ʃinki t͡ʃinki-t͡ʃi
'bird' 'little bird'

mun͡tsu mun͡tsu-t͡ʃi
'breast' 'little breast'

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iauaã   iauaã-t͡ʃi
'dog'   'little dog'

The diminutive morpheme has extended usages in which its meaning is not that

of diminutive size or literally 'little'. Rather, it shares some meanings with Spanish *-ito*

which itself is not restricted only to indicating small size.

For instance, one use of the Wampis diminutive that is similar to the Peruvian

Spanish diminutive is its use to attenuate temporal or geographical distance. Here is one

example:

(3)
iaki   iaki-t͡ʃi
'above' 'a bit further above'

Like in Peruvian Spanish, this does not necessarily mean that the actual distance

is short, but it is used in a familiar/attenuative way to lower the sense of distance. The

previous comparisons with Spanish does not necessarily mean that Wampis borrowed

these uses from Spanish, as it is very common for diminutives to have this attenuative

use (Payne 1997). Furthermore, the diminutive use in a familiar/attenuative so

widespread in Peruvian Spanish have been clearly influence by languages like Quechua,

where this use is very common. Notice that Jivaroan languages have been in contact

with Quechua too.

In addition, the diminutive is used to add tenderness or endearment:

(4)

ut͡ʃi	'child'	ut͡ʃi-t͡ʃi	'little child'
mama	'mother'	mama-t͡ʃi	'dear mother'

The Wampis diminutive is also used to add an affective meaning or to attenuate

a proposal (i.e. make it seem like it's not a "big deal", or not very dramatic or

extensive). The diminutive can also provide a sense of politeness to an expression. For

instance, the next expression is commonly used to invite a bowl of manioc beer, the

staple drink among the Wampis.

(5)
nihʲámt͡ʃit͡ʃʃa umarmí
nihamãt͡ʃi-t͡ʃi = ʃa   uma-ra-mi
manioc.beer-DIM = ADD   drink-DISTR-HORT
'Let's drink a little manioc beer.' (Spanish: 'vamos a tomar un masatito')

Though it is not really common in natural speech, the diminutive can be

reduplicated. In such a case, the diminutive adds an intensive sense:

(6)
ut͡ʃi-t͡ʃi-t͡ʃi-t͡ʃi[185]
child-DIM-DIM-DIM
'very very young'

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185. This is an elicited example.

(7)

iaha-t͡ʃi-t͡ʃi-t͡ʃi

far-DIM-DIM-DIM

'very very far'

The diminutive can occur on nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, adjectives, and occasionally on verbs. In the next example, the diminutive attaches to 'straight' (an adjective in Wampis) and 'good' (also an adjective). In both cases, the diminutive derives a word with a intensive meaning: to paraphrase in English, the word *tutupini-t͡ʃi* does not mean 'a little straight' but 'quite straight'; and its use on *pínkira* 'good', interestingly, yields a more adverbial sense of 'very'.

(8) *tutúpnit͡ʃ pínkirat͡ʃ ɛ́ɛŋa núna hukɨ́*

tutupini-t͡ʃi	pínkira-t͡ʃi	a-ina	nu = na	hu-kɨ̃
straight-DIM	good-DIM	COP-PL.IPFV	ANA = ACC	carry-DISTR\3SG.SS

'Having carried the ones that are very straight . . .'

10.4.3. Attributive *-tinu*

The attributive attaches to a possessed noun stem and derives a new noun with the semantics of 'owner of N'. The possessed noun stem may have either Type I or Type II possessive morphology. Examples (8)–(9) show instances where *-tinu* occurs with a Type I possessed stem are:

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(9) t͡ʃit͡ʃámrintin

t͡ʃit͡ʃama-rĩ-tinu[186]

speech-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRIB

'with authority' (Lit.: 'owner of his speech')

(10) ɛ́ʃrintin

aiʃu-rĩ-tinu

husband-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRIB

'with husband' (i.e. 'married (woman)')

The next example is an instance of with Type II possessed noun morphology

with the vowel ĩ in the possessed form of 'woman' (the non-possessed root is *nua*).

(11) nuwĩ́ntin

nuĩ-tinu

woman\1PL/2PL/3.poss-attrib

'With woman' (i.e. 'married (man)')

An attributive-marked noun usually suffices to head a non-verbal clause that

predicates ownership/possession, but the attributive-marked noun can also occur with a

copula verb. Examples (12) and (13) demonstrate the attributive noun predicate and the

form with a copula, respectively.

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186. Notice that the possessed form of t͡ʃit͡ʃama 'speech' can also occur with Type II morphology,
as we saw in §10.4.1.5.

(12) Oskar náartin

Oscar   naa-ru-tinu

Oscar   name-1SG-ATTRIB

'My name is Oscar.'

(13) wikʲa apártiɲɛithɛɛ

ui = ka   apa-ru-tinu = aita-ha-i

1SG = FOC   father-1SG-ATTRIB = COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I have a father.'

The attributive construction with *-tinu* is explained in more detailed in §17.4.1.

10.4.4. Benefactive *-nau*

I gloss *-nau* as 'benefactive' to reflect its primary use in texts, though it really

seems to be a polysemic morpheme, capable of marking ideas of possession,

benefactive, recipient, and source material. Its synchronic status as a case form is

somewhat debatable, but it can clearly co-occur with other case markers, but its

position is like that of other meaning-changing morphemes.

Possessors inside of NPs can be marked with the genitive (cf. §10.4.6.3) or with

the benefactive suffix *-nau*. The suffix *-nau*, thus, marks a noun as a possessor, but

differs from the Genitive in both form and use. Morphosyntactically, the Genitive

occurs preceding the possessum; whereas *-nau* attaches to a possessor noun that occurs

after the possessum, as in (14)–(15).

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(14)

t͡ʃimpui   apa-ru-nau

stool   father-1SG-BEN

'my father's stool'

(15)

papii   haime-nau

notebook   Jaime-BEN

'Jaime's notebook'

Quite separately from possession, *-nau* is used to mark a benefactive participant.

In fact, a survey of connected speech reveals that the primary use of *-nau* in Wampis is

to mark a beneficiary/recipient, as in examples (16)–(19).

(16) *húka apárnawɛiti*

hu = ka   apa-ru-nau = aiti

PROX = FOC   father-1SG-BEN = COP.3 + DECL

'This is for my father.'

(17) *súwa aáwɛi tikít͡ʃik nampɨtán eðérnoun*

Sua   aa-ua-i   tikít͡ʃiki   nampɨta = na   Eder-nau = na

Huito   write + IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL   one   song = ACC   Eder-BEN = ACC

'Huito is writing a song for Eder.'

(18) *wíi namakán iŋkat͡ʃírnaun itʲájɛɛ*

ui   namaka = na   inkat͡ʃi-ru-nau = na   ita-ha-i

1SG   fish = ACC   mother-1SG-BEN = ACC   bring-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I bring fish for my mother.'

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(19) *ámiɲu wíi wakíramuka oúsati túsan wakírahɛɛ*

ami-nau	ui	uakɨra-a-mau=ka	aúsa-ti	tu-sa-nu
2SG-BEN	1SG	want-IPFV-NON.SBJ.NMLZ=FOC	study-JUSS	say-SUB-1SG.SS

uakɨra-ha-i
want+IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'What I want for you is that you study.' (lit. what I want for you, saying "that he stud-ies", I want.')

Interestingly, when the benefactive *-nau* occurs alone (without the copula), it generally marks possession. But when it occurs with the copula, it tends to mark benefactive. In (20), the *-nau*-marked noun receives a copula and its interpretation is that of beneficiary or recipient. On the other hand, in (21) *-nau* marks the noun as a possessor.

(20) *húka dínanuitʲi*

hu=ka	Dina-nau=iti
PROX=FOC	Dina-BEN=COP.3+DECL

'This is for Dina.'

(21) *húka dínanu*

hu=ka	Dina-nau
PROX=FOC	Dina-BEN

'This is Dina's.'

Another interesting use of *-nau* is to indicate the material or source from which something is made.

(22) *mína híirka numíɲuiti*

mina   hii-ru=ka   numi-nau=iti

1SG.GEN fire.place-1SG=FOC   firewood-BEN=COP.3+DECL

'My kitchen is made out of firewood.'

Recall that, phonologically, sequences of the type *Cau* (C=consonant) can

undergo internal vowel elision if the vowel is in a position to be deleted, a seen in

Chapter VI. Consequently, when the underlying /a/ is elided from -nau, the morpheme

surfaces as [nu], as in (22) where it is the third vowel from the left. One can speculate

that, historically, *-nau* could be morphologically complex: it may be composed of an old

form **na* (perhaps related to the accusative =*na*?)[187] and the Set II nominalizer *-u* (cf.

§15.4.5). As we saw in Chapter VI (see also §10.4.5 below), the nominalizer *-u* triggers

vowel-internal elision in *Cau* sequences. One difficulty with this hypothesis is that *-u*

derives deverbal nouns elsewhere in the grammar, and is not otherwise attested in

noun-to-noun derivation.

10.4.5. Negative nominalizer -*t͡ʃau*

The negative -*t͡ʃau* is historically composed of the verbal negative morpheme -*t͡ʃa*

and the Set II nominalizer *-u* (§15.4.5). As the name indicates, -*t͡ʃau* negates or inverts

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187. Notice that Wampis does not distinguish morphologically between direct/indirect object.
Both Objects in ditransitive constructions are marked with the accusative =*na*. There
conceivably could be a connection between the use of =*na* to mark benefactive/recipient
referents in ditransitive constructions and the benefactive/recipient function of *-nau*.

the meaning of the word that receives it. Examples (23)–(25) illustrate its use with

nouns.

(23) ʃuara 'man'   ʃuara-t͡ʃau 'not a man'

(24) ikama 'forest'   ikama-rĩ-t͡ʃau 'unforested'
                              forest-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-NEG.NMLZ

(25) aiʃu-rĩ-tinu 'with husband'   aiʃu-rĩ-t͡ʃau 'without husband' (i.e. bachelor female)
                              husband-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-NEG.NMLZ

The negative nominalizer -t͡ʃau can also attach to verbs and adjectives, as seen in

§15.4.7. The examples in (26) show -t͡ʃau with verbs, and examples in (27) illustrate it

with adjectives.

(26)
iu 'eat'   iu-á-t͡ʃau 'one who did not eat' ('eat-HIAF-NEG.NMLZ')
t͡ʃit͡ʃa 'speak'   t͡ʃit͡ʃa-t͡ʃau 'one who does not speak' (= 'quiet') (speak + IPFV-NEG.NMLZ)

(27)
pinkira 'good'   pinkira-t͡ʃau 'bad'
uunta 'big'   uunta-t͡ʃau 'not big'

Similarly to -nau, -t͡ʃau can surface as [t͡ʃu] if the vowel /a/ is in a position to be

deleted. For instance, the surface realization of t͡ʃit͡ʃa-t͡ʃau 'quiet', in (26) above, is

[t͡ʃít͡ʃat͡ʃu].

10.4.6. Case

Case marking here is viewed in a stricter sense of "the morphosyntactic

characterization of noun phrases that is imposed by the structure within which the noun

phrase occurs" (Payne 1997: 100). True case markers in Wampis are the Nominative

(which is unmarked), the Accusative, the Genitive and the Vocative. Case does not seem

to be a coherent morphosyntactic category in Wampis, as some cases are marked by

phonological means and therefore tightly related to the noun root or derived stem, and

other cases, like the accusative, occur in the form of an enclitic that may or may not be

borne by the head noun.

10.4.6.1. Nominative

Wampis is a nominative-accusative language. Nominative case is zero-marked in

Wampis. Intransitive and transitive lexical S and A argument NPs are treated the same

way in the language in having no overt case marker, and in occurring generally as the

first core argument in a sentence.

(28) *íti wíawɛɛ*
[iti]   uí-a-ua-i
yellow.wasp   go-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'The yellow wasp is going.'

(29) *íkam t͡sukaŋkán tukúmaji*
[Ikama]   t͡sukanká=na tuku-ma-ji
Ikam   toucan=ACC   shoot-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL
'Ikam killed the toucan.'

10.4.6.2. Accusative =*na*

Noun phrases that are Objects of a verb are marked with the morpheme =*na*. In

fact, =*na* marks a core argument of the verb that is "not-subject", as it also marks the

other argument of a ditransitive verb, as will be shown shortly.

(30) napín karámrumhεε
[napi] = na   karama-ru-ma-ha-i
boa = ACC   dream-APPL-REC.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I dreamt of a boa (to my detriment).'

The enclitic =*na* usually occurs in the last element of an NP:

(31) *útʃi ʃikáptʃitʃin súsaru*
[ut͡ʃi ʃikapít͡ʃi-t͡ʃi] = na   su-sa-ara-u
child little-DIM = ACC   give-ATT-PL-NMLZ
'They gave [him] the little child.'

(32) *út͡ʃi kakáram átiɲun wεínkamiaji*
[ut͡ʃi kakarama   a-tinu] = na   uaina-ka-mia-ji
child powerful.man   COP-FUT.NMLZ = ACC   see-INTENS-DIST.PT-3.PT + DECL
'He saw a children that is will be a *kakaram*.'

An important note regarding the realization of the accusative =*na* is in order.

Because =*na* frequently appears as the last morphological element of the noun word (or

phrase—only discourse-level morphemes come after case clitics), its vowel usually

undergoes apocope. This apparently has given rise to a further phonetic change in the

accusative, whereby sometimes the nasal consonant /n/ is also lost if =*na* occupies the

last position. In those cases, the only marking of the accusative is placement of high

tone—remember that =*na* induces shift of high tone one mora to the right, as described

in Chapter VI. It will shown that this process is also the origin of the genitive marking

in Wampis. For instance, a common collocation in Wampis is to use the verb *hu* 'take'

with *nanki* [náŋki] 'spear' as its object. Often times, the noun *nanki* surfaces as

[naŋkí][188] when it is the object NP, with the placement of high tone as the only

evidence of accusative marking:

(33) *naŋkí húkĩ*

nankí   hu-kĩ

spear\ACC   take-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS

'Having taken the spear…'

However, when more morphology is added to the nominal piece, the underlying

/n/ surfaces. This is not optional; the /n/ always surfaces when another morpheme co-

occurs after the accusative, as in (34). Further evidence that =*na* is present

underlyingly is the surfacing of the entire form /na/ if the morphophonological

environment is appropriate. In (35), the vowel of =*na* is not deleted because the

(potentially) resulting the cluster [ɲk] in the coda is prohibited. Thus, consider:

(34) *naŋkínʃa húkĩ*

nanki = na = ʃa   hu-kĩ

spear = ACC = ADD   take-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS

'Having taken the spear too…'

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188. But notice that this varies with [naŋkín], where the nasal consonant occurs at the end.

(35) *nankíɲak hú-kĩ*

nanki＝na＝kɨ   hu-kĩ

spear＝ACC＝RESTR   take-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS

'Having taking the spear only…'

       In terms of its distribution, the accusative can attach to demonstratives and

personal pronouns. In this respect, an interesting distributional feature of ＝*na* is that

when a demonstrative occurs in the noun phrase, the accusative ＝*na* attaches in the

demonstrative, adjectives and relative clauses modifying the noun, as well as on the

noun head. This is, by all accounts, a rare property of Wampis demonstratives, as they

trigger agreement with certain categories, such as the accusative (see §8.3.1 for details).

Example (35) shows the NP object 'that person' with ＝*na* on both elements of the

phrase. This contrast with the distribution (37), where ＝*na* is on the last element only.

(36) *núna ʃuarán wɛínmiaji*

nu＝na   ʃuara＝na   waina-ma-ji

ana＝ACC   person＝ACC   look-REC.PT-3.PT＋DECL

'He saw that person.'

(37) *ʃuár sutarán wɛínmiaji*

ʃuara   sutara＝na   waina-mia-ji

person short＝ACC   look-dist.pt-3.PT＋DECL

'He saw a short person.'

10.4.6.2.1. Accusative =*na* in ditransitive constructions

The T (= Theme) and R (= Recipient) arguments of a ditransitive verb are both

marked with =*na*. Beneficiary/recipients can optionally be marked with -*nau*. In (38),

the two objects of 'give', 'beaded necklace' and 'T͡sɨkt͡ʃiku', both receive =*na*. Likewise,

in (39), the objects of 'inform', 'that' and 'you', also receive the accusative =n*a*.

(38) *násĩ t͡sɨ̂kt͡sɨkun ʃuakán susámaji*

Nasĩ   [T͡sɨkt͡ʃiku] = na   [ʃuaka] = na   su-sa-ma-ji
Nasĩ   T͡sɨkt͡sɨku = ACC   beaded.necklace = ACC give-ATT-REC.PT-3.PT
'Nase gave T͡sekt͡seku a beaded necklace.'

(39) *núna ámiɲa uháktathamɨ*

nu = na   ami = na   uha-ka-tata-hamɨ
non.vis = ACC   2SG = ACC   inform-INTENS-DEF.FUT-1SG > 2SG + DECL
'I am going to tell you that.'

10.4.6.3. Genitive

Genitive marking of a possessor noun (or noun phrase) is marked by cancelling

apocope of the last vowel of the noun stem (cf. Table 10.5) and adding a high tone on

the last vowel of the noun stem V́. Sometimes the genitive-marked NP surfaces with a

final consonant *n* in addition to the high pitch. Thus the forms of the Genitive in

Wampis are either V́ or V́n. The historical origin of the Genitive in relation with the

Accusative =*na* is discussed further below in this section.

The most basic use of the Genitive in Wampis is to mark possession. In (40), the

noun 'our children' is the possessor of 'land'; it occurs with a high pitch, which marks

the possessor. By contrast, in the Nominative of 'our children', the last vowel undergoes

apocope and the high tone is placed on the second vowel, as shown in (41) .

(40) *ut͡ʃirí núŋka*

ut͡ʃi-rí   nunka

child-1PL/2PL/3.POSS\GEN   land

'Our children's land'

(41) *ut͡ʃĩr*

ut͡ʃi-rĩ

child-1PL/2PL/3.POSS

'Our children'

In the following sentence, the word for 'rain' in the Genitive role has the high

tone again in the last vowel,while in the Nominative form, the pronunciation is [júmi].

(42) *jumí t͡ʃĩnt͡sak naŋkimaáta*

jumí   t͡sɨnt͡saka   nankima-á-tá

rain\GEN   dart   throw-HIAF-IMP

'Throw a rain's dart!'

The next example shows the Genitive form V́n word-finally; in the Nominative

form, the high pitch would be located in the second /a/: *matáu.*

(43) *matoún kátĩ*

mataún	katĩ
palm\GEN	shoot\1PL/2PL/3.POSS

'The palm's shoot'

10.4.6.3.1. Possible historical development of the Genitive

Overall has hypothesized the historical relationship between the Accusative and the Genitive in the related language Awajun in the following terms: "Thus historically, the accusative suffix may have been used to mark the possessor of a possessed noun, in a 'benefactive' sense. Then the dropping of final /n/ would have led to a reinterpretation, with the 'possessor' forms becoming a new genitive" (2007: 219). A similar development of the Accusative into a Genitive seems to have occurred in Wampis.

As a first evidence of the development of the accusative into a genitive, we can observe the Genitive form of the personal pronouns (cf. §8.2.1.2), shown in Table 10.15.

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Table 10.15. Nominative and Genitive forms of personal pronouns in Wampis

	Nominative	Genitive
1SG	ui	mina ~ uina
2SG	amɨ	amina
3SG	nĩ	nina
1PL	ii	iina
2PL	atumɨ	atumí~atumina[189]
3PL	nita	nitá

With the exception of 3PL, the Genitive pronouns are composed of the combining stems *mi* (1SG), *ami* (2SG), *ni* (3SG), *atumi* (2PL) plus the form *na* that, by all evidence, is none other than the accusative morpheme. In the case of the 3 person plural, the Genitive form does not have the element *na*, but the Genitive is marked with a high tone in the last vowel (the Nominative is pronounced [nítʲa] with high tone in the first vowel). The same occurs with the 2 plural variant *atumí*.

Secondly, the accusative is one of the morphemes that induces shift in the placement of the high tone one mora rightward in two and three mora words (cf. §6.6). The vowel of the accusative normally undergoes apocope if it occurs word-finally,

189. Actually, this form always surfaces as [atúmin] and the final /a/ is dropped following the rule of apocope in Wampis. By contrast, the 2 singular genitive form *amina* never deletes its last vowel, contravening the rule of apocope which deletes the last underlying vowel of the word.

which yields the form V́n, the same that is seen in the genitive. A further step in the re-analysis of the accusative would be the phonological erosion of the consonant /n/.

Table 10.16 shows a comparison between nominative, accusative and genitive forms of nouns.

Table 10.16. Nominative, acusative and genitive forms of *numi* 'tree' and *naiapi* 'swallow-tailed kite'

Nominative	Accusative	Genitive
numi [númi]	numi=na [numín]	numí [numí]
naiapi [najáp]	naiapi=na [najapín]	naiapí [najapí]

The fact that in Wampis the /n/ variably shows up in some realizations of the genitive form constitutes further evidence that the old accusative form is "still there" and its grammaticalization into marking possessor is relatively recent in the language.[190] The third step would be the dropping of /n/, after which the only trace of the accusative is the high pitch, as in the word 'bear' or 'woman' in the table below. Further examples that link the genitive to the accusative form are provided in Table 10.17.[191]

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190. In comparison, the reanalysis of the accusative into a genitive marker appears to have been faster in Awajun, where apparently the only marking of the genitive is -V́ (Overall 2007).

191. The first three examples in Table 10.15 are of words that were found in the database with the V́n genitive form, however notice that they can also occur simply as V́# in the genitive.

Table 10.17. Sample of nominative, accusative and genitive forms of nouns

Nominative	Accusative (=na)[192]	Genitive (V́n or V́)
t͡súnki 'water spirit'	t͡sunkína	t͡sunkín
matáu 'palm'	mataúna	mataún
ʃuára 'person'	ʃuarána	ʃuarán
t͡ʃái 'bear'	t͡ʃaína	t͡ʃaí
núa 'woman'	nuána	nuá

10.4.6.4. Vocative

The vocative identifies a person being directly addressed during a communicative act. In Wampis, the vocative form of the noun is marked by canceling apocope and adding a high tone to the last vowel of the nominal word. The only other nominal morphemes compatible with the vocative in my data are the diminituve -t͡ʃi and the possessor person markers. Table 10.18 shows nominative and vocative forms of nouns with possessor person markers and the diminutive.

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192. The underlined vowels in this column are dropped in the phonetic realization of the accusative form (thus making the Accusative forms basically equivalent to some of the Genitive forms).

Table 10.18. Vocative forms

Nominative	Vocative
ja͡tsúr	jatsurú
jatsu-ru	jatsu-rú
brother-1sɢ	brother-1sɢ\voc
nuwár	nuwarú
nua-ru	nua-rú
wife-1sɢ	wife-1sɢ\voc
ut͡ʃít͡ʃ	ut͡ʃit͡ʃí
ut͡ʃi-t͡ʃi	ut͡ʃi-t͡ʃí
child-ᴅɪᴍ	child-ᴅɪᴍ\voc
nukút͡ʃ	nukut͡ʃí
nuku-t͡ʃi	nuku-t͡ʃí
mother-ᴅɪᴍ	mother-ᴅɪᴍ\voc
nukút͡ʃru	nukut͡ʃrú
nuku-t͡ʃi-ru	nuku-t͡ʃi-rú
mother-ᴅɪᴍ-1sɢ	mother-ᴅɪᴍ-1sɢ\voc

10.4.6.4.1. Vocative forms of kinship terms

Some kinship terms have different vocative forms than the one just described

above, instead using the suffixes *-uá* and *-tá*. Both morphemes always receive high pitch

and do not undergo apocope. Unlike the regular vocative form, these vocatives are

apparently incompatible with person/possessive markers. Table 10.19 presents the

exceptional kinship forms.

Table 10.19. Exceptional vocative kinship terms.

Nominative	Vocative
apa 'father'	apa-uá [apawá]
nuku 'moter'	nuku-uá [nukuwá]
nauatu 'daughter'	nauantá [nawantá]
ut͡ʃi 'child'	ut͡ʃitáᵃ [ut͡ʃitʲá]
nua 'woman/wife'	nuatáᵃ [nuwatá]
ia͡tsu 'brother of male'	ia͡tsutáᵃ [ja͡tsutá]

ᵃ These forms alternate with a "regular" vocative form that is formed by the root plus a person/possession marker; e.g. *ia͡tsurú* 'my brother' (vocative).

10.4.6.4.2. Vocative form of foreign names

As many Wampis people have adopted Spanish names, the vocative forms of their names have been phonologically adjusted to fit into the Wampis structure. The basic rules of the vocative forms of Spanish names are the following:

• Spanish names that end in a vowel cancel apocope and add a high tone like any

  normal Wampis noun:

(44) Dina   :   Diná (Voc)
      Jaime   :   Jaimé (Voc)

• Spanish names that end in a consonant (originally in Spanish) add an /a/ at the end if

  they do not end in /d/, /m/ or /n/ (I have no record of Spanish names ending in b or

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p used by the Wampis as those are rare even in Spanish). Incidentally, this also shows

that the vowel /a/ is part of the underlying form, i.e. one strategy to adapt foreign

names in Wampis is to add paragogical vowel to maintain the word structure (no

word in Wampis ends in a consonant underlyingly).

(45) Abel : Abelá (Voc)
  Jesús : Jesusá (Voc)

• If the Spanish name ends in /d/, /m/ or /n/, the Wampis add a syllable /ta/, /pa/ or

 /ka/, respectively.

(46) Davíd : Davidtá (Voc)
  Simón : Simonká (Voc)
  Carmen : Carmenká (Voc)

10.4.6.4.3. Other cultural/familiar vocatives and terms to address people

  Apart from the vocative form of nouns, Wampis people use certain terms to

address other people familiarly/colloquially or more respectfully:

• Fathers use the words *mat͡ʃu* 'boy' (from Spanish <macho> 'male') or *suki* 'testicle' to

 address their sons in a familiar way. The term *ʃuni* 'type of larva' is also used to refer

 to/address a child. Parents and brothers also familiarly call a daughter/sister *muhira*

 'woman' (from Spanish <mujer>).

• In addition, the people who are considered *uunta* 'elder' (or 'respected adult person')

 are not called by their names, but are called *uunta* [úun] 'elder' or *iit͡ʃi* [iít͡ʃ] 'uncle' if

there is a close personal relationship. Usually a possessive form marked with the

vocative is used.

- Women of status within the family or social group are called *nuku* 'mother' + posessor

  marker, or *nukut͡ʃi* 'grandmother'; also the Spanish <mamá> 'mother' is used.

- Close friends or relatives also use the form *iat͡ʃito* [jat͡ʃíto] (*iat͡ʃi* 'brother + 3' plus the

  Spanish diminutive -*ito*) to address each other in informal contexts—this form is

  specially common among young male speakers.[193] Otherwise, the more traditional

  forms *iatsu-rú* 'brother-1sɢ\voc, or *iat͡sutá* (brother-voc), which are still very common,

  are used.

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193. The feminine form to refer to 'brother', *uma*, does not have a correspondent form with the
Spanish diminutive.

CHAPTER XI

THE NOUN PHRASE AND POSTPOSITIONS

11.1. Introduction

Chapter XI explores the Noun Phrase (NP) in Wampis. The chapter begins with a

definition of the NP in Wampis in §11.2. The discussion continues with a description of

several construction involving a Noun Phrase in §11.3. After a brief note on case in

§11.4, in §11.5 different postpositional enclitics that form are discussed.

11.2. The noun phrase (NP) in Wampis

In Wampis, the simplest noun phrase is headed by a noun or a pronominal form

without modification.

(1) *puhupát kutaŋkán nahánarmaji*

[puhupata]	[kutanka] = na	nahana-ra-ma-ji
Puhupat	bench = ACC	make-DISTR-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

'Puhupat made a bench.'

The NP can be determined by a demonstrative, by *tikitʃi* 'other', by a personal

pronoun acting as an definite article (infrequent in the data), by a numeral or non-

numeral quantifier—all of them typically precede the head (quantifiers may appear

after the noun). In addition, *aia* or *aiatɨkɨ* (both mean 'only') also can occur in the NP,

typically preceding the head, but they can occur after the noun as well. In the data, all

of the above mentioned elements (demonstratives, tikit͡ʃi 'other', personal pronoun

acting as articles, quantifiers, *aia* and *aiatɨkɨ* 'only') do not co-occur.[194] Modification with

uɨantu 'group', adjectives and relative clauses typically follow the head. More than one

modifier can occur in the NP, but text data shows that NPs in Wampis usually tend to

be simple, consisting of a demonstrative (or other specifier) and a noun head. Relative

clauses are used more often than adjectives for noun modification. More than one

modifier can occur in the NP, but only lexical noun heads can be modified with

adjectives. Figure 11.1 shows the elements of a NP. Note that RC = Relative clause.

$$
\left\{
\begin{array}{l}
\text{(Demonstrative)} \\
(\textit{tikit͡ʃi}) \\
\text{(Quantifier)} \\
\text{(Personal Pronoun)} \\
(\textit{aia}),\ (\textit{aiatɨk})
\end{array}
\quad \text{N} \quad (\textit{uɨantu}) \quad
\begin{array}{l}
\text{(Adj)} \\
\text{(RC)}
\end{array}
\right\}\text{NP}
$$
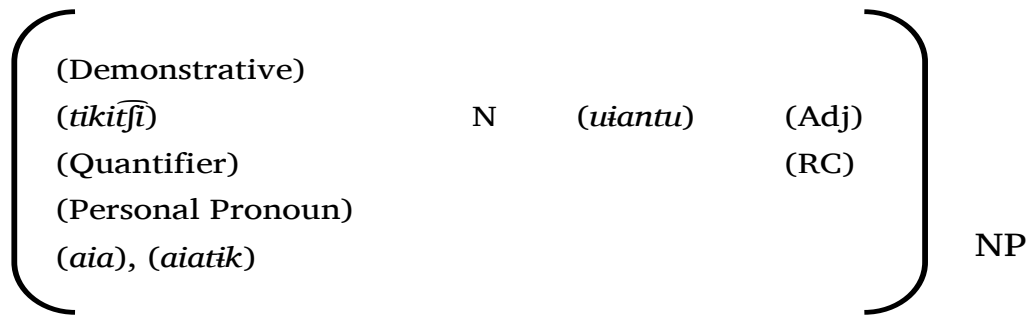
Figure 11.1. Structure of Noun Phrase

The structure provided in Figure 11.1 serves to introduce the NP constructions

in the next sections.

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194. A demonstrative and *tikit͡ʃi* 'other' co-occur only when *tikit͡ʃi* acts as the head of the NP.

11.3. NP constructions

11.3.1. The determined NP

The second simplest NP (the first is just the noun occurring alone) is constituted

by any of the elements that typically occur preceding the noun head; i.e. a

demonstrative, *tikitʃi* 'other', quantifier, personal pronoun and *aia, aiatik* 'only'. These

elements, in general, serve to specify the reference of the noun head, so it can be said

that they function as determiners.[195] I call this the "Determined NP".

Demonstratives have the distinctive property of triggering agreement with the

noun head and its modifiers, as explained previously in §8.3.1.

(2) *núna ʃuarán wɛínkamhɛɛ*

nu＝na	ʃuara＝na	pínkɨra＝na	uaina-ka-ma-ha-i
non.vis＝ACC	person＝ACC	good＝ACC	see-intens-REC.PT-1sg.sbj-DECL

'I saw a good person.'

11.3.2. The possessive construction

The simple possessive construction is done with a noun marked as possessed, the

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195. It is not yet clear whether there is a Determiner Phrase in Wampis. Morphosyntactically, I have shown that all of the above mentioned elements that serve to determine an noun have very different properties and there is no evidence that they form a class (see Chapter VIII). But the question of a Determiner Phrase merits further research—identifying tests such as coordination is difficult as coordination is not very relevant in Wampis. Thus, more evidence, specially in terms of designing tests, are needed to consider a Determiner Phrase as a relevant structure in Wampis.

possessor may occur optionally, and is marked with the genitive. If a genitive noun

occurs in the phrase, it always precedes the possessed noun and nothing stands between

the two of them.

(3) *miɲa patáar*

mina   pataa-ru

1SG.GEN   relative-1SG

'My relatives'

Apparently, the marking of possession is not obligatory when the possessor is

not animate. Compare:

(4) *míɲa núŋkar*

mina   nunka-ru

1SG.GEN land-1SG

'my land'

(5) *mit͡ʃá núŋka*

mít͡ʃá   nunka

cold/GEN   land

'the land of cold'

There are cases of nesting with possessive NPs, as the following example shows.

(6) *míɲa nukút͡ʃru nukurí*

mina   nukut͡ʃru   nuku-rĩ

1SG.GEN   grandmother-1SG   mother-1PL/2PL/3.POSS

'my grandmother's mother'

11.3.3. The attributive construction

In the attributive construction, Adjectives and Relative clauses modify the noun

head, attributing some property to the head noun. Any of the elements that can function

as determiners may optionally occur.

Modifiers of nouns most frequently follow the noun head:

(7) *ʃuár sutár wíawɛɛ*
[ʃuara sutara] uɨ-a-ua-i
person short   go-ipfv-3.sbj-ᴅᴇᴄʟ
'The short person is going.'

(8) *núwa píŋkɨr taámaji*
nua pínkɨra ta-á-ma-ji
woman good arriv-hiaf-ʀᴇᴄ.ᴘᴛ-3.ᴘᴛ + ᴅᴇᴄʟ
'A good woman arrived.'

Relative clauses are a function of nominalization in Wampis. There are two

major relative clause constructions. One is done with nominalizers, most frequently

with Set II nominalizer *-u* 'subject nominalizer' and *-mau* 'non-subject nominalizer' (cf.

Chapter XV for more details on relativization):

(9) *núwa wínɨ̃ aparú*
[nua   [uɨnɨ̃   apa-ra-u]]
womanmouth\1ᴘʟ/2ᴘʟ/3.ᴘᴏss put.together-ᴅɪsᴛʀ-ɴᴍʟᴢ
'the woman that sew her mouth'

(10) *píntʃu nayáp tamóo*
[pintʃu   [naiapi   ta-mau]]
raptor.bird   swallow-tailed.kite   say-ɴᴍʟᴢ
'The bird called Nayap'.

The other strategy of relativization is done by relativizing a copula verb with a

demonstrative, as shown in (11) and (12).

(11) *núu ʃuár mikút anú*

[nu	ʃuara	[Mikuta	a＝nu]]
non.vis	person	Mikut	cop＝non.vis

'that Person who was Mikut'

(12) *ut͡ʃirí t͡sakɛ́iɲa ánuna*

[ut͡ʃi-rĩ	[t͡saka-ina	a＝nu＝]]na
child-1pl/2pl/3.poss	grow-pl.ipfv	cop＝dem＝ACC

'our children that are growing'

Relativization is described in detail in §20.2.

11.3.4. The plural construction

Wampis does not mark plurality on the noun and plurality is not an obligatory

category of nouns. However, plurality can be optionally marked at the level of the NP

via the copula *a* plus the imperfective plural marker *-ina*. In this construction, the head

always precedes the copula.

The plural construction might have come historically from a relativization

construction with a demonstrative. In fact, often times the demonstrative still occurs

relativizing the copula, most frequently *nu* 'non-visible', but also *au* 'distal'. I have no

examples of the plural construction with the other demonstratives (although they can

relativize a copula for other relativization functions).

(13) *t͡ʃaí t͡ʃit͡ʃámĭ antúrak jawáa ɛ́iɲa núu*

t͡ʃai	t͡ʃit͡ʃamĭ	antu-ra-kã	[iauaa a-ina	nu]
bear	word\1PL/2PL/3.POSS	obey-INTENS\3SG.SS	jaguar COP-PL.IPFV	NON.VIS

'The jaguars listened to the bear's words.'

(14) *ʃuar piŋkɨrt͡ʃau ɛiɲa nuka*

[ʃuar	pinkɨra-t͡ʃau	a-ina	nu] = ka
person	good-NEG.NMLZ	COP-PL. IPFV	NON.VIS = FOC

'bad people'

There are plenty of examples that show that the structure [Noun *a-ina*] can occur alone, without the demonstrative relativizing the copula marked for plural. Note in particular the marking of the accusative in (15) over the whole plural construction (attaching after the copula), which is evidence that the plural construction is being analyzed as an equivalent of a NP. More evidence for this is given in (16), where all modifiers of the noun receive the accusative =*na*, including the copula, in accordance with the rule of agreement marking triggered by a demonstrative; and in (17) where the locative is hosted by the copula. These examples suggest that the plural construction has been reanalyzed as a plural NP.

(15) *warít͡ʃirĭ ɛ́iɲan huúk*

[uari-t͡ʃi-rĭ	a-ina] = **na**	huu-kã
thing-DIM-1PL/2PL/2.POSS	COP-PL.IPFV = **ACC**	gather-INTENS\3SG.SS

'having gathered her little things'

(16) *núna utʃín unúimaru ɛ́ɲan ɨákmiahεε*

[nu = na ut͡ʃi = na   [unuima-ra-u] a-ina] = **na**   ia-ka-mia-ha-i

NON.VIS   child = ACC   learn-DISTR-NMLZ COP-PL.IPFV = **ACC** look.for-INTENS-DIST.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I looked for those educated children.'

(17) *kuntín ɛ́ɲanam*

[kuntina   a-ina] = nama

animal   COP-PL.IPFV = LOC

'in the animals'

Importantly, possession cannot be marked on the copula, only on the noun, as

shown in (18). This corresponds with the idea that the plural constructions works at a

level higher than the level of the noun word; i.e. at the level of the phrase.

(18) patáar ɛ́ɲa

pataa-ru   a-ina

relative-1SG   COP-PL.IPFV

'my relatives'

The plural construction is optional for the most part, but it is very frequent in

enumeration of plural referents.

11.3.5. Construction with *uɨantu* 'group'

The word *uɨantu* can modify a noun to provide the idea of 'group' or 'class of N'.

The minimal structure in which this construction occurs is:

[N wɨantu]

In this construction, the noun has to be an overt expression in the NP and must

precede the modifier *uɨantu*. Interestingly, the copula plus plural marker (*a-ina*) never

occurs when *uɨantu* occurs (i.e. they are in a complementary distribution). Semantically,

the *uɨantu*-construction gives somewhat unspecific information in the sense that unlike

typical class noun systems, in this cases no animacy/shape/number/gender or other

distinction is made.

The next examples illustrate the use of *uɨantu* 'group'. The following phrase was

translated as 'sachamango and its varieties':

(19) *apɛ́i wɨ́antu*
apai   uɨantu
sachamango   group
'sachamango (*Gustavia superba*) and its varieties'

In the next example the idea of "group" (that of disabled people) is clearly

conveyed via the [N *uɨantu*] construction. The speaker is telling about a case of

collective psychosis that occurred in her village. As a consequence of forceful physical

acts (e.g. climbing on tress, jumping to the river from a high stand-point, and so on), a

group of villagers became disabled. To refer to this group, the speaker uses *uɨantu* with

the words meaning 'crippled' and 'dislocated'. Note that the verb *hasarmiaji* 'became' is

elided in the first line. Even though the English translation does not clearly transmit

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that meaning, in Wampis the more literal meaning is 'a group who are crippled.'

(20)

a. *nuí kuntúnam muúnkaru wíantu*

nuĩ	kuntu=nama	muuna-ka-ara-u	uɨantu
there	arm=LOC	cripple-INTENS-PL-NMLZ	group

'they [became] crippled,' (Lit.: 'They became cripplers in their arms')

b. *taŋkírin kuík^jaru wíantu hasármiaji*

tanki-rĩ	kui-ka-ara-u	uɨantu	has-ara-mia-ji
spine-1PL/2PL/3PL.POSS	dislocate-INTENS-PL-NMLZ	group	become-PL-DIST.PT-3.PT+DECL

'they became disable people' (Lit.: 'They became dislocaters of their spines')

11.4. Case

This is just a short note to remind the reader that two of the four cases of Wampis work at the level of the word: the genitive and the vocative, which are marked with a high tone. The nominative is zero-marked. The other remaining case, the accusative =*na,* is the only enclitic case and works at the level of the noun phrase. Nonetheless, for practical reasons, the accusative was described in the previous chapter, with the rest of case markers (cf. §10.4.6.2).

11.5. Postpositional clitics and the marking of oblique relations

Postpositions mark oblique relations. Adpositions introduce a phrase that is typically an optional constituent in the sentence. In Wampis, all adpositions are enclitics with the exceptions of a high tone locative morpheme.

11.5.1. Locatives

Wampis has three different locatives, two involve consonant and vowel segments

and the other is tonal: $=nVma$, $=(n)\tilde{\imath}$, and high tone on the last surface vowel

(symbolized here as V́), as indicated in Table 11.1. The first two are used for spatial and

temporal location, whereas V́ is only used in a spatial sense and occurs only on a subset

of nouns. As spatial locatives, all three differ very little in their semantics.

Table 11.1. Functions of locative markers

Postpositional morphemes	Spatial	Temporal
=nVma	✔	✔
=(n)ĭ	✔	✔
V́	✔	---

The main distinction between $=nVma$ and $=(n)\tilde{\imath}$ is just morphological

conditioning: $=(n)\tilde{\imath}$ only occurs with possessed noun stems and bare demonstratives,

whereas $=numa$ can occur with possessed or non-possessed nouns.

All three locatives in Wampis convey "diffuse" semantics; i.e. they do not specify

the exact position of the figure relative to a ground ('inside', 'on', 'under', etc). It will be

seen in §17.5.3.3.2 on non-verbal predication that Wampis uses a set of verbal items to,

among other things, convey a more specific sense of position or location. The locatives

also can be used for stative location with stative verbs or, with dynamic verbs, they

indicate the direction of the movement. In (21)–(22) the locatives mark stative location:

(21) *hĩá puháwɛi*

hĩá   puha-ua-i
house\LOC   live + IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'He is in the house.'

(22) *hĩánam puháwɛi*

hĩa = nam   puha-ua-i
house = LOC   live + IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'He is in the house.'

  In the next examples, the locative =*numa* marks direction with motion verbs:

(23) *hį̃yánum taáji*

hĩa = numa   taa-á-ji
house = LOC   arrive-HIAF-3.PT + DECL
'He arrived at the house.'

(24) *hį̃yánum wɨ́maji*

hĩa = numa   wɨ́-ma-ji
house = LOC   go-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL
'He went to the house.'

  In the above examples, =*numa* is used; following are some examples with the

other locatives with approximately the same propositional content as in (23)–(24)

above:

(25) *hĭárŭĩ taáji*

hĭa-ru=ĩ   ta-á-ji

house-1sg=loc   arrive-hiaf-3.pt+decl

'He arrived at my house.'

(26) *hĭá taáji*

hĭá   ta-á-ji

house\loc   arrive-hiaf-3.pt+decl

'He arrived at the house.'

11.5.1.1. Locative =*nVma*

The locative =*nVma* has two forms, =*nama* and =*numa*. The alternations

between these two allomorphs is not predictable synchronically and they might be the

remnants of two old competing forms. The morpheme =*nVma* is the most frequent of

all three locatives in Wampis, and besides its adnominal function it is used to form

relatives and adverbials. The locative =*nVma* usually attaches to the last element of the

NP.

(27) *aʃí t͡ʃankín uúnnum t͡ʃimpíawεε*

aʃi   t͡ʃankina uunta=numa t͡ʃimpi-a-ua-i

all   basket   big=loc   put.in-ipfv-3.sbj-decl

'she is putting all in the big basket.'

Verbs of cognition and hitting/contact may have their arguments marked with

the locative instead of the accusative.

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(28) t͡sunkínmaʃa aníntaimtaiɲaiti

t͡sunki = nVma = ʃa   anɨntaima-taĩ = aiti

water.spirit = LOC = ADD   think-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'In the water spirit also we (normally) think.'

      Like in many languages, the locative =*nVma* sometimes shows metaphorically

extended meanings, such as more abstract locative states. In the next example, the noun

marked with =*nVma* can be more properly translated as 'in the Wampis culture...':

(29) *wampísɲum núkap arútam áwɛi*

uampisa = nVma   nukapɨ arutama   a-ua-i

Wampis = LOC   many power.vision exist-3.SBJ-DECL

'In Wampis, there are many ***Arutam.***'

      Very commonly =*nVma* follows a nominalizer to create clauses functioning as

relatives (of location) and adverbials (temporal/reason). The next two examples

illustrate locative relative clauses:

(30) *urút͡ʃ kutámramu áunam*

[urut͡ʃi kutama-ra-mau   a-u = **nama**]

cotton thread-DISTR-NMLZ   exist-NMLZ = **LOC**

'Where there is a [ladder made of] threaded cotton'

(31) *ɲawaá͡ mat͡sámounam*

[iauãa mat͡sa-mau = **nama**]

jaguar inhabit-NMLZ = **LOC**

'[He brought it] to where there were jaguars.'

      When a nominalized verb is imperfective or durative, the =*nVma*-marked clause

indicates a simultaneous or durative action. The next two examples illustrate the use of

the locative in this temporal/adverbial construction:

(32) *mat͡sámsami támounam*

mat͡sama-sa-mi   ta-mau=nama

live.together-ATT-HORT say+IPFV-NMLZ=LOC

'When we want to live' (lit. 'When we say "let's live"')

(33) *int͡sát͡ʃĩnam utúk wínamunam ʃuár pampá tímaji nuhĩnam*

int͡sa=t͡ʃi=nama   utu-ku   wɨ-ina-mau=**nama**

river=DIM=LOC   collect-SIM   go-PL.IPFV-NMLZ=**LOC**

ʃuara pampa   timaji nuhi=nama

person make.noise+IPFV   NARR nose=LOC[196]

'While they were collecting [snails] in the little river, people were making noise…'

   Likely through its use in temporal adverbials, =*nVma* has extended its uses to

other the expression of other notions, such as reason or cause. Notice, however, that it

is in perfective contexts where the locative provides the sense of reason or cause to the

clause. Example (34) illustrates this use.

(34) *núu juwí ukámðramunam nuiñá núwĩka waínkamuiti naháanaruiti tíɲu ármaji*

nu   iuui ukama-ra-mau=**nama**   nuĩ=ia

NON.VIS squash spill-DISTR-NMLZ=**LOC**   there=ABL

'Because that squash had been spilled, ever since then,

nuɨ=ka   uaina-ka-mau=iti   nahana-ra-u=iti

clay=FOC look-INTENS-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL make-DISTR-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

'It has been seen, it has transformed (the squash into clay),'

---

196. The term *nuhinama* has the conventional meaning of 'upstream', or 'above the river's bank' (the rivers are usually below the level where people actually live).

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ti-inu   a-ara-ma-ji

say + LOAF-AGT.NMLZ COP-PL-REC.PT-3.PT

'They said.'

In the next example, we see two consecutive clauses marked with = *nVma* (in

the second, third and sixth lines of the example). In line 35.b, the clause was

interpreted by my Wampis teachers with a temporal meaning. On the other hand, in

line c, the interpretation given was an interpretation of reason.

(35)

a. *jáunchukka huĩnkʲa awarúnka at͡súhakuiti*

iaunt͡ʃukɨ = ka   huĩ = ka   auaruni = ka   a-t͡su-hak-u = iti

long.ago = FOC   here = FOC   Awajun = FOC   exist-NEG-HAB.PT.NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'Long ago, there was no Awajun here'

b. *húka jaméɛ t͡ʃit͡ʃám naŋkáŋkamunam*

hu = ka   jamai   t͡ʃit͡ʃama   nankana-ka-mau = **nama**

NON.VIS = FOC   now   problem[197]   finish-INTENS-NMLZ = **LOC**

'Now when the problems have ended'

c. *t͡ʃit͡ʃama iwáramunam*

t͡ʃit͡ʃama   iuara-mau = **nama**

problems   fix-NMLZ = **LOC**

'Because the problems were fixed'

d. *awarúŋka kámɨ hunĩnkʲa ut͡saánawɛiti*

awarunka   kamɨ   huĩ-ni = ka   ut͡saána-u = aiti

Awajun   INTERJ here-ALL = FOC enter-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'The Awajun have entered over here'

---

197. The word t͡ʃit͡ʃama means 'speech, language, word', and also 'problem'.

e. *huínkʲa kámɨ kahɨ́rnajamu atsutí túsa*

huĩ=ka	kamɨ	kahɨ-ra-nai-a-mau	a-tsu-tí	tu-sã
here=FOC	INTERJ	be.angry-DISTR-RECIP-IPFV-NMLZ	exist-NEG-JUSS	say-SUB\3SG.SS

'having said, "Let it not exist hatred here,"'

f. *maa túkɨ t͡ʃit͡ʃám umíkmounam ɨɲéĩsamunam*

maa	tukɨ	t͡ʃit͡ʃama	umi-ka-mau=**nama**[198]	inaĩ-sa-mau=**nama**
INTERJ	INTERJ	problem	finish-INTENS-NMLZ=**LOC**	stop.doing-ATT-NMLZ=**LOC**

'when they agreed and left them (the Awajun) alone.'

What is also very interesting is that in line 35.f of the above example, we find two locative-marked clauses that, semantically, have a temporal interpretation (i.e., to paraphrase, 'when they agreed, when they left the Awajun alone, the Awajun entered over here').

11.5.1.2. Locative *=(n)ĩ*

The locative *=(n)ĩ* occurs on demonstratives and nouns. The allomorph *=nĩ* occurs following another vowel *i* or *u*. Unlike *=nVma*, *=(n)ĩ* only attaches to possessed noun stems. Thus notice the following different locative markings:

(36) hɨã=nam   ∼   hɨ̃ã   ∼   hɨa-ru=ĩ

house\loc   house=loc   house-1sg=loc

'in the house'   'in the house'   'in my house'

---

198. The phrase *t͡ʃit͡ʃama umikamau* has a conventionalized meaning of 'agree', 'pact' ('finish the problem').

(37) *míŋa piníŋruĩ*

mina   pininka = ru-ĩ

1sg.gen   pot = 1sg-loc

'in my pot'

The locative *= (n)ĩ* probably has grammaticalized into a different-subject marker

in subordinated clauses (§19.4.2). It is also found grammaticalized in the Set I

nominalizer *-taĩ* (§15.4.4) that creates object or location nominalizations.

11.5.1.3. Locative *V́*

A subset of nouns can optionally shift their high tone to the last surface vowel to

mark the locative, mostly nouns that are frequently used in locational predications.

Table 11.2 presents a sample of words that can receive tonal locative marking in

Wampis. A phonetic realization of the nominative and locative forms is given to

illustrate the placement of high tone. Note that the examples in Table 11.2 are examples

of nouns without other morphemes than the locative. The actual placement of the high

pitch may vary depending on the morphological form of the complete noun (i.e. adding

more morphology may lead to deletion of different vowels, thus potentially leading to

the high pitch to be located in a different place).

Table 11.2. Sample of words that can receive the locative V́

Term	Nominative	Locative	Gloss
ikama	[ík^jam]	[ik^jám]	'forest'
ɨntsa	[ɨ́nt͡sa]	[ɨnt͡sá]	'river'
hĩa	[hĩ́a] ~ [hĩ́ɰa]	[hĩá] ~ [hĩɰá]	'house'
numi	[númi]	[numí]	'tree'
aha	[áha]	[ahá]	'farm'
nunka	[núŋka]	[nuŋká]	'land, earth, below (with loc)'
pininka	[piɲíŋ]	[piɲíŋ]	'pot'
iaki	[jáki]	[jakí]	'high place, above (with loc)'
nuhi	[núhi]	[nuhí]	'upstream'
hinta	[hínt^ja]	[hint^já]	'trail'
inita	[iɲít]	[iɲít]	'inside, bottom'

From Table 11.2, some terms may seem ambiguous in their interpretation as their normal high tone may coincide with the locative high tone. For instance, *inita* 'inside' is usually realized as [iɲít] in the nominative and in the locative if there is no other morpheme following. However, when the restrictive =*kɨ* is added and the underlying last vowel surfaces, the high tone moves to the last vowel if it is marked for the locative.

(38) *aʃí aʃí aʃí iɲiták iɲiták it͡ʃíntukar*

aʃí   aʃí   aʃí   inita=kɨ   inita=kɨ   i-t͡ʃina-tu-ka-ara
all   all   all   bottom=RESTR bottom=RESTR CAUS-dig-APPL-INTENS-3PL.SS
'They dug all around underneath.'

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The following elicited examples further clarify the importance of distinguishing high tone placement for the locative. The verb *uɨ* 'go' is also used as a semi-copula meaning 'become' (see §17.6). In (39), where 'Ikam' (a proper noun) is the subject of 'go', the placement of high tone is on the first vowel. In this case, 'go' is interpreted in a semi-copular sense of 'become'. On the other hand, in (40) 'forest' has the high pitch in its last surfacing vowel *a*, and the sentence is interpreted as a motion verb with the location being marked by the high tone.

(39) *íkʲam wɨ́ahɛɛ*
íkama wɨ́-a-ha-i
Ikam   go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am becoming Ikam.'

(40) *ikʲám   wɨ́ahɛɛ*
ikám   wɨ́-a-ha-i
forest\LOC   go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am going to the forest.'

All of the words in Table 11.2 can also occur with the other two locatives. There are no examples of the locative V́ where it is used with temporal semantics. All examples of this postposition are restricted to spatial uses.

11.5.2. Ablative =*ia*

The ablative suffix marks a point of prior temporal or spatial location. The

ablative can combine with nouns, pronouns, and demonstratives. Among its uses, it

typically marks 'origin':

(41) *kanúsia*
Kanusa=ia
Santiago River=ABL
'from Kanús (Santiago River)'

(42) *wabália*
Huabal=ia
Huabal=ABL
'from Huabal'

(43) *tujá*
tu=ia
where=ABL
'from where?'

(44) *kuámkajak ʃuarɛitmɨ?*
kuamaka=ia=ka   ʃuara=ita-mɨ
jungle=ABL=Q   person=COP-2SG.SBJ+DECL
'Are you a person from the jungle?'

When marking a spatial location, the ablative frequently occurs on a noun that is

used with a locative sense, or else which bears the locative enclitic. In elicitation, the

locative-ablative structure was optional in most other cases. Thus, for instance, (45) and

(46) bear exactly the same meaning.

(45) *wabáliajéithɛɛ*
Huabal=ia=aita-ha-i
Huabal=ABL=COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am from Huabal.'

(46) *wabálnumiajéithɛɛ*
Huabal=numa=ia=aita-ha-i
Huabal=LOC=ABL=COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am from Huabal.'

A short non-exhaustive list of nouns that frequently occur with the locative

when they carry the ablative is given in Table 11.3.

Table 11.3. Words that occur with the locative when carrying the ablative

Term	Gloss
in͡tsa	'river'
hĩa	'house'
uaã	'hole, cave'
numi	'tree'
kut͡ʃa	'puddle, lake'
nuhi	'up stream, above stream' (cf. *nuhi* 'nose')
amai	'other side of the river'

With verbs of motion, the ablative marks the starting point or source of the

movement:

(47) *iquítusiantʃa itʲármiaji*

Iquitus = ia = na = ʃa   ita-ara-mia-ji

Iquitos = ABL = ACC = ADD   bring-PL-DIST.PT-3.PT + DECL

'They brought the one from Iquitos too.'

(48) *puértormiɲiɲia wikáttahɛɛ nantʃ͡áhɛ̃ɛ̃*

puerto-rumi-nĩ = ia   wɨka-tata-ha-i   nant͡ʃa = haĩ

dock-2SG-LOC = ABL   travel-DEF.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL   boat = COM

'I am going to travel from your dock by boat.'

      When indicating a point in past time, the ablative usually attaches directly to a noun or demonstrative. For instance, when the ablative follows *nũ* 'there', either it indicates the starting point of a period of time ('ever since, after') or it works as a conjunction with the meaning of 'moreover, also'. In (109), *nũ = ia* establishes the starting point of a period:

(49) *nuiɲá ʃíir unúimaru ásar takáki wínawɛi*

nũ = *ia*   ʃiira   unuima-ra-u   a-sa-ri

there = ABL   well   learn-DISTR-NMLZ   COP-SUB-1PL.SS

taka-ki   wɨ-ina-ua-i

work-WHILE.MOVING   go-PL.IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'Ever since then, having learnt well, they continue to work.'

      And in (50), *nũ = ia* (which appears in line b) means 'also':

(50)

a.   *núna t͡saníɲkʲan mamá kuntúriɲa óona nuiɲa paánmat͡ʃĩnʃa sɨámu tímayi*

     nu = na   tsaninka = na

     NON.VIS = ACC   manioc.stem = ACC

mamá	kuntu-rĩ=a		au=na
manioc\GEN	arm-1PL/2PL/3.POSS=COP		DIST=ACC

'To the manioc stem, to the manioc's branches [she pleaded]'

b. *nuiɲa paánmatʃinʃa sɨámu tímaji*

nuĩ=**ia**	paantama-t͡ʃi=na=ʃa	sɨa-mau	timaji
there=**ABL**	plantain-DIM=ACC=ADD	plea-NMLZ	NARR

'also (Lit: 'from there') she pleaded with the little plantain [to get some food].'

The ablative is also used in one of the Wampis comparative constructions. The NP that serves as the standard of comparison bears the ablative. The next examples illustrate this point:

(51) *ámɨka wíja óu jat͡ʃáitmɨ*

amɨ=ka	ui=ia	au	iat͡ʃa=ita-mɨ
2SG=FOC	1SG=ABL	DIST	wise=COP-2SG.SBJ+DECL

'You are wiser than me.'

(52) *nĩ́ŋkʲa wíja óu sutárt͡ʃitmɨ*

nĩ=ka	ui=ia	au	sutara-t͡ʃi=ita-mɨ
3SG=FOC	1SG=ABL	DIST	short-DIM=COP-2SG.SBJ+DECL

'He is shorter than you.'

It is interesting to note that some examples show that the ablative can co-occur with the accusative case. In (53), we see that in the NP [from the house] carries the ablative + accusative markers. Furthermore, in (54) the postpositional phrase 'from Ecuador' is treated as a core argument and receives also the object marker =*na*—interestingly, in this case the interpretation of the NP seems similar to a "headless"

relative clause ('the brought [one] from Ecuador too').

(53) *paánman hĭánmajan juámaji*

paantama = na	hĭa = nVma = ia = na	iu-á-ma-ji
banana = ACC	house = LOC = ABL = ACC	eat-HIAF-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

'He ate the banana from the house.'

(54) *ecuaðórnumian͡tʃa itʲármaji*

Ecuador = numa = ia = na = ʃa	ita-ara-ma-ji
Ecuador = LOC = ABL = ACC = ADD	bring-PL-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

'They brought [one] from Ecuador too.'

11.5.3. Allative =*ni*

The allative =*ni* indicates motion to a location. However, the allative is much

less used than the locatives seen in 11.5.1 above which, as we saw, can also assume

allative functions.

The examples below illustrate the use of =*ni*. In both (55) and (56), the verbs

predicate a movement from one place to another, thus =*ni* is used to indicate the

location where the theme moves to.

(55) *nantuníʃa ʃuárka wakĭtu hakú tímaji*

nantu = ni = ʃa	ʃuara = ka	wakĭtu hak-u	ti-ma-ji
moon = ALL = ADD	person = FOC	return HAB.PT-NMLZ	say + LOAF-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

'To the Moon[199] the people used to return, she said.'

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199. Here 'Moon' metonymically stands for the 'space that mythical heroes inhabit (Moon, Stars, the Sun, etc.'. In the Wampis mythology, there used to be transit between different worlds.

(56) *amáiɲɨ̃ɲi katíŋkʲan wɨ́akun átʃu ámaunam ímanɨ̃ jahá wɨ́ahai*

amai=nɨ̃=ni   katína-ka-nu   wɨ́-a-ku-nu   átʃu   a-mau=nama

other.side=LOC=ALL   cross-INTENS-1SG.SS   go-IPFV-SIM-1SG.SS   *aguaje*   exist-NMLZ=LOC

'To the other side of the river, having crossed, going where there is *aguaje* (*Mauritia flexuosa*)'

With stative verbs, the allative can appear following the locative =*nVma*. In such cases, the allative =*ni* conveys a meaning of an undefined or unspecified location, i.e. 'to be somewhere around LOC'. In the next example, a stative verb 'live/be' occurs with the locative + allative construction:

(57) *aánman nápi áwai*

aa=numa=ni   napi   a-ua-i

outside=LOC=ALL   napi   exist-3.SBJ-DECL

'There is a snake (somewhere) outside.'

(58) *ikámnuman puhawɛ́ɛ*

ikama=numa=ni   puha-ua-i

forest=LOC=ALL   live+IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'he is (somewhere) in the forest.'

Notice that the 'be somwhere around LOC' meaning seems to be an extension proper of the allative itself, as demonstratives which carry the allative can have an allative interpretation.

11.5.4. Comitative =*haɨ̃*

The comitative =*haɨ̃* indicates company or instrumental use of an object. In the next examples, the NP that receives =*haɨ̃* identifies the one with whom the Agent is

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carrying out the action; i.e. these are comitative uses of =haĩ.

(59) *mankártuaka niŋkíkʲa ihámɨatʃu nuwĩ͡jɛ̃ ihámu*

mã-karata-u=a=ka	nĩ=kɨ=ka	ihamu-a-t͡ʃau
kill-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ=COP=FOC	3SG=RESTR=FOC	jump-IPFV-NEG.NMLZ

'The murderer, he did not jump alone,'

nuɨ̃=haĩ	iha-mau
wife\1PL/2PL/3.POSS=COM	jump-NMLZ

'he jumped with his wife.'

(60) *nantú núwɨ̃ ásã kámɨ mat͡sátu tímaji nantújeĩ*

Nantú	nuɨ̃	a-sã	kamɨ
Moon\GEN	wife\1PL/2PL/3.POSS	COP-SUB\3.SS	INTERJ

'Because she was Nantu's wife,'

mat͡satu-u	timaji	Nantu=haĩ
be.together-NMLZ	NARR	Moon=COM

'She lived with Nantu.'

The next examples illustrate the instrumental use of =haĩ:

(61) *nɨ̃́i wɛitín numíhɛ̃ awáʔtɨawɛɛ*

nĩ	uaiti=na	numi=haĩ	auatu-a-ua-i
3SG	door=ACC	tree=COM	hit-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'He hits that door with a stick.'

(62) *númi naɨkheĩ hiŋkʲáamuiti*

numi naɨka=haĩ	hinka-a-mau=iti
stick rope=COM	tie-IPFV-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

'The stick is tied with rope.'

The distinction between comitative and instrumental in Wampis has to do with

animacy: with prototypical animate (especially human) entities, =haĩ normally entails a

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comitative use; with inanimate entities, the adposition =*haĩ* normally conveys an

instrumental function. Of course, it is possible to have an animate instrument. In (63),

the comitative marks the means by which the theme ('the document') reaches its goal

(Lima). By contrast, in (124) an inanimate entity ('knife') that can be loosely interpreted

with the sense of 'company':

(63) *límanam papín akúpkarmiaji ámiɲa útʃĩmhɛ̃*

lima = nama	papi = na	akupɨ-ka-ara-mia-ji	amina	utʃi-mɨ-haĩ
Lima = LOC	document = ACC	send-INTENS-PL-DIST.PT-3.PT + DECL	2SG.GEN	child-2SG-COM

'They sent the document to Lima with your son.'

(64) *kutʃírhɛ̃ wíahɛɛ*

kútʃi-ru = haĩ	wɨ́-a-ha-i
knife-1SG = COM	go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am going with my knife.'

An NP marked with the comitative/instrumental also may function as a modifier

of a head noun.

(65) *ʃiámpin paántam hiámuhɛĩnsha yuátʃarmaʃi*

[ʃiampi = na	[paantama	hia-mau = haĩ]] = na = ʃa	iu-á-tʃa-ara-ma-ji
hen = ACC	plantain	roast-NMLZ = COM = ACC = SPEC	eat-HIAF-NEG-PL-REC.PT-3.SBJ + DECL

'Maybe they ate hen with roasted plantains.'

In (66), the comitative attaches to the whole portion 'that Mikut who had

transformed at the beginning.' In this case the action is more reciprocal.

(66) *inkúniakuiti tikíchik tsawántai nú míkut jáma naŋkámtʃak míkut naháanaru anúhɛ̃*

inkunia-ka-u = iti	tikítʃiki tsauantai	nu	Mikut
meet.face.to.face-INTENS-NMLZ = COP.3SG + DECL	one	day	ana	Mikuta

'One day that Mikut met'

jáma naŋkámt͡ʃak míkut nahaanaru anuhɛɛ̃

iama	nankama-t͡ʃa-ka	Mikuta	nahaana-ra-u	a=nu=haĩ
now	happen-NEG-INTENS	Mikut	make-DISTR-NMLZ	cop=NON.VIS=HÃĨ

'with that Mikut who had transformed at the beginning.'

The next examples are also reciprocal; notice the use of the reciprocal suffix on

the verb:

(67) *wampíska awarúnhɛɛ̃ maánihakaruiti*

uampisa=ka	auaruni=**haĩ**	mãa-**nai**-hak-ara-u=iti
Wampis=FOC	Awajun=COM	fight-RECP-HAB.PT-PL-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

'The Wampis and Awajun used to fight.'

(68) *Ekuaðorhɛɛ̃ʃa aʃí arántusar íiniamu awɛi*

Ecuador=**haĩ**=ʃa	aʃí	arantu-sa-ri	ii-**nai**-a-mau	a-ua-i
Ecuador=COM=ADD	all	respect-SUB-1PL.SS	look-RECP-IPFV-NMLZ	exist-3.SBJ-DECL

'With Ecuador too [we] all see each other with respect' (lit. 'With Ecuador there is the (reciprocal) look respecting')

The addressee in a communicative event predicated by the verb *t͡ʃit͡ʃa*[200] 'speak' is

marked with the comitative. Examples (69)–(70) illustrate this point.

(69) *polisíahɛĩʃa t͡ʃit͡ʃasmiaji*

polisia=haĩ=ʃa	t͡ʃit͡ʃa-sa-mia-ji
police=COM=ADD	speak-ATT-REM.PT-1PL.SBJ+DECL

'We had talked with the police.'

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200. When bearing the attenuative *-sa*, *t͡ʃitsa* acquires the sense of 'talk, converse'.

(70) *wíi miɲahɛɛ amihɛɛ́ t͡ʃit͡ʃástasan*

wi	wina-ha-i	ami = haĩ	t͡ʃit͡ʃa-sa-tasa-nu
1SG	come + IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL	2SG = COM	speak-ATT-PURP-1SG.SS

'I come to talk to you.'

Another context in which the comitative is used is for coordinating NPs.

(71) *míɲa papár uhátiɲu ajaji oujmátmoon pat͡ʃís tsirín iwʲáhɛɛ*

mina	papa-ru	uha-tu-inu	a-ia-ji
1SG.GEN	father-1SG	tell-1SG.OBJ-AGT.NMLZ	COP-REM.PT-3.PT

'My father used to tell me'

auhumatu-mau = na	pat͡ʃi-sã	[Tsɨrɨ = na	Iua] = **haĩ**
inform-NMLZ = ACC	mention-SUB\3.SS	monkey.sp = ACC	Iwa = COM

'the story about Tsere and Iwa.'

In the previous example, it is interesting to note the position of the accusative

= *na*, which usually occurs in the last position of the NP. The accusative occurs this

time in the first element of the complex NP, but the semantic scope of = *na* is 'Tsere and

Iwa', which constitute the object of 'mention'.

(72) *wampísk ʲa awarunhɛinkʲa ʃíir ʃuár áhakuiti*

[uampisa = ka auaruni] = haĩ = ka	ʃiira	ʃuara	a-hak-ar-u = iti
Wampis = FOC Awajun = COM = FOC	very	enemy	COP-HAB.PT-PLNMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'The Wampis and Awajun were very enemies.'

11.5.5. Comitative = *tuk*

The morpheme = *tuk* may be a combination of a formative **tu* plus *kɨ*

'restrictive'. It always involves the idea of comitative, but unlike = *haĩ*, it appears that

= *tuk* does not have an instrumental use.

(73) *aβrámʃa nuwíntuk wímiaji*

Abramka = ʃa   nuɨ̃ = tuk   uɨ-mia-ji

Abramka = ADD   woman\1PL/2PL/3.POSS = COM   go-DIST.PT-3.PT + DECL

'Abraham also went with his wife.'

11.5.6. Plural speech act participant =*tí*

The Plural Speech Act participant enclitic =*tí* normally attaches to a noun

phrase and marks it as a plural participant in the communicative event. The next

examples illustrate the use of this morpheme.

(74) *ʃuartí*

ʃuara = tí

person = SAP

'we the people'

(75) *wampistí*

uampisa = tí

Wampis = SAP

'we the Wampis'

(76) *íɲiati*

ii = nɨ̃ = ia = tí

1PL = LOC = ABL = SAP

'one of us'

The next example shows that the speech act participant morpheme works at the

level of the phrase. In (77) =*tí* attaches to the last element of the complex conjoined

NP. In the context of the text whence the example comes from, it has a scope over the

entire phrase: it means "we the Awajun and the Wampis".

(77) *awarún túra wampistí*

awaruni   tura   wampisa = tí

Awajun   and   Wampisa = SAP

'We the Awajun and the Wampis'

When = *tí* occurs after the ablative, it creates a plural ethnonym. An extended

meaning of "among us" is also possible in this case:

(78) *perunmajatík*

Peru = nVma = ia = tí = kɨ

Peru = LOC = ABL = SAP = RESTR

'We the people of Peru' or 'Among us Peruvians'

The Plural Speech Act participant = *tí* can derive a second person plural

participant in two ways in my data. First, it can attach to a noun followed by a second

person plural marker:

(79) ʃuartírmɨka

ʃuara = tí-rumɨ = ka

person = SAP-2PL = FOC

'You (PL) the people'

The second way is by attaching directly to a copula that is marked with a plural

person suffix:

(80) ʃuár éɛɲatiram

[ʃuara a-ina] = tí-ramɨ

person COP-PL.IPFV = SAP-2PL

'You (PL) the people'

This suggests that the construction [N cop-pl] used to pluralized nouns (see §11.3.4) is likely being reanalyzed as a noun phrase, rather than as a verbal clause, as =*tí* does not occur anywhere else in the data as a verbal enclitic or a deverbal derivational morpheme. In addition, the fact that =*tí* can receive person markers suggest a possible verbal origin for this enclitic (possibly an old copula?). The same reanalysis of the construction [N cop-pl] can also be observed when =*tí* also occurs marked on the copula to derive a 1st person plural:

(81)
[huti a-ina] = tí
1PL   COP-PL.IPFV = SAP
'We' (lit. 'we who are-us')

Sometimes =*tí* functions as a more inclusive pluralizer in combination with the additive =*ʃa*. In the next example, the speaker creates a semantically complex subject that includes elders and children. Thus, the sentence in (82) does not mean 'we, we the elders, we the children…' but 'we—the elders and children altogether…'.

(82) *íiʃa uuntíʃa utʃitíʃa nakúnaku hákur ʃíir mat͡sámin ɛ́ɲahi*

ii = ʃa	**uunta = tí = ʃa**	**ut͡ʃi = tí = ʃa**
1PL = ADD	elder = SAP = ADD	child = SAP = ADD

'We, the elder and children'

nakunaku	hak-u-ri
content	become-NMLZ-1PL.SS

'having become content,'

∫iira mat͡sama-inu   a-ina-hi
well   inhabit.PL-NMLZ   COP-PL.IPFV-1PL.SBJ+DECL
'we live well.'

11.5.7. First =á

As the name indicates =á adds a meaning of 'first' or, by extension, 'before' to

the element on which it occurs.

(83) *wampistijá*
uampisa = tí = á
Wampis = SAP = FIRST
'We the Wampis first'

First =á can provide a sentence with an idea of relative importance/priority:

(84) *int͡sanamá wími*
int͡sa = nama = á   wɨ-mi
river = LOC = FIRST   go-HORT
'Let's go to the river first.'

The morpheme =á can also occur in pronouns. The semantic scope of =á in the

examples is over the clause:

(85) *nijá wakóo ásã. . .*
nĩ = á   ua-ka-u   a-sã
3SG = FIRST   climb.up-INTENS-NMLR COP-SUB.3SG.SS
'(He) having climbed up first...'

11.5.8. Affective =á

The affective adds a meaning of sorrow for the entity (typically human) to which

the noun or pronoun which carries -ia refers.

(86) *wijá huní wɨkát̪ɲɛitha*

ui＝á   huni   wɨka-tinu＝ita-ha

1SG-AFF like.this   walk-FUT.NMLZ＝COP-1SG.SBJ＋EXCL

'Poor me, I'll wander thus!'

(87) *ja͡tsuruá níŋki límanam wɨ́ahɛi*

ia͡tsu-ru＝á   nĩ＝ki   Lima＝nama   uɨ́-a-ha-i

brother-1SG-AFF   3SG＝RESTR   Lima＝LOC   go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'My poor brother, he is going to Lima alone.'

The origin of this morpheme may be purely sound symbolic, as it usually

lengthens parts of the word in an iconic lamenting-way. It occurs frequently in *nampita*

'drinking songs'.

CHAPTER XII

INTRODUCTION TO THE VERB: CLASSES, VERB DERIVATION, STRUCTURE AND CONJUGATION PATTERNS

12.1. Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to serve as an introduction to the study of the verb in Wampis. Because of the complexity of the Wampis verb, the present chapter and the next two chapters are dedicated to its study. This chapter presents the organizing principles of the verb structure, conjugation types, classes of lexical verbs (transitive, intransitive, labile, auxiliary verbs, among others), and also presents a discussion of verbalization.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: in §12.2, I discuss what can define the verb in Wampis; in §12.3–§12.5 I describe different types of verbs having into account their transitivity properties as well as their lexical content or function (e.g. auxiliaries); in §12.6 I provide details about verbal derivation. This is followed by a discussion of the structure of the verb in §12.7, and then I describe verb conjugations in §12.8.

12.2. Defining the verb in Wampis

Morphosyntactically, the finite verb in Wampis is defined by the presence of a root or an "inner stem" that functions as simple roots do (cf. §12.7 for a discussion of the verb structure, verbal root and what I call "inner stem") plus a marking of aspect, tense, person and mood. The morphological properties of the verb are described in detail §12.7. First, however, I give a short overview of major lexical verb (root) types in §12.3 through §12.5.

Semantically, prototypical verbs are the elements that exhibit temporal instability and serve the function of predication in the clause. Verbs prototypically codify changes in "either the state, condition or location of some noun-coded entity" (Givón 2002a: 52). Other semantic characteristics are also listed by Givón, such as temporal compactness, concreteness, complexity and spatial diffuseness, and agentiveness and mental activity. Granted, the meanings of individual verbal lexemes can create a range of semantic variation around the above claimed prototype; thus, several semantic sub-classes of verbs can be distinguished in particular languages according to how well they fit in with the aforementioned prototype. In terms of semantic and propositional-act prototypes (Croft 2001), a prototypical verb is an

element whose unmarked function is predicative. In fact, Croft precisely defines the prototypical verb as the element that has a predicative function.

12.3. Valency and transitivity: verb classes

It is well established that languages have different morphosyntactic (including derivational) operations that allow them to adjust the relationship between the core semantic roles of a base verb root and the grammatical relations those core arguments hold in clauses. Usually, these operations are understood to be in the domains of valence and voice. The semantic valence of a verb is understood as the number of necessary participants in the scene predicated by the verb. In a broad sense, syntactic valence is the number of core arguments in a clause in which a verb is the main predicator.[201]

With regards to transitivity, there are four major classes of verbs in Wampis: intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, and labile. This classes are based on a the notion of transitivity restricted to a property of the root/stem ("lexical transitivity") prior to the addition of any valence-changing morphology.

Wampis can be characterized as a language in which transitivity is lexicalized at

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201. Non-verbal clauses have syntactic valence, e.g. *Mary is tall* is a monovalent clause. The above notion of transitivity refers to lexical verbs.

the level of the root/stem for most verbs (Payne 2009: 13); i.e. there are not many

lexically labile verbs. Table 12.1 provides examples of different verbs according to their

transitivity.

Table 12.1. Common intransitive and transitive verbs

Examples	Transitivity
kanu 'sleep', *iukuma* 'swim', *ha* 'be sick'	Intransitive
mã 'kill', *uaina* 'see', *isai* 'bite', *antu* 'hear'	Transitive
su 'give', *uha* 'tell, inform', *inii* 'ask', *nanki* 'throw'	Ditransitive
amu 'flood' or 'plunge', *isa* 'burn up/oneself' or 'bite'	Labile

In terms of their ability to take valence morphemes, transitive verbs can take the

reflexive and reciprocal morphemes. Wampis possesses detransitivizing morphemes,

however they are not productive in the language and therefore their (restricted) use

does not constitute a good practical criterion to distinguish transitive from intransitive

verbs.

Transitivity in Wampis is not sensitive to aspect or tense, but there are other

mechanisms at the level of the clause that depend on the transitivity of the verb. For

instance, a transitive verb can control a subordinated structure with the switch-

reference marker *-tatamana* (cf. §19.11.1), which indicates that the subject of the

subordinate verb becomes the object of the main verb, as in (1).

(1) *wítatman hiɨɰáttak wítatman ípati mããwaru tímaji*

wɨ-tatamana	hɨa-á-tata-kũ		wɨ-tatamana
go-SBJ > OBJ	arrive-HIAF-DEF.FUT-SIM\3SG.SS		go-SBJ > OBJ

ípatĩ	mã-áu-ara-u	timaji
shoot + LOAF\3.SS	kill-HIAF-PL-NMLZ	NARR

'He was going, when he was about to arrive, having shot him, they killed him.'

In (1), the subject of the subordinated verb (the person who was about to arrive)

is coreferential with the object in the main clause (the one shot and killed). It can be

seen that the lexical transitivity of the verb *mã* 'kill' allows for the use of the switch-

reference marker *-tatamana* 'subject to object', even when this morpheme is used with

an intransitive verb, such as 'go', in the subordinated clause.

In contrast to transitive verbs, intransitive verbs in Wampis can be defined by

the following principles:

• With intransitive verbs, only one argument (S) may occur as a nominative noun

  phrase or pronoun in the same clause. Note that the nominative is zero-marked.

(2) *huwánka hakámaji*

huan = ka	ha-ka-ma-ji
Juan = FOC	die-INTENS-DIST.PT-3.PT + DECL

'Juan died.'

• Only one argument (S) is obligatorily marked in the verb. In (2), the 3 person is

marked with *-ji.*

- Intransitive verb stems cannot take valency-decreasing morphemes, such as the

  reflexive *-ma* or the reciprocal *-nai.* (§13.2.1).

As far as I can tell, there are no a-valent verbs in Wampis. Typical examples of

avalent verbs in other languages may include meteorological verbs, but in Wampis they

are always syntactically intransitive verbs that codify an S argument. All examples of

meteorological verbs in the data have an overt NP subject, as in (3) and (4).

(3) násɨ ampúa tímaji
nasɨ ampu-a timaji
wind blow-IPFV NARR
'The wind was blowing . . .'

(4) júmi ʃíir jutúkti
iumi ʃiira   iutu-ka-ti
rain very   rain-INTENS-JUSS
'Let it rain hard!' (Lit.: 'That the rain rains hard!')

12.3.1. Labile verbs

A few verbs roots/stems[202] in Wampis are not specified for transitivity, i.e. they have

properties that can be associated with either transitive or intransitive verbs. For

instance, the verb root *amu* has the (more general) semantics of 'cover with water', and

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202. Stems that do not bear valence-changing suffixes.

it can be used with the sense of either 'flood' or 'plunge/ford'. In the first case, the verb

behaves transitively; in the second, it behaves intransitively. For example, in (5) the

subordinate clause 'as though it was about to cover/reach us' is transitive as can be seen

by the presence of the 1 person plural object (P) as part of the verbal piece. In (7), by

contrast, the clause is intransitive and has only one core argument (S). A locative

adjunct can be present, but it is not required by the verb structure (6), hence *amu* in the

sense of 'plunge' only requires one argument (marked on the verb and optionally as an

nominative overt NP) and has the properties of an intransitive verb.

(5) *nuháŋka ʃíir síntʃĩ amútmastatak*

nuhankɨ＝ka   ʃiira   sɨntʃi   amu-tama-sa-tata-kũ

river.rise＝FOC very   strong   flood-1PL.OBJ-ATT-DEF.FUT-SIM.3SG.SS

'The swell of the river was very strong as though it was about to reach us [i.e. cover us].'

(6) *óuʃa ʃuárʃa ĩtsá amúawɛɛ*

au＝ʃa   ʃuara＝ʃa   ɨntsá   amu-a-ua-i

DIST＝ADD   person＝ADD   rive\LOC   plunge-IPFV-3-DECL

'That person is also plunging into the river.'

(7) *óuʃa ʃuárʃa amúawɛɛ*

au＝ʃa   ʃuara＝ʃa   amu-a-ua-i

DIST＝ADD   person＝ADD   plunge-IPFV-3-DECL

'That person is also plunging.'

12.4. Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs in Wampis occur in mono-clausal constructions that consist of "a lexical verb element that contributes lexical content to the construction and an auxiliary verb element that contributes some grammatical or functional content to the construction" (Anderson 2006: 7). Except for the copulas, all other auxiliary verbs occur in progressive constructions and thus code aspectual and (to some extent) body posture. Table 12.2 present auxiliary verbs in Wampis.

Table 12.2. Auxiliary verbs in Wampis

Verb	Original Meaning	Auxiliary meaning
a	copula	copula
puhu	live (grammaticalized as 'be')	continuous/habitual
mat͡satu	inhabit, live together (plural)	continuous
wɨ	go	'gonna'/ 'progressive'
waha	stand	stative/body posture
tɨpɨ	lie down	stative/body posture
ɨkɨma	sit	stative/body posture

12.5. Other lexical types of verbs

12.5.1. Lexically negative verbs

Some verbs in Wampis are lexically inherently negative, i.e. they do not

necessitate any negative morpheme in order to change their polarity. Examples of this

are *tuhina* 'be unable, have difficulty', *nakita* 'not want'[203] and *kaninma*[204] 'not fit (in a

space)'.

12.5.2. Verbs that lexicalize a specific type of patient or location

The lexical content of Wampis verb roots can have very rich/specific content

and provide inherent information about the object or location that need not be

mentioned—of course, many of these meanings are culturally-specific. Some verbs also

include manner information in their lexical representation. To give a sense of what can

be found in the Wampis lexicon (at the level of the root) here is a short list of verb roots

that are difficult to gloss with one or two words:

(8)

aɨpa   'leave/put on floor or bed'
apa   'put a bite in mouth (also applies to putting bites of manioc during the process
         of preparing manioc beer)'
apuha 'put on finger'
atsɨnu 'put on a garment for the head'

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203. The source of this verb is probably the adjective *naki* 'lazy'. The portion *-ta* may be a
variant of an old verbalizer *-tu*.

204. The underlying form of this verb likely is *kaninVma*, as the third vowel would be always
dropped due to the vowel elision process explained in Chapter VI. Thus the root would be *kaninV*
plus the reflexive *-ma*. Synchronically, I have not found an etymon for the (apparent) root
kaninV.

ikɨna   'put (something) on top of (something)'

kahi   'die many fish (specially after using barbasco)'

kauna 'arrive several'

nami   'chew food to give to animal'

napi   'fold palm leaves (to make roof)'

nunku 'put shirt, necklace, beaded wristband, shoes or watch on'

pampa 'make noise'

panka 'raise head'

patakɨ 'put bracelet to someone else' (from *patakɨ* 'bracelet')

puku   'plant manioc stems'

sɨpɨta 'close a hole (in a wall)'

tɨa   'pull out several (usually applied to plants)'

t͡sukapɨ 'carry a light object in shoulder' (from *t͡sukapɨ* 'armpit')

12.6. Verb derivation

New verb stems can be derived from noun stems or roots, from demonstratives,

from the intensifier ima, or from other verb roots.

12.6.1. Zero derivation

As the name indicates, zero derivation is regarded as the extension of an existing

word to assume a new syntactic function without any perceivable change in form. Zero

derivation is not productive, but there are examples of zero derivation in the language,

some are presented in (9).

(9)

hɨ̃a	'house'	→	*hɨ̃a*		'arrive'
iumi	'water, rain (N)'	→		*iumi*	'rain'
nipt͡sɨpɨ	'chest'	→	*nipt͡sɨpɨ*		'lie down with chest on ground'
nupa	'weed'	→	*nupa*		'increase weed (in a farm plot)'
patakɨ	'bracelet'	→	*patakɨ*		'put beaded bracelet to someone else'

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12.6.2. Denominal verbalizer *-ma*

The suffix *-ma* creates a verb stem from a noun root. The created verb stem is typically transitive with the meaning of 'make N' or 'create N'. The following examples illustrate derivations with *-ma*.

(10)

Nominal Root	Derived Verb
aaka 'shack'	*aaka-ma* 'build shack'
aha 'farm'	*aha-ma* 'make a farm'
amiku 'friend' (<Spanish <amigo>)	*amiku-ma* 'make friend(s)'
anɨntaĩ 'heart'	*anɨntaĩ-ma* 'think, remember'
hĩa 'house'	*hĩa-ma* 'build house'
nant͡ʃiki 'fingernail'	*nant͡ʃiki-ma* 'scratch'
nuku 'cover roof with palm leaves'	*nuku-ma* 'put leaves on (to protect oneself from rain)'
uasɨ '*yarina* palm leaves'	*uasɨ-ma* 'put *yarina* threaded leaves on the roof'
ut͡ʃi-rĩ 'his/her child' (child-3)	*ut͡ʃirĩ-ma* 'give birth (to his/her child)'
uhaha 'song of victory'[205]	*uhaha-ma* 'sing *uhaha*'
uku 'behind'	*uku-ma* 'leave behind, depopulate'

The verbalizer *-ma* is used to render native forms of verbs that are borrowed from Spanish:

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205. This is the song that were sung by women during the celebration of victory after a war party returned. The *tsantsa* 'shrunken head' were presented during this celebration.

(11)

kanta-ma	'sing'	(< Spanish <cantar>)
kuita-ma	'take care'	(< Spanish <cuidar>)
kusɨna-ma	'cook'	(< Spanish <cocinar>)

12.6.3. Other unproductive verbalizers

There are several unproductive verbalizers in Wampis. Table 12.3 shows these

unproductive verbalizers. They are explained in the discussion below.

Table 12.3. Unproductive verbalizers in Wampis

Morpheme	Gloss
-na	Get noun
-tu~-ta	Meteorological
-tu ~ -ta	Action involve a sound

The suffix *-na* creates a verb stem that is intransitive. This verbalizer attaches to

a possessed noun stem, and acquires the meaning of 'get noun'.

(12)

aiʃu-rĩ-na	husband-1PL/2PL/3.POSS	'get married (of a woman)'
nuɨ̃-na	woman\1PL/2PL/3.POSS	'get married (of a man)'

A homophonous suffix *-na* occurs in *muku-na* 'smoke (V), suck', from *muku*

'smoke (N)'), but the stem is not intransitive and it is not possessed.

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A suffix *-tu~-ta* is used to create verbal stems that indicate the action of a

meteorological event:

(13)

i͡tsã̃ 'sun' >   *i͡tsã̃ntu ~ i͡tsã̃nta* 'shine' (usually of sun)

pɨɨma 'lightning'   >   *pɨɨtu* 'flash lightning' (no form *pɨɨta* was given for this
     form)

nasɨ̃ 'wind'   >   *nasɨ̃ntu ~ nasɨ̃nta* 'blow (of wind)'

Though not meteorological verbs, the following derived verbs may be somehow

related to the above examples:

(14)

maiai 'air, breath'   >   *maia-ta* 'breathe'

mit͡ʃa 'cold'   >   *mit͡ʃa-ta* 'refresh, calm fever'

Another homophonous suffix *-tu~-ta* seems related to the verb tu 'say', and

derives a few verb stems indicating an action that involves a sound.

(15)

kuarVtu   'snore'

uutu   'cry'

haat͡ʃitu ~ haat͡ʃita   'sneeze'

ũhutu ~ ũhuta   'cough'

Though the *-tu~ta* that derives weather verb stems and the *-tu~-ta* that derives a

stem that indicates predicates sound are similar phonologically, the semantic

relationship seems unlikely.

12.6.4. Derivation with *-tika* and *-ni*: resumptive verbs

The demonstratives and the intensifier ima have a verbalized version and thus

form a small subset of verbs. The language makes use of the derivational suffixes *-tika*

and -ni to derive the relevant verbs. The main function of these derived verbs is

discursive: they are very often used in head-tail-like constructions (Thompson et al.

2007), that provide cohesion between one clause (typically but not always finite) and

the next. This construction is termed "bridging" in Overall's 2007 grammar of Awajun.

Table 12.4 lists the verbs derived with *-ni* and *-tika*.

Table 12.4. Verbs derived with *-tika* and *-ni*

Root	Gloss	Derived form with *-ni*	Derived form with *-tika*	Gloss
nu	Non-visible	nuni	nutika	'do that'
hu	Proximal	huni	hutika	'do this'
aanu	Medial	aani[a]	aantika	'do that'
aa	Demonstrative adverb	aini	aitika~aatika	'do like that'
ima	Intensifier	imani	imatika	'do much'

[a] Speakers vary their pronunciation between [aanni] and [aani].

The difference between *-ni/-tika* derived verb forms is based on the following principles:

• Forms derived with *-ni* always occur to indicate actions of a subject, typically

  agentive, that occurs in the next clause.

• Forms derived with *-tika* typically occur when referring to a less agentive subject or

with prominent non-subjects (typically objects) of the next clause.

The following examples help illustrate the use of these type of verbs. In (16), an agentive 1 plural subject prepares the manioc beer in line (a). Then the resumptive derived verb *imani* 'do much' occurs at the beginning of line (b) re-referencing the action of clause (a) and indicating continuity of the same 1 plural subject in clause (b) (which also continues as subject in line c).

(16)

a. […] *nihʲamántʃ umíkʲar*

nihamãt͡ʃi   umi-ka-ri

manioc.beer prepare-INTENS-1PL.SS

'… having prepared manioc beed,'

b. *ímanisar aʃí umíkʲar*

[imani-sa-ri]   aʃi   umi-ka-ri

do.much-SUB-1PL.SS   all   prepare-INTENS-1PL.SS

'doing that much, having prepared all'

c. *íi juátɲuriʃa aʃí hukír wímiahi*

ii   iú-á-tinu-ri = ʃa   aʃi   hu-ki-ri

1PL   eat-HIAF-FUT.NMLZ-1PL.SS = ADD   all   TAKE-WHILE.MOVING-1PL.SS

wɨ́-mia-hi

go-DIST.PT-1PL.SBJ + DECL

'what we were going to eat also, having taken all, we went.'

In the next example, the subject of the clause that immediately follows the

resumptive verb *nutika* 'do that' is an (non-agentive) experiencer subject of the stative

verb 'be angry':

(17)

a. [...] *míŋa núwar ʃuarhɛɛ̃ wɨ́matɛɨ̃*

mina	nua-ru	ʃuara-haĩ	wɨ́-mataĩ
1SG.GEN	woman-1SG	person-COM	go-1SG/3.DS

'. . . when my wife went away with another man,'

b. *nútikʲan kahɨ́kan*

[nutika-á-nu]	kahɨ-ka-nu
do.that-HIAF-1SG.SS	be.angry-INTENS-1SG.SS

'having done that, having become angry,'

c. *natɨmá umármiahɛi*

natɨmá	uma-ra-mia-ha-i
ayahuasca\ACC	drink.PF-DISTR-DIST.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I drank ayahuasca (i.e. to look for answers for the current bad situation).'

In the next example, two overt topical object NPs follow a verb derive with *-tika*

in line (c):

(23)

a. *taákum ikihmartá*

ta-a-ku-mɨ	ikihV-ma-ru-tá
come-IPFV-SIM-2SG.SS	wash.hand-refl-APPL-imp

'Coming (back from urinating), wash your hands!'

b. *uwɨ́hɨm t͡suátɛiti tú hakúiti*

uɨhɨ-mɨ	t͡suata=iti	tu	hak-u=iti
hand.POSS-2SG	dirty=COP.3+DECL	say	HAB.PT-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

'He used to say: "your hand is dirty"'

c. *aátikas ɛɛ́ʃmankun t͡ʃit͡ʃárak nuwánt͡ʃa t͡ʃit͡ʃárak*

[aatika-sã]   aiʃumanku=na   t͡ʃit͡ʃa-ru-kã
do.like.that-SUB\3SG.SS man=ACC   speak-APPL-INTENS\3SG.SS

nua=na=ʃa   t͡ʃit͡ʃa-ru-kã
woman=ACC=ADD   speak-APPL-INTENS\3SG.SS
'doing like that, he advised the men, he also advised the women.'

12.7. Basic structure of the Wampis verb

In Wampis, an independent verb cannot consist of just a verb root. The root (or simple stem) must be obligatorily marked for aspect, tense, person and mood. The marking of Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) involves three kinds of devices: "derivational" perfective suffixes, more "inflectional" tense suffixes, and auxiliary+nominalization constructions. The perfective aspect is obtained in the use of some derivational morphemes that, following (Overall 2007), are termed "aktionsart". Past and future tenses are marked with suffixes, but actually the TAM system is greatly expanded with a series of copular constructions involving nominalizations that have been grammaticalized to express several TAM distinctions. Present tense is zero-marked.

Beyond the obligatory morphemes, there are several morphological positions in the Wampis verb. A position class schema of the Wampis verb structure is presented in Table 12.5.

Table 12.5. Overall structure of the Wampis verb

+Derivational .... +Inflectional									
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Valence	ROOT "Inner stem"	Valence 'Almost'	Object	Aktionsart Imperfv. Potential Durative Pres. Hab.	Neg.	Number	Tense (Mood)	Person	Mood

Note: The morphological access to the Object and Person slots varies according to an uncommon hierarchical agreement that is explained in Chapter XIV.

It is not always easy to distinguish between "derivational" and "inflectional" morphology. Traditionally, inflection is understood as a process that creates new forms of a same lexical item, a form that is required by the syntactic environment where the root appears. On the other hand, derivation is understood as the process of creating new inflectable items, usually to indicate new concepts (Hockett 1958; Gleason 1961). However, in many cases it is better to speak of morphological formatives that are capable of both derivational and inflectional functions (Bybee 1985; Payne 1985). Categories that are traditionally considered as inflectional, such as "aspect", "number" or "negation", for instance, possess also derivational properties in Wampis. At least "aspect" is required in Wampis in all cases where a fully inflected verb needs to be used,

and number and negation are of course required by certain syntactic constructions or

the verb cannot be integrated into the discourse. But most of these suffixes have

derivational properties. For instance, the root *hapi* 'drag, pull' usually forms a perfective

stem with the aktionsart suffix *-ka* 'intensive (action of A/S)'[206] and a durative stem with

the aspectual suffix *-ma* 'durative'. This suffixes occupy the same position (cf. Table

12.5) and cannot co-occur together:

(18)

hapi-ka-ha-i	hapi-ka-tá	hapi-ma-tá
drag-INTENS-1SG.SBJ-DECL	drag-INTENS-IMP	drag-DUR-IMP
'I just dragged it.'	'Drag it!'	'Drag it for a little while!'

cf. **hapi-ka-ma-tá, *hapi-ma-ka-tá*

However, the durative suffix *-ma* can derive a new stem from the root *hapi* 'drag,

pull' with a new meaning:

(19) *hapi* 'drag' > *hapi-ma* 'sweep'

This new stem is treated just as a root, and can receive verbal morphology as

any normal root would, including aktionsart suffixes (even though the durative is

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206. The relation between perfective and aktionsart suffixes is examined in the next Chapter; cf. §13.3.

contained in the stem):

(20)

hapima-ka-ha-i

sweep-INTENS-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I just swept.'

I call this kind of derived stem the "inner stem" (cf. Table 12.5). What I

understand by "inner stem" is a verbal stem derived with any one of the suffixes that

usually occupy positions 3-5 (which are suffixes that have derivational properties,

beside the valence suffixes) and that form a stem that behaves like a "normal" root; that

is, a stem that can receive again any piece of morphology from positions 1 to 8

depending on the morphosyntactic environment. I do not consider stems derived with

valence suffixes as "inner stems" because they cannot carry another different valence

suffix when they are derived.

From the above discussion, it can be said that a careful examination of some

Wampis verbal morpheme properties shows that there is really no sharp boundaries

between "inflectional" and "derivational" morphology in the language. Thus, rather

than making a strict divide between derivation and inflection, I characterize the verbal

morphology by placing the morphemes along a continuum between derivation and

inflection. I describe the morphemes from -1 to 5 in Table 12.5 as "more derivational" and the morphemes from 6 to 8 as "more inflectional". The "more derivational" morphemes constitute the derivational level of the verb—they will be studied in Chapter XIII. I consider them "more derivational" in the sense that they most frequently create a stem that is inflectable, i.e. a stem that can carry markings of person, tense, and mood. Aspectual morphemes are also obligatory to use a Wampis verb in discourse, but because of their position in the verbal piece and their derivational properties, they are considered in the derivational level. Thus, the root or the "inner stem" plus any one (or more, depending on the desired actual meaning) of the suffixes from -1 to 5 form what I call the level of the "stem". On the other hand, the "more inflectional" morphemes, those related to tense, subject and mood, are considered to form the inflectional level—they are studied in Chapter XIV.

Wampis is a language with a very interesting feature in the verb structure: most suffixes that are used for aspect are, at their very basic, meaning-changing suffixes. Despite being derivational, they are also obligatory, for aspect is an obligatory category of the independent verb. The imperfective is in a contrastive paradigmatic relation with the durative and the "aktionsart" suffixes, and both aktionsart and the durative suffixes

have clear meaning-changing properties. The relevance of such a language in relation to

the larger theoretical body of literature discussing inflection and derivation needs to be

explored more in detailed and is one important topic for future research.

Thus, for Wampis, one more or less clear divide between derivation and

inflection can be stablished after slot 5 in Table 12.5 above, whereas Aspect represents

a cline between inflection and derivation. Tense, subject/person and mood are

inflectional in that independent verb needs an indication of these categories in order to

be used in the communicative event.

The closest positions to the verb root are occupied by valency-changing

morphemes, including the only prefix in the language. There is also a suffix *-nin* 'almost'

that is rather aspectual but occurs in position 1, close to the root. Positions 2 and 7 are

generally related to the marking of object and subject, respectively. However, the

morphological access to these positions varies as it is dependent upon a hierarchical

agreement system. This is explained in Chapter XIV. Aktionsart/Aspectual morphemes

and the potential morphemes occupy position 3. These morphemes create verb stems

that can be inflected. The negative suffix *-t͡ʃa* and the plural perfective suffix *-ara* occupy

the next two slots. The plural *-ara*, though marking non-imperfective stems, does not

belong to the same paradigm of other aktionsart/aspectual morphemes. To summarize, all of the morphemes from positions 0-5 belong to a first level of morphology that is roughly related to "derivation" as most of them possess some degree of derivational properties. The second level of verbal morphology roughly correspond to "inflection". Morphemes in this level involve tense, person (mostly subject) and mood.

12.8. Verb conjugation patterns

There are several conjugation patterns in Wampis that have to do with morphological changes in the verb stem in imperfective or perfective contexts. The simplest relevant verb stem may coincide with root, the "inner root", or be a stem created with a root or "inner root" with any derivational suffix prior to position 3. The changes to the verb stem are not morphophonologically predictable. The imperfective and perfective stems are created with the imperfective and aktionsart suffixes, respectively. These suffixes occupy the same morphological slot that the durative, present habitual and potential (position 3 in Table 12.5). However, the durative, present habitual and the potential suffixes do not change the form of the verb stem. The suffixes that occupy position 3 in the verbal piece are listed in Table 12.6. The term "aktionsart" is explained in Chapter XIII.

Table 12.6. Suffixes that occupy position 3 in the Wampis verb structure

Morpheme	Gloss	
-á(u)	'High affectedness (change of state of Patient or of location of Agent)	A
-i	'Low affectedness (no salient change of state of Patient or Agent)'	k
-ka	'Intensive (action of Agent)'	t
-ki(ni)	'Do while moving (away)'	i
-ra	'Distributed action'	o
-sa	'Attenuative'	n
-ri	'Do in proximity/while coming'	s
-u	'Do in another location'	a
-a / -ina	'Imperfective'/'Plural imperfective'	r
-ma	'Durative'	t
-na	'Present habitual'	
-mai	'Potential'	

12.8.1. Imperfective conjugations

Suffixation of the imperfective morpheme -*a* to the verb creates the most morphophonological changes in the verb stem. There are three general conjugation patterns when the imperfective is suffixed, all concerning changes to the last vowel of the verb stem.

12.8.1.1. Imperfective Conjugation I

Imperfective Conjugation I is the easiest to understand. In Conjugation I, no changes are made to the verb stem when the imperfective is added. Most underlyingly

monomoraic verbs stems belong to this conjugation, as they do not lose their vowel.

One exception, however, is *tu* 'say' which becomes *ta* in the imperfective. Stems that

have more than one vowel and that have a final vowel /a/ either drop that last vowel

with the imperfective *-a* (Conjugation II), or they drop the last vowel and insert a vowel

ɨ (Conjugation III). As far as I can tell, there is no stem with more than two moras and a

final vowel /a/ in Imperfective Conjugation I. The examples in (21) show verbs that

belong to Imperfective Conjugation I.

(21)

Stem final a

Stem	Imperfective *-a*
ha 'die'	haa

Stem final i or ii

Stem	Imperfective *-a*
hapi 'drag, pull'	hapia
ii 'see'	iia
at͡ʃi 'grab'	at͡ʃia

Stem final ɨ or ɨɨ

Stem	Imperfective *-a*
hatɨ 'cut with axe'	hatɨa
hurɨ 'lay eggs'	hurɨa
kɨɨ 'burn'	kɨɨa

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Stem final u or uu

Stem	Imperfective -*a*
ihu 'pierce, stab'	ihua
iku 'move away'	ikua
pasu 'be/put inside in untidy way'	pasua
uu 'hide'	uua[207]

12.8.1.2. Imperfective Conjugation II

Imperfective Conjugation II is defined by replacement of the last vowel /a, u, ɨ/ or final /i/ (in a final /ii/ sequence) of the stem with the Imperfective -*a*. Within this conjugation pattern, the stem drops its last vowel when it receives the imperfective suffix -*a*. All examples that belong to conjugation II have more than two moras underlyingly, with the exception of *tu* 'say' as stated in §12.8.1.1. I have no examples of a last single vowel /i/ of the stem being dropped preceding the imperfective -*a*—i.e. all verb stems ending in a single vowel /i/ belong to the first conjugation, but there are examples of verbs ending in /ii/ which belong to Conjugation II. The following

207. The phonetic realization of this item is [uwa]. Under the current analysis, the second *u* of *uu* turns into a glide because it is between /u/ and /a/. This analysis is preferred for its simplicity, however it is possible to analyze [uwa] as *uu* dropping its last vowel *u* with the imperfective -*a* (following the pattern of Imperfective Conjugation II described below) and inserting a glide afterward. In general, there are not many verb roots with final *uu* and the analysis in such cases is always difficult given the ambiguity generated by the phonological context.

examples illustrate the changes in the Imperfective Conjugation II.

(22)

Stem final a and aa

Stem	Imperfective
akiina 'give birth'	akiina
haa 'tear'	haa
ipaa 'invite'	ipaa
taka 'work'	taka

Stem final ii

Stem	Imperfective
hintii 'find out'	hintia
hii 'take out'	hia
inii 'ask'	inia

Stem final ɨ and ɨɨ

Stem	Imperfective
tɨpɨ 'lie down'	tɨpa
anɨɨ 'feel, be happy'	anɨa

Stem final u and uu

Stem	Imperfective
tu 'say'	ta
antu 'listen'	anta
huu 'gather, harvest'	hua

12.8.1.3. Imperfective Conjugation III

Stems belonging to Imperfective Conjugation III all end underlyingly in /a/. In this conjugation, the last vowel /a/ of the verb stem is dropped and an *i* is inserted before the imperfective *-a*. If the verb stem ends in /i/ or /ɨ/, the stem is unaffected (i.e., no inserted vowel *i* appears before /a/). Therefore, verbs ending with these vowels can not be said to belong to Conjugation III. An important note to take into account is that all stems belonging to Conjugation III have more than two moras. However, not all verbs with more than two vowels belong to this conjugation paradigm. For instance *akiina* 'give birth', has more than two moras, but it belongs to Conjugation II: its last vowel /a/ is dropped when preceding the imperfective *-a*:

(23)
akiina   'give birth'
akiina   'give birth (imperfective)'

The next examples show changes in the verb stems that belong to Imperfective Conjugation III.

(24)
Stem a

Stem	Imperfective
uaura 'despair, act in/become frenzy'	uauria
nankana 'end'	nankania
ihaka 'break, open hard-shelled fruits'	ihakia

If the verb stem has a high front vowel /i/ as the second-to-last vowel, the inserted vowel *ɨ* undergoes harmony and becomes *i*:

(25)

Stem	Imperfective
apiha 'fold'	apihia

12.8.1.4. Derived verb conjugations

Derived verb stems carrying valence, aktionsart, aspectual and/or object suffixes also belong to one of the Imperfective Conjugations I, II or III. The suffixes that have been identified to trigger insertion of the vowel *ɨ* (i.e. which create stems belonging to Imperfective Conjugation III) are shown in Table 12.7. But not all verb stems derived with the suffixes in Table 12.7 belong to the imperfective conjugation III. In fact, the conjugation pattern they follow is entirely lexical. In other words, there are verbs stems derived with any of these suffixes that fit into the imperfective conjugation III and there are verb stems that are derived with the same suffixes that simply do not show the same pattern and belong in the Conjugation I or II patterns.

Table 12.7. Suffixes that insert a vowel *i* in the imperfective stem

Morpheme	Gloss
-tu ~ ru	Applicative
-tu ~ ru	First singular object[a]
-ra	Distributed Action
-turama~tama ~ rama	1PL/2 Object
-ma	Reflexive
-ma	Verbalizer

[a] The applicative and the first singular object share the same forms, but they are clearly distinct morphemes synchronically.

12.8.2. Perfective conjugations

Three conjugations have been established for the perfective stem. For sake of comparison, examples of each conjugation in this section present the imperfective (just discussed in the preceding sections) and perfective forms of the verb. It is important to note that most verbs take an aktionsart suffix as a suffix with which they occur when they are used in perfective contexts (most verbs frequently appear with one aktionsart suffix from the paradigm given in Table 12.6). Thus, in addition, the perfective form is presented with the default aktionsart suffix taken by the verb. An analysis of the aktionsart suffixes and the perfective stem is given in Chapter XIII.

12.8.2.1. Perfective Conjugation I

In the Perfective Conjugation I, the last vowel of the verb stem is not affected

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when the aktionsart suffix is added. The examples in (26) illustrate the Perfective

Conjugation I.

(26)

Stem final a (and aa)

Stem	Imperfective *-a*	Perfective + Aktionsart
naka 'wait'	naka	naka-ka ('intensive')
aa 'write'	aa	aa-ra ('distributed action')

Stem final *i* (and *ii*)

Stem	Imperfective	Perfective + Aktionsart
aki 'pay'	akia	aki-ka ('intensive')
hii 'take out'	hia	hii-ra ('Distributed action')

Stem final *ɨ* (and *ɨɨ*)

Stem	Imperfective	Perfective + Aktionsart
t͡sɨkɨ 'run'	t͡sɨkɨa	t͡sɨkɨ-i (low affectednes)
hatɨ 'cut with axe'	hatɨa	hatɨ-á ('high affectedness')
kɨɨ 'burn'	kɨɨa	kɨɨ-ka ('intensive')

Stem final *u* (and *uu*)

Stem	Imperfective	Perfective + Aktionsart
puhu 'live'	puha	puhu-sa ('attenuative')
umpu 'blow'	umpua	umpu-i ('low affectedness')
kuarVtu	kuarta	kuartu-ka ('intensive')

12.8.2.2. Perfective Conjugation II

In Perfective Conjugation II, a final high vowel /i/, /ɨ/ or /u/ of the stem is dropped and a vowel *a* is inserted before the aktionsart suffix. A Perfective Conjugation II stem (not including the aktionart suffix) thus in most cases becomes identical in form with its imperfective counterpart (but see 'lock with bar' below for a counter-example). However, in discourse these homophonous forms are not ambiguous, because the perfective stem adds an aktionsart suffix, which cannot co-occur with the imperfective.

(27)

Stem	Imperfective	Perfective + aktionsart
inii 'ask'	inia	inia-sa ('attenuative')
asakɨ 'lock with bar'	asakɨa	asaka-á ('high affectedness')
kanu 'sleep'	kana	kana-ra ('distributed action')
umu 'drink'	uma	uma-ra ('distributed action')

Exemplification of the Perfective Conjugation II is given in 28 with the verb *kanu* 'sleep', which has the perfective stem form *kana*. The aktionsart suffix *-ra* occurs in this case (it is the most frequent aktionsart suffix selected by *kanu* in perfective contexts). Contrast (28) with (29), in the latter we can see the imperfective form. In (29), the las vowel /u/ of the verb *kanu* is dropped when preceding the imperfective *-a*, yielding *kana*. However, the imperfective form cannot carry the aktionsart suffix (*-ra* 'Distributed action' in (28)).

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(28) *kanármiaji*

kana-ra-mia-ji

sleep.PFV-DISTR-DIST.PT-3.PT + DECL

'He slept.'

(29) *kanáwɛi*

kana-ua-i

sleep + IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'He sleeps/is sleeping.'

12.8.2.3. Perfective Conjugation III

In Perfective Conjugation III, nothing happens to the last vowel of the stem, but

a consonant *n* is added following this last vowel. The nature of this consonant is

unclear, as there is no trace of underlying nasalization to any of the composing

morphemes (the *n* only appears in the perfective form). It is also unclear whether this

nasal consonant belongs to a suffix; however, synchronically it does not seem to add

any meaning to the verb. When a verb stem ends in a single-vowel quality multi-moraic

sequence (e.g. *katii* 'cross to other side of a river'), the last vocalic mora is replaced by

n. Some verbs that belong in this conjugation are exemplified below.

(30)

Stem	Imperfective	Perfective
anti 'touch'	antia	antin
inku 'find'	inkua	inkun

katii 'cross to other side of a river'	katia	katin
kauɨ 'get together (many)'	kauɨa	kauɨn
mui 'vomit, have nausea'	muia	muin
t͡sɨkɨ 'run, jump'	t͡sɨkɨa	t͡sɨkɨn

Perfective Conjugation III is the least common conjugation for the perfective. Typically, verbs belonging to Conjugation III do not have a default aktionsart suffix with which they occur in the perfective form. Thus a possible analysis is that the nasal consonant *n* may be standing for the aktionsart suffix. It may be possible that the Conjugation III *-n* is related to the "placeholder" morpheme *-na* (§13.2.1.2). The "placeholder" suffix *-na* usually takes the morphological slot of a valence-related morpheme when they are not used (and it is replaced by them when they are used).[208] However, that hypothesis is problematic given the following example in which the verb *t͡sɨkɨ* 'run, jump' shows that the nasal consonant occurs when the verb takes an aktionsart suffix. Therefore, the nasal consonant *n* is considered synchronically an integral part of the perfective form of the verb, rather a different/separate suffix.

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208. The placeholder suffix *-na* usually takes the morphological slot of a valence-related morpheme when the latter is not used (and it is replaced by them when they are used).

(31)　*t͡sɨ́kiŋkɨ̃ iɲahkamá tuntarɨ́n kahínmatkɨ̃n* […]

tsíkɨn-kɨ̃　　　　　　　　iia-hkamá̃

run.PFV-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS　　fall-TERM

tunta-rɨ̃＝na　kahinama-tu-kɨ̃

quiver-1PL/2PL/3.POSS＝ACC　forget-APPL-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS

'Having run, upon falling, having forgotten his quiver […]'

CHAPTER XIII

THE VERB I: "DERIVATIONAL" LEVEL

13.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the first level of morphology in the Wampis verb

structure, which roughly corresponds to "derivational" morphology, positions 1-5 in the

verb structure (cf. §12.7).

The categories to be studied in this chapter are the following:

1. Valence-adjusting morphemes, which are all suffixes, except for a causative

that is the only prefix in the language (§13.2).

2. Object/Person markers (§13.2.4).

3. Aktionsart, Imperfective, Durative, Present habitual and Potential affixes

(§13.3).

4. Negation (§13.4).

5. Non-imperfective plural (§13.5).

13.2. Valence operators

The first layer of morphemes in the verbal piece, closest to the root, are valence

operators. Languages almost always exhibit several morphemes that serve to adjust the

syntactic valence of clauses, increasing or decreasing it (Bybee 1985). In Wampis, a

number of morphemes serve the purpose of increasing or decreasing valence. Valence-

decreasing and valence-increasing operators are suffixal, with the exception of a prefixal

causative. Notice that there is no true passive in Wampis.

13.2.1. Valence-decreasing morphology

Wampis possesses a subset of morphemes that decrease the valence of a verb, as

shown in Table 13.1.

Table 13.1. Valence-decreasing suffixes in Wampis

Morpheme	Gloss
-na, -pa	Detransitivizers
-ma	Reflexive
-nai	Reciprocal

The detransitivizers are not very productive synchronically, especially *-pa*. The

reflexive and the reciprocal commonly occur in natural speech. The fact that there are

transitivizing and detransitivizing morphemes in Wampis apparently point to the

importance of the transitive/intransitive distinction in past stages of the language,

perhaps Jivaroan protolanguage more generally. Notice that some verbs have

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detransitivizing suffixes as part of their lexicalized stem.

13.2.1.1. Detransitivizer *-na*

The suffix *-na* turns a transitive verb into an intransitive one. Table 13.2 lists a sample

of Wampis transitive verbs and their derived detransitivized counterparts.

Table 13.2. Wampis derivations with detransitivizer *-na*

Transitive root	Detransitive *-na*
eme 'ruin'	*eme-na* 'decrease'
hii 'take out'	*hii-na* 'exit'
kupi 'break'	*kupi-na* 'break one's bones'
nankima 'throw'[a]	*nankima-na* 'jump'
uka 'spill'	*uka-na* 'be spilt'
ut͡saa 'throw away several objects'	*ut͡saa-na* 'enter house (several people), fall in trap (several people/animals)'

[a] From *nanki* 'spear' and *-ma* 'verbalizer'.

The next examples illustrate the use of *-na* in natural speech. In (1) the transitive verb

hii 'take out' is present. We can see that the verb, being transitive, receives a marking of

2 object.

(1) *nampɨ́k asámtɛɛ̃ hiɪ́rmakmiaji*

nampɨku	a-sa-mataĩ	hii-rama-ka-ma-ji
drunk	COP-SUB-1SG/3.DS	take.out-2.OBJ-INTENS-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

'Because you were drunk [in the soccer field], he took you out.'

The following sentence shows the derived verb *hii-na* (take out + -DTR) i.e. 'exit'.

The verb stem takes only one S argument ('you'):

(2) *Maʃiantá ámɨ hiinkitʲá*

Maʃiantá	amɨ	hii-na-ki-tá
Mashianta\VOC	2SG	take.out-DTR-WHILE.MOVING-IMP

'Mashianta, you go out!'

13.2.1.2. "Placeholder" *-na*

For Awajun, Overall (2007: 30) reports the existence of a morpheme -na that is homophonous with the detransitivizer -na seen in the preceding subsection. In contrast to the detransitivizer *-na*, this "placeholder" suffix *-na* does not change the valency of the verb and its function, synchronically, seems to stand there in the stem in place of a valency or object morpheme. This homophonous suffix also exists in Wampis. It is lexically restricted (appearing with only a few verbs) and seems to have the same behavior. If a valency or object morpheme is used, it replaces the non-valency changing *-na*.

"Placeholder" *-na* occurs only with a small subset of transitive verbs, as listed in Table 13.3.

Table 13.3. Verbs where "placeholder" *-na* occurs

Verb	Gloss
at͡ʃina	'capture' (from at͡ʃi 'grab')
mukuna	'suck, smoke' (from muku 'nipple')
ɨkɨna	'put on (e.g. floor, fire (to grill), bed, etc.) '
ɨmɨtana	'afirm'
ɨpɨna[209]	'fence in'
uaina	'see'

To illustrate the "placeholder" suffix *-na*, let us look at examples (3)–(5). In (3),

the placeholder *-na* stands after the root 'see'. Notice that this is not a detransitivizer, as

the verb continues to be transitive.

(3) *wɛínkammɨ*

uai-**na**-ka-ma-mɨ

see-**NA**-INTENS-REC.PT-2SG.SBJ + DECL

'You saw him.'

In (4), the placeholder morpheme *-na* is replaced by the reciprocal *-nai*.

(4) *kaʃínkiʃa wɛínikami*

kaʃini = kɨ = ʃa   uai-**nai**-ka-mi

tomorrow = RESTR = ADD   see-**RECP**-INTENS-HORT

'Tomorrow we'll see each other.'

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209. This example is particularly interesting. The root *ikɨ* means 'put down'; with *-na* it means 'put on fire, floor (or some other surface)'. It appears like *-na* 'placeholder' may have had some derivational properties after all; unfortunately, there are not many examples like this in the lexicon. Notice that the same root *ikɨ* plus the reflexive *-ma*, i.e. *ikɨma*, means 'sit'. In that case, -*na* 'placeholder' is "replaced" by the reflexive *-ma*: *ikɨma* 'sit'.

And, in (5), it can be seen that the 1SG object marker *-tu* occurs in the position of

the placeholder *-na.*

(5) *núwa waítkʲarɛɛ túsa*

nua   uai-**tu**-ka-ara-ai

woman   see-**1SG.OBJ**-INTENS-PL.PFV-APPR

'May the women don't see me.'

13.2.1.3. Detransitivizer *-pa*

The detransitivizer *-pa* is an unproductive suffix that can be found lexicalized in

just a few verb roots. For instance, consider *ʃiki* 'urine', *ʃiki-ki* 'take out liquids' (with *-ki*

'transitivizer'), *ʃikitpa < *ʃiki-tu-pa* 'urinate' (with *-tu* 'applicative' and *-pa*

'detransitivizer'). There is also a more common version of 'urinate' with the reflexive -

ma (§13.2.1.4): *ʃikitma < *ʃiki-tu-ma.* It is possible that the *-pa* is just an old variant of

the reflexive *-ma* explained in the next section. The same [root-applicative-reflexive]

structure is used in other lexicalized verb stems: *iha-tu-ma* 'defecate' (from *iha*

'excrement'; at least two speakers told me that *iha-tu-pa* was also 'correct'), *t͡sapa-tu-ma*

'sprout' (from *t͡sapa* 'grow (of a plant)'), probably related to *t͡sapa* 'gourd').

13.2.1.4. Reflexive *-ma(ma)*

The reflexive *-ma(ma)* reduces the valence of the clause by indicating that the

agent and the patient of the verb are the same entity involved in the predicated event.

Semantically, prototypical reflexives mark an event in which the participant is the initiator and the end point of an action (Kemmer 1994).

The typical used of the reflexive can be illustrated with the verb *timaʃi* 'comb'[210]. In (6), there is a reflexive action marked by the presence of *-ma* carried by the verb root. Thus, the agent and the patient of the verb are the same. By contrast, in (7), the action is between two different participants, 'you' (agent) and 'me' (patient). Morphosyntactically, this is marked by the occurrence of a 2SG subject marker and a 1SG object on the verb.

(6) *intʲaʃín tɨmáʃmatiamɨ*
intaʃi=na   tɨmaʃi-**ma**-tu-a-mɨ
hair=ACC   comb-**REFL**-APPL-IPFV-**2**SG.SBJ+DECL
'You comb your hair yourself.'

(7) *tɨmáʃtamɨ*
tɨmaʃi-**tu**-a-**mɨ**
comb-1SG.OBJ-IPFV-**2SG.SBJ**+DECL
'You comb me.'

Further examples of derivations with the reflexive *-ma* are given in (8). Some examples reveal that the effect of the reflexive can be somewhat unpredictable

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210. Notice the likely relation of this verb to the noun tɨma 'louse'.

semantically. For example, though 'sit' can perhaps be interpreted as a hyponym of the

reflexive concept 'put oneself down', *iki-ma* does not have the broad meaning of 'put

one's self down', and it is lexicalized specifically as meaning 'sit'; it cannot be extended,

for instance, to 'crouch' or 'lie down' which are also hyponyms of 'put oneself down'. In

addition, *t͡ʃit͡ʃa* 'speak' with the reflexive plus the applicative *-ru* (§13.2.3) becomes

'defend oneself'—this is likely related to the cultural importance of oratory speech in

Wampis, but the meaning of the derived verb is not clearly obtained from the sum of its

parts.

(8)

ati	'untie'	→	*ati-ma*	'untie oneself'
isa	'burn'	→	*isa-ma*	'burn oneself'
int͡sa	'carry on the back'	→	*intsa-ma*	'ride' ('put oneself on the back')
iki	'put down'	→	*iki-ma*	'sit'
niha	'wash'	→	*niha-ma*	'wash oneself'
t͡ʃit͡ʃamaru	'defend'	→	*t͡ʃit͡ʃamaru-ma*	'defend onself'

Sometimes, the reflexive appears with the long form *-mama*. This is illustrated in

(9) and (10). Note that the surface form with the *i* [jumámiahai] in (9) occurs because

the stem (including the reflexive suffix) is conjugated following the imperfective

conjugation III. Recall that in this conjugation type, a final vowel *-a* of the stem is

replaced by a high central vowel *i* when the stems receives the imperfective suffix *-a*

(§12.8.1.4).

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(9) *jumámiahɛɛ*

iú-**mama**-a-ha-i

eat-REFL-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I eat myself.'

(10) *wíʃa wɨ́miahɛɛ konseho awaruna wamβisa tamáu aátmammoo ámaunam nuɨ́*

ui=ʃa   uɨ́-mia-ha-i   konseho_awaruna_wamβisa ta-mau

1SG=ADD   go-DIST.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL Awajun-Wampis Council   say+IPFV-NMLZ

aa-tu-**mama**-mau   a-mau=nama nuĩ

write-APPL-**REFL**-NMLZ   COP-NMLZ=LOC there

'I also went to the so-called Consejo Aguaruna-Huambisa, where they got registered themselves, there.'

Example (10) is interesting because the verb with the reflexive suffix is followed by the Set II non-subject nominalizer *-mau*. Thus the construal of the subject seems to be non-agentive ('the ones who got registered themselves').[211] This appears to be a middle voice-like use of the reflexive in that the event is treated as a process in the sense of Chafe (1970); i.e. as a change of condition or state, rather than an action performed by an agent upon another participant or upon itself. Notice that when the verb is more stative/inchoative, as 'be/get damaged' in (11), the verb is nominalized with the subject nominalizer *-u.*

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211. A subject nominalization with an active verb such as 'write (register)' would imply that the event is more prototypically transitive, with an agent acting upon a patient; i.e 'the ones who register [someone]'.

(11) *tunáamaru ásã muútʃrintin núka . . . naáŋka tsunáŋka*

tunaa-ma-ru-u   a-sã

get.damaged-ʀᴇꜰʟ-ᴀᴘᴘʟ-ɴᴍʟᴢ   ᴄᴏᴘ-ꜱᴜʙ\3.ꜱꜱ

muútʃi-rĩ-tinu   nu=ka   naa=na=ka   tsuna=na=ka

conjunctivities-1ᴘʟ/2ᴘʟ/3-ᴀᴛᴛʀɪʙ   ɴᴏɴ.ᴠɪꜱ=ꜰᴏᴄ   ʜᴇꜱɪᴛ.ᴘʀᴏ=ᴀᴄᴄ=ꜰᴏᴄ Tsuna=ᴀᴄᴄ=ꜰᴏᴄ

'because he got damaged, with conjunctivitis, umm, that Tsuna [they saw].'

The connection between the functional domains of middle voice and reflexivity

is well attested across languages (Shibatani 1985; Kemmer 1993; Givón 1994).

Somewhat confusingly, the reflexive *-ma* is homophonous with the verbalizer

suffix *-ma* (§12.6.2), the durative *-ma* (§13.3.4) and the recent past *-ma* (§14.2.2.2).

Historically, it is uncertain at this point of study whether there is a connection between

these functions, or not. However, the identity of all of these suffixes is clearly distinct

synchronically. In the following example, we have the denominal verb 'scratch' derived

with the verbalizer *-ma*, followed by the reflexive and the recent past morphemes, all

occupying different positions in the verb.

(12) *nantʃíkmamramhɛɛ*

nantʃika-ma-ma-ra-ma-ha-i

fingernail-ᴠʙᴢ-ʀᴇꜰʟ-ᴅɪꜱᴛʀ-ʀᴇᴄ.ᴘᴛ-1ꜱɢ.ꜱʙᴊ-ᴅᴇᴄʟ

'I scratched myself.'

The elicited example in (13) shows an occurrence of the durative *-ma* with the

verbalizer *-ma*. Notice that this cannot be an instance of the reflexive because the action

is not reflexive (it is an order addressed to a second person)

(13) *muúkrun nantʃĩkmaamatá*

muuka-ru = na nantʃika-ma-ma-tá

head-1sɢ = ᴀᴄᴄ fingernail-ᴠʙᴢ-ᴅᴜʀ-ɪᴍᴘ

'Scratch my head (a little while more)!'

13.2.1.5. Reciprocal *-nai*

Similarly to the reflexive, the reciprocal *-nai* is a bound verbal morpheme in

Wampis. The reciprocal indicates that the participants of the predication occupy both

the role of agent and patient with respect to each other, i.e. they act equally upon each

other. Examples of derivations with the reciprocal are given in (14).

(14)

Stem	Reciprocal
anɨɨ 'think about'	*ani-nai* 'love'
kahɨru 'hate'	*kahɨru-nai* 'be enemies/hate each other'
kumpa-ma 'make friends' friend-ᴠʙᴢ	*kumpama-nai* 'make friends (with each other)'
mãá 'kill'	*mãá-nai* 'fight'
nanki 'throw (something)'	*nanki-nai* 'throw (something) to each other'

The next examples illustrate the use of reciprocal constructions. In (15), the

comitative = *haɨ̃* coordinates the complex NP that serves as the subject of the reciprocal

verb (the first part of the complex subject is elided as it appeared a few lines before).

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(15) *awarúnhɛ̃ jaúntʃukka kahɨ́rnɛi hakú ɛ́ɛɲawɛɛ*

awaruni=haĩ	iauntʃukɨ	kahɨru-nai	hak-u	a-ina-ua-i
Awajun=COM	long.ago	hate-RECP	HAB.PT-NMLZ	COP-PL.IPFV-3.PT-DECL

'[The Wampis] with the Awajun, long ago, hated each other.'

In (16), there is a plural subject of the reciprocal action.

(16) *íiʃa atúnikmi nɨkás íiɲa núŋkɨ tʃitʃámruka puhústiɲa núu*

ii=ʃa	atu-nai-ka-mi	nɨkas	iina	nunkɨ̃
1PL=ADD	help-RECP-INTENS-HORT	truly	1PL.GEN	land\1PL/2PL/3.POSS

tʃitʃamaru-u=ka	puhu-sa-tinu=a	nu
defend-NMLZ=FOC	live-ATT-FUT.NMLZ=COP	NON.VIS

'We too let us help each other, truly, to defend our lands where we are going to live.'

The next example is also interesting. The reciprocal attaches to the main verb

'fall', so the interpretation is similar to a causative: 'stumbling, they [made] fall each

other.'

(17) *tíkitʃ ɛ́iɲaka tukúmrumak iɲániarmiaji*

tikitʃi	a-ina=ka	tukuma-ru-ma-a-ku	ina-nai-ara-mia-ji
other	COP-PL.IPFV=FOC	stumble-APPL-REFL-IPFV-SIM	fall-RECP-PL-DIST.PT-3.PT+DECL

'Others, stumbling, they fell.' (i.e. They made fall each other as they were stumbling.)

Recall that the reciprocal *-nai* may undergo syncope as explained in Chapter VI,

thus on the surface its realization may be [ni], as in (17) [iɲániarmiaji].

13.2.2. Valence-increasing operators

13.2.2.1. Causatives

There are three morphological causatives in Wampis. Two of them are

commonly found in texts. There is one more that is unproductive and only occurs

lexicalized in a few verbs. The prefix V- and the suffix *-mitika* occur frequently in my

data, whereas *-ka* is the unproductive one.

Cross-linguistically, the connection between event integration and clause union

in the expression of direct causation is very common, as direct causation is expressed

with the most integrated morphosyntactic type (Haiman 1983; Givón 2002a; Shibatani

& Pardeshi 2002). In Wampis, the prefix V- and the suffix *-mitika* mark direct causation

and the highest degree of control by the causer. When the causee shows some degree of

volition, the causee is construed as an instrument manipulated by the causer, and the

causative event does not necessarily imply success. In this kind of situation, Wampis

speakers usually employ a quotative construction, showing less degree of integration.

For instance, in (18) the causee (Sua) is sent to the forest in the context where the

causer (Puhupat) needed someone to gather some plants to prepare medicine for a cold.

In this case, we have indirect causation as Sua has some degree of independent control

and the success of the caused event is less certain. Syntactically this is reflected in a less

integrated construction involving a quotative construction.

(18) *puhupát akúpkamaji ikámnum suwán witá túsan*

Puhupata	akupɨ-ka-ma-ji	ikama=numa	Sua=na
Puhupata	order-INTENS-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL	forest=LOC	Sua=ACC

wɨ-tá   tu-sã
go-IMP   say-SUB\3SG.SS
'Puhupat ordered Suwa to go to the forest.' (Lit.: 'Puhupat sent Suwa to the forest, say-
ing: "go!".')[212]

Morphological causation in Wampis does not include the semantics of

permission, unlike in some other languages. Permission is typically expressed also with

a quotative construction, usually involving the jussive or the imperative.

(19) *áju wɨ́ti túsan t͡sakátkamiahɛi*

aiu   wɨ́-ti   tu-sa-nu   t͡saka-tu-ka-mia-ha-i
okay go-JUSS   say-SUB-1SG.SS   consent-APPL-INTENS-DT.PT-1SG.SBJ + DECL
'I let them go.' (Lit.: 'Saying "okay, let them go", I have consented'.)

Causatives in Wampis can be applied to intransitive and transitive predicates. I

have very few examples of causatives applied to ditransitive verbs.

13.2.2.1.1. Causative *V-*

The causative *V-* is the only prefix in Wampis. *V-* can adopt all vowel qualities

present in the language (/i, ɨ, u, a/); however, the phonetic material that appears with

the verb root is synchronically unpredictable. Thus, the form of this causative prefix

must be learnt in connection with the verb root and stored in the speakers' memory.

Examples of this causative prefix are shown in Table 13.4.

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212. Notice that the verb *akupɨ* also means 'send'.

Table 13.4. Some verbs prefixed with the causative *V-*

Root	V-+Root
uaina 'see'	i-uaina 'show (cause to see)'
kari 'ferment'	i-kari 'make ferment'
t͡sɨkɨ 'jump, run'	i-t͡sɨkɨ 'make jump, make run'
uɨka 'walk'	i-uɨka 'guide (Lit.: 'make walk')'
iú 'eat'	a-iú 'feed'
uɨ 'go'	a-uɨ 'send'
ɨsa 'bite'	a-ɨsa 'cause to bite'
nuɨ 'gain weight'	u-nuɨ 'fatten up (animals)'

The next example illustrates the use of the causative prefix carried by the verb roots *uaina* 'see' (> *i-uaina* 'show') and *ta* 'arrive' (> *V-ta* 'bring'). Third person objects are not marked on the verb, note the applicative occurring to grammatically instantiate a reference to the theme (the 'bird') in (20). For comparison, sentences with underived (without causative) verbs are provided in (21) with a transitive *uaina* 'see', and (23) with intransitive *ta* 'arrive'. Note that Wampis marks all NP objects in the same way, with the accusative =*na.*

(20) t͡ʃinkín ám^wɨ míɲa iwɛínturkatmɨ

t͡ʃinkí=na	amɨ	mi=na	i-uaina-tu-ru-ka-ta-mɨ
bird=ACC	1SG=ACC	2SG=ACC	CAUS-see-APPL-1SG.SBJ-IMM.FUT-2SG.SBJ+DECL

'You are going to show me the bird.'

(21) *ámɨ t͡ʃinkín wɛínkatmɨ*

amɨ	t͡ʃinki = na	uaina-ka-ta-mɨ
2SG	bird = ACC	see-INTENS-IMM.FUT-2SG.SBJ + DECL

'You are going to see the bird.'

(22) *wíi namakán itʲáahɛɛ*

ui	namaka = na	i-ta-ha-i
1SG	fish = ACC	CAUS-arrive + IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am bringing fish.'

(23) *wíi táahɛɛ*

ui	ta-a-ha-i
1SG	arrive-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am arriving.'

The causative *V-* might have been used for denominal derivation in the past. There are a few instances of verbs with a prefixed vowel and causative semantics that are derived from nouns (or at least for which no verbal base could be found synchronically). For instance, *t͡sai* is a species of tree whose wood is used to make houses and canoes. There is a verb *u-t͡sai* that has what appears to be the prefixed causative and which means 'build floor'.[213] To the best of my knowledge, there is no verb *t͡sai* from which the causativized *u-t͡sai* form may have been derived. And the verb *u-munt͡su* 'breast-feed/suckle' is more transparently related to munt͡su 'nipple, breast'.

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213. Though usually the floor is build of *pona* (*Irartea genus*) palm wood.

The causative *V-* is more frequent in my data than the causative suffix *-mitika*[214] that will be presented below. In addition, judging by its form and unpredictable phonetics, it seems that the prefix belongs to a prior stage where there was a different causation mechanism in the language.

13.2.2.1.2. Causative *-mitika*

The suffix *-mitika* is another morpheme that serves the function of causation in Wampis. It attaches to transitive and intransitive stems.

The next example has a transitive verb that becomes ditransitive when it receives the suffix *-mitika*. The objects are 'him' and 'ground'.

(24) *nunkántʃa nĩɲák toómtikʲar* [...]

nunka=na=ʃa	nĩ=na=kɨ	tau-mitika-rã
ground=ACC=ADD	3SG=ACC=RESTR	dig-CAUS-DISTR\3SG.SS

'[The soldiers] made him only dig the land [...]'

In (25) the transitive verb *ii* 'see' carries the causative *-mitika*.

(25) *tíkitʃ hintʲánam íimtikʲas*

tikitʃi	hinta=nama	ii-mitika-sã
other	trial=LOC	see-CAUS-SUB\3SG.SS

'making him look to the other trail'

In the following example, the causative is used on the verb intransitive verb 'act

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214. Another causative suffix *-ka* is completely unproductive and found only in a handful of verbs.

crazy' and yields the meaning of 'make them act crazy'. The use of the reflexive is interesting. The reflexive is used on an intransitive verb ('act crazy') apparently functioning as a middle voice that serves to indicate the affectedness undergone by the experiencer (the people acting crazy), much like Spanish *se* is used in reflexive (*golpear-se* 'hit oneself') and middle voice (*morir-se* 'die') constructions.

(26) *ʃuár uwíʃnuka puháwɛi húna ut͡ʃí hútika woúrmamtikouka túsar tíarmiayi*

ʃuara	uuiʃinu	puha-ua-i
person	shaman	live + IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

hu = na	ut͡ʃí	hutika-ã́	uaura-ma-**mitika**-u = ka
PROX = ACC	child\ACC	do.this-HIAF\3SG.SS	act.crazy-REFL-**CAUS**-NMLZ = FOC

'That person who is a shaman lives, having done that to the young ones, he is one to make them act crazy.'

13.2.2.1.3. Causative *-ka*

The suffix *-ka* is an unproductive morpheme that occurs only with a few verbs.

The verbs that carry -ka in the database are listed in (27).

(27)

uaitu 'suffer' *uaitu-ka* 'annoy'
hii 'exit' *ii-ka* 'make exit/take out'
hɨa 'arrive' *hɨa-ka* 'make arrive'

This suffix *-ka* may be a formative in the causative *-mitika*. Note that the above verbs cannot take the causative *-mitika*.

13.2.2.2. Transitivizer *-ki*

There is a suffix *-ki* that turns an intransitive verb into a transitive one. It is an

unproductive suffix, it only occurs lexicalized in a few verb stems.

(28)

uiʃi	'laugh'	→	*uiʃi-ki*	'make fun of (i.e. 'laugh at')'
iha	'defecate'	→	*iha-ki*	'defecate on someone/some place'
natuma	'move onself away'	→	*natuma-ki*	'dodge, avoid'

Because of the semantics of the derived items, *-ki* potentially may have been a

suffix with some form of locative or goal semantics.

13.2.3. Applicative *-ru ~ -tu*

The applicative prototypically promotes a peripheral participant onto the

"center stage" of a predicated event by making it core argument, in a Direct Object role.

In addition, applicatives can rearrange the argument structure rather than necessarily

increase the valence (Comrie 1985; Croft 1994; Peterson 2007)

The general applicative in Wampis has two forms: *-ru* and *-tu*. They are in

complementary distribution: the selection of one form or the other by a verb is purely

lexical. Actually, verbs can be divided into two classes defined by the form of the

applicative that they take. For the moment, this classes are referred to as "rV" and "tV"

classes. In addition, there does not seem to be a semantic or phonological conditioning

for selecting one form or the other of the applicative. Examples of verbs belonging to "rV" and "tV" classes are given in Table 13.5. The distinction between "rV" and "tV" classes is maintained also through the object markers paradigm, as will be seen in §13.2.4.5. The applicative can be receive by transitive, intransitive and ditransitive verbs.

In addition to the consonant difference, the applicative forms have allomorphs with a vowel *a* instead of *u*; i.e. *-ta* and *-ra*. They usually surface with vowel *a* in front of the agentive nominalizer *-inu*. A number verbs stems that are derived with the applicative (with either form *-tu* or *-ru*) also surface with the allomorphs *-ta* or *-ra*.

In Wampis, the element promoted by the applicative is typically a location, a beneficiary or maleficiary participant. In Wampis, the applicative does not necessarily increases the transitivity of the clause. The maleficiary and beneficiary uses of the applicative, specially with transitive verbs, do not always increase the transitivity of the clause. This fact agrees with some claims in the literature that suggest that applicatives function re-arranging the argument structure rather than increasing the valence, including analyses of other languages of the Peruvian Amazon where applicatives are employed for several functions (Wise 2002; Valenzuela 2010).

Table 13.5. Sample of verbs that select forms *-ru* and *-tu* of applicative

"-rV" Verbs		"-tV" Verbs	
uakɨ 'want'	transitive	*auɨma* 'send'	ditransitive
t͡ʃit͡ʃa 'speak'	transitive	*uha* 'tell'	transitive
uɨ 'go'	intransitive	*mã* 'kill'	transitive
su 'give'	ditransitive	*ɑpa* 'put together, copulate'	transitive
t͡supi 'cortar'	transitive	*ɨnkɨma* 'enter'	intransitive
nuhankɨ 'flood, drown'	trans/intrans	*ahɨka* 'throw in water'	transitive
ta 'come'	intransitive	*anuha* 'patch, glue'	transitive
hu 'take'	transitive	*pata* 'follow'	transitive
antu 'hear'	transitive	*hintɨna* 'teach'	transitive
tɨpɨ 'lie down'	intransitive	*ɨsa* 'bite'	transitive
kanta 'burp'	intransitive	*pɨɨ* 'be stuck'	intransitive
naku 'play'	intrans/transitive	*mat͡sa* 'inhabit, congregate'	intransitive
taka 'work'	intransitive	*ɨt͡sɨra* 'announce'	transitive
kasa 'steal'	transitive	*tɨmaʃi* 'comb'	transitive
ahɑpɨ 'throw away'	transitive		

With verbs of motion, the applicative may promote a location/goal to Object status. Intransitive verbs mark their locations with a locative adposition, as the next example illustrates.

(29) *mésanam* wákaji

mesa = nama   ua-ka-ji

table = LOC   climb-INTENS-3.PT + DECL

'I just climbed on the table.'

In the next example, the intransitive verb 'climb' receives the applicative and

promotes a location/goal. In the passage, a woman tries not to move after she sees a

Tijai (a human-like being in the Wampis folklore) from an elevated point when she was

trying to hunt game. The Tijai realizes he is being watched and climbs to face the

woman. The movement towards the woman is marked with the applicative. Notice that

third person objects are zero-marked in the verb in Wampis. Note that the nominalized

verb 'stand' ('the one who was standing'—the location/goal), which is a fronted focused

object, receives accusative marking and not a locative adposition (unlike the location in

(29)).

(30) *wahásunak tihéika nɨkáprin ásã nɨkápár warukú tímaji*

[uaha-sa-u] = **na** = kɨ   tihai = ka   nɨkapɨ-ra-inu a-sã

stand-ATT-NMLZ = **ACC** = RESTR   Tijai = FOC   feel-DISTR-NMLZ COP-SUB\3.SS

nɨkapɨ-rã   ua-**ru**-ka-u   timaji

feel-DISTR\3SG.SS   climb-**APPL**-INTENS-NMLZ NARR

'To that who was standing, the tijai because he is one who feels, he having sensed [her],
he climbed toward her'

The applicative occurs with transitive and intransitive verb roots in

constructions that can be analyzed as external possession. In this construction, the

applicative is suffixed to the verb, increasing the valence of the clause allowing a

semantic possessor to be promoted as an core argument directly dependent on the verb

(Payne & Barshi 1999; Zavala 1999). In Wampis, this construction is defined by an

overt NP optionally marked by a possession marker, and the verb marked by the

applicative and a person marker that indicates the semantic possessor. In the next

example, we can observe the promotion of a second participant (in this case, a 'you

plural' participant) in a object syntactic role: the verb 'set fire' receives the applicative

form -*tu* and the second plural object is marked on the inflection of the verb. In the

example, the 2PL participant are the owner of the house, thus the construction could be

analyzed as an instance of external possession.

(31) *hĭánʃa ɨkɨ́matkattahrumɨ*
hɨa = na = ʃa   ɨkɨma-tu-ka-tata-harumɨ
house = ACC = ADD   set.fire-APPL-INTENS-DEF.FUT-1SG > 2PL + DECL
'I am going to set fire to the house too (to your (PL) house).'

     The next elicited examples show instances of an the applicative on an

intransitive verb. Compare the use of the applicative-marked verb in (33) with the

unmarked (for applicative) verb in (32). Note also that the nouns are marked by a

possessor marker.

(32) *nuwár wikásmaji*

nua-ru   uɨka-sa-ma-ji

woman-1SG   walk-ATT-IMM.PT-3.PT + DECL

'My wife took a walk'

(33) *nuwár wikátrusmaji*

nua-ru   uɨka-tu-ru-sa-ma-ji

woman-1SG   walk-APPL-1SG.OBJ-ATT-IMM.PT-3.PT + DECL

'My wife took a walk (and I am somehow affected by it.[215])'

       Example (35) shows a malefactive use of the applicative with the verb 'dream'.

First, note that *karama* 'dream' is a transitive stem,[216] as shown in (34). In (35), the

applicative occurs on the verb, but clearly it cannot be being used for turning *karama*

into a transitive verb, since it is transitive. Rather, the applicative is altering the

argument structure of the clause to promote another argument, semantically indicating

that the action of dreaming is to the detriment of the person who dreams (instantiated

as the grammatical subject, indexed as *-nu* '1SG.SS' on the copula and as *-ha* on the main

verb). Note that, culturally, dreaming of a boa is seen as a bad thing by the Wampis.

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215. Two examples of potential contexts where this phrase could be uttered: the wife of a person goes away without preparing food to carry, for example, when someone goes hunting; or when the husband is worried that he has not seen her wife around (Wampis villages are small so men and women usually know where the other person is).

216. From *kara* 'dream (N)' plus the verbalizer *-ma*.

(34) *ʃuarán karámrahɛɛ*

ʃuara＝na   karama-ra-ha-i

person＝ACC   karama-DISTR-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I dreamed of a person.'

(35) *napín karámru asán ʃiírt͡ʃoo nɨkápɨahɛɛ*

napi＝na   karama-**ru**-u   a-sa-nu

boa＝ACC   dream-**APPL**-NMLZ   COP-SUB-1SG.SS

ʃiira-t͡ʃau   nɨkapɨ-a-ha-i

good-NEG.NMLZ   feel-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'Having dreamed of the boa, I feel bad.'

       A benefactive use of the applicative is illustrated in (37) with the verb root *aĩ*

'hang cloth' (also 'fold cloth, make the bed'). Example (36) illustrates the use of the

same verb with a "neutral" interpretation. In comparison, in (37) the action is done for

someone else, which is grammatically marked with the use of the applicative.

(36) *ɛ́ĩktatui*

aĩ-ka-tata-u-i

hang.cloth-INTENS-DEF.FUT-3.SBJ-DECL

'He is going to hang the cloths'

(37) *ɛ́ĩtrukti*

aĩ-tu-ru-ka-ti

hang.cloth-APPL-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-JUSS

'Let him hang the cloths for me' (Spanish: '*Que me tienda la ropa.*')

       The beneficiary of an action may be optionally marked with *-nau* 'beneficiary'

(cf. §10.4.4), followed by the accusative, as in the next example.

(38) *mamán wiṇáun hiítmaji*

[mama=na]   [ui-**nau**=**na**] hii-tu-ma-ji

manioc=ACC   1SG-**BEN**=**ACC**   pull.out.PFV-APPL-REC.PT-3.PT +DECL

'He harvested manioc for me.'

Some cases of verbs that frequently occur with the applicative suggest an

associative reading, or at least a mix of benefactive and associative meanings. For

instance, when *mat͡sa* 'inhabit, congregate' carries the applicative, it means 'be/live

together', or even 'live in community'. In the following example, the part that contains

the verb 'inhabit' receiving the applicative was translated into Spanish as *se convive*

armoniosamente 'we live together harmoniously', i.e. with an interpretation of

associative ('live together') and benefactive ('harmoniusly').

(39) *túmaiṇak ʃíir mat͡sátinawai húnaka aʃí tíi ukúkṇiti iiṇa uúntri ajakú=a=nu t͡tsa*
     naántin

tu-mai-na=kɨ   ʃiira   mat͡sa-tu-ina-ua-i

say-POT-NMLZ=RESTR   good   inhabit-APPL-PL.IPFV-3.PT-DECL

hu=na=ka   aʃi   ti   uku-kini-u=iti

PROX=ACC=FOC all   INTENS leave-WHILE.MOVING-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

iina   uunta-rĩ   a-haku=a=nu

1PL.GEN elder-1PL/2PL/3.POSS   COP-HAB.PT=COP=NON.VIS

ɨtsã   naã-tinu

sun   name\1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRIB

'It can be said that we live together harmoniously because of all [the teachings] that our
ancestor called the Sun left.' (Lit.: 'It can be said that we live well [because of] all this
left [by] that one that used to be our ancestor, [whose] name was Sun.'

Many lexicalized verbs appear to be derived with either of the applicative forms

-ru~-tu.

A brief list of examples is given in (40).

(40)

Original verb	Derived form
itsɨra 'announce, inform'	*itsɨratu* 'accuse'
uka 'pour liquid, spill'	*ukatu* 'paint'
inkɨ 'put in'	*inkɨtu* 'save (something for oneself or for another person)'[217]
in͡tsama 'ride'	*in͡tsamaru* 'climb on top of (animal or person')
anɨnta 'magical song'	*anɨntaru* 'sing anɨnta (i.e. for self or someone's benefit)'

13.2.3.1. Homophony between the applicative forms and the 1sɢ object markers

The applicative forms *-tu/-ru* coincide in form with the 1sɢ object marker forms *-tu/-ru* (§13.2.4.1). Thus when both the applicative and the object markers are used, the object marker switches its form to the alternate one, presumably to avoid haplology. Table 13.6 shows this alternations.

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217. Synchronically also used for 'save money', including 'save money in bank'.

Table 13.6. Combination of applicative and 1sg object suffixes

Applicative	1sɢ Object	Applicative + 1sɢ Object
-ru	-ru	-ru-tu
-tu	-tu	-tu-ru

The alternations in forms between the applicative and the object markers are described in §13.2.4.5. We will see that the applicative not only conditions the form of the 1sɢ objects markers, but also the forms of 1ᴘʟ and 2 object markers.

13.2.3.2. Double marking of applicative?

Sometimes, the applicative appears to be repeated after a 1sɢ object marker, as in the next example.

(41) *míɲaka ja͡tsúrnaka manturtuáwarɛi titáhkamá uútu*

mina=ka   ia͡tsu-ru=na=ka   mã-<u>tu-ru-tu</u>-áu-ara-i

1sɢ.ɢᴇɴ=ꜰᴏᴄ   brother-1sɢ=ᴀᴄᴄ=ꜰᴏᴄ kill-<u>ᴀᴘᴘʟ-1sɢ.ᴏʙJ-ᴀᴘᴘʟ?</u>-ʜɪᴀꜰ-ᴘʟ-3.ᴘꜰᴠ+ᴅᴇᴄʟ

ti-tahkamá̃   uu-tu-u

say+ʟᴏᴀꜰ-ꜰʀᴜsᴛ\3sɢ.ss cry-ᴀᴘᴘʟ-ɴᴍʟᴢ

'Trying to say "they just killed me my brother", he cried.'[218]

The repetition of the applicative form is not very well understood, but it might

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218. This example may be considered another example of external possession with the applicative extending the valency of the clause and the possessor marked on the verb and the object ('my brother').

be a case of adding intensity to a benefactive/malefactive action (I have no examples of

applicative being double-marked when promoting a locative argument). Another

possible analysis is that verbs that frequently occur with an applicative, like 'kill', are

being reinterpreted. Some speakers may considered the form mantu (kill + applicative)

as the root, to which they add the applicative form *-ru* and then 1sɢ object marker *-tu.*

13.2.4. Object marking on the verb

The marking of object in Wampis constitutes a fascinating and complex area of

the verbal morphology. As a reminder of the verb structure, Table 13.7 shows a

simplified version of the verb structure presented in Chapter XII.

Table 13.7. Verb structure (simplified)

-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	ROOT	Applicative (Valence)	Object					Person	

As seen in Table 13.7, Objects are for the most-part marked in slot 2 of the

"derivational" morphological level. But there are some important caveats:

• If the object is a 2 person, it is marked in position 7 of verbal piece, with portmanteau

morphemes that index both subject and object.

• If a 3 person acts on a 2PL or 1PL object, then the grammatical person of the object is

marked in slot 2 of "derivational morphology" (with an object marker) **and** in slot 7

of "inflectional morphology" (with a subject marker; i.e. the verb agrees with the

object).

The pattern of verbal argument indexation is explained in detail in §14.3.3, after

the subject affixes are presented. For the present section, I will restrict myself to

presenting the suffixes that serve to mark objects.

Another interesting complication of Wampis verbal object morphology is that

1SG object markers and the applicative forms are identical, as noted earlier in §13.2.3.1.

The presence of the applicative also determines allomorphic the form of the object

markers for the first person plural objects and second person object.

In addition, there are several suffixes used for the marking of singular and plural

Speech Act participants. As in other areas of Wampis morphology, the selection of

allomorphs of these different object markers is entirely lexical and fairly untidy. Third

person objects are not marked on the verb.

13.2.4.1. First person object

First person object markers, singular and plural, are presented in Table 13.8.

Table 13.8. First person singular and plural object suffixes

1SG.OBJ		1PL.OBJ	
-ru	-tu	-rama	-tama
		-karata~-karatu	

As can be seen, the same distinction of *rV~tV* forms that was previously distinguished for the applicative §13.2.3 is also found for the form of the object marker that the verb takes. Verbs that belong to the *-rV* class take *-ru* and *-rama* to mark 1SG or 1PL objects, respectively; verbs that belong to the *-tV* class take *-tu* for 1SG objects and the form *-tama* for 1PL objects. The forms *-tama/-rama* also mark 2 object (§13.2.4.2). The suffix *-karatu~-karata* is not affected by this allomorphic pattern and can occur with either "rV" or "tV" verbs. The suffix *-karatu~-karata* denotes an indefinite first plural object.

The following examples show the verb 'inform', which is a "tV" type verb. Thus, in (42), the verb takes the 1SG object marker form *-tu*.

(42) *óo uhátkamaji*
au   uha-tu-ka-ma-ji
DIST   inform-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL
'He informed me.'

In (43), the verb takes the 1PL/2 object marker form *-tama*. Notice that when

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third person subjects act upon plural Speech Act Participant objects, the verb agrees

with the object, not with the subject. This pattern of hierarchical agreement is

explained in §14.3.3.

(43) *óo uhátmakmahi*

au   uha-tama-ka-ara-ma-hi

DIST   inform-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-PL-REC.PT-1PL + DECL

'She/He informed us.'

      The next two examples illustrate first person object marking with the "*-rV*" verbs

'throw away' and 'cut', respectively. In (44), the 1SG object marker form *-ru* occurs

attached to the verb.

(44) *urúkunmak ahapruátsa taá túsã paŋkás*

uru-ka-u = numa-ki   ahapɨ-ru-á-tasã   ta   tu-sã

how-Q-NMLZ = LOC-RHET throw.away-1SG.OBJ-HIAF-PURP\3.SS   say-IPFV say-SUB\3.SS

panka-sã

raise.head-ATT\3SG.SS

'Saying "how is it where [the bear] is going to throw me?", he raised his head.'

      In (45) the 1PL/2 object form *-rama* is present on the verb *-rV* verb 'cut'. Notice

that the use of the aktionsart suffix in this context (in this particular case, the

'intensive' suffix *-ka*) adds a perfective sense of an intensive 'just done action' to the

verb.

(45) $\widehat{ts}$upírmakhi tusá

$\widehat{ts}$upi-rama-ka-hi   tu-sã

cut-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-1PL   say-SUB\3SG.SS

'Saying "he just cut us!".'

As a final point, there is a 1PL object form -*karatu~-karata* that is usually

translated as a 1PL object.

(46) ámɨka $\widehat{ts}$anúrkartamɨ

amɨ=ka $\widehat{ts}$anu-ru-karatu-a-mɨ

2SG=FOC   lie-APPL-1PL.OBJ-IPFV-2SG.SBJ+DECL

'You are lying to us.'

This pronoun is sometimes used with a non-referential sense. In (47), a *mestizo*

(non-Wampis person) reasons with Piruch, a Wampis leader that used to fight soldiers

(because of the abuses the latter commited). He tells him to stop killing because the

soldiers may kill him (Piruch) as they had killed his brother. He uses the object form -

karatu but not to mean a specific 'us' (the *mestizo* and Piruch were friends), but an non-

referential (maybe impersonal?) 'us'—these uses of -*karatu~-karata* need more

examination.

(47) *Pirutʃá jamɛ́ika mankartuáwaipa*

Pirutʃá   iamai=ka   mã-karatu-áu-ai-pa

Pirucha\VOC   now=FOC   kill-1PL.OBJ-HIAF-APPR-PROH

'Piruch, now do not kill anymore!'

Many derived generic nouns possessed this plural object marker:

(48)

(a) *hintíŋkartin*

hintina-karatu-inu

teach-1PL.OBJ -NMLZ

'teacher' ('one who teaches us').

(b) *t͡ʃit͡ʃákartin*

t͡ʃit͡ʃa-karatu-inu

speak-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ

'adviser' ('one who speaks to us')

(c) *sukártin*

su-karata-inu

give-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ

'supplier' ('one who gives us')

The object marker *-karatu~karata* is also used when a second person agent

(singular or plural) acts upon a first plural patient (49), however the other object

markers are also available (50) in this case.

(49) *ámija atupkratkatá*

amɨ = ʃa   atupa-karatu-ka-tá

2SG = add   support-1PL.OBJ-INTENS-IMP

'You too support us!'

(50) *amɨ mantamámamɨ*

amɨ   mã-tama-á-ma-mɨ

2SG   kill-1PL/2.OBJ-HIAF-REC.PT-2SG.SBJ + DECL

'You killed us.'

13.2.4.2. Second person object: 3>2

Second person singular and plural objects are marked in slot 2 only when a third

person subject acts upon the second person object. Second person objects do not

distinguish between plural and singular forms, but the structures are not ambiguous:

• when the second person P argument is singular, the third person A argument is

 marked on the morphological position of subject (slot 7) of the verb.

• when the second person P argument is plural, the third person A argument is not

 marked, and instead the verb agrees with the plural SAP participant in the

 morphological positions of object (slot 3) and subject (slot 7). See the examples below

 for an illustration of this pattern.

Table 13.9 lists the 2 object markers. The forms *-rama* and *-tama* are shared with

the forms for 1PL object and are taken by "rV" and "tV" verbs, respectively. The

formative *-ma* present in *-rama* and *-tama* may also surface by itself marking a 2 person

object. This indicates that there might be an old morpheme *rV ~ *tV as another

formative in the *-rama/-tama* forms (probably related to the source of the applicative/

1SG object forms?).[219]

_____

219. Notice also that the plural form of the second subject marker is -rumɨ clearly historically
decomposable into *-ru* (which, again, has the same form one of the forms used for the applicative

Table 13.9. Second person singular and plural objects indexes

2 object suffixes with a 3 person subject	
-rama	-tama
	-ma

Examples (51) and (52) have the verb 'call', which is a "rV" verb. Thus, the object form -*rama* is received by the verb. Notice that the indexation of the subject makes the sentence un-ambiguous with respect to the number of the object. In the case of 3＞2sG (51), the verb agrees with the subject (with the suffix -*ji*). In the case of 3＞2PL (52), the verb agrees with the object (with the suffix -*rumɨ*, which normally marks the 2PL subject).

(51) *nitʲá éɨŋa ámɨŋa untsúrmakmarji*
nita a-ina   untsu-rama-ka-ma-ji
3PL   COP-PL.IPFV   call-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-REC.PT-3.PT＋DECL
'They called you (sG).'

(52) *nitʲá éɨŋa untsúrmakmarmɨ*
nita a-ina   untsu-rama-ka-ma-rumɨ
3PL   COP-PL.IPFV   call-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-REC.PT-2PL＋DECL
'They called you (PL).'

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and 1sG object) and -*mɨ* (*mɨ* is directly related to the 2sG pronoun *amɨ*).

The next examples show instances of the form *-tama* with the "tV" verb 'see'.

(53) *nɨ́i wɛitmakmaji*

nĩ   uai-tama-ka-ma-ji

3SG   see-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

'He saw you (SG).'

(54) *nɨ́i wɛítmakmarmɨ*

nĩ   uai-tama-ka-ma-rumɨ

3SG   see-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-REC.PT-2PL + DECL

'He saw you (PL).'

13.2.4.3. Second person object: 1 > 2

Second person objects are marked in slot 7 ("Person") when a first person agent

acts on a second person patient. Table 13.10 lists the forms used.

Table 13.10. Forms for marking 1A participants acting upon 2P participants

A → P arguments	2SG P	2PL P
1SG A	hamɨ	himɨ
1PL A	harumɨ	hirumɨ

The morphemes in Table 13.10 are actually portmanteau morphemes that mark

both subjects and objects. They are easily decomposable: all of them are used to mark 1

and 2 person subject, singular and plural, as presented in Table 13.11 (see §14.3.3 for a

description of subject markers).

Table 13.11. Subject markers, 1 and 2 persons

Subject Marker	Person
-ha	1SG
-hi	1PL
-mɨ	2SG
-rumɨ	2PL

Examples (55)–(58) show the use of the 1 > 2 person markers.

(55) *táhamɨ*
ta-hamɨ
say + IPFV-1SG > 2SG + DECL
'I am telling you.'

(56) *táharmɨ*
ta-harumɨ
say + IPFV-1SG > 2PL + DECL
'I am telling you (PL).'

(57) *táhimɨ*
ta-himɨ
say + IPFV-1PL > 2SG + DECL
'We are telling you.'

(58) *táhirmɨ*

ta-hi-rumɨ

say + IPFV-1PL > 2PL + DECL

'We are telling you (PL).'

13.2.4.4. A paradigm of object marking

Table 13.12 offers a paradigm of object marking with the verb *uaina* 'see'. The

verb *uaina* 'see' is a *-tV* class verb; i.e. the object suffixes that it takes are *-tu* for 1sg

objects and *-tama* for 1pl or 2pl objects. Recall that 3 person objects are zero-marked.

Verbs that belong to the *-rV* class show exactly the same pattern, but switch their 1sg,

1pl and 2pl object suffix to the corresponding forms *-ru* and *-rama*. The first plural

indefinite object suffix *-karatu* occurs in the same position where *-tama* occurs in the

Table; however, bear in mind the important observation that *-karatu* may occur with *-tV*

or *-rV* verbs. The relevant object suffixes are in bold face type in the examples in Table

13.2.

Table 13.12. Paradigm of object marking on the verb

1sg → 2sg	uaina-ka-**hamɨ** see-INTENS-**1sg > 2sg** + DECL	1pl → 2sg	uaina-ka-**himɨ** see-INTENS-**1pl > 2pl** + DECL
1sg → 2pl	uaina-ka-**harumɨ** see-INTENS-**1sg > 2pl** + DECL	1pl → 2pl	uaina-ka-**hirumɨ** see-INTENS-**1pl > 2pl** + DECL
1sg → 3	uaina-ka-ha-i see-INTENS-1sg.SBJ-DECL	1pl → 3	uaina-ka-hi see-INTENS-1pl.SBJ-DECL
2sg → 1sg	uaina-**tu**-ka-mɨ see-**1sg.OBJ**-INTENS-2sg + DECL	2pl → 1sg	uaina-**tu**-ka-rumɨ see-**1sg.OBJ**-INTENS-2pl + DECL
2sg → 1pl	uaina-**tama**-ka-mɨ see-**1pl/2.OBJ**-INTENS-2sg + DECL	2pl → 1pl	uaina-tama-ka-rumɨ see-**1pl/2.OBJ**-INTENS-2pl.SBJ + DECL
2sg → 3	uaina-ka-mɨ see-INTENS-2sg.SBJ + DECL	2pl → 3	uaina-ka-rumɨ SEE-INTENS-2pl.SBJ + DECL
3 → 1sg	uaina-**tu**-ka-ɨ̃ see-**1sg.OBJ**-INTENS-3.PFV + DECL		
3 → 1pl	uaina-**tama**-ka-hi see-**1pl/2.OBJ**-INTENS-1pl + DECL		
3 → 2sg	uaina-**tama**-ka-ɨ̃ see-**1pl/2sg.OBJ**-INTENS-3.PFV + DECL		
3 → 2pl	uaina-**tama**-ka-rumɨ see-**1pl/2pl.OBJ**-INTENS-2pl + DECL		
3 → 3	uaina-ka-ɨ̃ see-INTENS-3.PFV + DECL		

13.2.4.5. Applicative and objects

Let us now turn the discussion toward an very interesting property of Wampis verbal morphology: when the applicative occurs with the object markers, the object markers switch from their "tV" forms to their "rV" forms and vice versa. Table 13.13 lists these forms for first person object markers. The forms *-tuma* and *-turama* are found very rarely in the data. They just seem like synchronically idiosyncratic formations associated to *tu* (perhaps the applicative?, or 1sg object?) +*-ma* and *tu*+*-rama*, respectively.

Table 13.13. Combination of applicative and 1 person object forms

Type\Suffixes	Applicative	1sg Object	1pl Object
"tV" verbs	-tu	-ru	-rama
			-karatu~karata
"rV" verbs	-ru	-tu	-tama
			-tuma
			-turama
			-karatu~-karata

Consider the verb 'inform', which is a "tV" verb; i.e. it selects the form *-tu* of the applicative and of the 1sg object. In (59), the verb receives the 1sg object marker *-tu*.

(59) *óo miṇa uhátkamaji*

au   mi=na   uha-tu-ka-ma-ji

DIST   1SG=ACC inform-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL

'He informed me.'

However, when the applicative is used (in this case, in a benefactive

construction), the form of the object marker switches to *-ru*.

(60) *uhatrukatá*

uha-<u>tu-ru</u>-ka-tá

inform-<u>APPL-1SG.OBJ</u>-INTENS-IMP

'Saying "tell her for me!"...'

Another example with a 'rV' verb, *t͡ʃit͡ʃa* 'speak', is shown in (61).

(61) *míṇa umár t͡ʃit͡ʃártak kakartá ɛ́iʃmankuitmɨ*

mina   uma-ru   t͡ʃit͡ʃa-<u>ru-tu</u>-a-kũ

1SG.GEN sister-1SG   speak-<u>APPL-1SG.OBJ</u>-IPFV-SIM/3SG.SS

kaka-ra-tá   aiʃumanku=ita-mɨ

be.strong-DISTR-IMP man=COP-2SG.SBJ+DECL

'While my sister was saying: "Be strong, you are a man!"

The forms for the 1PL object are fairly messy when the applicative is present.

Examples of different forms like *-turama* and *-tama* are given in (62) and (63),

respectively.

(62) *paánmarmin hurútramkimaji*

paantama-rumi=na   hu-ru-turama-ki-ma-ji

plantain-2.SG=ACC   take-APPL-1PL/2.OBJ-WHILE.MOVING-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL

'He took your banana (to your detriment).'

(63) puhupát awátrutmamhi

Puhupata   auata-ru-tama-ma-hi

Puhupata   hit-APPL-1PL/2.OBJ-REC.PT-1PL.SBJ + DECL

'Puhupat hit us.'

Likewise, combinations of the applicative with the second object markers follow

the same 'switching' pattern, as presented in Table 13.14.

Table 13.14. Combinations of the applicative with 2 person object markers

Type\Suffixes	Applicative	2 Object
"tV" verbs	-tu	-rama
		-ma
		-ruma
"rV" verbs	-ru	-tama
		-turama
		-tuma

13.2.5. The suffix *-nin* 'almost'

The suffix *-nin* creates a verb stems that adds the semantics of 'almost' to the

verbal root.

(64) *junínrahɛɛ*

iu-nin-ra-ha-i

eat-ALMOST-DISTR-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I almost ate.'

(65) *nahánaninsarji*

nahana-nin-sa-ara-ji

transform-ALMOST-ATT-PL-3.PT + DECL

'They almost transform.'

13.3. Verbal slot 3: Aktionsart, Imperfective, Durative, Present Habitual and Potential suffixes

In any given verb, only one suffix may occur in slot 3 of the verb structure, which I have labeled "Aspect" (cf. §12.7). That is, the relevant suffixes form a paradigm. Some members of the paradigm seem more derivational (or lexical), while others have a more inflectional feel. In fact, with the exception of the -*u* 'do away', imperfective -*a*, the present habitual -*na* and the potential -*mai*, the rest of the suffixes in this paradigm have a verb to verb derivation property; i.e. they create what I have called an "inner stem" (cf. §12.7): a stem that can receive any piece of morphology from positions 1 to 8 in the verb (i.e. a stem that is treated as a root). Most of the suffixes in position 3 have more aspectual meaning, but at least one is more modal in meaning. However, they all comprise a single paradigm.

13.3.1. Overview

Table 13.15 provides a list of the suffixes that can fill the morphological position 3 in the verb structure. Following Overall (2007), I analyze a sub-group of suffixes

(discussed in §13.3.2) in Wampis as more 'aktionsart'-like in nature.

Table 13.15. Suffixes that fill morphological position 3 in the verb structure ("Aspect")

-á(u) 'High affectedness'	A
-i 'Low affectedness'	k
-ka 'Intensive'	t
-ki(ni) 'Do while going'	i
-ra 'Distributed action'	o
-sa 'Attenuative'	n
-ri 'Do in proximity/while coming'	s
-u 'Do away from location'	a
	r
	t

-a 'Imperfective',
-ina 'plural imperfective'
-ma 'Durative'
-na 'Present habitual'
-mai 'Potential'

The term *Aktionsart* is understood to refer to lexical aspect. As 'lexical' aspect, these suffixes derive stems with sometimes subtle new meanings, but most verb roots also appear to have a "preferred" aktionsart suffix with which they appear. These "root + aktionsart" stem is obligatory for perfective contexts, most past tenses and future tenses and cannot co-occur with the imperfective, the durative, the present habitual and the potential, thus forming a paradigm. The selection of the "preferred" aktionsart suffix

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by a root may not be semantically transparent synchronically; however, in terms of

frequency it is fairly easy to predict which aktionsart will appear filling position 3 when

an aktionsart is needed for the verb to appear in certain morphosyntactic contexts (cf.

§13.3.7).

13.3.2. Aktionsart

It is difficult to pinpoint the specific meaning for aktionsart suffixes in Wampis,

as their semantics are rather vague and sometimes they just seem to mix more than one

semantic property. These suggests that they are highly lexical in nature. There are

several semantic domains grammaticalized via these morphemes, among them

participant affectedness and associated movement, the label "Aktionsart" is more of a

convenient term to try to classify these suffixes.

Most aktionsart suffixes have a verb-to-verb derivational function. The verb t͡ʃit͡ʃa

'speak', for instance, can assume different meanings according to which aktionsart it

carries:

With attenuative -sa: t͡ʃit͡ʃa-sa 'converse' (as in a quotidian, uneventful action)
(66)
nusɨ-haĩ   t͡ʃit͡ʃa-sa-ma-ji
nusɨ-COM   speak-ATT-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL
'He spoke (tranquilly) with Nuse.'

With intensive -ka: t͡ʃit͡ʃa-ka 'speak more forcefully' (as in giving a speech—

culturally, the Wampis speak forcefully when speaking in front of others, e.g. in an

communal meeting).

(67)
unnta Alfonso Graña   t͡ʃit͡ʃa-ka-ma-ji
elder Alfonso Graña   speak-INTENS-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL
'The elder Alfonso Graña spoke (forcefully, showing his *Arutam* power, in a gathering
front of the people)'[220]

With distributed action -ra: t͡ʃit͡ʃa-ra 'speak to several people' or 'speak several

times'.

(68)
puhupat   t͡ʃit͡ʃa-ra-ma-ji
Puhupata   speak-DISTR-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL
'Pujupat spoke (several times).'

Aktionsart suffixes are synchronically in complementary distribution with the

imperfective, durative, present habitual and potential suffixes. However, aktionsart

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220. This sentence was given as an example when I asked about differences in the use of
aktionsart suffixes with the verb 'speak'. The context I was given for this examples was
(translated from my field notes): "for example, when there is a meeting of people discussing who
to support [there were certain political problems in the villages]. For example, when *uun Alfonso
Graña* speaks, everybody listens, his word is like...that is what you have to do, for example, there
you can say: <*unn Alfonso Graña chichak*> (t͡ʃit͡ʃa-ka 'speak-intensive'), 'the elder Alfonso Graña
spoke')". Elders are very respected, and they manifest that they have a "vision" received from
Arutam (see Chapter II for description of Wampis beliefs) through their oratory skills.

suffixes seem to have been more recursive in previous stages of the language. When an

aktionsart suffix occurs lexicalized in a verb form, they can receive new aktionsart

morphology—what I have called an "inner stem". For instance, the verb *uika* 'walk' is a

derivation of *ui* 'go' and the intensive aktionsart suffix *-ka*. The derived form *uika*

receives the attenuative aktionsart suffix *-sa*, as in (69).

(69) *nuwár wikátursaji*

nua-ru   uika-tu-ru-sa-ji

woman-1SG   walk-APPL-1SG.OBJ-ATT-3.PT + DECL

'My wife just took a walk (to my detriment; i.e. the speaker did not know she was going
away).'

As far as I can tell, a verb can occur with different aktionsart verbs depending on

what the speaker is trying to communicate. However, not all aktionsart suffixes are

available for use by any given verb—perhaps the restriction in the selection of an

aktionsart suffix has to do with the lexical semantics of the verb itself (for instance, it is

difficult to think of a situation where a stative verb like *puhu* 'live' may use the

associated movement *-ki* 'do while moving'). That said, most verbs typically favor only

one aktionsart suffix to occur in certain morphosyntactic environments, such as

perfective, imperative and future, among others (see §13.3.7 for more on this topic). In

the small Jivaroan tradition, other analysts have treated aktionsart suffixes as

"perfective" (Larson 1963; Corbera Mori 1994; Gnerre 2010), though Overall (2007:

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291) suggests that the "perfectiveness" may be a property of the root in Awajun. There are arguments in favor and against each position:

- Verbs roots have an perfective form that sometimes differs from the bare root (§12.8), so it seems like perfectivy may be adjusted by the root itself.

- Not all verbs need an aktionsart suffix to occur in perfective, just done-actions (§14.2.2.1) or with other past or future tenses (most verbs do, though). For instance *ui* 'go', *ha* 'be sick', *tuku* 'shoot' do not need an aktionsart suffix. In some cases, there may be an issue of avoiding ambiguity playing a role: *ui* without aktionsart suffixes means simply 'go', when derived with the intensive *-ka* it means 'walk, wander in forest'; and *ha* 'be sick' with the intensive aktionsart suffix *-ka* means 'die'. But "avoiding ambiguity" is not clearly a motivation in general, because one could ask why another different aktionsart suffix (i.e. different from *-ka* in the examples given) is not selected. This leads us to a semantic discussion of what each aktionsart suffix can or cannot derive, which is problematic given that synchronically, the selection of an aktionsart suffix seems highly lexical in many cases.

- A few verbs do not need an aktionsart suffix, however most verbs do need an aktionsart stem for them to be able to be used in several specific contexts. For

instance, with the 3 person perfective, most verbs must obligatorily used an aktionsart

(typically their "preferred" aktionsart suffixes, which are largely lexically determined)

to yield the sense of a "just-completed" action:

(70) *kaŋkíkɛĩ*
kankɨ-ka-ĩ
roll-<small>INTENS</small>-3.<small>PFV</small> + <small>DECL</small>
'It just rolled.'
cf **kankɨ-i* 'roll-3.<small>PFV</small>'

   The aktionsart is incompatible with an imperfective-marked verb:

(71) kaŋkíawɛi
kankɨ-a-ua-i
roll-<small>IPFV</small>-3.<small>SBJ</small>-<small>DECL</small>
'It is rolling'
cf. **kankɨ-ka-a-ua-i* 'roll-<small>INTENS</small>-<small>IPFV</small>-3.<small>SBJ</small>-<small>DECL</small>'

• Related to the above examples, aktionsart suffixes cannot co-occur with any of the

 other suffixes in slot 3, imperfective, durative, present habitual and potential.

(72)
kankɨ-ka-ĩ
roll-<small>INTENS</small>-3.<small>PFV</small> + <small>DECL</small>
'It just rolled.'

kankɨ-a-ua-i
roll-<small>IPFV</small>-3.<small>SBJ</small>-<small>DECL</small>
'It is rolling'

kankɨ-ma-tá
roll-<small>DUR</small>-<small>IMP</small>
'roll it a little while'

kankɨ-na-ua-i
roll-PRES.HAB-3.SBJ-DECL
'It usually rolls'

kankɨ-mai-inu＝aiti
roll-POT-NMLZ＝COP.3＋DECL
'It can roll.'

• Aktionsart suffixes are required by most verbs in sequential subordination (§19.7), where the subordinated verb has a perfective interpretation. In (73), the verb *nɨna* 'fly' must occur with an aktionsart stem (its "preferred" aktionsart suffix is the intensive action *-ka*) to combine with the sequential different subject *-mataĩ*—note the verb *tuku* 'shoot' in the same example, which does not need an aktionsart:

(73)

t͡sukanká   nɨna-**ka**-mataĩ   íkama tuku-ma-ji
toucan   fly-**intens**-1SG/3.DS   Ikam   shoot.PFV-REC.PT-3.PT＋DECL
'When the toucan flew, Ikam shot it.'

Aktionsart suffixes are required by most verbs (i.e. they form an stem, which I will call the "aktionsart stem") in the following morphosyntactic environments:

- Just-done actions (§14.2.2.1)

-Most past tenses (§14.2)

-Future tenses (§14.2.3)

-Most mood (§14.4)

-Sequential subordination (§19.7)

From the above discussion, it seems that aktionsart suffixes have grammaticalized in the sense that they are required to fill a morphological slot that is usually filled by more aspectual-like suffixes (imperfective, durative) or the potential (which is not very aspectual-like but occupies the same position). Such grammaticalization process to occupy a morphological slot appears to be conditioned by the need of the language to distinguish between the aspectual-like nature of all the suffixes that occupy morphological position 3 in the verb structure. In turn, this process of grammaticalization has led to "semantic bleaching" of the aktionsart suffixes, which may explain why in current Wampis the "preferred" selection of an aktionsart by a certain verb root or "inner root" is not always semantically transparent. In fact, synchronically the selection of such or such aktionsart suffix by a verb may look rather 'idiosyncratic' in some cases. For instance, verbs of speech such as *t͡ʃit͡ʃa* 'speak', *tu* 'say' and *uha* 'tell, inform' have a different "preferred" aktionsart suffix, as indicated in (74), but the semantic motivation for these different selections is opaque:

(74)

Verb:	"Preferred aktionsart":
t͡ʃit͡ʃa 'speak'	*-ka* (Intensive)
tu 'say'	*-i* (Low affectedness of the Patient)
inii 'ask'	*-sa* (Attenuative)

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Table 13.16 shows some examples of verbs with the "preferred" aktionsart

suffixes with which they frequently co-occur. By "preferred" I mean aktionsart suffixes

that have a very high frequency of co-occurrence with verbs in my text database. The

aktionsart *-ri* (see Table 13.15) apparently is a recent conflation of the applicative form

-ru and the low affectedness aktionsart *-i* and it is not selected as 'default' by any verb

in the database. The same happens with *-u*, which is unproductive synchronically: only

a handful of examples occur in the data.

Table 13.16. Sample of verb roots with their preferred aktionsart suffixes

Verb	Preferred Aktionsart
mã 'kill', *iu* 'eat', *t͡sanu* 'lie', *ta* 'arrive', *akinaa* 'be born'	*-á(u)* 'High affectedness'
tu 'say', *ma* 'bathe', *ipanka* 'raise with hand', *ura* 'open (door, a book)'	*-i* 'Low affectedness'
niha 'wash, fish with poison', *haa* 'tear', *hapi* 'drag, pull', *iikama* 'avenge', *paina* 'cook'	*-ka* 'Intensive'
umu 'drink', *karama* 'dream', *aiu* 'feed', *ikaa* 'make dry'	*-ra* 'Distributed action'
hu 'take', *mɨnanta* 'go away', *wakɨtu* 'return', *hina* 'exit'	*-ki(ni)* 'Do while moving'
inii 'ask', *auhumatu* 'tell', *ii* 'see', *tɨpɨ* 'lie down', *uara* 'enjoy', *aɨpa* 'put lie down sideways'	*-sa* 'Attenuative'

13.3.2.1. High affectedness aktionsart *-á(u)*

The high affectedness suffix *-á(u)* indicates a high degree of affectedness (a change of state) of the patient of a verb or the change of location of the agent of an intransitive (typically motion) verb. The complete form *-áu* occurs in front of another vowel /a/.

The verb *tɨpɨ* 'lie down' frequently appears with the attenuative *-sa*, where it conveys a more stative-like action:

(75) *nuɨ́ tɨpɨ́smaji*
nuĩ   tɨpɨ-sa-ma-ji
there lie.down-ATT-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL
'He lied down there.'

Compare with the next example, which includes a change of location. In this case, the high affectedness *-á(u)* is used:

(76) *límanam tɨpɨáwarmatɛ̃ɨ*
lima = nama   tɨpɨ-áu-ara-matã̃ɨ
Lima = LOC   lie.down-HIAF-PL-1SG/3.DS
'When we lay down on (i.e. arrived) Lima . . .'

The verb 'kill' uses the high affectedness suffix with great frequency, as in (77)–(78):

(77) *niɲa nuwĩnka mantuáwaru*
nina   nuĩ = na = ka   mã-tu-áu-ara-u
3.GEN woman\1PL/2PL/3.POSS = FOC   kill-APPL-HIAF-PL-NMLZ
'They were ones to kill his wife.'

(78) *ja͡tʃín mantuáwaruiti uun Piruchí ja͡tʃín*

ia͡tʃi = na   mã-tu-áu-ara-u = iti

brother\1PL/2PL/3.POSS = ACC   kill-APPL-HIAF-PL-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

uunta   Piru͡tʃí   ja͡tʃi = na

elder   Piru͡tʃi\GEN   brother.1PL/2PL/3.POSS = ACC

'They killed his brother, elder Piruchi's brother.'

       The following example is one that shows the use of the high affectedness

aktionsart suffix with the intransitive verb *ta* 'arrived'. An aktionsart stem without any

past tense marker assumes a just-completed action interpretation (§14.2.2.1). In this

case, upon returning to his village, the speaker is telling about his experience in

Pucallpa, a town that is very far from the Wampis villages (Pucallpa is located relatively

close to the border with Brazil). The high affectedness is used to mark the change of

location of the speaker (who has just returned from Pucallpa).

(79) *jaáktanam urúk puhúiñawa núna wɛínkʲan taáhɛɛ huǐ*

iaakata = nama   uruka   puhu-ina-u = a   nu = na

town = LOC   how   live-PL.IPFV-NMLZ = COP   NON.VIS = ACC

uaina-ka-nu   ta-á-ha-i   huǐ

see-INTENS-1SG.SS   arrive-HIAF-1SG.SBJ + DECL   here

'Having seen how they live in the city, I just arrived here.'

13.3.2.2. Low affectedness aktionsart -*i*

       The low affectedness suffix -*i* typically involves the expression of a sustained

action where there is no salient change of state of the patient of a transitive verb or the

agent of an intransitive verb. In (80) there is a sustained action but no salient change of

state.

(80) *hiín umpuĩ́*

hii = na   umpu-i-ĩ

fire = ACC   blow-LOAF-PFV.3

'He blew the fire.' (i.e. to maintain the fire, so there is no change of state)

Contrast the meaning of the low affectedness aktionsart suffix in the previous

example with the next one. The verb root 'blow' can take the high affectedness

aktionsart *-á*(u), in which case it assumes the meaning of 'play a wind instrument'. The

derived stem does not take the low affectedness suffix, but the 'distributed action' *-ra*

(81) (see below, §13.3.2.4), as playing an instrument typically refers a more complex

action than just blowing the fire, as in the previous example.

(81) *puputʃén umpuáramahɛɛ*

puputʃe = na   umpuá-ra-ma-ha-i

flute = ACC   blow.instrument-DISTR-REC.PT-2SG.SBJ-DECL

'I played the flute.'

By contrast, if we add the 'low affectedness' to the stem *umpuá* the meaning is

that someone blew a little air on the flute, not that someone played it (this was an

elicited example, the meaning resulting from adding the low affectedness suffix was

described as 'odd').

(82) *pupútʃen umpuɛ́imhɛɛ*

pupu͡tʃe = na   umpuá-i-ma-ha-i

flute = acc   blow.instrument-loaf-rec.pt-1sg.sbj-decl

'I blew on the flute.'

In the next example shows the low affectedness with the verb 'bathe', which is

intransitive but in this case is causativized. 'Bathe' has the low affectedness suffix as its

"preferred" aktionsart.

(83) *hákɨ ɨ͡tsɨ́sa imɛitʲárum*

hakɨ   ɨ͡tsɨ-sa   i-ma-i-tá-rumɨ

warm.water   heat-ATT   CAUS-bathe-LOAF-IMP-2PL.SBJ

'[With] warm water, cozy, give her a bath.'[221]

The low affectedness suffix may also be used to indicate the low topicality of a

patient. For instance, as seen in the preceding subsection, the verb *mã* 'kill' frequently

co-occurs with the high affectedness suffix *-á(u)*. However, in this text where one of my

teachers explains how the Wampis go hunting, he uses the low affectedness suffix when

the patient is 'animals'. (By contrast, I have no examples of the low affectedness suffix

when the patient role is human.)

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221. The original Spanish translation of the verb 'heat' plus the attenuative is *calientito*, which I
translate in the example as 'cozy'.

(84) *túra wíi núnaka aʃíka mɛ̃́ítʃuahɛɛ wíi waríɲak má wakírah núna*

tura	ui	nu＝na＝ka	aʃi＝ka	mã-**i**-t͡ʃu-a-ha-i
and	1SG	NON.VIS＝ACC＝FOC	all＝FOC	kill-**LOAF**-NEG.NMLZ-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

ui	wari＝na＝kɨ	ma	wakɨru-a-ha	nu＝na
1SG	thing＝ACC＝RESTR	INTERJ	want-IPFV-1SG	NON.VIS＝ACC

'And I do not kill all that [i.e. animals], I only [kill] things that I want.'

The previous example suggests that there might be more factors affecting the use of aktionsart morphology than just lexical aspect, such as contextual saliency, an animacy hierarchy or topicality. This issue is not fully explored yet.

13.3.2.3. Intensive aktionsart *-ka*

Typically, the intensive *-ka* adds the idea of an action carried out with a relatively high degree of effort by the agent or, less commonly, an experiencer.

The verb *tukuma* 'kick' when added the attenuative means that the kick is done with little effort. With the intensive *-ka* (which is the most frequent aktionsart "selected" by the verb *tukuma*), the verb acquires a sense of 'kick firmly'. This was explained to me in Spanish as the difference between a 'little kick' and a 'strong kicking (as kicking the ball in soccer or someone in a fight)' (cf. the Spanish translation given to me: *'patear con fuerza'*).

(85) *puhupátan tukúmsamji*

puhupata＝na	tukuma-sa-ma-ji
Pujupat＝ACC	kick-ATT-REC.PT-3.PT＋DECL

'She gave Pujupat a little kick (i.e. joking or playing)'

(86) *puhupátan tukúmkamji*

puhupata = na tukuma-ka-ma-ji

Pujupat = ACC   kick-INTENS-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

'She gave Pujupat a firm kick.'

      The verb 'look for' (also 'look for game', i.e. 'hunt') has the intensive *-ka* as its

preferred aktionsart suffix:

(87) *waámak takás nuŋkánʃa ɨák nuĩ́ kánamunmasha*

uaamakɨ   taka-sã   nunka = na = ʃa   ɨa-kã

quickly   work-ATT\3.SS land = ACC = ADD   look.for-INTENS\3.SS

nuĩ   kána-mau = numa = ʃa

there sleep-NMLZ = LOC = ADD

'He worked quickly, looking around for land, there, where to sleep.'

      The verb root *kahɨ* 'get/be angry' usually takes the intensive *-ka.* If, instead, this

verb occurs with the distributed action aktionsart *-ra,* it means 'hate'. The "inner stem"

kahɨra 'hate' can further take the intensive too:

(88) *ut͡ʃí kuitʲamkatá kahɨ́rkɛipʲarum*

ut͡ʃí   kuitama-ka-tá   kahɨra-ka-ai-pa-rumɨ

child\ACC   look.after-INTENS-IMP   hate-INTENS-APPR-PROH-2PL.SBJ + DECL

'Take care of that girl, do not hate her.'

13.3.2.4. Distributed action aktionsart *-ra*

      The suffix *-ra* typically indicates an action that can be seen as complex,

involving a process, a repetitive action or an action with more than one object

manipulated.

The verb *aipa* means 'put on the ground' or 'put on bed sideways'. It typically

selects the attenuative *-sa* (89), but when it receives the distributed action suffix *-ra*, it

means 'put several (objects/people) on the ground or bed'. Example (90) was said by a

speaker that was leaving his house

(89) *tikitʃa aípsamu jutúamu*

tikit͡ʃi = ʃa   aɨpa-sa-mau   iutu-a-mau

other = ADD   put-ATT-NMLZ   bury-IPFV-NMLZ

'The other too, [he] put on the ground, buried.'

(90) *aípramoun ukúahai*

aɨpa-ra-mau = na   uku-a-ha-i

put-DISTR-NMLZ = ACC   leave-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am leaving [the children]²²² lying down.'

Other examples of the use of the suffix *-ra* are less transparent. For instance,

unuima 'learn' typically takes the distributed action suffix *-ra,* as in (91), presumably

because the action of learning is construed as a complex process (not punctual).

(91) *útʃi unúimararti turáʃa nɨkás kámɨ unúimarar kámɨ uúntrĩn t͡ʃit͡ʃámrukti*

ut͡ʃi unuima-ra-ara-ti   turaʃa nɨkas kamɨ   unuima-ra-ara

child learn-DISTR-PL-JUSS   but   truly   INTERJ   learn-DISTR-PL\3PL.SS

---

222. The only interpretation here is that there is more than one child, if the patient is singular,
then the attenuative *-sa* is used. The speaker who said this utterance has three young children.

kamɨ uunta-rĩ=na　　　　t͡ʃit͡ʃamaru-ka-ti
INTERJ elder-1SG/3.poss=ACC　defend-INTENS-JUSS

'Let the children study, but, truly, having studied, that they defend their elders.'

Overall (2007) rightly notices that many actions involving liquids usually take the distributed action *-ra* (the Awajun cognate is *-ha*): umu 'drink', iutu 'rain', iniha 'wet'. The same author mentions that since in Awajun there is a merger between Proto-Jivaroan **r* and **h*, it is probable that there were two aktionsart suffixes that have been neutralized (one for 'liquid action' and one for 'complex actions/process') (Overall 2007: 295). However, the Wampis data shows that there is only one suffix *-ra* for both 'liquid action' and 'processes'. For instance, *umu* 'drink', *iutu* 'rain', *ikihVma* 'wash one's hands' all select *-ra* as their default aktionsart suffix. There is still the possibility that there were two distinct suffixes (one for 'liquid action' and one for 'complex actions/ process'), but it remains a possibility that is nearly impossible to prove, given that they would be homophonous. In any case, future comparative evidence may shed more light into this topic.

13.3.2.5. Attenuative aktionsart suffix *-sa*

The attenuative denotes an action that is done without much effort or it decreases the 'force' of the verb, and in many cases it is the verbal equivalent to the diminutive that marks nouns and adjectives. The most common uses of the attenuative

is in imperative contexts, as has the pragmatic effect of reducing the force of a

command, and with stative verbs (especially when the subject is an experiencer and

with posture verbs).

The next examples show the attenuative use in imperative clauses, where it

serves to give a sense of affection[223] to the command. Consider the difference between

(92) and (93). In (93), the attenuative makes the command more subtle.

(92) *juáta*
iu-á-tá
eat-HIAF-IMP
'eat!'

(93) *jusáta*
iu-sa-tá
eat-ATT-IMP
'eat (please)!'

The attenuative *-sa* usually occurs with stative verbs. For instance, the stative

verb *puhu* 'live' is frequently found carrying the attenuative as its "preferred" aktionsart,

presumably because the action of living is construed as an action that is done without

much effort or not involving salient changes on the participant:

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223. Commonly translated as a command said '*con cariño*' 'with affection', by my Wampis
teachers.

(94) *t͡ʃiŋkanás nuĩ́ puhusmiahɛɛ nukap t͡sawán*

t͡ʃiŋkanása	nuĩ	puhu-sa-mia-ha-i	nukapɨ	t͡sauanta
Chinganaza	there	live-ATT-DIST.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL	several	day

'Chinganaza, there I lived for a good time.'

Many verb roots that predicate a cause position (i.e. verbs of placement) usually take the attenuative *-sa* as their preferred aktionsart suffix, presumably because the result of the action is construed as stative: *apuha-sa* 'place on surface', *aipɨ-sa* 'place on ground' 'place on bed sideways', *ikɨna-sa* 'place on fire (e.g. to cook)', and so on. In addition, verbs that involve asking for something also frequently take the attenuative suffix *-sa*, presumably because they involve actions that pragmatically or socially may be construed as requiring a level of politeness: *inii-sa* 'ask', see also the periphrasis *auakɨ inɨntaima-sa* ('contrary think-Attenuative')[224] which means 'differ', 'think the contrary'.

The attenuative is also used with other verbs where the "attenuative" sense is less transparent semantically. For instance, *taka* 'work' or *auhu* 'study' frequently "select" *-sa*. To study is maybe seen as a stative action, as opposed to 'learning' *unuima* which is more active and frequently uses distributive *-ra*. As was said above, in many cases the semantic 'bleaching' of the aktionsart suffixes makes their meanings difficult to identify for all specific cases.

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224. The verb *auakɨ* means 'return' literally.

13.3.2.6. Do action while moving *-ki(ni)*

The suffix *-ki(ni)* belongs to a semantic domain known as 'associated motion'

(Koch 1984; Guillaume 2006). *-Ki* indicates that the action is done while moving away

from the point of reference. This is one of the most semantically coherent aktionsart

suffixes, in the sense that it occurs with many verbs of motion and affines. By far, the

most common occurrence of this suffix in narratives is with the verb *hu* 'take'.

(95) *naŋkí hukí wɨ́miaji maátsã*

nankí	hu-kɨ̃	uɨ-mia-ji	mã-á-tasã
spear\ACC	take-WHILE.MOVING	go-DIST.PT-3.PT + DECL	kill-HIAF-purp\3.SS

'Taking the spear, he went to kill.'

Notice the metaphorical use of the verb bearing *-ki* in the next example:

(96) *uuntí nɨkátainkai núnia asán nunkáŋka imatɨ́kan jukɨ́t͡ʃmiahɛɛ*

uunta = tí	nɨka-taĩ = ka	nuni-a	a-sa-nu
elder = SAP	know-NMLZ = FOC	do.that-IPFV	COP-SUB-1SG.SS

nunka = na = ka	imatika-nu	hu-ki-t͡ʃa-mia-ha-i
land = ACC = FOC	do.much-1SG.SS	take-WHILE.MOVING-NEG-DIST.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'Because we the old people do not know, I did not take much land (i.e. 'I didn't buy much land').'

The long form *-kini* surfaces before the 3 person perfective *-ĩ* (§14.3.2).

13.3.2.7. Do in proximity *-ri*

The suffix *-ri* adds a sense of 'do something in proximity to location at the point

of reference'. This suffix seems to be a recent grammaticalization from the applicative

form *-ru* plus the low affectedness *-i*. One of the functions of the applicative is to mark

location or goal with intransitive verbs (§13.2.3). However, speakers seem to be re-

analyzing *-ri* as distinct from the applicative, and they would often times correct me

when I transcribed it as *-ru-i* ('Applicative-Low affectedness'). The use of the low

affectedness suffix in an associated motion suffix is a little unexpected, as low

affectedness would presumably indicate rather that there is no change of state (i.e. no

change of location); but this suffix is used with the idea of proximity to the point of

reference, so one could claim that the change of location is not very salient. Example

(97) shows an instance of the use of *-ri* with the verb *hu* 'take', which takes *-ki* 'do while

moving' in the vast majority of cases, but here it receives *-ri*. Compare with (98), where

-ki 'do while moving' implies that the action is moving away from the point of

reference.

(97) *huritá*
hu-ri-tá
take-DO.PROX-IMP
'Come take him!' (come to point of reference)

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(98) *hukitá*

hu-ki-tá

take-WHILE.MOVING-IMP

'he took him (away from point of reference).'

13.3.2.8. Do in another location *-u*

The suffix *-u* is not very productive. It denotes an idea of action done somewhere

else than the reference-point location, and occurs typically in the future.

(99) *wɨkóuthɛi*

wɨka-u-ta-ha-i

hunt-DO.AWAY-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I will hunt (somewhere away from here).'[225]

13.3.3. Imperfective *-a* and plural imperfective *-ina*

The imperfective *-a* is used to described an action with internal composition, i.e.

viewing a situation as having "internal temporal structure" (Comrie 1976: 24). It

usually marks progressive or habitual actions. Examples of the imperfective are

presented in the next examples.

(100) *ámɨŋa jaáktarmɨɲin puháwɛi iwíʃɲuka*

amina jaakata-rumi=nĩ   puha-ua-i   iuiʃinu=ka

2SG.GEN town-2SG=LOC   live+IPFV-3.SBJ+DECL   shaman=FOC

'The shaman lives in your village.'

---

225. This example was uttered when the speaker was going off to hunt at *Kampankis*, a mountain range that is on the far east side of the Santiago river area, far from the village of Puerto Galilea where the example was collected

(101)*amɨ júamɨ*

amɨ   iu-a-mɨ

2SG   eat-IPFV-2SG.SBJ + DECL

'You are eating.'

There is a suppletive plural imperfective suffix *-ina*, illustrated in (102).

(102) *núka arútan íikʲa tuíɲahi*

nu = ka   arutama = na   ii = ka   tu-ina-hi

NON.VIS = FOC   Arutama = ACC 1PL = FOC   say-PL.IPFV-1PL.SBJ + DECL

'That, we call Arutam.'[226]

The imperfective is used with the present tense, which is zero marked (recall

that the other suffixes in position 3 cannot co-occur, so they cannot be used in present

tense—except for the present habitual, which makes its own stem and does not co-occur

with the imperfective). However, it is incompatible with future and past tense markers.

Occasionally, the imperfective is used with a relative past tense interpretation that

comes from the context. In the context of the next example, which comes from a

mythological narrative, a woman arrives to the house of a man and stays there:

(103)*núka núwaka hĩã́ ma͡tsatíawai*

nu = ka   nua = ka   hĩa-ã́   matsatu-a-ua-i

NON.VIS = FOC   woman = FOC house-HIAF\3SS live.together-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'That woman arrived and was living there.'

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226. The pronunciation [arútan] is a haplology from arutama = na which is otherwise
pronounced [arútman].

13.3.4. The durative *-ma*

The durative suffix *-ma* attaches to a verb root or "inner stem" and indicates an action of relative duration. The durative is more commonly used in imperative sentences. Notice that the durative usually lengthens the preceding vowel in the stem. A common example of the use of the durative is the typical Jivaroan formula to say good bye:

(104) *puhúumata*
puhu-ma-tá
live-DUR-IMP
'Good-bye' (Lit.: 'Keep on living/being'.)

Another example is given in (95):

(105) *muúkrun nantʃíkmaamata*
muuka-ru=na   nantʃika-ma-ma-tá
head-1SG=ACC   fingernail-VBZ-DUR-IMP
'Scratch my head (a little while more)!'

The durative, like the imperfective, may occasionally be used with a durative-past interpretation:

(106) *wíi júmahɛi*
ui   iu-ma-ha-i
1SG   eat-dur-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I was eating for a while.'

Similarly to most suffixes in position 3 of the verb structure, the durative *-ma* has a verb-to-verb derivational property. Some examples that show this, for instance

consider: *hapi* 'drag, pull' → *hapi-ma* 'sweep', *mi͡tsuma* 'close one's eyes', *mi͡tsuma-ma* 'be with eyes closed', *kahina* 'extinguish', *kahina-ma* 'forget'.

There is a homophonous *-ma* recent past tense suffix (see §14.2.2.2). However, the durative and the recent past are morphosyntactically different morphemes: the recent past, unlike the durative, can only occur on a stem already marked for aktionsart as in (107). The durative, as explained earlier, is also incompatible with aktionsart suffixes.

(107) *wɨ́i juámhɛi*
ui   iu-á-ma-ha-i
1SG   eat-HIAF-REC.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I ate (recently).'

13.3.5. The present habitual *-na*

The suffix *-na* provides a sense of habitualness in the present. It is not very productive as speakers seem to simply prefer to use the imperfective *-a* instead. The following examples illustrate the use of *-na* 'present habitual'.

(108) *ahánamia peke-peke íiɲahɛi*
aha = nama = ia   peque_peque   ii-na-ha-i
farm = LOC = ABL   motor_boat   see-PRES.HAB-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I usually see motor-boats from the farm.'[227]

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227. The speaker's farm plot is in an island in the middle of the Santiago river.

(109) *utʃín aípnamɨ*

utʃi=na	aɨpɨ-na-mɨ
child=ACC	lie.down-PRES.HAB-2SG.SBJ+DECL

'You usually put the child on bed.'

13.3.6. Potential *-mai*

The potential morpheme *-mai* adds a sense of possibility, ability or capacity to the verb. In other languages, the semantic domain of possibility overlaps with the domain of permission (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994; Van der Auwera & Plungian 1998); however, I have no examples of permission with the potential in Wampis. Instead, for the expression of permission, the jussive is used (see §14.4.3.3). Examples of the potential morphemes are given in (110) and (111).

(110) *núka améítsuhi*

nu=ka	a-mai-tsu-hi
that=FOC	COP-POT-NEG-1PL.SBJ+DECL

'We cannot be that.'

(111) *turáʃa nuí núwa nahaánaru tíiahu arúmmɛitsui*

turaʃa	nuĩ	nua	nahaana-ra-u
but	there	woman	make-DISTR-NMLZ

tíi=a=hu	a-ru-ma-mai-tsu-ĩ
ints=COP=PROX	exist-APPL-REFL-POT-NEG-1SG/3.ds

'But, there, a woman transformed so big [i.e. transformed into a mountain] cannot exist.'

Verbs carrying the potential suffix typically appear nominalized with the Set I

nominalizer *-inu* or with nominalizer *-na* (nominalizers are explained in Chapter XV).

The use of one or another suffix seems not to have any consequence for the

interpretation of the verb marked for potential. Examples (112)–(113) illustrate this:

(112) *warí tuméint̑sukɛit*
warĩ tu-mai-na = t͡su-ka = iti
what say-POT-NMLZ-INFER-Q = COP.3
'How can it be said?'

(113) *inðíhenas timoutíʃa t͡ʃit͡ʃámrumakur wíakur arántukmoo améɲaithi*
indihena   ti-mau = tí = ʃa   t͡ʃit͡ʃamaru-ma-a-ku-ri
indigenous   say + LOAF-NMLZ = SAP = ADD   defend-REFL-IPFV-SIM-1PL.SS

wɨ-a-ku-ri   arantu-ka-mau   a-mai-na = ita-hi
go-IPFV-SIM-1PL.SS   respect-INTENS-NMLZ   COP-POT-NMLZ = COP-1PL.SBJ + DECL
'We so-called indigenous people, defending ourselves, we can be respected.'

13.3.7. Verb stems: "Aspect"

From the discussion in the preceding subsections, it can be established at this

point that in Wampis there are up to five verbal stem types in terms of Aspect (and

Mood with the potential). Those stems correspond to the verb marked with any of the

suffixes listed in Table 13.17.

Table 13.17. Aspectual verb stems in Wampis

"Aspectual" Stem	Verb marked with	Stem used with
Aktionsart (Perfective)	Aktionsart suffixes (most verbs—a few verbs do not select a "default" aktionsart suffix)	Most past tenses and future tenses, imperative, jussive, hortative, apprehensive, prohibitive
Imperfective	-a	Imperfective, present tense
Durative	-ma	Durative, imperative
Present Habitual	-na	Present habitual
Potential	-mai	Potential

13.4. Negation

There are two negative suffixes on the verb in Wampis: -t͡ʃa and -t͡su. They are in complementary distribution:

a) -t͡su occurs in the following morphosyntactically conditioned contexts:

• with the imperfective stem

• with the existential verb *a* (§17.5)

b) -t͡ʃa occurs everywhere else, including with the copular verb *a* (homophonous but analyzed as morphosyntactically distinct from the existential verb *a*, (§17.5.2.3).

The examples below illustrate the different contexts where the negative -t͡su

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occurs. Examples (114)–(115) are instances of *-t͡su* with the imperfective[228] and with the

existential (116).

(114) *amɨ́ka jukúmat nikát͡smɨ*

 amɨ = ka   iukuma-ta   nika-t͡su-mɨ

2SG = FOC   swim-NMLZ   know + IPFV-NEG-2SG.SBJ + DECL

'You don't know how to swim.'

(115)*haánt͡ʃin nihátsuai*

haant͡ʃi = na   niha-t͡su-u = ai

cloth = ACC   wash + IPFV-NEG-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'She/he doesn't wash the clothes.'

(116)*jaúnt͡ʃukka núwɨka atsú hakú*

iant͡ʃukɨ = ka   nuɨka   a-t͡su   hak-u

long.ago = FOC   clay   exist-NEG   HAB.PT-NMLZ

'Long ago, the clay did not exist.'

Examples of the use of the negative suffix *-t͡ʃa* are given with non-imperfective stem

(117) and the copula *a* (118).

(117) *awarún hat͡ʃámiaji*

Auaruna   ha-t͡ʃa-mia-ji

Awajun   die-NEG-DIST.PT-3.PT + DECL

'The Awajun did not die.'

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228. The present tense is zero-marked.

(118) *wiʃíkramu atʃámi*

wiʃi-ki-ru-a-mau a-t͡ʃa-mi

laugh-ᴛʀ-ᴀᴘᴘʟ-ɪᴘꜰᴠ-ɴᴍʟᴢ ᴄᴏᴘ-ɴᴇɢ-ʜᴏʀᴛ

'Let us not be laughed at.'

13.5. Non-imperfective plural *-ara*

Plural marking of 3rd person A/S arguments is indicated by the suffix *-ara* with

non-imperfective stems. Notice that the morphological position of the non-imperfective

plural *-ara* (in slot 5) differs from that of the plural imperfective *-ina* (in slot 3).

Example (119) shows the use of the non-imperfective plural *-ara* with an

aktionsart stem. Notice that the position of the aktionsart affix is also the position

where the imperfective *-ina* would occur in imperfective clauses, since they occupy the

same morphological slot. This shows that the plural *-ara* occupies a different position

than *-ina.*

(119) *níta jawáãn wɛíŋkarmaji*

nita iauaã=na uaina-ka-**ara**-ma-ji

3ᴘʟ dog=ᴀᴄᴄ see-ɪɴᴛᴇɴꜱ-**ᴘʟ**-ʀᴇᴄ.ᴘᴛ-3.ᴘᴛ+ᴅᴇᴄʟ

'They saw a dog.'

There are some examples in the data, particularly with the hortative -mi, that

show that the plural -ara can be optionally used with 1 plural persons. In this case, the

suffix only marks 'plural', as hortative is always semantically understood as involving a

1 plural participant. It seems thus that -ara really only marks plural rather than 3

plural. Below, both (120) and (121) mean the same, but in (121) we have an example of

the optional use of the plural -*ara* with the hortative. Notice that the vowel /u/ of the

high affectedness aktionsart suffix -*á(u)* surfaces when a vowel /a/ (in this case the /a/

of -ara) follows it.

(120) *juámi*
iú-á-mi
eat-HIAF-HORT
'Let's eat.'

(121) *juáwarmi*
iú-au-ara-mi
eat-HIAF-PL-HORT
'Let's eat.'

Plurality for Speech Act Participants A/S arguments (with the exception just

shown above) is marked with a portmanteau suffix in the person/subject morphological

position (described in §14.3.3).

CHAPTER XIV

THE VERB II: "INFLECTIONAL" LEVEL

14.1. Introduction

As was seen in the previous chapters, there is what I call a derivational level and an inflectional level in the verb structure. The first level, derivational, was described in Chapter XIII. The second level, inflectional, is the topic of this chapter. The categories marked on the verb that I consider to be in the inflectional level are:

• A. Tense

• B. Person

• C. Mood

Before going into the description of these categories, it is perhaps convenient to remember that the Wampis verb structure consists of several morphological slots, as presented previously in Chapter XII (cf. Table 12.5). What I refer to as a more "inflectional level" are the categories marked in positions 6–8 of the verb structure in Table 12.5.

Recall from the preceding chapters that, in general, verbal categories are not

neatly distributed in the Wampis verb structure. The category called "Potential" in Table 12.5, for instance, can be considered to be some kind of "mood"; however, it is marked with the suffix *-mai* in position 3 in the verb structure, the same position used for aspectual suffixes (cf. §12.7 for a description of the verb structure in Wampis).

I describe in this chapter a hierarchical agreement system in Wampis where the morphological position 7, which is usually accessed to by the subject of the clause, is sometimes accessed by the object according to a hierarchy that is explained in §14.3.3. In addition, some mood markers occur at the end of the verb piece (for instance, the declarative), and some others occur before the person markers (for instance, the imperative). Thus, most of this chapter is functionally-driven according to the categories mentioned above (Tense, Person and Mood), as it would be very difficult to follow a simple positional analysis for this verbal categories in a language like Wampis, which exhibits a particularly complex verbal morphology.

The structure of this chapters is: §14.2 discusses the category of tense; §14.3 discusses the category that I call 'Person' and §14.4 discusses the category that I call 'Mood'.

14.2. Tense

The rich tense system of Wampis makes several distinctions in past and future; present tense is zero-marked. Table 14.1 shows the morphemes that mark different tense distinctions in Wampis.

Table 14.1. Wampis tense distinctions

Morpheme	Gloss
-tata	Definite future
-ta	Immediate future
∅	Present
-ma	Recent past
-ɨmia	Intermediate past
-mia	Distant past
-ia	Remote past
Aktionsart stem + person + mood	Just-done actions
= hak-u	Habitual past

Generally, tense markers are suffixal and occur in independent verbs. The past habitual =*hak* is morphologically different as it can occur attached to the verb or not, forming its own prosodic word (§14.2.2.6), and it always occurs nominalized with Set II nominalizer -*u* (cf. §15.4.5). In addition, there is a perfective construction done with the

aktionsart stem: when the aktionsart stem is not marked by any tense, it assumes an

interpretation of "just done" action. The "just-done actions" and past habitual

constructions are also analyzed in this section, because, although they are

morphologically different, they are part of the tense system of the language.

14.2.1. Present tense

Present tense is zero-marked on the verb. The use of the imperfective -*a* together

with the present tense typically has a progressive reading, unless the context invokes a

relative past tense interpretation of the imperfective.

(1) *wikʲa júahεε*
ui＝ka   iu-a-ha-i
1SG＝FOC   eat-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am eating.'

Recall from §13.3.3 that there is a suppletive imperfective plural form -*ina* for 3

person:

(2) *nítʲa wínawεε*
nita   uɨ-ina-ua-i
3PL   go-PL.IPFV-3.PT-DECL
'They are going.'

14.2.2. Past tense

There are several distinctions in the past in the Wampis language. Historically, it

seems pretty straightforward that at the genesis of the current Wampis past tense

system there were two morphemes *ma and *ia. Synchronically, these forms correspond to the recent and remote past, respectively. They occur as formatives in the other past tense markers. The past tense system also has the habitual past =hak §14.2.2.6, but this morpheme shows different morphosyntactic behavior and does not belong to the same paradigm of tense markers.

The temporal interpretation of past tenses is summed up in Table 14.2.

Table 14.2. Temporal interpretation of past tenses

Morpheme	Gloss	Temporal interpretation with regard to moment of speech
aktionsart stem+person+mood	Just-done actions	Immediately before
-ma	Recent past	Hours to days/weeks
-ɨmia	Intermediate past	Days to weeks
-mia	Distant past	Months to years
-ia	Remote past	Years
=hak	Habitual past	(Typically) years

Morphologically, most but not all past tense markers occur on an aktionsart stem. Table 14.3 summarizes the combinatorial properties of past tense suffixes with different verb-stem types.

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Table 14.3. Combinatorial properties of past tense suffixes

Morpheme	Gloss	Received by
∅	Just-done actions	aktionsart
-ma	Recent past	aktionsart
-ɨmia	Intermediate past	varies[a]
-mia	Distant past	aktionsart
-ia	Remote past	root
=hak	Habitual past	root

[a] The intermediate past may occur on bare roots as well as on aktionsart stems.

14.2.2.1. Just-done actions

Actions that finished just a moment prior to the moment of speech are zero-marked for tense; but unlike a present tense verb form, the verb must occur with an aktionsart suffix in a perfective function. In other words, the default interpretation of perfective verbs (when there is no overt tense marker) is that of 'a-just-done' action. For 3 person subjects (example (4)), there is a form that marks '3.PFV' subject (cf. §14.3.2)

(3) *taáhɛɛ*
ta-á-ha-i
arrive-HIAF-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I just arrived.'

(4) *juáwarã̃ɨ*
iu-áu-ara-ɨ̃
eat-HIAF-PL-3.PFV + DECL
'They just ate.'

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14.2.2.2. Recent past

The recent past *-ma* marks actions that have been done roughly between moments before the speech act and a few days.

(5) *kaʃík ɛíʃur mína utʃĩr ïɥákmaji*

kaʃi = kɨ	aiʃi-ru	mina	utʃirún
night = RESTR	husband-1SG	1SG.GEN	child-1SG = ACC

ïa-ka-ma-ji
look.for-INTENS-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

'My husband looked for my son last night.'

The next example comes from a story in which a man wanted to know what was happening to the squash that he and his wife had planted, as every time he wanted to eat the squash he could not find a ripe one. He suspects his wife is eating the good squashes, so he goes to check his farm. After the man leaves, his wife speaks, using the recent past to refer to what had just happened (i.e. his husband leaving, saying that he was going to check the farm):

(6) *aúhuʃa ɛíʃur wímaji júwi kámɨ t͡samákmaji tímaji núna*

a. Aúhu = ʃa	aiʃi-ru	wɨ-ma-ji
great.potoo = ADD	husband-1SG	go-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

b. iuuɨ	kamɨ	t͡sama-ka-ma-ji
squash	INTERJ	mature-INTENS-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

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c. ti-ma-ji   nu＝na

say＋LOAF-REC.PT-3.PT＋DECL   NON.VIS＝ACC

'Auju too: "my husband has gone,/ he said "the squash have become ripe", that".'

14.2.2.3. Intermediate past

The intermediate past *-imia* indicates a time that goes farther in the past than

the recent past. This suffix is not very commonly found in narratives and apparently is

not productive in the language overall. In general, speakers prefer to use the recent past

(instead of the intermediate past) for actions that are more relevant to the present and

are not very distant in the past. Otherwise, the distant past is used. Most of the

examples that I have of the intermediate past suffix come from elicitation tasks. An

example from a conversation is given in (7), occurring in the second-to-last line. Notice

that, in the example, the intermediate past is used for information that can be seen as

"secondary" or anecdotal information, as speaker A is more interested in establishing

what they will do when the person "At." arrives:

(7)

A: *wík^{j}a At. wakámtɛɛ̃ wítahɛɛ*

      ui＝ka   At.   ua-ka-mataĩ   uí-ta-ha-i

      1SG＝FOC At.   come-INTENS-1SG/3.DS go-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

      'When At. comes, I'll go.'

B: *núka At. mína untsúrnayi haʔá*

nu=ka   At. mi=na   untsu-ru-na-ji   haʔá

NON.VIS=FOC At. 1SG=ACC call-1SG.OB-PRES.HAB-3.PT+DECL yes

'That At., he always calls me, yes.'

A: *áju áju*

okay, okay

B: (laughs) *At. nampíku, M. wɛínaimiaji nampíku*

A.   nampɨku   M.   uaina-ɨmia-ji   nampɨku

A.   drunk   M.   see-INTERM.PT-3.PT+DECL   drunk

'(laughs) At. was drunk, M. saw him.'

A: (laughs) *wakámtɛɛ̃ warí mína uhaktá*

wa-ka-mataĩ   warí mi=na   uha-ka-tá

come-INTENS-1SG/3.DS quick 1SG=ACC inform-INTENS-IMP

'(laughs) When he comes, tell me quickly.'

The suffix *-ɨmia* is actually decomposable into *-ɨ* and *-mia*:[229] when the non-

imperfective plural *-ara* is used for third person, the intermediate past tense suffix is

broken into two discontinuous formatives by *-ara*:

(8) *nítʲa hapóunam wɨkáirmiaji*

nita hapau=nama   wɨka-ɨ-ara-mia-ji

3PL cliff=LOC   walk-INTERM.PT1-PL-INTERM.PT2-3.PT+DECL

'They walked in the cliff (not so long ago).'

For comparative purposes, it is interesting to note that in Awajun the distant

past-*amia* is similar in form to the Wampis intermediate past *-ɨmia*. Overall (2007: 342)

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229. And, in turn, *-mia* is historically analyzable as *-ma* (from the recent past) and *-ia* (from the remote past).

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has hypothesized that the Awajun distant past *-amia* may be a grammaticalization of a complex construction involving the copula 'be' *a* marked with the past tense *-mia*. For Wampis, however, it is difficult to relate the form *ɨ* to the copula *a*.

14.2.2.4. Distant past

The distant past has a temporal interpretation that typically includes several months to years prior to the moment of speech. The distant past is very common in narratives, frequently used for backgrounded information, i.e. supportive information that do not advance the flow of the discourse (Longacre 1976).

In (9), a speaker tells a story that was similar to a case of "collective psychosis" which happened in a Wampis village several years ago (during the 2000s). Note the use of the distant past on the verb 'go', which in this case functions as an auxiliary:

(9) *ʃuará karámɛiɲak núniak woórkaru ɛ́ɛɲawɛɛ túmak jurúmkanʃa júu wɨ́tʃarmiaji*

ʃuará	karama-ina-kũ	nuni-a-kũ
person\ACC	dream-PL.IPFV-SIM	do.that-IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS

uaura-ka-ara-u	a-ina-ua-i	tuma-a-kũ
become.crazy-INTENS-PL-NMLZ	COP-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL	do.thus-IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS

iurumaka=na=ʃa	iu	wɨ́-tʃa-ara-**mia**-ji
food=ACC=ADd	eat	go-NEG-PL-**DIST.PT**-3.PT+DECL

'They dreamed of the person, doing that, they became crazy, doing thus, they didn't eat the food.'[230]

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230. The phrase 'they dreamed of the person' is a literal translation. Culturally, when a shaman

14.2.2.5. Remote past

The remote past tense *-ia* refers to a time that goes back many years ago,

including the mythical past. The remote past typically attaches to the verb root.

(10) *aánmamtin mína nukútʃruka tújaji turáʃa ʃíir aníatsʰɛɛ*

aanu-mamtin	mina	nukut͡ʃi-ru=ka	tu-ia-ji
MED-SIMIL	1SG.GEN	grandmother-1SG=FOC	say-REM.PT-3.PT

turaʃa	ʃiira	anɨ-a-tsu-ha-i
but	well	remember-IPFV-NEG-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'My grandmother said something like that, but I don't remember well.'

The remote past tense of the 3 plural person is not done with the suffix *-ia*, but

rather with a form whose apparent source is the recent past *-ma* plus the 3 person past

marker *-ji* (§14.3.2): *ma-ji*. A paradigm with the remote past is given in Table 14.4 with

the copula *a*.

Table 14.4. Paradigm of conjugation with the remote past tense

	SG	PL
1	a-ia-ha-i	a-ia-hi
	COP-REM.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL	COP-REM.PT-1PL.SBJ-DECL
2	a-ia-mɨ	a-ia-rumɨ
	COP-REM.PT-2SG.SBJ-DECL	COP-REM.PT-2PL.SBJ+DECL
3	a-ia-ji	a-ara-maji
	COP-REM.PT-3.PT+DECL	COP-PL-3.REM.PT+DECL

---

bewitches other people, he can do it through dreams.

14.2.2.6. Habitual past

The habitual past =*hak*, as the name indicates, refers to habitual actions that

are understood as occurring ordinarily in the past, typically many years ago from the

moment of speech. The habitual past is most often used to set the scene and provide

background information in narratives. For instance, the following example contains the

first lines (after an introductory line) of the myth of Auju (Great Potoo) and Nantu

(Moon), which explains how the Wampis obtained clay. We can see the used of the

habitual past in the first and third lines:

(11) *jóunt͡ʃukka núwɨka atsú hakú tímaji hu óohmattɛinkʲa aúhu tútañɛiti jóunt͡ʃukka aúhu*
     ʃuár ahakú tímaji

a. iaunt͡ʃukɨ = ka   nuɨ = ka   a-t͡su   a = **hak**-u   timaji
   long.ago = FOC   clay = FOC COP-NEG exist = **HAB.PT**-NMLZ   NARR
   'It is said that the clay did not exist long ago'

b. hu   auhumatu-tãĩ = ka   auhu   tu-tãĩ = aiti
   PROX tell-NMLZ = FOC   Common.Potoo   say-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL
   'This story is called Auju (Common Potoo)'

c. iaunt͡ʃukɨ = ka   auhu   ʃuara   a = **hak**-u   timaji
   long.ago = FOC   Common.Potoo   person COP = **HAB.PT**-NMLZ   NARR
   'It is said that Auju used to be a person long ago.'

Phonologically, =*hak* can occur attached to a verb root or it can occur forming

its own prosodic word, separated from the verb. Morphologically, the verb that bears

=*hak* is always nominalized with the subject nominalizer -*u* or the non-subject

nominalizer *-mau* (see §15.5, §15.6 respectively). Thus, the narrative modality marker

timaji as in (11), or a copula as in (12) are usually needed to turn the nominalized form

into a finite expression.

(12) *mína nukútʃ͡ruka túhakuiti arútmaka tikíʃkitʃ͡uiti túhakuiti arútmaka núkap*

mina   nukut͡ʃi-ru = ka   tu-**hak-u** = **iti**
1SG.GEN grandmother-1SG = FOC   say-HAB.PT-NMLZ = COP.**3** + DECL

arutama = ka   tikit͡ʃiki-t͡ʃau = iti   tu-**hak-u** = **iti**
vision.power = FOC   one-NEG.NMLZ = COP.**3** + DECL say-HAB.PT-NMLZ = COP.**3** + DECL

arutama = ka   nukapɨ
vision.power = FOC   many

'My grandmother used to say "*Arutam* is not one", she used to say,/ "there are several *Arutam*".'

From the examples above, one can posit that the habitual past construction is a

grammaticalization of a complex structure that involved a nominalization plus a copula.

The lexical source of *hak* is most likely the posture verb *uaha* 'stand' plus the intensive

aktionsart suffix *-ka*. Thus, the original construction can be hypothesize as [stand_{verb}-

NMLZ COPULA] with the semantics of 'one who stands doing X'.

The fact that = *hak* occurs nominalized and also that it can still form its own prosodic

word points to a relatively recent grammaticalization process, as it still does not

completely behave like other verbal tense suffixes. Morphologically, unlike other past

markers, =*hak* attaches to the root or "inner root" (all other past tenses, except the remote past, attach to an aktionsart/perfective stem).

14.2.3. Future tense

There are two morphological future tenses in Wampis: -*ta* 'immediate future' and -*tata* 'definite future'. Verbs in any of the future tenses always occur with an aktionsart stem.

14.2.3.1. Immediate future

The immediate future is marked with -*ta*. As the name suggests, -*ta* is used for actions that are to be carried out in the near future. The following examples show the use of this suffix.

The passage in (13) comes from a narrative in which the person decides to sell her produce after seeing that others are doing well selling the fruits and plants that they have gathered:

(13) *wíʃa surúktahɛi*
ui=ʃa   suru-ka-ta-ha-i
1SG=ADD   sell-INTENS-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am also going to sell (fruits).'

And the following question implies an immediate answer:

(14) *warĩ́ tiťámɨk*?

warĩ	ti-ta-mɨ-ka
what	say + LOAF-IMM.FUT-2SG.SBJ-Q

'What are you going to say?'

The following sentence was said when the person who speaks was leaving

immediately toward her farm to bring sugar cane:

(15) *paátan huúkan utíthʲɛi*

paata = na	huu-ka-nu	uti-ta-ha-i
sugar.cane = ACC	gather-INTENS-1SG.SS	bring-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I'm going to bring sugar cane.' (Lit.: 'Having gathered sugar cane, I am going to bring.')

14.2.3.2. Definite future

The definite future *-tata* conveys the idea that an action that will happen within

or at a more or less specific time frame. There is typically an overt indication of when

the event predicated will take place. For instance, many narratives start as in (16), with

an adverbial indication of time ('now') and then the use of the definite future on the

verb:

(16) *áju húuʔ t͡sawántahuĩ óohmatsattahɛi ɨtsán pat͡ʃísan*

aju	hu	t͡sauanta = a = huĩ	auhumatu-sa-**tata**-ha-i
okay	PROX	day = COP = here	tell-ATT-**DEF.FUT**-1SG.SBJ-DECL

ɨ̃t͡sã = na	pat͡ʃi-sa-nu
Sun = ACC	mention-ATT-1SG.SS

'Okay, in this moment right here, I am going to tell about [the story of] Sun.' (Lit.: 'I am going to tell, mentioning Sun.')

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In the next example, a war leader speaks to a man whose brother had been killed. In the Jivaroan culture, a man had to avenge the killing of a relative. Thus the use of the definite future is referring here to something that must happen:

(17) *ámɨka uútipa uutɨ́amɨka íikmaktʃattamɨ jatsúmi mantútramawaranuka*

amɨ=ka	uuta-i-pa	uutɨ-a-mɨ-ka
2SG=FOC	cry-APPR-PROH	cry.IPFV-IPFV-2SG.SBJ-COND

íika-ma-ka-t͡ʃa-**tata**-mɨ
avenge-REFL-INTENS-NEG-**DEF.FUT**-2SG.SBJ + DECL

ia͡tsu-mi	mã-tu-turama-áu-ara=a	nu=ka
brother-2SG	kill-APPL-1SG.OBJ-HIAF-PL=COP	NON.VIS=FOC

'Don't cry, if you cry, you won't take revenge on those who killed your brother.'

Another example is given in (18). Again, notice the overt temporal indication of when the action will happen ('tomorrow').

(18) *kaʃínkɨʃa wíi t͡ʃit͡ʃáman umíttahɛɛ*

kaʃini=kɨ=ʃa ui	t͡ʃit͡ʃama=na	umi-tata-ha-i
tomorrow=RESTR=ADD	problem=ACC	finish-DEF.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'Tomorrow I am going to fix the problem.'

14.3. Person

The morphological position that I call 'Person' is where usually subjects are marked, however, it will seen that Wampis exhibits a rather complex way of indexing arguments on the verb structure. First, I list the suffixes used for 1, 2 and 3 persons S/A arguments in §14.3.1–§14.3.2. Discussion of the uncommon patterns of argument

indexation found in Wampis is provided in §14.3.3.

14.3.1. 1 and 2 person S/A

S/A arguments for the 1 and 2 persons are marked with the suffixes listed in Table 14.5. In transitive clauses, these suffixes are used for 1 and 2 A argument actin onto a 3 P argument.

Table 14.5. Marking of SAP S and SAP A acting on 3 person

	Singular	Plural
1	-ha	-hi
2	-mɨ	-rumɨ

Table 14.6 shows the person suffixes that index a 1 A argument and 2 P argument (i.e. when a 1 person acts on a 2 person).

Table 14.6. Marking of 1A acting on 2P

	2SG	2PL
1SG	hamɨ	harumɨ
1PL	himɨ	hirumɨ

In transitive clauses, the suffixes listed in Table 14.5 are used when a 1A or 2A argument acts upon a 3P argument as in (19)–(20), and when a 2A argument acts upon a 1P argument (21). Once again, remember that when a 1A argument acts upon a 2P argument, there is a portmanteau suffix that refers to both arguments of the transitive clause (22).

(19) *wíi t͡sanúahai*
ui   t͡sanu-a-ha-i
1SG lie-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am lying to her/him.'

(20) *ámɨ t͡sanúamɨ*
amɨ   t͡sanu-a-mɨ
2SG   lie-IPFV-2SG.SBJ+DECL
'You are lying to her/him.'

(21) *ámɨ t͡sanúriamɨ*
amɨ   t͡sanu-ru-a-mɨ
2SG   lie-1SG.OBJ-IPFV-2SG.SBJ+DECL
'You are lying to me.'

(22) táhamɨ
ta-hamɨ
say+IPFV-1>2+DECL
'I am telling you.'

From the examples above, it can be said the local domain (sap → sap) is split and shows different marking depending on which grammatical person is the A

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argument; whereas in the direct domain (sap → 3) the A argument is always marked in the same position (position 7 in the verb structure).

14.3.2. Third person S/A marking

The marking of third person subject distinguishes between non-past and past, as Table 14.7 shows. These suffixes are used in declarative, interrogatives and exclamative sentences. The jussive *-ti* covers third person. The jussive is explained in §14.4.3.3. In contexts different than declarative, interrogative, exclamative and jussive, third person is zero-marked.

Table 14.7. 3 person subject suffixes

Morpheme	Occurs in
-ĩ ~ -ɨ̃ '3 perfective'	Just-done actions
-u(a) '3 (non-past)'	Future
-u(a) '3 (non-past)'	Imperfective & Present tense
-ji '3 past'	Past tense
-ti 'Jussive'	Jussive

The non-past form *-u(a)* is used in the present (with the imperfective) and future tenses. In addition, I have some examples of a form *-ĩ~-ɨ̃* whose use seems to be

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declining used for just-done actions (the 3 past suffix *-ji* can also occur in those

instances). The actual pronunciation of *-ĩ~-ĩ* this form is quite variable, and most often

surfaces as an oral vowel. As the suffix always occurs at the end of the word, it is

difficult to say whether it is underlyingly nasal or not (other nasal suffixes usually add a

nasal consonant when other morphemes are added). Given that some speakers still

pronounce it as a nasal, I assume that it was at least historically nasal, as some basic

comparative evidence would suggest: in the related language Awajun, where it is

apparently productive, the cognate suffix has the nasal form *-ĩ* (Corbera Mori 1994;

Overall 2007).

The following examples illustrate the use of *u(a)*. In (23), the suffix *-u(a)*

attaches to the an imperfective stem. The same suffix occurs with the form *-u* in a future

context with he semi-copula 'become' in (24).

(23) *mína εíʃru ukúriawεε*
mina   aiʃi-ru   uku-ru-a-ua-i
1SG.GEN husband-1SG   leave-1SG.OBJ-IPFV-3.PT-DECL
'My husband is leaving me.'

(24) *húu untsúktatui ámɨ warí wakɨram núnaka*
hu   untsu-ka-tata-u-i
DIST   call-INTENS-DEF.FUT-3.PT-DECL

ami   uarĩ   wakɨra-ami   nu=na=ka
2SG   what   want+IPFV-2SG.SBJ+DECL   NON.VIS=ACC=FOC
'This (child) is going to call whatever you want, that.'

Contrast the previous examples with (25), in which the suffix -ĩ '3.PFV' is used for

a perfective action in combination with the aktionsart stem (with the high affectedness

suffix -á(u)).

(25) *juáwarãi*
iu-áu-ara-ĩ
eat-HIAF-PL-3.PFV+DECL
'They just ate.'

The other third person subject suffix, the suffix -*ji*, is used for all past tenses and

fuses with the declarative suffix -*i*. Examples of the suffix -*ji* are given below with just-

done actions (26), recent past (27) and distant past (28), respectively.

(26) *hakáji*
ha-ka-ji
die-INTENS-3.PT+DECL
'He just died.'

(27) *in͡tsá wímaji*
in͡tsá   wɨ-ma-ji
river\LOC   go-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL
'She went to the river (not long ago).'

(28) *ajámrumaka pujústin t͡ʃit͡ʃám ámiayi lei ðe las natiβas inðihenas tamóo*
aiamaru-ma-ka   puhu-sá-tinu   t͡ʃit͡ʃama   a-mia-ji
defend-REFL-INTENS   live-ATT-FUT.NMLZ   law   exist-DIST.PT-3.PT+DECL

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lei_de_las_comunidades_indígenas   ta-mau

Law_of_Indigenous_Communities   say + IPFV-NMLZ

'Living like that, there was a law to live defending ourselves, called Law of Indigenous Communities.'[231]

14.3.3. The typologically uncommon argument indexation pattern of Wampis

Wampis has two morphological positions where arguments are indexed: position 2, 'Object', and position 7 'Person' (cf. ?). Position 2 is where objects are usually indexed, and position 7 is where subjects are usually indexed. However, there are some patterns pertaining to the indexation of arguments on the verb that make the Wampis system a complex one. In transitive clauses, the Wampis system follows a typologically uncommon pattern of hierarchical indexation. In the Wampis transitive indexation pattern, in at least two cases, access to the morphological position of subject on the verb is determined not by the grammatical role of the arguments, but by their relative position on a person hierarchy. This is usually understood as a hierarchical agreement system (Silverstein 1976; DeLancey 1981; Zuñiga 2006; DeLancey Forthcoming), but the Wampis system is not a prototypical hierarchical agreement system: there is a split between singular and plural speech-act participants (SAPs), and only plural SAPs

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231. The speaker is making reference to a Peruvian legislation commonly known as *Ley de Communidades Nativas* (Law of Indigenous Communities), which was passed in the 70's.

objects access the position that is usually reserved for the subject, which is position 7. I

call this position 'Person' precisely because even though it is the designated position of

subjects, there are some exceptions whereby the A argument is not indexed—but there

is always an indexation of an argument in this position. In an inverse domain,

hierarchical agreement only occurs in a scenario where third person acts on a plural

speech-act participant (3 → Plural.SAP):[232] in this case, the plural SAP (the P argument)

is indexed in the morphological position 7, designated by what I have called 'Person'

(cf. Table 12.5). By contrast, in all other situations the verb always indexes the

grammatical subject (the A argument) in the same 'Person' slot, including when there is

a 3 → Singular.SAP situation. A/S arguments are marked by the same suffixes. The

complications do not end in what argument has access to position 7, 'Person'. Objects (P

arguments) are also marked in a complex pattern: 3 person objects are never marked,

but the marking of SAP arguments varies. A first person acting on a second person (1 →

2) indexes both arguments with portmanteau suffixes in position 7, 'Person'. These

portmanteau suffixes historically are transparently related to the first and second person

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232. Except with the 1 plural object -*karatu*. With -*karatu*, the third person marker (A argument) occurs in position 7, and -*karatu* in position 2, 'Object'. In that case, there is no agreement with P.

markers. When a third person acts upon a Singular.SAP (3 → Singular.SAP), the

Singular.SAP (P participant) is indexed in position 2 of the verb, which I have called

'Object'. Finally, S arguments are uncontroversial: they are always indexed in position

7. Table 14.8 summarizes the suffixes that mark the arguments of a verb. In the table,

NA means 'Not Applicable'. First, I include object markers (which are indexed in

Position 2 of the verb structure), an ellipsis symbol ". . ." means that there are other

morphological positions in the verb, and the suffixes that appear after ". . ." are the

ones that occur in position 7 of the verb, 'Person' (which are reserved for A arguments

in transitive clauses, with the exceptions discussed above). A symbol "---" means that

nothing is marked in Position 2. The underlined elements are the patterns of indexation

that are marked differently than the "expected" pattern (i.e. situations 1 → 2 and 3 →

Plural.SAP, when objects are not marked (only) in position 3 but also in position 7).

Table 14.8. Indexation of subjects and objects on the verb

A\P	1sg P	1pl P	2sg P	2pl P	3 P	S
1sg A	NA	NA	--- . . . -<u>hami</u>	--- . . . -<u>harumi</u>	--- . . . -ha	1sg -ha
1pl A	NA	NA	--- . . . -<u>himi</u>	--- . . . -<u>hirumi</u>	--- . . . -hi	1pl -hi
2sg A	-tu/-ru . . . -mi	-rama/-tama . . . -mi	NA	NA	--- . . . -mi	2sg -mi
2pl A	-tu/-ru . . . -rumi	-rama/-tama . . . -rumi	NA	NA	--- . . . -rumi	2pl -rumi
3A	-tu/-ru . . .-ua, -ji or -ĩ	-<u>rama/-tama . . .-hi</u> -karatu . . . -ua, -ji or -ĩ	-rama/-tama . . . -ua, -ji or -ĩ	-<u>rama/-tama . . . -rumi</u>	--- . . . -ua, -ji or -ĩ	3 -ua, -ji or -ĩ

14.3.3.1. Indexation of S arguments

As Table 14.8 indicates, S arguments (the sole argument of an intransitive verb) are always marked in position 7 of the verb. The following examples illustrate S arguments (1, 2 and 3 persons) marked on the verb.

(29) *wɨ́ahɛɛ*   S: 1sg
uɨ-a-ha-i
go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am going.'

(30) *wɨ́ahi*   S:1pl
uɨ-a-hi
go-IPFV-1PL.SBJ + DECL
'We are going.'

(31) *ámɨ wikásmɨ*   S: 2sg
amɨ   wɨka-sa-mɨ
2SG   walk-ATT-2SG.SBJ + DECL
'You just went hunting.'

(32) *átum wikásrumɨ*   S: 2pl
atumɨ   wɨka-sa-rumɨ
2PL   walk-ATT-2PL.SBJ + DECL
'You (PL) just walked.'

(33) *Puhupát wiʃɨ́rmáji*   S: 3 (third person does not distinguish number)
Puhupata   uiʃi-ra-ma-ji
Puhupata   laugh-DISTR-IMM.PT-DECL
'Puhupat laughed.'

14.3.3.2. Indexations of arguments in transitive clauses

The following examples illustrate the transitive indexation patterns presented in Table 14.8. In transitive clauses, the suffixes listed previously in Table 14.5 are used when a 1A or 2A argument acts upon a 3 person object as in (34)–(35), and when a 2A argument acts upon a 1 person object (36). Once again, remember that when a 1A argument acts upon a 2P argument, there is a portmanteau suffix that refers to both arguments of the transitive clause (37)–(38).

(34) *wíi t͡sanúahɛɛ*   1SG → 3
ui   t͡sanu-a-**ha**-i
1SG   lie-IPFV-**1SG.SBJ**-DECL
'I am lying to her/him.'

(35) *ámɨ t͡sanúamɨ*   2SG → 3
amɨ   t͡sanu-a-**mɨ**
2SG   lie-IPFV-**2SG.SBJ** + DECL
'You are lying to her/him.'

(36) *ámɨ t͡sanúriamɨ*   2SG → 1SG
amɨ   t͡sanu-**ru**-a-**mɨ**
2SG   lie-**1SG.OBJ**-IPFV-**2SG.SBJ** + DECL
'You are lying to me.'

(37) *táhamɨ*   1SG → 2SG
ta-**hamɨ**
say + IPFV-**1SG** > **2SG** + DECL
'I am telling you.'

(38) *táharmɨ*   1SG → 2PL
ta-**harumɨ**
say + IPFV-**1SG** > **2PL** + DECL
'I am telling you (PL).'

      From the examples above, it can be said that coding in the local domain (SAP →

SAP) depends on which grammatical person is the A argument: if A is a 1 person, then

both A and P are marked in position 7; wheras if A is 2 person, then only A is marked in

that position (and P is marked in position 2). This suggests a hierarchy 2 > 1, as it

seems that a 2P argument needs to be marked also in position 7. In the direct domain

(SAP → 3), only the A argument is marked in the "subject" position. Now, let us

consider the "inverse" domain (3 → SAP).

(39) *isɛ́itmiaji*   3 → 1
ɨsa-i-**tu**-mia-**ji**
bite-LOAF-**1SG.OBJ**-DIST.PT-**3.PT** + DECL
'She/he bit me.'

(40) *isátmawɛi*   3 → 2
ɨsa-**tama**-a-ua-**i**
bite-**2SG.OBJ**-IPFV-**3.SBJ**-DECL
'She/he is bitting you.'

(41) amútmaktathi   3 → 1PL
amu-**tama**-ka-tata-**hi**
finish-**1PL.OBJ**-INTENS-DEF.FUT-**1PL** + DECL
'He/they are going to kill us.'

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(42) amútmaktatrumɨ 3 → 2PL

amu-**tama**-ka-tata-**rumɨ**

finish-2PL.OBJ-INTENS-DEF.FUT-**2PL** + DECL

'He/they are going to kill you (PL).'

From the above examples, it can be seen that Plural SAP take preeminence over

a 3 person, as they access position 7.

To summarize, there are two morphological positions for indexing core

arguments on the verb, SAP always access Position 2 ("Object"), SAP and 3 can access

Position 7 as A, but as P arguments only Plural SAP can access position 7. Position 7

shows an interesting mismatch with regards to argument indexation: it is consistent in

the forms for person, but not for *role*.

Position 2	*Position 7*
1SG P	3 A
2SG P	3 A
1PL P	1PL P (A form)
2PL P	2PL P (A form)

Overall, the hierarchy on which access to Position 7 depends as index of P can

be summarized as: 2PL > 2SG > 1PL > 1SG/3. That is, 2 person outranks 1PL, and

1SG/3 are low in the hierarchy.

The hierarchy on which access to Position 2 depends as index of P can be

summarized as: 1PL/1SG > 2SG/2PL > 3. That is, in for position 2, 1 person outranks

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2 person, and SAP person outrank 3 person.

14.4. Mood

For purposes of this grammar, I use the term Mood for the grammatical category

that encodes modality. Modality signals a speaker's attitude toward a proposition,

including the speaker's belief in its reality, likelihood or relevance to her/himself

(Bybee 1985; Timberlake 2007). In Wampis, the categories encoded under the label

'Mood' in this section are marked in the finite verb, never in a subordinated verb. The

Mood categories occupy different positions in the verb structure:

Mood	Position
Desiderative, Imperative, Jussive, Apprehensive, Hortative	Position 6
Declarative, Exclamative	Position 8
Narrative	Marked with *timaji*

14.4.1. Declarative

The declarative signals that the proposition expressed by a speaker's utterance is

offered as an unqualified statement of a fact. The declarative is marked with -i.

(43) *wíi wɨ́ahεε*
ui   uɨ-a-ha-i
1SG   go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am going.'

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(44) *tres t͡sawán puhústtahɛɛ*

tres t͡sauanta puhu-sa-tata-ha-i

three day   live/be-ATT-DEF.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am going to be three days [hunting in the forest].'

14.4.2. Exclamative

The exclamative is zero-marked. Exclamatory sentences are frequently

accompanied by an intonational raise.

(45) *hukiťá táha*

hu-ki-tá   ta-ha-∅

take-WHILE.MOVING-IMP   say + IPFV-1SG.SBJ-EXCLAM

'Take it!, I say!'

(46) *urutmá úuntaita*

urutuma   uunta = aita

what   big = COP.3.EXCLAM

'It is big!'

An interesting property of exclamative (and also interrogative) sentences in

Wampis is the addition of a negative morpheme that emphasizes the idea of the

predication, rather than negates it:

(47) *óuʃa ɲawáant͡ʃukɛit*

au = ʃa   iawaã-t͡ʃau = ka = ita

DIST = ADD   jaguar-NEG.NMLZ = FOC = COP.3.EXCLAM

'That **is** a jaguar!'

14.4.3. Commands and manipulative mood: imperative, jussive, hortative and prohibitive

Commands prototypically involve manipulation of other individuals. Imperatives necessarily take aktionsart stems; other stem types are incompatible with the imperative mood. The jussive, hortative and prohibitive are closely associated. The prohibitive is the negative counterpart of the imperative, whereas the jussive and the hortative express manipulative action towards different persons (third person and first person plural, respectively). The following subsections describe these suffixes.

14.4.3.1. Imperative

The imperative -tá addresses a second person singular by default and, in terms of polarity, is always a positive command (for negative commands, the prohibitive *-pa* is used (see §14.4.3.5). A 2 plural addressee is marked with the 2 plural subject suffix *-rumɨ*. The imperative is likely related to the the future marker *-ta*. Table 14.9 summarizes the imperative constructions with singular and plural forms.

Table 14.9. Imperative constructions with 2 singular and plural persons

2sg	2pl
Verb-Aktionsart-tá	Verb-Aktionsart-tá-rumɨ

The next examples illustrate the imperative. Examples (48)–(49) are instance of

commands where the addressee is singular.

(48) *núu úun mántʃu juháwaji túsa uhaktá*

nu	uunta	mantʃu	iuha-a-u	a-ji
NON.VIS	adult	mosquito	walk.several-IPFV-NMLZ	COP-3.PT + DECL

tu-sa   uha-ka-tá

say-SUB tell-INTENS-IMP

'Tell that man that the mosquitos wander [around here]!' (Lit.: '[To] that man, saying "the mosquitoes are walkers [around here]", tell!')

(49) *juáta*

iu-á-tá

eat-HIAF-IMP

'Eat!'

In (50), the addressee is plural:

(50) *juátarmɨ*

iu-á-tá-rumɨ

eat-HIAF-IMP-2PL.SBJ

'(You PL) eat!'

I have found also some examples of the form *-rama* to mark the plural

imperative. This suffix functions as a 1plural or 2 object in other parts of the grammar

(cf. §13.2.4). The next example illustrate the use of *-rama* to form a plural imperative:

(51) juátarma

iu-á-tá-rama

eat-HIAF-IMP-2PL

'(You PL) Eat!'

Many commands make use of the attenuative *-sa*. In fact, a typicall use of the

attenuative is to diminish the force of a command:

(52) *jusáta*

iu-sa-tá

eat-ATT-IMP

'eat (please)!'

14.4.3.2. Familiar imperative

There is a familiar imperative suffix *-kia* that is used in colloquial/familiar

situations with close relatives and friends. For the most part, there is no apparent

difference between *-tá* and *-kia*. I was told, however, that *-kia* is used para salir del caso

'to get out of a (not very important) situation'. Such explanation is true for some but not

all cases in the data.

(53) *iʃĩt͡ʃĩk ásam wĩkia*

iʃit͡ʃikɨ   a-sa-mɨ   uɨ-kia

little.bit   COP-SUB-2SG.SS   go-FAM.IMP

'Go in a little while!' ('being a little [while], go!')[233]

I was also told that a command given with 'anger' is expressed with *-kia*. Thus, a

sentence like (54) may be said when a child does not want to eat and the father or

———————————

233. Notice that the surface realization of the verb 'go' (whose underlying form is /uɨ/) is [wi]
and not [wɨ]. So, apparently *-kia* can establish backward harmony with a vowel /ɨ/ of the stem.
Unfortunately, I have very few examples of *-kia* with a verb stem ending in /ɨ/, so for the
moment I cannot make a more general statement on this.

mother becomes upset at the child's behavior:

(54) *juákia*

iu-á-kia

eat-HIAF-FAM.IMP

'Eat!' (Order given with anger)

However, *-kia* can also occur with the attenuative; thus the sentiment of 'anger'

must be related to the familiar sense of this suffix, rather than being an intrinsic

property of the suffix. Notice that with the attenuative, the familiar imperative surfaces

with the reduced form [sia].

(55) *iísia huní wíarɨ̃*

ii-sa-kia	hu=ni	wɨ-ara-ɨ̃
see-ATT-FAM.IMP	PROX=ALL	go-PL-3.PFV

'Look! They went over here.'

The plural for the familiar imperative is done by adding a form that surfaces as

[rua]. This can be hypothesized as a phonological reduction of the plural *-ara*, the

subject nominalizaer *–u*, and the copula *a*; i.e. a nominalization construction ('be ones

who [do] X'!). For the moment, I gloss *-rua* as a plural imperative form, as I have few

examples of this enabling a more general statement.

(56) *juákiarua*

iu-á-kia-rua

eat-HIAF-FAM.IMP-PL:FAM.IMP

'[You (PL)] eat!'

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14.4.3.3. Jussive

The jussive involves the expression of positive commands, desires or permission

directed toward a third person addressee. The jussive is marked with the suffix *-ti*. The

jussive has probably arisen from the historical conflation of the immediate future *-ta*

and the third person marker *-ĩ*, although there is no trace of nasalization in the jussive

(but recall that *-ĩ* surfaces very often as an oral vowel (cf. §14.3.2)).

(57) *jawaán hukĩ́ wɨ́akʃa aníntroo kámɨ núŋkui surustí túsã*

iauaã hu-kĩ   uɨ-a-kũ=ʃa   anɨnta-tu-ra-u

dog take-WHILE.MOVING\3.SS go-IPFV-SIM\3.SS=ADD sing.magical.song-APPL-DISTR-NMLZ

kamɨ nunkui   su-ru-sa-**ti**   tu-sã

INTERJ earth.being give-1SG.OBJ-ATT-**JUSS** say-SUB\3.SS

'[The man, when he goes to hunt...] when he is taking the dog too, he is one to sing
anen (magical song) too, saying "Let Nunkui give me [good luck]".'

In concordance with the aktionsart stem to which the jussive attaches, the plural

is marked with the non-imperfective plural marker *-ara*, which, as was seen, is used for

3 persons (§5.4.2).

(58) *juáwarti*

iu-áu-ara-ti

eat-HIAF-PL-JUSS

'Let them eat!'

The hortative also functions as a counterpart of the imperative in reported

speech. Thus, in the next example taken from a conversation, the command is

understood as addressing the interlocutor:

(59) *káʃi miɲíti túsa turáminawɛɛ wilsonheĩ*

kaʃi	uini-ti	tu-sa	tu-rama-ina-ua-i	wilson-haĩ
tomorrow	come.PFV-TI	say-SUB	say-2.OBJ-PL.IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL	Wilson-COM

'They tell you to come with Wilson tomorrow.' (Lit.: 'Saying "Tomorrow that he comes", they tell you, "with Wilson".'

14.4.3.4. Hortative

The hortative *-mi* signals the speaker appeal or encouragement toward the

addressee to bring about a future state of affairs. The hortative is generally understood

as having a 'you + me' subject .

(60) *umármi*
uma-ra-mi
drink.PFV-DISTR-HORT
'Let's drink.'

When there is more than one addressee, the plurality of addressees is marked

with the non-imperfective plural *-ara*, which goes before the hortative suffix.

(61) *umárarmi*
uma-ra-ara-mi
drink-DISTR-PL-HORT
'Let's drink.'

There is another suffix *-tai* that seems to also function as an hortative. In the

data gathered for Wampis, it is mostly found mostly in formulaic phrases, as in (62).

(62) *arúm wɛíɲiatɛi*

aruma uai-nai-a-tai

later see-RECIP-IPFV-HORT

'See you later' (Lit.: 'Let us see each other later.)'

Unlike all other suffixes related to the domain of command and manipulation,

the suffix *-tai* can attach to an imperfective stem. This seems a little odd, as the

morpheme *-tai* seems to be based on the basic immediate future *-ta* (which is likely also

the source for the imperative). As stated before, the future always takes the aktionsart/

perfective stem, thus the use of an imperfective stem in this case, from a structural point

of view, seems unexpected.

14.4.3.5. Prohibitive *-pa*

The prohibitive *-pa* is used with negative commands. It addresses a 2 singular by

default. If a 2 plural person is addressed, then the plural form *-rupa* is used. The suffix -

rupa is historically composed of a plural formative *-ru and the prohibitive *-pa*.

Optionally, speakers can use the suffix *-pa* followed by the 2 plural subject suffix *-rumɨ*.

There is no difference between using *-rupa* or *-pa-rumɨ*. The next examples illustrate the

use of the prohibitive.

(63) *náki ɛ́ipʲa*

naki a-ai-pa

lazy COP-APPR-PROH

'Don't be lazy!'

(64) *iʃámrukɛipʲa*

iʃama-ru-ka-ai-pa

be.afraid-APPL-INTENS-APPR-PROH

'Don't be afraid!'

(65) *tíi síntʃĩ ĩtsɨ̃ka imɛ́ɲirpa*

tii   sintʃi   itsɨ-ka   i-ma-i-ai-rupa

INTS   strongly heat-INTENS   CAUS-bathe-LOAF-APPR-PL.PROH

'[With] Very hot [water] do not bathe [her].'

      Since the prohibitive typically refers to actions or events that are not desired to

occur, it very frequently occurs following the apprehensive suffix, as can be appreciated

in the above examples.

14.4.4. Apprehensive *-ai*

      The Wampis apprehensive modality is morphologically codified via the use of

the suffix *-ai*. The apprehensive serves to express that a potential event is seen as highly

undesirable. Following Lichtenberk, it can be said that the Wampis apprehensive

involves a miscellany of epistemic and attitudinal semantics related to the coding of

"the speaker's degree of certainty about the factual status of a proposition and with his

or her attitude concerning the desirability of the situation encoded in the clause" (1995:

293). The apprehensive in Wampis covers the domains equivalents to what is typically

codified with lest-clauses (Dixon 2002) and évitatifs (François 2003) in other languages.

Unlike the morphemes seen in §14.4.3, the prohibitive occurs with all persons. With the

second person, it occurs with the prohibitive *-pa* as was seen in the previous section.

Third person does not distinguish between singular and plural. Table 14.10 shows a

paradigm of person marking with the apprehensive.

Table 14.10. Paradigm of person marking with apprehensive modality

Person\Number	SG	PL
1	ai-ha	ai-hi
2	ai-pa	ai-rupa
3		aĩ[a]

[a] The realization of this form is usually [in].

The apprehensive usually interacts with the prohibitive *-pa*, but it can also occur

alone. In example (66), the apprehensive occurs along with the prohibitive in the verb

'lie down', but it occurs on its own in the main predication (the verb 'ruin').

(66) *t͡sawára ɛ́ɛ̃́ kanákum tɨpɨ́saipʲa misɨ́makɛim*

t͡saua-ra   aĩ   kana-ku-mɨ   tɨpɨ-sa-**ai-pa**   dawn-
DISTR   MED**.**LOC   sleep+IPFV-SIM-2SG.SS   lie.down-ATT-**APPR-PROH**

misɨ-ma-ka-**ai**-mɨ
ruin-REFL-INTENS-**APPR**-2SG.SBJ
'When it dawns, there, don't keep sleeping, lest you dream your death!'[234]

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234. The verb *misɨ* 'ruin' also has the extended meaning of 'dream with your own death', which

Here are some examples of the use of the apprehensive, given with contextual

information.

(67) Context: A group of people is making $\widehat{tsantsa}$ 'head trophy'; the ritual leader gives

them directions as the ritual was supposed to be very strict:

ʃiír t͡ʃinkáwɛi túsã ɨmɨ́sraih túsã intʲaʃí aɨ́sawaih

ʃiira t͡ʃinka-au-aĩ   tu-sã   ɨ-mɨsa-ra-ai-hi   tu-sã
well   make.hole-HIAF-APPR say-SUB\3SG.SS CAUS-ruin-DISTR-APPR-1PL say-SUB\3SG.SS

intaʃí   a-ɨsa-au-ai-hi
hair\ACC   CAUS-burn-HIAF-APPR-1PL
'[He] saying "watch out for making holes", [he] saying "may we not ruin it", "may we
not burn the hair [of the shrunken head]".'

(68)

Context: A Wampis woman marries an Awajun man. When his husband's uncle dies, she

is suspected of having poisoned him with poisonous manioc:

turáʃa wíi wɨkás wímiahɛɛ ɨtsɨ́rtin ɛ́in

turaʃa ui   uɨka-sa   uɨ-mia-ha-i   ɨ͡tsɨra-tu-inu   a-ĩ
but   1SG   walk-ATT   go.PFV-DIST.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL   inform-APPL-NMLZ COP-**APPR**
'But I left because I was afraid that they accuse me [of the killing].'[235]

14.4.5. Inferential *-tai*

The inferential *-tai* marks a clause as being an inference or supposition on the

_____

is how the example was translated.

235. The verb *ɨ͡tsɨra* 'inform, give news' plus the applicative acquires a sense of 'accuse'.

part of the speaker. The following examples discuss the inferential modality.

In (69), the story is about two sisters that meet a man, Nayap. The man tells

them to go his house, as the women wanted to live with him. There are two trails, one

goes to the man's house and the other goes to another character, Tsuna. The sisters

mistakenly go to Tsuna's house. Nayap returns home and asks his mother for the sisters.

Seeing that they are not there, he infers that they must be in Tsuna's place:

(69)
a. *at͡sá núwaka té͡iɲat͡sui*

at͡sa	nua = ka	ta-ina-t͡su-u-i
no	woman = FOC	arrive-PL.IPFV-NEG-3.SBJ-DECL

'[His mother:] "No, the women do not arrive",

b. *t͡sĩi nuĩŋkʲa saír t͡sunáhεε̃ hintínt͡suk ʃiakaratεε*

t͡ʃii	nuĩ = ka	sai-ru	t͡suna = haĩ	hintina = t͡su = kɨ
okay	there = FOC	brother.in.law-1SG	Tsuna = COM	trail = INFER = RESTR

ʃia-ka-ara-**tai**

go.PL-INTENS-PL-**INFER**

[Nayap:] "oh, then, with my brother-in-law Tsuna, they must have gone".'

The next example, contains a description of how people talk about a man which

possesses *Arutam* (a spiritual vision that gives a certain power to the person who sees

it). In the Jivaroan tradition, people would know when a man possesses *Arutam* due to

certain qualities that the man shows: leadership, oratory skills, figthing skills, etc. In

this case, because the man did not die in wars, they infer that he must have the power

of "Stone-*Arutam*". People with the power of "Stone-*Arutam*" were supposed to be un-

killable.

(70) kája wɛ́inkouskɛiti núnikoo asántsuk haátsutɛɛ nunáʃa tíɲu ármaji

kaia	waina-ka-u = t͡su = ka = iti	nuni-ka-u
stone	see-INTENS-NMLZ = INFER = FOC = COP.3 + DECL	do.that-INTENS-NMLZ

a-sã = t͡su = kɨ	ha-a-t͡su-**tai**
COP-SUB\3.SS = INFER = RESTR	die-IPFV-NEG-**INFER**

nu = na = ʃa	tu-inu	a-ara-maji
NON.VIS = ACC = ADD	say-NMLZ	COP-PL-3.REM.PT

'Surely because he has seen stone-Arutam, surely he does not die, they said that too.'

14.4.6. Narrative modality *timaji*

Traditional narratives very frequently use the word *timaji*, which can be literally

translated as 'he/she said' or 'they said' (< *ti-ma-ji* 'say + LOAF-IMM.PT-3.PT + DECL'). This

word is a marker of the narrative genre, and generally marks second-hand information.

This relates to the fact that speakers frequently begin a narrative with something similar

to 'My grandparent/my elders/my parent used to tell me...'. *Timaji* does not occur in

other types of genres with the second-hand information function.

The source of narrative *timaji* is a complement construction of a speech report,

in which *timaji* used to be a fully finite verb and occurred with a nominalized verb as a

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complement (this construction is still very frequent in narratives too).

(71) *íistahɛɛ wíu tímaji*

ii-sa-ta-ha-i	wɨ-u	timaji
see-ATT-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL	go.PFV-NMLZ	NARR

'"I am going to see"—he went.'

Historically, an example like (71) clearly contained a finite verb 'say' (*timaji*) and would translate as '"I am going to see"—he went—they said.' However, crucially, in current Wampis *timaji* can also occur with verb forms that are not nominalized and are not marked for mood. This is evidence that *timaji* has been grammaticalized as a marker of narrative modality

(72) *hijá tímaji aúhun*

hia	timaji	auhu=na
reprimand+IPFV	NARR	Auju=ACC

'He was reprimanding Auju.'

(73) *nuní wáa timaji nantuka*

nu=ni	uaa	timaji	Moon=ka
NON.VIS=ALL	climb+IPFV	NARR	Moon=FOC

'Over there Nantu climbed.'

(74) *wɨ́ tímaji*

uɨ	timaji
go.PFV	NARR

'He went away.'

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(75) *túu unt͡suá tímaji*

tu	unt͡su-á	timaji
like.that	call-HIAF	NARR

'she called it (i.e. the manioc) like that.'

CHAPTER XV

NOMINALIZATION

15.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses key aspects of the morphosyntactic properties of

nominalization in Wampis. The analysis presented in the following sections also serves

as an introduction to Chapter XX, where it will be seen that one of the salient syntactic

features of Wampis is the use of nominalized clauses in a wide range of constructions

that include relative clauses, complement clauses, and in copular clauses to create

expressions that function at the level of the TAM system. Nominalization is understood

here as the mechanism that derives a non-nominal element which then functions as

nominals do in the language. Following the ideas discussed in Shibatani (2009),

nominalization can be lexical or grammatical (cf. also Koptjevska-Tamm (1993),

Gennetti et al. (2008)). The properties described here correspond to lexical

nominalization, i.e. I will illustrate cases of class-changing derivations that become part

of the lexicon of the language.

After this introduction, section §15.2 discusses some aspects of the verbal

morphology that are central to understand what type of verb stems carry nominalizers

in Wampis. This is followed by §15.3, where the nominalizers of Wampis and their morphosyntactic properties are presented. Finally, each nominalizer in Wampis is described in §15.4.

15.2. The nominalized verb

To understand how nominalization works in Wampis, some morphosyntactic properties of the verb must be pointed out. Recall that one salient complication of the Wampis verb is that the distinction between "derivational" and "inflectional" morphology is tenuous. The main finite verb is obligatorily marked for aspect, tense, person and mood. However, aktionsart and aspectual suffixes of Wampis have clear derivational properties and can create a stem to be used in speech. Therefore I concluded that the terms "derivational" and "inflectional" in this case are better regarded as a continuum as some formatives can assume functions related to both derivation and inflection. The overall structure of the Wampis verb was presented in Table 12.5 (it was presented first in §12.7). The level of the "stem" that can enter into nominalization in Wampis roughly corresponds to the root plus "derivational" morphology (roughly the morphological positions from -1 to 4 shown in Table 12.5), incorporating valence, negative, number and aspectual information. That is,

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nominalization occurs on a nominalizable stem, i.e. it can incorporate all the structural information up to the right border of position 4 in the verb structure (which roughly corresponds to what I call the "derivational" level).

In general, nominalization in Wampis can retain a good portion of the verb structure. Depending on the specific nominalizing strategy, nominalized verbs in Wampis may preserve their valence, aspect and some argument (object) information. At least in one case, with the future nominalizer *-tinu* §15.4.2, the nominalized verb can also incorporate tense information. This is a very interesting property of Wampis (and Jivaroan languages):[236] though cross-linguistically verbs tend to decategorize when they are nominalized, losing most of their verbal properties (Haiman 1983; Givón 2002b; Cristofaro 2003) including TAM and argument information, in Wampis the nominalized verb can carry some aspectual, argumental and, in one case, even tense information.

As we saw in Chapter XIV, most verbs in Wampis select an aktionsart suffix with which they occur in perfective contexts (including most past tenses), as well as in future contexts. However, these suffixes do not occur in imperfective or potential contexts. This information is important because it will be shown that Wampis nominalizers differ

236. Similar structural descriptions are observed for Awajun (Overall 2007), Shuar (Turner 1992; Saad 2014) and Shiwiar (Kohlberger 2014).

on whether they can nominalize an aspectualized stem or not.

With regard to aspectual notions, recall from Chapter XIII (cf. §13.3) that the morphological position number 3 in Table 12.5 is shared by aktionsart, imperfective, durative, present habitual or potential morphemes, which thus enter in a system of oppositions. The occurrence of one or another suffix is conditioned morphosyntactically. Table 15.1 lists these suffixes. The stems that carry these suffixes are called "aspectual" stem.

Table 15.1. Suffixes that occupy morphological position 3 in the verb piece

-á(u) 'High affectedness'	-a 'Imperfective'	-mai 'Potential'
-i 'Low affectedness'	-ma 'Durative'	
-ka 'Intensive'	-na 'Present habitual'	
-ki(ni) 'Do while going'		
-ra 'Distributed action'		
-sa 'Attenuative'		
-ri 'Do in proximity/while coming'		
-u 'Do away from location'		

Examples (1)–(3) with the root 'eat' illustrate the different morphosyntactic environments with aktionsart, imperfective, present habitual and potential verb stems. The verb 'eat' selects the high affectedness *-á(u)* as its default aktionsart suffix, required in perfective contexts such as in (1). In imperfective (2), present habitual (4) and

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potential (3) environments the aktionsart suffix does not occur. Recall that the high

affectedness aktionsart suffix *-á(u)* and the imperfective *-a* are distinguished by the

ability of the aktionsart suffix to attract a high tone. In addition, notice that the

potential stem usually occurs with the agentive nominalizer *-inu* and, interestingly, has

ambiguous readings that can focus on the A/S or the P arguments of the nominalized

potential stem.

(1) *juáhɛɛ*
iu-á-ha-i
eat-HIAF-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I just ate.'

(2) *júwahɛɛ*
iu-a-ha-i
eat-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am eating.'

(3) *mamán júnamɨ*
mama = na   ju-na-mɨ
manioc = ACC   eat-PRES.HAB.2SG.SBJ + DECL
'You usually eat manioc.'

(4) *jumɛín*
ju-mai-inu
eat-POT-NMLZ
'something that can be eaten (eat-able)' or 'one that can eat'

Before proceeding further with the discussion of nominalizations, it needs to be pointed out that nominalizations are distinct from what, in a more restrictive way, I call "subordinate" verb forms in Chapter XIX. Unlike nominalizations, most subordinated verbs in Wampis can receive only valence and aspectual marking; in addition, unlike nominalizations, subordinate verbs:

• are defined by an indication of switch-reference that is obligatory in those forms.

• receive person/subject markers that occur in switch-reference contexts (these subject markers are not the same markers used for main clause verbs)

• they do not receive nominative/accusative markers, unlike nominalizations, i.e. subordinate verb cannot syntactically fill argument positions of another matrix verb (although functionally, some subordinated constructions are employ as semantic arguments of some verbs (see details in Chapter XX).

• no verb form that carries a "subordinator" becomes a member of the lexicon of Wampis (i.e. "subordinators" do not derive lexical items), whereas nominalizers derive lexical items.

Within this dissertation, thus, I define the nominalized verb as a form of the nominalizable stem verb that receives any one of the nominalizers listed in §15.3.

Unlike what I define as subordinate verbs, a nominalized verb never receives a switch-reference marker or person subject markers, and can function as syntactic arguments of predicates (i.e. nominalizations receive case marking).

With this background on the nominalizable stem and the nominalized verb, we now turn to the discussion of the nominalizers themselves in Wampis.

15.3. Nominalizers in Wampis

There are two sets of nominalizers in Wampis, which I call Set I and Set II. Both sets are used for lexical and grammatical nominalizations. Lexical nominalization "creates new lexical items belonging to the noun class of the language", whereas grammatical nominalization "creates new referring expressions that have no lexical status" (Shibatani 2009: 187).[237] There are two more nominalizers, the negative nominalizer -*tʃau* (§10.4.5), and the nominalizer -*na*, which is not lexically productive and is mainly used in relative clauses and with the potential stem (§15.4.8). Set I and Set II nominalizers are presented in Table 15.2.

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237. As I say in the introduction, the present chapter focuses in lexical nominalization. The functions of nominalization at the level of grammatical nominalization are described in Chapter XX.

Table 15.2. Nominalizing suffixes in Wampis

Set I	Set II
-inu 'Agentive nominalizer'	*-u* 'Subject nominalizer'
-tinu 'Future nominalizer'	*-mau* 'Non-subject nominalizer'
-ta 'Action nominalizer'	
-taĩ 'Patient/Location nominalizer'	

In principle, a verb can take any nominalizer from Set I or Set II, depending on the morphosyntactic environment: this is not a distinction of verb classes, where one class takes one set of suffixes and another class takes the other set of suffixes. Rather, there are other important distinctions, if subtle, between Set I and Set II suffixes (cf. also the last part of the discussion in §15.4.5). The main morphosyntactic properties of Sets I and II are presented in Table 15.3. Table 15.3 also includes properties of underived nouns and adjectives so that nominalization properties can be compared in a larger picture of the language (see Chapter IX for a detailed analysis of adjectives). At first glance, from the semantics and morphosyntactic properties seen in Table 15.3, there seems to be some redundancy overlap in the nature of some of Set I and Set II nominalizing morphemes. However, we will see that they present particular morphosyntactic differences.

Table 15.3. Morphosyntactic properties of underived nouns, nominalizations and adjectives

Properties	Underived Nouns	Set I Nominalization	Set II Nominalization	Adjectives
Receive case and oblique clitics	Yes	Yes	Yes	No[a]
Can be possessor	Yes	Yes[b]	Yes[b]	No
Can be possessed	Yes	Yes	Yes	Some[c]
Can head an NP	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Can be pluralized with a-ina (COP-PL.IPFV)	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Gradable	No	In modification function only	In modification function only	Yes

[a] Demonstratives trigger case agreement on certain elements of a noun phrase, including adjectives. Receiving case or oblique clitics is not considered a property of Adjectives (cf. §9.5).

[b] Set I *-inu* and Set II *-u* cannot be possessed, since they do not mapped onto the semantics of a patient (a possessed thing is prototypically patient-like).

[c] Notice that adjectives that are possessed usually function as nominals; e.g. *ʃiirama* 'beautiful' when possessed with *-rĩ* '1PL/2PL/3.POSS' means 'her/his beauty' (i.e. when possessed, adjectives behave like possessed nouns—cf. §9.4).

Morphologically, Set I and Set II differ in one important property: with the exception of the future nominalizer *-tinu*, Set I nominalizing suffixes can occur on bare roots, but they do not attach to an aspectualized verb stem. In contrast, Set II morphemes can be attached to an aspectualized stem, as defined in §15.2. In addition, the Set II subject nominalizer *-u*, and Set I future nominalizer *-tinu* and patient/location

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nominalizer *-taĩ* can combine with the verbal negative suffix *-tʃa*. The distributional

properties of Set I and Set II nominalizers are listed in Table 15.4. I also add

information about the nominalizer *-na*, which combines with the potential stem marked

by *-mai* 'potential', as well as the negative nominalizer *-tʃau*.

Table 15.4. Distributional features of Wampis nominalizers

Properties → Suffixes ↓	Can occur on root	Can occur on aspectual stem	Can occur on potential stem *V-mai*	Can occur on negative stem *V-tʃa*
-inu	Yes	No	Yes	No
-tinu	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
-taĩ	Yes	No	No	Yes
-ta	Yes	No	No	No
-u	No	Yes	No	Yes
-mau	No	Yes	No	Yes
-t͡ʃau	Yes	Yes	No	No
-na	Yes	No	Yes	No

15.4. Derivational nominalization

As lexical nominalizers, Set I and Set II suffixes in Wampis are productive and

fully derivational. This section briefly presents the basic derivational uses of the

nominalizers presented in §15.3.

15.4.1. Set I -*inu,* 'agentive nominalizer'

The agentive nominalizer -*inu* creates a noun that denotes the subject of a verb

and which is prototypically an agent and animate. The examples in (5) show instances

of nouns derived with -*inu.*

(5)

arantu 'respect'	→	arantu-inu [arántin]	'a respectful one'
áuha 'read, study'	→	áuha-inu [óuhin]	'student'
iuiʃi 'heal'	→	iuiʃi-inu [iwiʃín]	'shaman'
kutama 'spin'	→	kutama-inu [kutámin]	'spinner (of cotton or chambira thread)'
iuara 'make joke'	→	iuara-inu [iwarín]	'joker'
umu 'drink'	→	umu-inu [úmin]	'drinker'
mã 'kill'	→	mã-inu [mɛ́in]	'hunter'[238]
nakuma 'draw'	→	nakuma-inu [nakúmin]	'drawer'

The agentive nominalizer -*inu* is very productive with the 1pl object marker -

karatu. With -*karatu,* the nominalizer -*inu* creates generic nouns.

(6) *hintínkʲartin*
hintina-karatu-inu
teach-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ
'teacher' ('someone who teaches us')

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238. The form *mã-inu* 'hunter' is used in the conventionalized sense of 'killer of animals' and denotes a human. Animals that hunt are referred to as *mãntinu* [mɛ́ntin] (see example (10)). The form for 'killer' in the sense of 'assassin' is *mãnkartin* (see example (8)).

(7) *mãnkártin*
mã-karatu-inu
kill-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ
'assassin' ('someone who kills us')

(8) *nakúmkartin*
nakuma-karatu-inu
draw-1PL.OBJ-INU
'photographer' ('someone who draws us')

(9) *amúkartin*
amu-karatu-inu
exterminate-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ
'exterminator' (in the sense of 'killer', 'someone who exterminates us')

At least one compound word involves a derivation with *-inu*:

(10) *ɲawáãmántin*
iauaã_mã-tu-inu
dog_kill-APPL-NMLZ
'hunting dog' (more literally: 'a dog that kills for one (i.e. the owner)')

Interestingly, there are some lexicalized items that also carry the nominalizer

suffix *-inu*, and in some of them the stem appears to have an aktionsart suffix (*-i* 'low

affectedness (of P or of location of A)' in (11), and *-ra* 'distributed action' in (12). The

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nominalizer *-inu* does not attach to a stem containing an aktionsart or any suffix that

occurs in position 3 in Table 12.5 in current Wampis. However, it seems that the

nominalizer *-inu* was able to attach to an aspectualized stem in past stages of the

language. The following examples present historical analysis of words that are already

lexicalized in Wampis and exhibit the suffix *-inu*:

(11) *uwímtikartin*
u-uɨ-ma-tu-i-karatu-inu
CAUS-go-REFL-APPL-LOAF-1PL.OBJ -NMLZ
'savior' ('someone who let us go for our benefit')[239]

(12) *t͡sɨ́ŋkɨt͡sɨŋkírin*
t͡sɨnkɨ-t͡sɨnkɨ-ra-inu
branch.off-branch.off-DISTR-INU
'tree that has many branches'

15.4.2. Set I *-tinu*, 'future nominalizer'

The suffix *-tinu* creates a structure that denotes either a future agent or a future

patient of the verbal action or situation. For instance, the nominalization in (13) has

two meanings, one focused on the agent of the verb and the other on the patient of the

verb.

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239. The verb *uuɨma* (< *u-uɨ-ma* as analyzed above) means 'scape' in current Wampis.

(13) óuhmatsatin

auhumatu-sa-tinu

tell-ATT-FUT.NMLZ

'one who is going to tell' or 'what is going to be told'

More examples of the future nominalizer are presented in (14).

(14)

akina 'be born' → akina-tinu [akíɲatin] 'one who is going to be born'

ɨakama 'hunt' → ɨakama-tinu [ɨákmatin] 'one who will hunt'

kaka 'be.strong' → kaka-ra-tinu [kakártin] 'one who will be strong' (be.strong-DISTR-FUT.NMLZ)

manka 'get fat' → manka-ra-tinu [maŋkártin] 'one who will get fat' (get.fat-DISTR-FUT.NMLZ)

From a historical perspective, the nominalizer *-tinu* is more than likely a conflation of the immediate future marker *-ta* and the agentive/subject nominalizer *-inu* (cf. Overall (2007: 432). Because tense markers are formed on an aktionsart stem obligatorily, as seen in Chapter XII when we defined the verb, *-tinu* can be attached to an aspectualized stem (as in (13), where the stem has the aktionsart/perfective attenuative suffix *-sa*), a property that is not shared by *-inu* or the other suffixes of Set I. However, *-tinu* cannot occur with the imperfective, which separates *-tinu* from Set II nominalizers. The suffix *-tinu* is presented as a part of Set I nominalizers on the basis that it is derived from *-inu*.

The future nominalizer *-tinu* can also derive an abstract action/stative noun that sometimes serves as a citation form of the verb. However, *-tinu* is not as commonly used

as a citation form suffix as the action nominalizer *-ta* (§15.4.3).[240] The use of *-tinu* for

citation forms probably derives from an eventive reading of patient nominalizations

achieved with this morpheme.

(15)

| iia | 'fall' | → | iia-tinu [íjatin] | 'to fall' |
| uɨ | 'go' | → | uɨ-tinu [wítin] | 'to go' |

15.4.3. Set I *-ta*, 'action nominalizer'

The action nominalizer *-ta* creates an abstract noun that refers to the event/state

expressed by the verb.

(16)

akina	'be born'	→	akina-ta [akíɲat]	'birth'
ha	'be sick'	→	ha-ta [háta]	'sickness'
mɨsɨ	'ruin, die'	→	mɨsɨ-ta [mɨsít]	'death, war'
puhu	'live'	→	puhu-ta [puhút]	'life'
taka	'work'	→	taka-ta [takát]	'work (n)'
umu	'drink'	→	umu-ta [úmut]	'to drink'
mãá[241]	'kill'	→	mãánaita [mã́nit]	'to fight' (*mãá-nai-ta* 'kill-RECP-NMLZ')

As mentioned in the previous section, *-ta* nominalizations are commonly given

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240. In general, because there is no conventionalized citation form in the language, Wampis speakers vary between *-ta* or *-mau* as choices for citation forms, besides *-tinu*. In other Jivaroan languages such as Achuar (Fast et al. 1996) and Shiwiar (Kohlberger 2014) the cognate of *-tinu* is used as a citation form.

241. There are two forms of the verb 'kill': *mã* and *mãá*. The second form is analyzable as *mã-á* 'kill-HIAF', but it appears that for many speakers this form has been reanalyzed as the root. This is not unexpected, because aktionsart suffixes, like the high affectedness *-á(u)* have derivational functions.

as the citation forms of verbs.

15.4.4. Set I nominalizer -taĩ, 'non-agentive nominalizer'

The suffix -taĩ creates a noun that denotes a patient of a transitive verb, a

location of transitive or intransitive verb, or an instrument; thus I call it 'non-agentive'

to establish a contrast with the nominalizer -inu 'agentive nominalizer'. Locations are

usually (but not always, see examples such as *áuhumatu-taĩ* or *ɨkɨna-taĩ* in (17)–(18))

derived from intransitive verbs. The following examples show the most conventional

meaning of the derived forms (a patient interpretation), but all of them can potentially

denote a location of the verb too.

(17)

akĩ 'put on ear'   →   akĩ-taĩ [akɯ́tʲɛɛ̃]   'earring' (what is put on the ear')

kankɨ 'roll'   →   kankɨ-taĩ [kaŋkɨ́tɛɛ̃]   'wheel' ('what is rolled')

umu 'drink'   →   umu-taĩ   'drink (N)'

iu   'eat'   →   iu-taĩ   'food' ('what is eaten')

iu   'eat'   →   iu-t͡ʃa-taĩ   'inedible' ('what is not eaten') (eat-NEG-NMLZ)

mãá 'kill'   →   mãá-t͡ʃa-taĩ [mãát͡ʃtɛɛ̃]'what is not killed'[242] (kill-NEG-NMLZ)

áuhumatu 'tell'→ áuhumatu-taĩ [óuhmattɛɛ̃] 'what is told' or 'place where something is
     told'

Examples of nominalized verbs that possess the suffix -taĩ and have a

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242. Specially to refer to animals that must not be killed for cultural reasons, such as dolphins or
buzzards.

conventionalized meaning of location:

(18)

anuma 'dock (V)'	→	anuma-taĩ [anumtɛɛ̃]	'dock (N)' ('where a canoe is docked')
aiama 'rest'	→	aiama-taĩ [ajámtɛɛ̃]	'resting place'[243]
ihatuma 'defecate'	→	ihatuma-taĩ [ihʲatmatɛɛ̃]	'latrine'
ikɨma 'sit'	→	ikɨma-taĩ [ikɨmtɛĩ]	'chair'
ikɨna 'put on fire'	→	ikɨna-taĩ [ikɨntɛĩ]	'grill (N)'
inkɨma 'enter'	→	inkɨma-taĩ [iŋkɨmatɛɛ̃]	'entrance'

There are some examples of words with *-taĩ* which denote an instrument, rather than patient or location:

(19)

asakɨ 'lock (V)'	→	asakɨ-taĩ [asáktɛɛ̃]	'key, lock (N)' ('what is used to lock')
isɨka 'wrap up warm'	→	isɨka-ma-taĩ [isɨkmatɛɛ̃]	'blanket' (wrap.up.warm-REFL-NMLZ)
mãá 'kill'	→	mãá-nai-taĩ [mãánitʲɛɛ]	'weapon' (kill-RECP-NMLZ)
nɨkɨ 'grind'	→	nɨkɨ-taĩ [nɨkítɛĩ]	'grinder'[244]

The non-agentive nominalizer *-taĩ* may have come from the combination of *-ta* 'action nominalizer' plus *=(n)ĩ* 'locative' (but cf. Overall (2007: 436), who finds not enough evidence for this hypothesis in a cognate form in Awajun). Synchronically, a nominalized verb with *-taĩ* requires a locative marker:

243. Traditionally, *aiamataĩ* are places near waterfalls where the Wampis go to rest after the ingesting of Ayahuasca.

244. Traditionally, this noun refers to a stone that is used to grind but is now extended to any kind of grinder.

(20) *ajámtɛĩɲam wíahɛɛ*

aiama-taĩ = nama   uɨ-a-ha-i

rest-NMLZ = LOC   go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am going to the resting place'

Example (20) suggests that if there is a historical connection between the

nominalizer *-taĩ* and the locative *-(n)ĩ,* the time of development since the hypothesized

grammaticalization of *-taĩ* is relatively deep enough that speakers nowadays no longer

see it as containing the locative—which leaves us with the need for more comparative

data to attempt a connection between the nominalizer and the locative marker. On the

other hand, the fact that the nominalizer *-taĩ* can derive locations from a verb and the

phonetic resemblance with the locative (which is also grammaticalized as a different

subject switch-reference (§19.5.2)) suggest that *-taĩ* may after all be related to the

locative. Corbera (1994: 149) has hypothesized that the Awajun cognate fomr *-taĩ* is

decomposable between the nominalizer *-ta* and an instrumental suffix *-i* which is found

in Awajun,[245] but not, as far as I know, in Wampis. It is interesting that both a locative

and an instrumental interpretations are found in the nominalizer *-taĩ* in Wampis. In the

(yet not proven) case that there be a formative *-ĩ* in *-taĩ,* perhaps this is the only place

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245. Overall (2007) lists this morpheme as *-(a)i.* He finds not enough evidence for Corbera's
analysis.

in the grammar of Wampis where one can see an old Jivaroan instrumental, probably

historically conflated with the locative, in the nominalizer *-taĩ*. This is an speculative

suggestion that remains to be more thoroughly analyzed.

15.4.5. Set II nominalizer *-u*, 'subject nominalizer'

The subject nominalizer *-u* encodes different semantic roles—agent, experiencer/

undergoer, force—all of which map onto the A/S participant of the verb. Unlike *-inu*,

which encodes prototypically animate agentive participants, *-u* can denote an animate

or inanimate participant. For descriptive convenience, I use the term "subject

nominalizer" to refer to the nominalizer *-u*. As mentioned in §15.3, an important feature

of Set II nominalizers is that, unlike Set I nominalizers, they can nominalize verb stems

which have aspectual information.

(21)
Examples with the imperfective -a

arakama 'plant'	→	arakama-a-u [arákmou]	'planter'
ha	'be sick'	→	ha-a-u [háoo]	'sick person'
nɨka	'know'	→	nɨka-a-u [nɨkóo]	'wise'
t͡ʃit͡ʃa	'speak'	→	t͡ʃit͡ʃa-a-u [t͡ʃit͡ʃóo]	'speaker'

Examples with aktionsart (perfective stem), -ra 'distributed action, -ka 'intensive'

auama 'cut hair'	→	auama-ra-u [awámaru]	'one who cut his/her hair'
ha	'be sick'	→	ha-ka-u [hakóo]	'dead, corpse'
unuima 'learn'	→	unuima-ra-u [unúimaru]	'educated' ('one who learned')
ɨɨma	'go forward'	→	ɨɨma-ka-u [ɨɨ́mkoo]	'one who went forward'

ɨsa	'burn'	→	ɨsa-ka-u [ɨ́saku]	'what/who burned'
manka	'get fat'	→	manka-ra-u [maŋkáru]	'one who got fat'
mina	'soften, melt'	→	mina-ra-u [mínaru]	'what became softened or melted'
kau	'rot'	→	kau-ra-u [kouróo]	'rotten meat'

From the above examples, it can be seen that while there is some overlap between Set II -*u* and Set I -*inu* (§15.4.1) (for instance, the grammatical realization of the semantic role of the participants they denote is the subject of the nominalized verb), there are also some differences. The most notable difference is the ability of Set II -*u* to attach to aspectual stems, either imperfective or perfective. This allows Set II -*u* nominalizations to be able to actualize interpretations of the action of the nominalized verb in a scale of time (via the aspectual construal). Compare:

(22)
a. kana-u
sleep + IPFV-NMLZ
'one who sleeps' or 'one who is sleeping'

b. kana-ka-u
sleep.PFV-INTENS-NMLZ
'one who slept'

c. kanu-inu
sleep-NMLZ
'sleeper'

In (a) and (b), we can obtain interpretations of the nominalized verb as being currently occurring or already occurred, respectively. By contrast, in (c) no such interpretation(s) is/are possible, because the action of the nominalized verb is now a property of the referent of the derived noun. This difference has important consequences in the grammar: in Chapter XX, we will see that Set II nominalizers are used primarily in modifying function (i.e. relative clauses), whereas Set I nominalizers are used primarily in predicative functions.

15.4.6. Set II nominalizer *-mau*, 'non-subject nominalizer'

Three main derivational properties are related to the suffix *-mau*: a) it creates a noun that is understood as the patient or location of a verb; b) it creates a noun that is understood as an action nominalizer; c) *-mau* also creates a stem to create locative nominalizations, most frequently with the locative *=nVma*. To contrast *-mau* with the other member of Set II, *-u* 'subject nominalizer', I use the term 'non-subject nominalizer' to refer to *-mau*. Historically, *-mau* likely developed from an old suffix **-ma* plus the nominalizer *-u* described in the preceding section. A likely source is the same morpheme that is the modern the non-canonical switch-reference marker *-ma* 'subject to object' (see §19.10.1). Similarly to *-u, -mau* can attach to an aspectualized stem. Examples of

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derivation with *-mau* are presented in (23).

(23)

nakuma 'draw' → nakumɨ-a-mau 'drawing ('something that is being drawn') (draw.IPFV-IPFV-NMLZ)

t͡sua 'heal' → t͡sua-a-mau [t͡suwámu] 'one that is healed' (heal-IPFV-IPFV-NMLZ)

amu 'finish' → amu-ka-mau 'finished, exterminated' (finish-INTENS-IPFV-NMLZ)

nakuma 'draw' → nakuma-ka-mau [nakúmkamu] 'drawing (something that is already drawn' (draw-INTENS-IPFV-NMLZ)

The nominalizer *-mau* also appears to derive nouns whose interpretation seems

to be that of an action nominalizer.

(24)

ha 'be sick' → ha-á-mau [haámu] 'death' (be.sick-HIAF-NMZL)

uutu 'cry' → uutu-mau [uútmoo] 'cry (N)'

ɨmɨma 'be proud' → ɨmɨma-mau [ɨmɨmamu] 'pride'

In relation to its ability to create action nominalizations, *-mau* is sometimes also

used to give a citation form of verbs.

The nominalizer *-mau* is also used to derived nouns that denote a location of the

action of the verb, cf. *akiina* 'be born' → *akiina-mau* [akíɲamu] 'birth' or 'place where

one is born'; *arakama* 'plant (V)' → arakama-a-mau [arákmamu] (plant-IPFV-IPFV-NMLZ)

'what is planted (i.e. seeds, etc.)' or 'farm (sown field)'. In most cases, however, *-mau*

needs to carry a locative marker to derive location nominalizations, most frequently -

mau occurs with the locative =*nVma,* as in shown (25).

(25)

puha 'live + IPFV' → puha-mau = nama [puhámunam] 'where we live'

amu 'finish' →   amu-a-mau = nama [amúamunam] 'where something the ends', 'end'
   (finish-IPFV-NMLZ = LOC)

   The use of *-mau* in locative relativizations is described more in detail in §20.2.2

and §20.4

15.4.7. Negative nominalizer *-t͡ʃau*

   The nominalizer *-t͡ʃau* can occurred attached to a root or aspectual stem. It

negates the element to which it attaches.

(26)

t͡ʃit͡ʃa	'speak'	→	t͡ʃit͡ʃa-t͡ʃau [t͡ʃít͡ʃat͡ʃu]	'quiet person', 'mute'
kaka	'be strong'	→	kakait͡ʃau [kakɛ́it͡ʃu]	'weak one', 'lazy one'
nɨka	'know'	→	nɨkat͡ʃau [nɨkat͡ʃau]	'ignorant' ('one who does not know')
surima	'be stingy'	→	surima-t͡ʃau [surímt͡ʃoo]	'generous person'

   The nominalizaer *-t͡ʃau* have developed from the negative verbal suffix *-t͡ʃa* and

Set II *-u* 'agent nominalizer'. The nominalizer *-t͡ʃau* can also combine with adjectives,

other nouns and some adverbs, which indicates that formative *-t͡ʃa* in the nominalizer -

t͡ʃau is no longer analyzed by speakers as a verbal-only morpheme, hence *-t͡ʃau* is

analyzed as a synchronically unanalyzable morpheme.

15.4.8. Nominalizer *-na*

   The nominalizer *-na* does not have a productive derivational function, but for

sake of completeness it is described here. The nominalizer *-na* occurs with the potential

stem (formed with *-mai*), as shown in (27), and relativizing verbs after the person

marker, as shown in (28).

(27) *tuméiŋa*

tu-mai-na

say-POT-NMLZ

'what can be said'

(28) *íi puháhŋa húu kanús apátʃka río santíayo tuíŋawɛɛ*

ii	puha-hi-na	hu	kanusa
1PL	live-1PL.SBJ-NMZL	PROX	Kanus

apat͡ʃa = ka	rio	santiago tu-ina-ua-i
mestizo = FOC	rio	Santiago say-PL.IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'Where we live, this Kanus river, the *mestizo* (= non-Wampis) call it Santiago river.'

CHAPTER XVI

SINGLE VERB CONSTRUCTIONS WITH LEXICAL VERBS, AND

NOTES ON WORD ORDER AND ALIGNMENT

16.1. Introduction

Chapter XVI explores the syntactic constructions which involve only one lexical verb as a main finite verb. The discussion begins with some notes on word order in §16.2, followed by a description of the Wampis alignment pattern in §16.3, which constitutes a typologically uncommon syntactic pattern. Next, §16.4 describes the intransitive construction in Wampis. After a short note on copular constructions §16.5, §16.6 and §16.7 describe the transitive and ditransitive construction in Wampis, respectively. Finally, §16.8 and §16.9 describe the Wampis quotative and possession constructions, respectively.

16.2. Notes on constituent order

In Wampis, the most basic verbal construction is a simple intransitive clause; that is, an intransitive verb marked for aspect, tense, person, and mood. The verb can stand alone to achieve a predication, not other constituent is needed.

(1)

kana-ra-ma-ha-i

sleep.PFV-DISTR-IMM.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I slept.'

While a conjugated verb is enough to have a minimal verbal construction, a

number of other elements can occur in a simple declarative clause. Apart from Subject

and Object NPs, additional information can be expressed via postpositional phrases and

adverbs of manner, time, location, demonstrative adverbs and intensifiers.

———
 [(Adv)   (Subj)   (Obj)   (Obl)   (Adv)   V   (Obl)]
———
Figure 16.1. Wampis simple lexical verb word order

The basic constituent order in Wampis is predicate final. In basic, pragmatically

unmarked declarative clauses, the word order is A P V, where A= most Agent-like

participant, P= most Patient-like participant, and V= Verb . However, the Wampis

language allows for other order of subjects and objects. Adverbs and Oblique arguments

are relatively free to occur before or after the predicate, but their preferred position in

terms of frequency is pre-verbal.

16.3. Alignment and grammatical relations

Grammatical relations concern the nature of the relationship between a

predicate or a construction and its core arguments: the single argument of intransitive

constructions (S), the most agent-like argument (A) and the most patient-like arguments

of transitive constructions (Comrie 1978). Alignment has to do with the patterns by

which a language establishes the grammatical relations of those core arguments.

Alignment may be manifested in a variety of coding structures including contituent

order, participant-reference marking on verbs, case marking and various

morphosyntactic combinations thereof. The following discussion concerns the marking

of argument NPs in Wampis. The language exhibits also an uncommon pattern of

argument indexation on the verb, which was described in Chapter XIV.

Wampis exhibits a nominative-accusative alignment. S/A arguments are treated

differently from P. Importantly, Wampis distinguishes between subjects and non-

subjects, i.e. Wampis exhibits a symmetrical objects system (Bresnan & Moshi 1990).

The coding properties and syntactic behavior of objects in Wampis (notional direct and

indirect objects, objects of applicative) are identical.

In Wampis S/A as a category is relatively straightforward. S/A Noun Phrases are

treated in the same way at the syntax level. The marking of the subject ("Nominative"

case) is zero. Aspect, definiteness, deixis or other category do not play any relevant role

in the marking of A/S NPs. The following examples illustrate the marking of the single

argument of an intransitive verb (S) for different grammatical persons in (2)–(5), and

the marking of the Agent-like argument of a transitive verb (A) for different

grammatical persons in (6)–(9).

(2)
S
ui   uɨ-a-ha-i
1SG   go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am going'

(3)
S
amɨ   uɨka-sa-mɨ
2SG   walk-ATT-2SG.SBJ + DECL
'You walked.'

(4)
S
Puhupata   uiʃi-a-ua-i
Puhupata   laugh-IPFV-3SG.SBJ-DECL
'Puhupat laughs.'

(5)
S
Puhupata   uiʃi-ra-ma-ji
Puhupat   laugh-DISTR-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL
'Puhupat laughed.'

(6)

A   P

amɨ mi=na uaina-ka-ma-mɨ

2SG   1SG=ACC see-INTENS-REC.PT-2SG.SBJ+DECL

'You saw me'

(7)

A   P

amɨ mi=na uaina-a-ua-mɨ

2SG   1SG=ACC see-IPFV-2SG.SBJ+DECL

'You are seeing me.'

(8)

A   P

Puhupata   nua=na   tukuma-a-ua-i

Pujupat   woman=ACC kick-IPFV-3.SBJ+DECL

'Pujupat is kicking the woman.'

(9)

A   P

nua   puhupata=na   tukuma-ka-ma-ji

woman   Pujupat=ACC   kick-INTENS-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL

'The woman kicked Pujupat'

       The notion of subject is defined by the following criteria:

• Nominative (zero) case marking.

• Marking on the verb with the regular patterns explained in §14.3.3.2.

• Nominalizers that only codified semantic notions that in Wampis are instantiated as

grammatical subject (Set I *-inu* and Set II *-u*).

- Robust same and different subject marking in subordinate clauses.

- Controller of switch-reference *-ma* 'non-subject to subject' (cf. §19.10.1)

Turning now to the discussion of the treatment of the most-patient like

argument (P), this is another area where Wampis, as other Jivaroan languages (Corbera

Mori 1994; Overall 2007; Gnerre 2010), exhibits a very unique pattern. The following

principles apply to the marking of objects in Wampis:

- First and second person NP objects always receive the accusative marker =*na*.

- Third person NP objects receive the accusative marker =*na* only if the subject is 1sg,

  3sg or 3pl person.

- If the subject is 1pl, 2sg or 2pl, the third person object NP is left unmarked.

Table 16.1 summarizes the marking of objects in Wampis. A zero symbol "∅"

means that the object is not marked due to a pattern that will be discussed below. A

straight line means "Not Applicable". =*na* means that the object is marked with the

accusative.

Table 16.1. Summary of object NP marking

A↓ \ P→	1sg P	1pl P	2sg P	2pl P	3 P
1sg A	_____	=na	=na	=na	=na
1pl A	_____	_____	=na	=na	Ø
2sg A	=na	=na	_____	_____	Ø
2pl A	=na	=na	_____	_____	Ø
3 A	=na	=na	=na	=na	=na

Examples (10)–(15) illustrate the marking of A and P with different grammatical persons. The A arguments are 3, 1sg, 1pl, 2sg and 2pl, respectively. The P arguments are 1sg, 2sg, 2pl and 1pl, respectively. It can be seen that all object NPs (i.e. P) are marked when an A of any grammatical person acts upon a Speech Act Participant P.

(10) A = 3, P = 1sg

A   P

nĩ   mi = na   uaina-tu-ka-ma-ji

3SG   1SG = ACC see-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

'He saw me.'

(11) A = 3, P = 2sg

A   P

nĩ   ami = na uaina-tama-ka-ma-ji

3SG   2SG = ACC see-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-REC.PT-3PT + DECL

'He saw you.'

(12) A＝1sg, P＝2sg

A   P

ui   ami＝na uaina-ka-ma-hamɨ

1SG   2SG＝ACC see-INTENS-REC.PT-1SG＞2SG＋DECL

'I saw you.'

(13) A＝ 1pl, P＝2pl

A   P

ii   atumi＝na   uaina-ka-ma-hirumɨ

1PL   2PL＝ACC   see-INTENS-REC.PT-1PL＞2PL＋DECL

'We saw you (pl).'

(14) A＝ 2sg, P＝1sg

A   P

amɨ   mi＝na   uaina-tu-ka-ma-mɨ

2SG   1SG＝ACC see-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-REC.PT-2SG＋DECL

'You saw me.'

(15) A＝2pl, P＝1pl

atumi ii＝na   uaina-tama-ka-ma-rumɨ

2PL   1PL＝ACC   see-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-REC.PT-2PL.SBJ＋DECL

'You (pl) saw us'.

Examples (16)–(19) illustrate the occurrence and non-occurrence of ＝*na* with

NP objects. In (16) and (17), where the A is 3sg and 1sg, respectively, the NP object is

marked with the accusative ＝*na.* On the other hand, in examples (18) and (19), the A

is 2sg and 1pl, respectively, and the object NP does not receive accusative marking with

＝*na.* Thus, when an 1pl/2 A acts upon a Non-Speech Act participant P, P is left

unmark.

(16) A = 3sg, P = 3

P   A

iauãa=na   mã-á-ma-ji

jaguar=ACC   kill-HIAF-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL

'He killed the jaguar.'

(17) A = 1sg, P = 3

P   A

iauãa=na   mã-á-ma-ha-i

jaguar=ACC   kill-HIAF-REC.pt-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I killed a jaguar.'

(18) A = 2sg, P = 3

A   P   A

amɨ   iauãa   mã-á-ma-mɨ

2SG   jaguar   kill-hiaf-REC.PT-2SG.sbj+DECL

'You killed a jaguar.'

(19) A = 1pl, P = 3

P   A

iauãa   mã-á-ma-hi

jaguar kill-HIAF-REC.PT-1PL.SBJ+DECL

'We killed a jaguar.'

From the above examples, it is evident that the marking of P in Wampis depends

not only on the properties of the argument itself, but also depends on the nature of the

other argument, A (most-agent-like argument). Two cross-linguistically uncommon

features of Wampis marking of NP-objects can be stated:

- The structural marking itself is uncommon, since as shown in the above examples, it

  contains a "split" between 1SG and 1PL Speech Act participants (1pl/2 conditions the

  non-marking of the 3 NP object, whereas 1sg marks NP objects) .

- This "split" is not based on the nature of the argument (i.e. specificity, definiteness,

  animacy, etc—categories usually understood as related to the notion of Differential

  Object Marking (Bossong 1983-1984; Aissen 2003)), but on the relationship with the

  other argument.

- Interestingly, in Wampis the marking of P depends on a hierarchy in which what

  matters is "who acts upon whom", and not what is the relationship of P to the verb.

  The uncommon syntactic case marking pattern of Wampis parallels the

morphological patterns that are found in some Hierarchical agreement systems

(DeLancey 1981; Siewierska 2003; Zuñiga 2006; DeLancey Forthcoming). Interestingly,

Wampis also exhibits an uncommon type of Hierarchical agreement system that is

different from case marking (cf. §14.3.3). Thus, the following hierarchy appears to

condition grammatical relations (and case-marking of P) in Wampis:

$$1\text{PL}/2 > 1\text{SG} > 3$$

1pl/2 are always marked as P, but as A do not trigger case marking of 3P. 1sg is also always marked as P, and as A always triggers case marking of P. 3 is sometimes marked as P, and as A always triggers case marking of P.

There is one important coincidence between the hierarchical agreement system (as analyzed in §14.3.3) and case marking in Wampis: in the verbal hierarchical agreement, the same suffix *-tama* or *-rama* (see §13.2.4) is used for 1pl and 2sg, 2pl persons, which are the grammatical persons that trigger the "no-case marking" of 3 person Object NPs. So it seems like 1pl and 2 persons are (or were at one point in the past) construed as highly salient in discourse. Wampis seems to avoid marking situations where the Agent is somehow construed as related to the 2 person (singular or plural), i.e. the relationship between Speaker and the other Speech Act Participant appears to be avoided somewhat. This relates to other parts of the grammar of Wampis: for instance, we saw that the words for 'mother' and 'father' are never marked for second person possession (cf. §10.4.1.4), and patterning together of 1sg and 2 also occurs in other morphemes, such as the Plural Speech Act $=t\acute{i}$ (§11.5.6).

16.4. Intransitive constructions

Intransitive constructions in Wampis have the valence requirement of one

argument, which is the grammatical subject. The intransitive constructions involve one

participant and a final verb in a predication of an action, state or event. The single

argument of an intransitive construction (S) receives the nominative, which is zero-

marked (§10.4.6.1). An oblique argument may be present, as in (22) but is not

obligatorily required by the construction. The overt NP may or may not occur in the

construction, but the subject is always obligatorily marked on the verb.

(20) *atílio wímaji*
Atilio uɨ-ma-ji
Atilio go-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL
'Atilio went.'

(21) *ðína úutiawɛɛ*
Dina uutɨ-a-ua-i
Dina cry.IPFV-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'Dina is crying.'

(22) *in͡tsánam jukúmaji*
in͡tsa = nama   jukuma-ji
river = LOC   swim + IPFV-3.PT + DECL
'I am going to swim in the river.'

16.4.1. Existential construction

The existential is a lexical verb but because it is homophonous with the copula

verb *a* and exhibits some important distributional properties relatable to the copula, it

is analyzed in detail in Chapter XVII, which is dedicated to possessive, existential,

locational, attributive and equational constructions.

16.4.2. Weather constructions

As far as I can tell there is no avalent verbs in Wampis. Typical examples of

avalent verbs in other languages, such as meteorological verbs, are syntactically

intransitive verbs that codify an S argument:

(23) *násɨ   ampúawai* […]
nasɨ   ampu-a-ua-i
wind blow-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'The wind is blowing…'

(24) *júmi ʃíir jutúkti*
iumi ʃiira   iutu-ka-ti
rain   very   rain-INTENS-JUSS
'That the rain rains hard!'

Most verbs which can be used to communicate a weather event or state occur in

intransitive constructions with a cogent subject. If a weather predication does not have

an overt cogent subject , the interpretation of the grammatical subject may be

problematic in some cases. For instance, if the verb *umpu* 'blow' in (23) occurs without

an overt subject in the predication, it is not possible to know what or who blows. In

those cases a weather event interpretation is problematic in Wampis.

16.5. Copular constructions

Copular constructions are fairly used in the language. Copular constructions

analyzed in great detail in Chapter XVII.

16.6. The transitive construction

The Wampis transitive construction has a valence of two; that is, two arguments

that are grammatically manifested as subject and object. The most frequent word order

is Subject-Object-Verb (APV), although other orders are permitted in certain pragmatic

environments. Objects marked for focus normally occur in initial position and the

Subject occurs in post-verbal position (see (27) for an illustration of this pattern).

The marking of overt noun phrases depends on the grammatical relation

provided by the construction. Subject NPs are zero-marked, and all Speech Act

Participant Object NPs are marked with the accusative *=na*. Third person Object NPs

are not marked if the subject is a Plural Speech Act participant, according to the

hierarchy observed in §16.3.

(25) *puhupát kaʃɛɛ́n mãámiaji*
Puhupata   kaʃai=na   mã-á-mia-ji
Pujupat   paca=ACC   kill-HIAF-DIST.PT-3.PT+DECL
'Pujupat killed a a paca'

(26) *páki ɨsɛ́ínɨ̃ puhúpatan*

paki	ɨsa-ini-ɨ̃	puhupata=na
peccary	bite-LOAF-3.PFV+DECL	Pujupat=ACC

'A peccary just bit Pujupat.'

(27) *Suwáŋka kuŋkuásmaji Anðrés*

sua=na=ka	kunkua-sa-ma-ji	Andres
Sua=ACC=KA	kiss-ATT-IMM.PT-3.PT+DECL	Andres

'Andres kissed Sua.'

In text data, quotative constructions seem to favor post-verbal positioning of arguments. When there are two overt arguments in a quotative construction, the prefer order of the subject is post-verbal, and objects may occur at the end; i.e. they follow the order [Quotation V A P]. Quotations themselves are always direct quotations, they are never marked as arguments. See also §16.8.

(28) *jɛinkʲatá tusã tsɨ̃ri iwán*

iana-ka-tá	tu-sã	tsɨ̃ri	iua=na
help-INTENS-IMP	say-SUB\3SG.SS	Tsere	Iwa=ACC

'"Help me!" saying Tsere to Iwa.'

Semantic goals with predications of movement ('go', 'come', etc.) do not require an oblique argument. Constructions with emotion verbs do not "re-arrange" the mapping of semantic roles onto different syntactic categories; that is, the location, experiencer or undergoer of an emotion predicate is instantiated as the grammatical

subject, and the theme or stimulus is instantiated as the grammatical object.

16.7. The ditransitive construction

The ditransitive construction in Wampis can be defined as a transitive

construction with a valence of three arguments. The three arguments are an Agent (A)

codified as the subject, a Theme (T) codified as an object, and a Recipient (R) codified

as another object. There is no especial marking distinguishing T and R: both Theme and

Recipient are treated identically: all objects in Wampis receive the accusative $=na$.

Third person objects are zero marked on the verb. When there is a second person or first

person object, it is marked on the verb, that includes second or first R arguments. The

order of constituents in a ditransitive construction is A T V R. Other frequent order is A

T R V, and A V T R is possible. On the other hand, the order R T V appears to be very

disfavored.

(29)

A	T		R
[Puhupat]	[ukunt͡ʃi] = **na**	su-sa-ji	[iauaã] = na
Puhupata	bone = ACC	give-ATT-3.PFV + DECL	dog = ACC

'Puhupat gave a bone to the dog.'

(30)

A	T	R	
[Puhupat]	[ukunt͡ʃi]＝na	[iauaã]＝na	su-sa-ji
Puhupata	bone＝ACC	dog＝ACC	give-ATT-3.PFV＋DECL

'Pujupat gave a bone to the dog.'

The Recipient can receive the benefactive *-nau* optionally, but it still needs to be marked with the accusative.

(31)

A	T	R	
Pujupat	ukunt͡ʃi＝na	iauaã-**nau**＝**na**	su-sa-ji
Pujupat	bone＝ACC	dog-**BEN**＝ACC	give-ATT-3.PT＋DECL

'Pujupat gave a bone to the dog.'

16.8. Quotative construction

The quotative construction requires a speech verb and codifies two core arguments, A and P, instantiated as the grammatical subject and object. The quotation itself is not mark as an argument grammatically and it is always a direct speech report. Quotative constructions are used in semantically equivalents of some complement constructions (see §20.3.3 for more details).

(32)

P		
ami＝na	sɨɨ	ta-hamɨ
2SG＝ACC	thanks	say-1SG＞2SG＋DECL

'I tell you "thanks!"'

16.9. The possession predication construction

Possession predication construction can be done with the

existential + applicative construction (see §17.5 for details), and in verbless clauses with

the attributive *-tinu* (see §17.4.1 for details). There is one more lexical verb (the other is

the existential *a*) that can be used to predicate possession: *takaka* 'have'. This verb

follows a simple transitive pattern.

CHAPTER XVII

POSSESSIVE, EXISTENTIAL, LOCATIONAL, ATTRIBUTIVE AND

EQUATIONAL CLAUSES

17.1. Introduction

This chapter describes constructions that Wampis employs to express semantic

functions such as possession, existence, location, attribution and equation. It includes an

analysis of non-verbal clauses, as well as of clauses involving the copula verb, the

copula clitics, the existential verb as well as other verbs that are used in copular and

semicopular function.

The structure of this chapter is: §17.2–§17.3 give a brief overview of the

functions and the structure of non-verbal predication; §17.4 analyzes non-verbal (in the

sense of truly verbless) clauses; §17.5 is dedicated to copular and existential

predications; finally, §17.6 mentions other verbs that have assume copular or

semicopular functions.

17.2. Overview of functions of non-verbal predication

Most languages have constructions that express proper inclusion, equation,

attribution, location, existence, and possession. Following Payne (1997), proper

inclusion indicates that a particular entity belongs in a class of items specified by the predicate (e.g. *she is a teacher*). Equative clauses serve to state that a specific entity is identical to the particular entity in the predicate (e.g. *she is my mother*). Attributive clauses predicate a property or attribute to the referent (e.g. *she is tall*). Locational clauses indicate a typically definite entity as being in a specific location—the location is the predicate (e.g. *she is in the house*). Existential clauses indicate the existence of usually an indefinite entity (e.g. *there is a football game*) and may be accompanied by a temporal or locational reference. In discourse, existential clauses typically introduce a new participant. Wampis follows the locative/existential pattern to predicate possession and benefactive (e.g. *this is for Shahar*), a pattern that is not uncommonly heard across languages (Clark 1978; Stassen 2009).

17.3. Overview of the structure of non-verb lexical predications in Wampis

A copular verb is a function word that links the subject with its complement. Copular verbs frequently do not possess much lexical content and much of the lexical semantics of the predicate typically resides in the complement of the copula.

There are both copular and non-copular "nonverb" predicate constructions in Wampis. Firstly, non-copular constructions juxtapose a predicate constituent and a NP.

The predicate constituent can be either an AdjP or another NP.

Secondly, non-verbal predicates in Wampis may occur with a copula *a* or copula clitics =*aita*~=*ita* (for speech act participants) and =*aiti*~=*iti* (for third person) which can be translated as 'be'. It will be seen that the distinctions in the distribution of the copula verb *a* and the copula clitics are based on TAM restrictions and on whether the clause is subordinated or not (copula clitics never occur in subordinated clauses). In addition, Wampis distinguishes the copula *a* from an existential verb *a*. Both verbs are homophonous but morphosyntactically distinct (see §17.5.1).

Thirdly, there are full lexical verbs that have been grammaticalized to assume copular functions. These verbs are used in existential/locative predicates; the most frequently used in this function are *puhu* 'live', *iruna* 'crowd together, pile up, be dispersed', and *ma⁀tsatu* 'live together'. Other full lexical verbs that are used in locative constructions are posture verbs such as *tipɨ* 'lie down' and *uaha* 'stand'.

Other verbs that are structurally used in copular constructions can be characterized as what have been termed semi-copulas (Hengeveld 1992). Wampis does not have a dedicated verb whose original lexical meaning is 'become'. Instead, it uses full lexical verbs *nahana* 'make' and *uɨ* 'go', which in copular constructions assume the

meaning of 'become'.

17.4. Non-verbal clauses

17.4.1. Juxtaposition constructions: equative, proper inclusion, attributive

In general, a juxtaposition construction consists of a sequence of two elements

without any relational or copular element between the two (a zero copula strategy). In

Wampis, an NP and NP/AdjP can be juxtaposed to form a verbless clause. In the data

used for this study, the first NP is always the subject and the second NP/AdjP is always

the predicate. If the second constituent is an NP, it can be headed by a simple noun or a

nominalized verb, or it can be marked with the attributive *-tinu* (see below).

Juxtaposition constructions are used for equative (or identification), proper inclusion

and attributive predications.

The following examples constitute instances of equative constructions. The NP

subject can be a full NP (1), a demonstrative (2) or a pronoun (3):

(1) *núu úun mína papár*
[nu   úunta] [mina papa-ru]
NON.VIS elder   1SG.GEN father-1SG.POSS
'That elder is my father.'

(2) *hṹṹ mína kumpár*
[hṹ] [mi-na   kumpa-ru]
PROX 1SG.GEN   friend-1SG.POSS
'This is my friend.'

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(3) *níŋkʲa míɲa kumpár*

[nĩ = ka]   [mi-na kumpa-ru]

3SG = FOC   1SG.GEN friend-1SG.POSS

'He is my friend.'

      The following examples constitutes instances of proper inclusion using

juxtaposition of NPs. In (4), the predicate of the clause is a nominalization. In this

example, a specific entity (*Nantu* 'Moon') is being predicated to belong to a class (i.e.

'hunter'). In (5), the subject identifies himself as belonging to a class designated by the

noun *Wampisa*.

(4) *Nántuka ɨákmou*

[Nantu = ka   [ɨakama-u]

Moon = FOC   look.for.game-NMLZ

'Nantu [was] a killer of animals.' (i.e. 'Moon hunted animals')

(5) *wíkʲa ʃuár wampís*

[ui = ka]   [ʃuara wampisa]

1SG = FOC   person Wampis

'I [am] a Wampis person.'

      Attributive constructions can have an AdjP or an NP (including nominalizations)

as their predicate. Examples (6) and (7) show a juxtaposition where the predicate is an

AdjP, whereas (8) shows a juxtaposition structure where an NP constitutes the predicate

of the clause.

(6) *Kanús saár*

[Kanusa]   [saara]

Satiago River   transparent

'The Santiago river [is] transparent.'

(7) *Wámpuka tíi sínt͡ʃi*

[Wampuka]   [ti   sint͡ʃi]

Wampuka   INTS   strong

'The Wampuka[246] [are] very strong.'

(8) *núu úun umín*

[nu   úunta] [umi-inu]

NON.VIS elder   finish-nmlz

'That elder [is] reliable.' (Lit: 'That elder [is] someone who finishes his job/duty')

17.4.2. Negation in juxtaposition constructions

It is possible to negate juxtaposition constructions. However, there is a

preference among Wampis speakers to use the copula *a* or copula clitics (depending on

the morphosyntactic environment as described below) in negative clauses. It is more

common to find negative juxtaposition constructions in attributive function than in

equative and proper inclusion functions. This is probably due to the nature of a good

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246. Native people of the forest who appear in folktales. The Wampis considered them to be un-
contacted people who actually exist. The Wampis tell stories about seeing them while hunting or
traveling in the forest.

portion of Wampis adjectives and modifying words that have their opposite terms

simply coined by addition of the negative nominalizer *-tʃau* (as explained in §9.5.2); e.g.

kuitarĩtinu 'rich' vs. *kuitarĩ-tʃau* 'poor';[247] *pinkira* 'good' vs *pinkira-tʃau* 'bad'.

In any case, the main strategy of negation in juxtaposition constructions is the use of

the negative nominalizer *-tʃau* with the nominal or adjectival predicate. Thus, the

negative construction of juxtaposing predicates is [NP NP/AdjP-NEG], as examples (9)–

(10) show.

(9) *imístumamu píŋkirtʃoo*

i-misa-tu-ma-mau	pinkira-tʃau
CAUS-ruin-APPL-REFL-NMLZ	good-NEG.NMLZ

'Ruining (your own future) [is] bad.'

(10) *núka aintsuka kakáktʃoo*

nu = ka	aintsu = ka	kaka-ka-tʃau
NON.VIS = FOC	man = FOC	be.strong-INTENS-NEG.NMLZ

'That man is not strong.'

As said above, equative and proper inclusion juxtaposition constructions are less

commonly found in natural speech if negated. For instance, in example (11) below, a

copula clitic is used.

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247. The term *kuitarĩtinu* [kuitrintin] 'wealthy' (lit. 'owner of his money') is composed of *kuita* 'money' + *-rĩ* 1PL/2PL.1PL/2PL/3.POSS + *-tinu* 'attributive'. The opposite term for 'poor' replaces the attributive *-tinu* with the negative *-tʃau*.

(11) *tihʲéɛ ʃuártʃouwɛitʲi*

tihai ʃuara-t͡ʃau = ait-mɨ

tijai   person-NEG.NMLZ = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL

'[…] you are not a Tijai[248] person.'

17.4.3. The construction NP + NP-*tinu*: possession

When the attributive suffix -*tinu* attaches to the second NP, it indicates that it is

possessed by the first NP.

(12) *ut͡ʃírtin*

ut͡ʃi-rĩ-tinu

child-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRIB

'with child' (i.e. a father)

   In the possession construction with -*tinu*, a copula may optionally (but not

necessarily) occur. Notice that -*tinu* does not derive a verb: the noun derived by -*tinu*

never receives any type of verbal morphology and continues to be a noun. Thus, the

construction with -*tinu* is a non-verbal clause type. Examples (12) and (13) illustrate

non-verbal clauses where a -*tinu*-marked NP occurs.

(13) *kuɲáu Andrés ahártʲin*

kuɲau[249]   *Andrés*   *aha-rĩ-tinu*

brother-in-law Andres   farm-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRIB

'*Cuñado* Andrés has a farm.'[250]

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248. In the Wampis folklore, human-like beings that inhabit the forests.

249. The term *kuɲau* is borrowed from Spanish <cuñado> (colloquialy pronounced [kuɲao] in Peruvian Spanish). In Peruvian Spanish, <cuñado> is used in the sense of 'brother-in-law' but colloquially is commonly used as 'friend'.

250. This sentence was translated to Spanish as *Cuñado Andrés es con su chacra 'Andrés is with his*

(14) *óoka nuwíntin*

au = ka   nuĩ-tinu

DIST = FOC   woman\1PL/2PL.3.POSS-ATTRIB

'He is married.'

A common use of the attributive construction is to predicate people's names, as

illustrated in the next example:

(15) *ín͡tʃis naártin*

In͡tʃisu naa-rĩ-tinu

In͡tʃisu name-1PL/2PL.3.POSS-ATTRIB

'Her name [was] Inchis,'

As mentioned earlier, a copula can occur after *-tinu*:

(16) *a͡tʃúrtiɲaitʰɛi*

a͡tʃu-ru-tinu = aita-ha-i

aguaje-1SG.POSS-ATTRIB = COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I have an aguaje (*Mauritia flexuosa*) farm.'

17.4.4. Tense reference and juxtaposition

Juxtaposed structures can have a past or present temporal grounding, as shown

in previous examples. However, juxtaposition constructions are not attested as having a

future interpretation in Wampis. A copula marked for future needs to be added in order

to obtain a future tense interpretation (and therefore, in such case, the clause is not

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farm' by my Wampis teachers (this translation is more faithful to the Wampis original). After I
asked for clarification, my Wampis teachers opted to change the translation to *tiene una chacra*
'has a farm').

verbless). For instance, a possible future counterpart to (14) above is given in (18),

where the copula *a* occurs and carries the immediate future marker *-ta*.

(17) *óoka nuwíntin átawɛɛ*

[au = ka]	[nuĩ-tinu	a-ta-ua-i]
DIST = FOC	woman/1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRIB	COP-IMM.FUT-3.SBJ-DECL

'He is going to be married.'

17.5. Copular and existential predications

17.5.1. Brief overview of the copulas and the existential

In general, copular verbs in many languages tend to be somewhat "irregular" in comparison with prototypical lexical verbs (verbs that receive regular conjugation and that usually do not have many morphosyntactic or semantic restrictions). Cross-linguistically, apart from their tendency to be irregular, copular verbs tend to belong in the semantic class of very stative verbs, and they tend to function as auxiliary verbs in other constructions (Payne 1997: 116).

Copular clauses can predicate permanent or temporary states and their subjects typically have the semantic role of a patient. Syntactically, in Wampis, the subject of the copula construction is always nominative and the complement is either an AdjP or a nominative NP.

Wampis possesses:

- A "be" copula *a* which occurs in non-present tense declarative contexts

- Several copula clitics that are restricted to occur in present tense

- A past tense copula clitic that occurs rarely in my data

- An existential *a* (homophonous to the "be" copula *a* but morphosyntactically distinct).

The historical relationship between the copula *a* and the existential *a* is quite possibly certain; however, synchronically they are completely different verbs. Table 17.1 summarizes the principal differences found between the copula *a*, the copula clitics, and the existential *a*.

Table 17.1. Distinctions between copula *a*, copula clitics and existential *a*

	Copula *a*	Copula Clitics	Existential *a*
Function	proper inclusion, equation, attribution, possession/benefactive (with possessive -*nau*)	proper inclusion, equation, attribution	location, existential, possession (with the applicative form -*ru*)
Plural	Takes plural -*ina* or -*ara*	Does not take plural marking	Takes plural -*ia* (except in 3rd person plural, which takes -*ina*)

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TAM restrictions	Does not occur in present declarative and polar/content interrogative	Occur only in present tense declarative, polar/content interrogative and exclamative	No restriction
Occur in subordinating structures	Yes, takes subordinating suffixes	Main clause only	Yes, but does not take subordinating suffixes itself
Negation	Marked with -$\widehat{tʃa}$	Not marked on the clitic (negative nominalizer -$\widehat{tʃau}$ marks the noun or adjective stem to which the copula clitic then attaches)	Marked with -$\widehat{tsu}$

In the next sections, the morphosyntactic differences outlined above are discussed in order to better understand the behavior of the copula *a*, copula clitics and the existential. An analysis of their functions follows afterward.

17.5.2. Morphosyntactic distinctions

17.5.2.1. The expression of TAM categories

With regard to TAM categories, the following principles distinguish the copula *a*, the copula clitics and the existential *a* in Wampis (they are explained in the subsequent discussion, below):

• The copula *a* is used in non-present declarative moods (including past and future

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tense references), tag questions and subordinated constructions.

• In contrast, the copula clitics are used in present tense declarative, in content and

polarity questions, and exclamative clauses. The exception to this copula clitic

restriction is one copula clitic that is used in past tense: =*ia*.

• The existential *a* has no major TAM restrictions.

The following sentences are examples of different non-present declarative moods where

the copula *a* is used. They include instances of the copula carrying the distant past

marker (18), a future nominalizer (19), the jussive suffix (20), and the hortative (21).

(18) *íɲa úuntrika tíi sint͡ʃi ármiayi*

iina	uunta-ri=ka		tii	sint͡ʃi	**a**-ara-**mia**-ji
1PL.GEN	elder-1PL/2PL/3.POSS=FOC		INTENS	strong	COP-PL-DIST.PT-3.PT+DECL

'Our ancestors were very strong.'

(19) *ipʲákka átiŋkʲa […] nuŋká puhusú*

ipaku=ka	**a-tinu**=ka	nunká	puhu-sa-u
annatto=FOC	COP-FUT.NMLZ	land\LOC	live-ATT-NMLZ

'What was going to be Annatto tree […] was one to sit in the ground.'

(20) nú áti

nu	**á-ti**
NON.VIS	COP-JUSS

'Let that be so.'

(21) nekáska núu ámi ipʲák

nekas = ka   nu   **a-mi**   ipaku

truly = FOC   NON.VIS   **COP-HORT**   annatto

'Truly, let us be the annatto tree.' (i.e. 'Let's transform into the annatto tree.')

       In present tense declarative (22) and interrogatives (23), the copula clitics are

used. Notice that the copula clitics do not occur in other moods, except in exclamative

(24).

(22) ɛ́ɛʃmaŋkuitmɨ

áiʃmanku = ita-mɨ

man = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL

'You are a man.'

(23) jɛ́ɛtʲam

ia = ita-mɨ

who = COP-2SG.SBJ

'Who are you?'

(24)   mijá píŋkɨrɛitʲa!

mia   píŋkɨra = ita

INTS   good = COP.EXCL

'How beautiful [it] is!'

       The copula verb can occur in questions only if they are not present tense

declarative, or if there is no indication of temporal ground. In the following example,

the speaker wonders why the hummingbird has not appeared and uses the copula *a*

subordinated with the suffix -*sa*:[251]

(25) hɨmpíʃa urúka ásan naŋkámatʃmia?

hɨmpɨ = ʃa	uru-ka a-sã	nankama-tʃa-mia?
hummingbird = ADD	how-Q COP-SUB/3SG.SS	pass.through-NEG-DIST.PT

'Why the hummingbird did not appeared?'

      An interesting overlap in the use of the copula verb and copula clitics occurs

with plural subjects. In non-attributive clauses, both the copula verb and the copula

clitics can be used:

(26) *wabálnumiajɛithi*

Huabal = numa = ia = aita-hi

Huabal = LOC = ABL = COP = 1PL.SBJ + DECL

'We are from Huabal.'

(27) *wabálnumia ɛ́ɛ́ʲɲahi*

Huabal = numa = ia   a-ina-hi

Huabal = LOC = ABL   COP-PL.IPFV-1PL.SBJ

'We are from Huabal.'

      On a side (but interesting) note, the copula clitic can also be attached to Spanish

words in code switching. The following example comes from a dialogue, with one of the

speakers switching to Spanish occasionally. It can be observed that the copula clitic

attaches to the Spanish past participle form for 'paid' (28) and 'coordination' (30). If we

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251. Example (25) comes from a text relating the context in which many Wampis and Awajun
people were protesting some laws passed by the government that could potentially affect their
ecosystem. The non-appearance of *hɨmpɨ* 'hummingbird' is regarded as a bad sign.

consider the Spanish past participle is a nominalization (in *pagado* 'paid), then the use

of the copula is pretty coherent with its original Wampis use:

(28) *núka toðo a siðo así alimento hospeðaheʃa aʃí paɣaðowɛiti*

nu = ka	todo	ha sido así	alimento	hospedaje = ʃa
NON.VIS = FOC	everything	has been thus	food	lodge = ADD

aʃí	*pagado = aiti*
everything	payed = COP3 + DECL

'That, everything has been thus, food and lodge, everything is paid.'

(29) *núka una reunión preßia de coorðinasionkɛiti*

nu = ka	una reunión previa	de	*coordinación = ka = iti*
NON.VIS = FOC	a	meeting previous of	coordination = FOC = COP.3 + DECL

'That is an early coordination meeting.'

As mentioned previously, the existential *a* does not have TAM restrictions and

can occur in any tense reference and mood, including interrogative. The following

examples show its occurrence with present and past temporal grounding, respectively

(30) *tikítʃik* *númi* *áwɛɛ*

tikítʃiki	numi	a-ua-i
one	tree	exist-3SG.SBJ-DECL

'There is one tree.'

(31) *núkap kaáp ámaji*

nukapɨ	kaapi	a-ma-ji
many	tamshi.vine	exist-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

'There were many *tamshi* vines.'

Additional examples of the existential *a* are given with the jussive (32) and

interrogative moods (33)–(34).

(32) *huĩ́nkʲa kahírnajamu atsutí*

hu-ĩ̃ = ka   kahɨ-ra-nai-a-mau   a-tsu-ti

here = FOC   be.angry-DISTR-RECP-IPFV-NMLZ   exist-NEG-JUSS

'Let it not exist hatred here.'

(33) *awák*

a-ua-ka

exist-3.SBJ-Q

'Does it exist?'

(34) naráŋʃa   arútramɨaka?

naranka = ʃa   a-ru-turama-a-ka

orange = ADD   exist-APPL-2.OBJ-IPFV-Q

'Do you have oranges?'

17.5.2.2. The marking of plurality in non-verbal predicates

In copular and existential constructions, plural SAPs are marked by suffixes that

indicate a combination of person, plural and subject argument information. The next

examples show simple copular clauses with a first plural subject marked by *-hi*.

(35) *píŋkɨr ájahi*

pínkɨra a-ia-hi

good   COP-REM.PT-1PL.SBJ + DECL

'We were good'

(36) *píŋkɨrɛithi*

pínkɨra = ita-hi

good = COP-1PL.SBJ + DECL

'We are good.'

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As we saw previously in examples (26)–(27), there can be some overlap between

the copula and copula clitics in the marking of plurality.[252] Those examples are repeated

below for ease of comparison.

(37) *wabálnumiajɛithi*

Huabal = numa = ia = aita-hi

Huabal = LOC = ABL = COP = 1PL.SBJ + DECL

'We are from Huabal.'

(38) *wabálnumia ɛ́ɛʲɲahi*

Huabal = numa = ia   a-ina-hi

Huabal = LOC = ABL   COP-PL.IPFV-1PL.SBJ

'We are from Huabal.'

For third person plurals, the situation becomes more irregular. The following

points are to be noticed:

- First, the copula *a* can take the plural *-ina*, which elsewhere in the grammar of

   Wampis occurs with plural imperfective stems (cf. §13.3.3), and *-ara*, which occurs

   with non-imperfective perfective stems (cf. §13.5).

- Secondly, unlike the copula verb *a*, the copula clitics do not receive plural markers.

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252. In addition, any verb that occurs with the distant past *-mia* takes the plural *-ara* regardless
of whether there is an indication of plurality in the person marker attached to the verb:

ii   uɨka-inu   a-ara-mia-hi

1PL walk-NMLZ   COP-PL-DIST.PT-1PL.SBJ + DECL

'We were travelers.'

- Thirdly, the existential *a* has a suppletive plural form *aia*, which has the same cognate

  form in Awajun (Overall 2007).[253]

The following examples show simple clauses with the copula verb *a* and the

existential *a* for third person plural referents. In this case, the existential occurs in the

suppletive form *aia* (39), whereas the copula verb takes the plural suffix *-ina* in the

imperfective (40).

(39) *ampúʃ numíɲam ájawɛɛ*

ampuʃa   numi=nama   **aia**-ua-i

owl   tree=LOC   exist.PL-3.SBJ-DECL

'There are owls in the tree.'

(40) *ampúʃ ɛ́ɛɲawɛɛ*

ampuʃa   **a-ina**-ua-i

owl   COP-PL.IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'They are owls.'

Because third person plurals, unlike SAPs, do not have a dedicated person

marker, in present declarative the notion of plurality is conveyed with a copula verb (*a-*

ina), and then the predicate nominal 'owl' occurs with the copula clitic:

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253. Overall analyzes this morpheme historically as a plural existential morpheme *ai* plus the
imperfective *-a* (Overall 2007: 43). Phonetically, this is a most plausible analysis as it explains
the surface form [aja] rather transparently (the vowel /i/ becomes an approximate between two
vowels).

(41) *óo έεɲa ampúʃeiti*

au	**a-ina**	ampuʃa=**iti**
DIST	COP-PL.IPFV	owl=COP.3+DECL

'Those are owls'

17.5.2.3. The marking of negation in verbal predicates

Negation is also marked differently for the copula *a*, the copula clitics and the existential *a*. First, depending on the intending message and specific morphosyntactic environment, a negative clause with the copula *a* can be marked in two ways: a) the negative nominalizer *-t͡ʃau* marks the copula complement (42), or, b) the negative verbal morpheme *-t͡ʃa* is attached to the copula itself[254] (43).

(42) *ʃuárt͡ʃou ájaji*

ʃuara-**t͡ʃau**	á-ia-ji
enemy-NEG.NMLZ	COP-REM.PT-3.PT+DECL

'They were not enemies'

(43) *wiʃíkramu át͡ʃami tipírkamu át͡ʃami*

uiʃi-ki-ra-mau	a-**t͡ʃa**-mi
laugh-TR-DISTR-NMLZ	COP-NEG-HORT

tɨpɨ-ru-ka-mau	a-**t͡ʃa**-mi
lie.down-APPL-INTENS-NMLZ	COP-NEG-HORT

'Let us not be deceived, let us not be dominated.' (Lit. 'Let us not be laughed at, let us not be laid down.')

On the other hand, unlike the copula verb *a*, copula clitics do not receive the

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254. The suffix *-t͡ʃa* is a non-present negative marker. For present tense, the suffix *-tsu* is used.

verbal negative suffix -t͡ʃa. Instead, negation is marked in the clause by attaching the

negative nominalizer -t͡ʃau to the nominal or adjectival complement. The copula clitics

function basically as verbalizers, and thus follow the negative nominalizer -t͡ʃau.

(44) ʃuárt͡ʃouwɛitʲi
ʃuara-**t͡ʃau**＝aiti
person-**NEG.NMLZ**＝COP.3＋DECL
'It is not a person.'

(45) ámɨka pínkɨrt͡ʃouwɛitʲmɨ
amɨ＝ka   pínkɨra-**t͡ʃau**＝**aita**-mɨ
2SG＝FOC   good-**NEG.NMLZ**＝COP-2SG.SBJ＋DECL
'You are bad.'

      Finally, the existential receives the negative suffix -t͡su, which is only used in

present tense (see §13.4 for details), as the following examples illustrate.

(46) nihʲamã͡ntʃ a͡tsáwɛi
nihamã͡tʃi   a-**tsu**-a-ua-i
manioc.beer   exist-**NEG**-IPFV-3SG-DECL
'There is not manioc beer.'

(47) nuĩ́na naŋkamás jaméɨkʲa núu háta a͡tsáwɛi
nuĩ-ia   nankama-sã   iamai＝ka   nu   ja-ta   a-**tsu**-a-ua-i
there-ABL   happen-SUB\3SG.SS   now＝FOC   NON.VIS   be.sick-NMLZ   exist-**NEG**-IPFV-3SG-DECL
'Ever since it (i.e. the disease) happened, now that disease doesn't exist.'

      Importantly, the existential verb *a* never receives the non-present negative

marker -t͡ʃa. Thus, if the temporal reference is not present declarative, the existential

still occurs with -*t͡su* but the non-present tense reference (in the example, a remote past)

is conveyed by using a copula auxiliary, as non-present tenses are incompatible with -

t͡su. Example (48) illustrate a construction with an existential negated with -*t͡su* followed

by a copula in auxiliary function, marked for past tense.

(48) *huĩ́ŋka awarúŋka at͡sú ájaji jóunt͡ʃukka*

huĩ = ka	auaruni = ka	**a-t͡su**	**a-ia-ji**	iaunt͡ʃukɨ = ka
here = FOC	Awajun = FOC	exist-NEG	COP-REM.PT-3.PT + DECL	long.ago = FOC

'Long ago, there was no Awajun here.'

17.5.2.4. Copular and existential predicates in subordinate clauses

The copula *a* can be subordinated with the subordinating morpheme -*sa* 'Non-

temporal manner'. The occurrence of *a-sa* (copula + subordinator) is frequent in texts

and conversations. This structure is often used to establish meanings related to 'reason'

or 'cause':

(49) *nítʲaʃa arát͡ʃou ásar kukút͡ʃ éiɲant͡ʃa aʃí suméina asámtɛɛ̃ wíʃa surúktahɛɛ*

49.a

nita = ʃa	ara-t͡ʃau	**a-sa-ara**
3PL = ADD	SOW-NEG.NMLZ	**COP-SUB-3PL.SS**

'Being that they did not grow [plants],

49.b

kukut͡ʃa	a-ina = na = ʃa	aʃí	suma-ina	**a-sa-mataĩ**
cocona	COP-PL = ACC = ADD	all	buy-PL.IPFV	**COP-SUB-1SG/3.DS**

'being that they buy the *cocona* fruits (*Solanum sessiliflorum*), everything,

49.c

wi = ʃa   su-ru-ka-ta-ha-i

1SG = ADD   give-APPL-INTENS-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am also going to sell.' (i.e. the speaker had grown her own produce to sell to those who did not grow theirs).

In the data gathered for this research project, copula clitics do not occur at all in subordinating constructions (they only occur in the main clause). Thus, a potential subordinated clause as in (50) is not possible as far as I can tell; instead, only the subordinated verb occurs (51):

(50)

*(pɨnkɨra-tʃau = aiti   a-sa-mataĩ)

good-NEG.NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL   COP-SUB-1SG/3.DS

(51) *pɨ́ŋkɨrt͡ʃau asámtɛɛ̃* . . .

pɨnkɨra-tʃau   a-sa-mataĩ

good-NEG.NMLZ   COP-SUB-1SG/3.DS

'being bad (people) […]'

In contrast, the existential verb *a* can occur within subordinate clauses, although in my data the existential itself never carries *-sa*. Example (52) shows the existential in a subordinate clause (second line in the analysis); notice however that it is the copula verb (not the existential) which carries the subordinating morpheme.

(52) *anɨ́nta já͡tʃaka nuŋkúin pat͡ʃĩs anɨ́ntrua, nuŋkuí poderi óu asámtɛɛ̃, núna anɨ́ntrua*

ɨɲɛ́ɨɲawai

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52.a

aninta jat͡ʃa꞊ka   Nunkui꞊na   pat͡ʃi-sã   aninta-ru-a

magic.song   wise꞊FOC   Nunkui꞊ACC   mention-SUB\3SG.SS sing.aninta-APPL-IPFV

'The [woman] who knows the *aninta* mentioning Nunkui, she sings,

52.b

[Nunkuí   power-rĩ   **a-u**   **a-sa-mataĩ**]

Nunkui\GEN   power-1PL/2PL/3.POSS exist-NMLZ   COP-SUB-1SG/3.DS

'being that Nunkui's power exists,'

52.c

nu꞊na   aninta-ru-ã   inai-a-ua-i

NON.VIS ꞊ACC   sing.aninta-APPL-IPFV   stop.doing-ipfv--3.SBJ-DECL

'she (the woman) stops what she is doing and sings to her (to Nunkui).'

Subordination in Wampis is described in detailed in Chapter XIX.

17.5.3. Functions of the copula *a*, copula clitics and the existential *a*

The copula *a* and the copula clitics are all used for proper inclusion, equative

and attributive predications. The main differences between the copula a and the copula

clitics are not semantic, as evidenced from the previous discussion, but

morphosyntactic. The existential is used to express locative predications, and to express

possession.

17.5.3.1. The copula *a*

The copula *a* is used in predicate nominal and predicate adjective constructions

to encode proper inclusion, equative and attributive functions. Wampis does not

distinguish structurally between inclusion and equation, and the only structural

difference of these with attribution is that in attributive clauses an AdjP can occur in

the predicate. The basic construction with the copula is:

NP X COP

In the above construction, NP is the subject of the copula. A full NP, a pronoun,

a determiner or a nominalized verb can occur as the copula subject. In addition, X

above stands for the complement of the copula. X can be a NP, a nominalized verb or an

AdjP. I have no examples of a pronoun or a determiner occupying the position of X.

Sentences (53)–(54) constitute examples of proper inclusion and equative clauses with

the copula. Sentence (53) has a nominalized verb as the complement of the copula. In

(54), the copula complement is a noun (in this case the proper name Miik).

(53) *úun Tukúpʃa mankártiŋ ájaji*

[úunta Tukup = ʃa]   [mã-karatu-inu]   a-ia-ji
elder   Tukup = ADD   kill-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ   COP-REM.PT-3.PT
'The elder Tukup also was a murderer.'

(54) *míɲa nukútʃ͡ruka Míik ámiaji*

[mina nukut͡ʃi-ru = ka]   [Miika]   a-mia-ji
1SG.GEN grandmother-1SG = FOC   Miik   COP-DIST.PT-3.PT
'Miik was my grandmother.'

The next examples illustrate attributive clauses with the copula, where the

complements are 'lazi' and 'short', respectively.

(55) *nú apátʃ náki áhaku tímʲaji*

[nu	apat͡ʃi]	[naki]	a-hak-u	timaji
NON.VIS	*mestizo*	lazi	COP-HAB.PT-NMLZ	NARR

'That *mestizo* was lazy.'

(56) núka ʃuárka sútar ájaji

[nu = ka	ʃuara = ka]	[sútara]	a-ia-ji
NON.VIS = FOC	person = FOC	short	COP-REM.PT-3.PT

'That person was short.'

17.5.3.2. The copula clitics

The copula clitics have allomorphs as summarized in Table 17.2, see §5.6.5 for a

detailed explanation of morphophonological processes that condition the form of these

allomorphs.

Table 17.2. Wampis copula clitics.

Type	SAP	Non-SAP
Declarative	= aita ~ = ita	= aiti ~ = iti
Interrogative	= aita ~ = ita	= aita ~ = ita
Exclamative	= aita ~ = ita	= aita ~ = ita
Preterit	= ia	= ia

The copula clitics are used when the reference is present declarative,

interrogative and exclamative—in the latter, usually expressing surprise. The copula

clitic =*aita* ~ =*ita* is used for SAP subjects, whereas the clitic =*aiti* ~ =*iti* is used for

non-SAP, 3ʳᵈ person subjects. There is a copula for past reference, =*ia* which

occasionally occurs in the data. This preterit copula clitic seems to be declining in use,

as for most referents in the past the copula verb, not the clitic, is used.

Examples (57), (58) and (59) illustrate the use of the copula clitics in attributive, proper

inclusion and equative clauses, respectively.

(57) *najóowɛɛthi*
naiau = aita-hi
tall = COP-1PL.SBJ + DECL
'We are tall.'

(58) *έɛʃmankuiti*
áiʃmaŋku = iti
man = COP.3 + DECL
'He is a man.'

(59) *ámɨ jatsurúitmɨ*
amɨ   iatsu-ru = ita-mɨ
2SG   brother-1SG = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL
'You are my brother.'

      An interesting note regarding the order of morphemes in interrogative clauses is

that the question marker =*ka* comes before the copula clitic, hinting at a more recent

grammaticalization of the clitics:

(60) *warí tuméint̑sukɛit?*
uarĩ tu-mai-inu-t͡su=ka=aita
what say-POT-NMLZ-INFER-Q=COP
'How can it be said?

       The next example illustrates the use of the copula clitics in exclamative set-

inclusion clauses. Notice that the question marker =*ka* can optionally occur in

exclamative sentences and may be being reanalyzed as a non-declarative marker. If the

question marker =*ka* occurs, the order of the morphemes is the same as in

interrogatives, i.e. the question marker precedes the copula clitic. Note that the negative

is used in this case to emphasize the idea of surprise of the expression, not in its literal

'negation' meaning.

(61) *auʃa ɲawántʃukɛit!*
au=ʃa   iauã́-t͡ʃau=ka=aita
DIST=ADD   dog-NEG.NMLZ=Q=COP.EXCL
'That is a jaguar!'

       The sentence in (62) below contains an example of the use of the preterite

copula clitic. I only have a handful of occurrences of this morpheme in my data, and it

is apparently not very productive. For comparison, a question in present tense is also

presented in (63). In the data for Wampis, the copula can refer to the remote or recent

past. Notice that Overall (2007) reports a cognate remote past copula suffix -*ya* in

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Awajun.

(62) *jája óuʃa*

ia = ia	au = ʃa
who = COP.PT	DIST = ADD

'Who was that?'

(63) *jɛ́it óuʃa*

ia = ita	au = ʃa
who = COP	DIST = ADD

'Who is that?'

In addition, I was told by one of my teachers that a sentence like (64), which

was pronounced with the clitic, should be transcribed as presented in (65); i.e.

"corrected" with a fully conjugated copula verb. It is possible thus that the copula clitic

=*ia* comes from the homophonous remote past tense marker -*ia* that is present in (65).

The latter might have been reanalyzed after the remote past stem *a-ia* (Copula-Remote

Past) was phonetically reduced.

(64) *huínka awáruŋka a͡tsújaji jóun͡tʃukka*

huĩ = ka	auaruni = ka	a-t͡su = **ia**-ji	jaun͡tʃukɨ = ka
here = FOC	Awajun = FOC	exist-NEG = **COP.PT**-3.PT	long.ago = FOC

'Long ago, there was no Awajun here.'

(65) *huĩnkʲa awarúŋka a͡tsú ájaji jóun͡tʃukka*

huĩ = ka	awaruni = ka	a-tsu	a-ia-ji	iaun͡tʃukɨ = ka
here = FOC	Auajun = FOC	exist-NEG	COP-REM.PT-3.PT	long.ago = FOC

'Long ago, there was no Awajun here.'

17.5.3.3. Existential clauses

The existential construction in Wampis, as is to be expected, is based on the existential verb *a*. A location can (and usually) occur(s). The basic existential construction is:

NP (LOC) Exist

The LOC is typically either an NP, a locational word or an adverb and it is always marked with a locative marker. The NP subject is always nominative. The next examples illustrate the use of existential clauses.

(66) *ampúʃ numíɲam ájawɛɛ*

ampuʃa	numi = nama	aia-ua-i
owl	tree = LOC	exist.PL-ua-i

'There are owls in the tree.'

(67) *namák junkúnamu áwɛi*

namaka	junkuna-mau	a-ua-i
fish	grill-NMLZ	exist-3.SBJ-DECL

'There is fish *patarashca* (= food grilled in leaves).'

(68) *naɨ́k apíhmou piníŋnum áwɛɛ*

naɨka	apiha-mau	pininka = numa	a-ua-i
rope	fold.pfv-NMLZ	bowl.type = LOC	exist-3.SBJ-DECL

'There is a folded rope in the bowl.'

Recall that the existential verb *a* has no TAM restrictions attested in the data.

Morphologically, the existential verb is characterized by having a plural suppletive

allomorph *aia*, and by receiving the negative marker *-t͡su*, as explained previously in

§17.5.2.

17.5.3.3.1. Possession with existential *a* + applicative

The existential verb *a* may be suffixed with an applicative to create a possessive

stem; the possessive function might have originated in a benefactive use of the

applicative. Unlike the original existential verb *a,* the possessive stem with the

applicative is structurally transitive. In this possessive construction, the possessed thing

appears as the subject of the verb and the possessor as the object. The possessor is

indexed as an object on the verb if the possessor is a Speech Act Participant (SAP) as in

(69); third persons do not have an overt verbal object marker and thus are left

unmarked (70). Note that the possessed thing (the grammatical subject in the

construction) can occur without being marked as possessed, as in (71), but semantically

it is understood as possessed (hence the reason why this construction is considered as a

possession construction). The possessor can occur in an overt NP marked with the

accusative (71)—but two overt NP arguments of the verb are very rare in natural

speech, an overt NP possessor is rare.

(69) *arútam arútɨawɛɛ*

arutam   a-ru-tu-a-ua-i

power.vision   exist-APPL-1SG.OBJ-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'I have an Arutam power' ('An Arutam power exists (to my benefit)')

(70) *ut͡ʃír aráwɛɛ*

ut͡ʃi-rĩ   a-ru-a-ua-i

son-1PL/2PL/3.POSS   exist-APPL-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'He has a son.' ('His son exists (to his benefit)'.)

(71) *arútam mĩɲa arútɨawɛɛ*

arutam   mi=na   a-ru-tu-a-ua-i

power.vision   1SG=ACC   exist-APPL-1SG.OBJ-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'I have an Arutam power'

The marking of Plural SAP's possessor (the grammatical objects) on the verb

show a different (and uncommon) pattern, as Wampis argument indexation is

morphologically and semantically complex (see §14.3.3 for details). For 1 and 2 plural

possessors, the markings on the verb vary: the possessed thing no longer formally occurs

as the subject of the verb. Instead both the object **and** subject markers, **both referring**

to the possessor, occur at the same time. Thus, no indication of the possessed thing

(a third person subject) overtly appears as the subject on the verb, as happens for the

other grammatical persons/numbers. Notice, however, that this is actually the way

Wampis marks the situation of a 3 person subject acting on a 1 or 2 plural object (i.e.

the 3 → PL.SAP scenario): the 1 or 2 plural argument is marked in both the object **and**

subject verb slots. Examples (72) and (73) illustrate this pattern for 1pl and 2pl

possessor:

(72) *arútam íiɲa arútramiahi*

Arutam   ii=na   a-ru-**turama**-a-**hi**

power.vision   1PL=ACC   exist-APPL-**1PL/2.OBJ**-IPFV-**1PL.SBJ**+DECL

'We have an Arutam power.'

(73) *arútam ámiɲa arútramiarmɨ*

Arutam   ami=na   a-ru-turama-a-rumɨ

power.vision   2SG=ACC   exist-APPL-1PL/2.OBJ-IPFV-2PL.SBJ+DECL

'You (PL) have an Arutam power.'

17.5.3.3.2. Predicate locatives

Locative constructions typically involve a construal in which a Figure (an NP

that is being identified) is located on a Ground (an NP that constitutes the referential

location of the Figure) (Langacker 1987; Levinson & Wilkins 2006; Talmy 2007). Many

languages employ copulas or existential verbs for the expression of spatial relations.

Other employ posture verbs or positional verbs. For Wampis, the results of a study

about the expression of spatial relations that I carried out were presented at the 2015

Society for the Study of Indigenous Languages of the Americas Annual Meeting (Peña

2015). Because of time and space constraints, only a summary is presented here.

Of the types of spatial relations as defined in Ameka & Levinson (2007), Wampis

actually employs most of them. Therefore, it is better to speak of different strategies or

constructions for Wampis, rather than trying to fit a strict typological parameters[255]

(Grinevald 2006).

The copulas and the existential can be used in predications that express spatial

notions, but a locative postposition must occur on the predicate NP, as can be observed

in (74)–(75).

(74)

nu   nanki   mesa=nama   a-ina-ua-i

that   spear   table=LOC   COP-PL.IPFV-3-DECL

'Those spears are on the table.'

(75)

nu   nanki   mesa=nama   aia-ua-i

that   spear   table=LOC   exist.PL-3-DECL

'There are spears on the table.'

Using the copula and the existential are by no means the only strategy that

Wampis uses for locational predicates. Wampis possesses a fairly sophisticated lexical

pool of verbs that are used in locatives constructions (especially for the subdomain of

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255. Grinevald (2006), working on a varied sample of Amerindian languages, has proposed
"intermediate" systems that allow for continuos, non-discrete, categories.

static and topological relations). In fact, the use of the copula or the existential to

express static spatial/topological relations is infrequent in discourse. In Peña (2015), I

presented an examination of Wampis expression of locational relations. Here I

summarize the different sets of verbs that can be used to express predicate locatives in

the language.

One first set of such verbs is composed of verbs that have a semantics similar of

'live' or 'gather together'. Table 17.3 includes these verbs.

Table 17.3. Set I lexical verbs used to code spatial notions.

Verb	Gloss	Classificatory Semantics
mat͡sa	'inhabit, be/get together (pl)'	+/- Animate
mat͡sa-tu (mat͡sa-APPL)	'be/get (pl.) together'[256]	+ Animate
irunu	'reunite, crowd together, pile up'	+/- Animate
puhu	'live'	+ Animate

Interestingly, Wampis is apparently forming specialized locational copulas from

these verbs. In fact, to answer a basic locative question such as 'where is X?', the typical

answer involves the use of *puhu* 'live' if X is an animate singular or plural referent. If X

256. Also translated as 'live in community' by one of my teachers.

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is plural and inanimate, either *irunu* 'crowd together, reunite, pile up' or *mat͡sa* 'inhabit, be/get plural' is used.[257] If X is a singular inanimate entity, the answer usually involves a postural verb (see below). Different examples of the use of these verbs are given in the following examples. Notice that, when used with the applicative, *mat͡sa* typically refers to human beings living/being together (thus notice the difference in the use of the applicative between (77) and (78)).

(76) *hɨɰɑ̃́ puháwɛɛ*

hɨɑ̃́	puhu-a-ua-i
house\LOC	live-IPFV-3-DECL

'She is in the house.'

(77) *míik nuŋká mat͡sásmau*

miika	nunká	matsa-sa-mau
bean	gound\LOC	get.together-ATT-3-NMLZ

'The beans are on the floor.'

(78) *núka núwaka hɨɰɑ̃́ mat͡satɨna*

nu=ka	nua=ka	hɨɑ̃́	mat͡sa-tu-ina
that=FOC	woman=FOC	house\LOC	inhabit-APPL-PL.IPFV

'Those women were in that house.'

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257. But notice that *irunu* and *mat͡sa* are also used with animate plural referents.

(79) *ampúʃ numíɲam irúniawɛɛ*

ampuʃ   numi = nama   irunu-a-wa-i

owl   tree = LOC   crowd.together-IPFV-3-DECL

'The owls are on the tree.'

A second set of verbs is composed of postural verbs. Wampis possesses a rather

rich set of postural verbs, although not all of them are used with the same frequency.

Other Amazonian languages exhibit very rich and complex sets of postural verbs that

have grammaticalized as auxiliaries and aspectual markers (Queixalós 2009; Vuillermet

2012). Table 17.4 gives a sample of posture verbs that occur commonly in my data.

Table 17.4. Sample posture verbs in Wampis.

Verb	Gloss
uaha	'stand'
a-uaha (cau-stand)	'be in a vertical position'
tɨpɨ	'lie down'
ɨkɨ	'sit'
auankɨ	'be hanging'
tɨã	'be reclined'
tarima	'be standing firm on two feet'
atɨkVna	'be upside down'

Sentences (80)–(84) provide examples of the use of different verbs from Table

17.4 in locational constructions:

(80)

Ampuʃa   numi=nama   iki-tu-a-ua-i

owl   tree=LOC   sit-APPL-IPFV-3-DECL

'An owl is on the tree.'

(81)

iauaã   kut͡ʃa=nama   uaha-sa-ma-ji

dog   puddle=LOC   stand-ATT-REC.PT-3.PT

'The dog was standing in the puddle.'

(82)

ihu-a-ha-i   namaka   tepi-a-u=na   uaina-ka-nu

stab-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL   fish   lie.down-IPFV-NMLZ=ACC   see-INTENS-1SG.SS

'I stab, having seen fish that are lying down.'

(83)

pelota   nunká   tipi-a-ua-i

ball   ground   lie.down-IPFV-3-DECL

'The ball is lying on the ground.'

(84)

mui͡tsa numi_wahautin   atikna-ka   uku-ka-mau

pot   stump   be.upsidedown-INTENS put-INTENS-NMLZ

'The pot is upside-down on the stump.'

Finally, another set of verbs used in locative predicates is composed of

positional/caused position verbs. Table 17.5 offers a sample of verbs that occur

frequently in my data.

Table 17.5. Sample Wampis positional verbs

Verb	Gloss
ɨnkɨ-tu (usually with applicative -tu)	'be inside'
auanta	'cover'
nɨna	'hang with rope'
tɨntɨ	'be around, circle'
nana	'be floating/float'
tʃimpi	'put (plural) in recipient'
atsĩ	'put on the head'
atu	'be leaning'
aɨpɨ	'be/put horizontal sideways'
pasu	'be/put in an untidy way'
ɨkɨna (from ɨkɨ 'sit')	'be on [place]'
aɨpa	'be/put on ground or bed'
pɨɨ-tu (usually with applicative -tu)	'be stuck'

Examples (85)–(87) illustrate the use of these verbs.

(85)

juranki͡tsapa=nama   ɨnkɨ-tu-a-ua-i

fruit   bowl=LOC   be.inside-APPL-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'The fruit is inside the bowl.'

(86)

nuĩ   ʃuara   aepe-sa-ma-ji

there   person put.horizontal.sideways-ATT-IMM.PT-3.PT + DECL

'There he had that person lying sideways.'

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(87)

⁀tsɨrɨ iakí piɨtu-a-ua-i
spider above/LOC be.stuck-IPFV-3-DECL
'The spider is stuck above (on the ceiling)."

17.6. Other copulative verbs

Apart from the copula verb *a* and the copula clitics, there are in Wampis three synchronically full lexical verbs that have also assumed copular functions. The verbs *nahana* 'make' and *wɨ* 'go' can be used in copular clauses (i.e. "linking" two nominative NPs) with the meaning of 'become'.

(88)

Puhupata ampuʃa nahana-ra-ma-ji
Puhupata owl make-DISTR-REC.PT-3.DECL
'Puhupat turned into an owl.'

(89)

amɨ=ka ʃiira ɨakama-u uɨ-a-mɨ
2=FOC good hunt-NMLZ go-IPFV-2SG.SBJ+DECL
'You are becoming a good hunter.'

The other verb that is used as a semicopula meaning 'become' is *hasa*. This verb is likely a phonetic reduction of the verb *uaha* with the attenatuative aktionsart suffix -*sa*. With the attenuative, *uaha* has a more stative semantics of 'be standing'. The verb *uaha* itself is used in predicative locative constructions:

(90)

numi uaha-ina-ua-i

tree   stand-PL.IPFV-3SG.SBJ-DECL

'There are trees.'

Probably through its function in existential constructions, *uaha* has developed

other copular functions. The reduced form *has* functions as a semicopula in current

Wampis:

(91)

ui=ka   uunta   has-ha-i

1SG=FOC   big   become-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I have become an adult'

The same reduced form *has* has become an aspectual particle (i.e. an invariant

element that does not receive any inflection) that expresses a complete change of state:

(92)

t͡ʃit͡ʃama=ka   uunta   has

problem=FOC   big   become

'the problem is big' (it already became big)

See (Peña Forthcoming) for a full analysis of the development of *uaha* into a

semicopula.

CHAPTER XVIII

DISCOURSE-ORIENTED AND MOOD PHRASE-LEVEL CLITICS

18.1. Introduction

This chapter describes clitics whose functions are related to indicating discourse-oriented and mood information. These morphemes are best analyzed as clitics because they exhibit very few restrictions with respect to what can be their phonological hosts, and most of them lack a fixed position in the sentence. The discussion begins in §18.2 with an overview of the clitics that will be analyzed throughout the chapter. Each of the subsequent sections §18.3 through §18.10 is dedicated to describing each one of the clitics mentioned in §18.2.

18.2. Overview

Table 18.1 lists the clitics that will studied in the next sections. With regard to their distributions, the restrictive $=k\dot{i}$, additive $=\int a$ and focus $=ka$ occur most frequently with NPs, but can also occur on verbs, adjectives and adverbs or marking several constituents in the sentence. Speculative $=\int a$, inferential $=\widehat{tsu}$, sudden realization and tag question $=api$ and interrogative $=ka$ can occur marking verbs and nouns. The restrictive $=k\dot{i}$ can co-occur with other clitics, and it is very productive co-

occurring with =ʃa. The additive =ʃa and the focus =ka cannot co-occur in the same

word.

Table 18.1. Mood and discourse-oriented clitics

Morpheme	Gloss
=kɨ	'Restrictive'
=ʃa	'Additive'
=ka	'Focus'
=ʃa	'Speculative'
=t͡su	'Inferential'
=ka	'Interrogative'
=api	'Sudden realization', 'Tag question'
=hama	'Mirative'

18.3. Restrictive =kɨ

The clitic =kɨ restricts the reference of the element that receives it. The

restrictive has an allophone =ki that occurs when the preceding vowel is /i/, following

a vowel harmony process (cf. §5.5.1). The most basic semantics of the restrictive can be

translated to English as 'only' or 'alone'.

(1) ɲawãák
iauãa=kɨ
dog=RESTR
'The dog only' or 'The dog alone'

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(2) *níŋki*

nĩ＝kɨ

3SG＝RESTR

'He only' or 'He alone'

The restrictive occurs not only with nouns, but can also occur on pronouns,

numerals and, occasionally, adverbs. The restrictive is also fossilized in words related to

counting and to temporal or geographical distance. The following examples illustrate

＝*kɨ* with a pronoun (3) and a numeral (4). Example (5) shows ＝*kɨ* with the adverb

'now' and derives a word meaning 'right now'. Example (8) shows ＝*kɨ* fossilized on

number 'one'.

(3)

nĩ＝kɨ [níŋki]

3SG＝RESTR

'He only' or 'He alone'

(4)

himara＝kɨ [himárak]

two＝RESTR

'Two only' or 'Two alone'

(5)

iamai＝kɨ [jaméik]

now＝RESTR

'right now'

(6)

tikit͡ʃiki   <   *tikit͡ʃi-kɨ
'one'   other-RESTR

       In discourse, the restrictive =kɨ usually serves to mark a stance. In the next

example, the referents have been mentioned and clearly identified because they are a

speech act participant ('you') and a proper noun ('Andrés'). In the conversation the

statement 'They are only two people' occurs when the speaker is trying to convince his

interlocutor to go to a meeting (he is trying to explain that two people have been

chosen to go to this meeting—his interlocutor, referred by 'you', and 'Andrés', who is

not present) and that everything is already set for his interlocutor and 'Andrés' to go.

The strategy the speaker uses is to attenuate his statement with a diminutive and adding

the restrictive =kɨ (in the line (c)):

(7)

7.a

nita=ka   ii-sa-mau=aiti   ʃuara
3PL=FOC   see-ATT-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL   person
'They have chosen the persons,'

7.b

amɨ   nu=ĩ=ia   Andrés
2SG   NON.VIS=LOC=ABL   Andres
'You and Andrés […]'

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7.c

ʃuara=t͡ʃi=kɨ=iti

person=DIM=RESTR=COP.3+DECL

'They are only two people.' (Lit.: 'They are two little people only.')

        As the conversation goes on, the first speaker continues trying to convince his

interlocutor to attend the meeting by stating 'it is going to be only one day'—notice that

first he says 'one day only' and then the second time he repeats 'it is only one day' (with

a copula) to add illocutionary force to his statement:

(8) *un díak táwɛi un díakɨti*

un	día=kɨ	ta-ua-i	un	dia=kɨ=iti
one	day=RESTR	say+IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL	one	day=RESTR=COP.3+DECL

'One day only, he says, it is only one day.'

        Another characteristic of the use of the restrictive in connected speech is its

frequent co-occurrence with the additive =ʃa (see §18.5). One of the meanings of the

"restrictive plus additive" structure usually involves a sense of relative immediacy

(geographical or temporal). In (9), the =kɨ=ʃa structure provides a sense of geographic

immediacy (being close in this case) and in (10) =kɨ=ʃa yields a sense of temporal

immediacy ('next morning').

(9) *ikámkɨʃa wɨkák aánkɨʃa wɨkák*

ikama=kɨ=ʃa	wɨka-kũ
forest=RESTR=ADD	walk+IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS

aa = ni = kɨ = ʃa   wɨka-kũ

out = ALL = RESTR = ADD   walk + IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS

'while walking in the forest (but not far away), while walking out there (but not far away).'

(10) *hɨ̃ɨ̃n húu ármaji nútikʲa núu t͡sawaŋkɨʃa turaʃkuʃa kaʃíŋkɨʃa*

hɨ̃ɨ̃-ni   hu-u   a-ara-ma-ji

house\1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ALL   carry-NMLZ   COP-PL-REC.PT-3.PT

nuti-kã   nu   t͡sauanta = kɨ = ʃa

do.that.PFV-INTENS\3SS   NON.VIS day = RESTR = ADD

turaʃkuʃa   kaʃíni = kɨ = ʃa

or.if.not   next.morning = RESTR = ADD

'[The women] carry [it] to their house, doing that, that same day or if not the next morning [they carry it].'

In the next example, the meaning of = kɨ plus = ʃa 'additive' is extended to 'not even'. In the context where this utterance occurs, the speaker is introducing herself as belonging to the Wampis culture (I had asked her to tell me how she prepares manioc beer, hence she introduces herself as someone knowledgeable in Wampis culture, in which manioc beer—as in other cultures of the Amazon—is an important part of everyday life):

(11) *wík^ja apátʃkiʃa patʃimratʃmauwɛith^jɛɛ wík^ja ʃíir wampíseith^jɛɛ*

11.a

ui = ka apaʧi = **kɨ** = **ʃa**

1SG = FOC   mestizo = **RESTR** = **ADD**

'I am not even a *mestizo*'[258]

11.b

paʧima-ra-ʧa-mau = aita-ha-i

mix-DISTR-NEG-NMLZ = COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am not mixed'

11.c

ui = ka   ʃiira   wampisa = ita-ha-i

1SG = FOC   very   Wampis = COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am very Wampis.'

Notice that (11) does not mean "I am only a mestizo", in fact, the speaker is, as she states, "very Wampis" (meaning in this case that both her parents were Wampis and she has lived her entire life in a Wampis village). Compare the preceding example with the next one, where = *kɨ* is received by the last element in the enumerative noun phrase. It also occurs with the additive = *ʃa*, but in this occasion, the meaning is restrictive:

258. The Spanish translation given for this clause was: 'Yo ni siquiera soy mestiza.'

(12) *nuɛ̃́ maátɛiɲɛiti tréskiʃa ʃuʃuí káʃɛɛ hapákiʃa*

nuĩ	mã-á-taĩ = aiti	trés = **kɨ** = **ʃa**
there	kill-HIAF-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL	three = RESTR = ADD

'[At night] there, we (normally)[259] hunt three [animals] only'

ʃuʃuí	kaʃɛɛ	hapa = **kɨ** = **ʃa**
armadillo	paca	deer = RESTR = ADD

'only armadillo, paca, deer.'

In terms of its distribution, =*kɨ* may actually vary its position: it can occur

before (13) or after (14) the position occupied by the accusative =*na*:

(13) *ájatek aítkintʃa wéiɲah*

aiatɨkɨ	aita = **kɨ** = **na** = ʃa	waina-a-ha
only	green = RESTR = ACC = ADD	look-IPFV-1SG.SBJ + EXCL

'I find only the green (non-ripe) ones!'

(14) *haŋkíŋkiʃa misímain*

hanki = na = kɨ = ʃa	misɨ-maĩ
thorn = ACC = RESTR = ADD	ruin-POT\3.SS

'Having stuck a thorn in too'

18.4. Focus =*ka*

The clitic =*ka* has varying functions in texts. =*ka* is most frequently attached to

NPs and pronouns, but it can actually occur in almost any other element: verbs,

adverbs, adjectives, numerals. The frequency of the focus marker with verbs and

adverbs, in comparison with their occurrence on other word classes, is low. The term

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259. The construction of the non-agentive nominalizer *-taĩ* with a copula functions as a normative, which expresses how things are 'normally' done.

"focus" is more of a convenient term for a morpheme that achieves several important

functions in the structuring of information in Wampis discourse.

One of the most important uses of $=ka$ is to introduce new participants in the

discourse. The following example comes from a traditional narrative in which two

women go looking for a husband. At some point they find *Nayap*, one of the major

participants in the story. This is how the speaker introduces him in the text (note the

use of $=ka$ in several constituents):

(15) *núka úun ʃuárka túkɨ najáp tímaji kámɨ núna naárĩnkʲa*

nu=***ka***		uunta	ʃuara=***ka***		tukɨ	naiapi	timaji	kamɨ
NON.VIS=FOC		adult	person=FOC		INTERJ	Nayap	NARR	INTERJ

nu=na	naa-rĩ=***ka***
NON.VIS=ACC	name-1PL/2PL/3.POSS=FOC

'That person, Nayap was his name.'

The focus $=ka$ also serves to re-introduce participants in the discourse. That is,

when a major participant is re-introduced in discourse, they usually occur as a full NP

and marked with focus $=ka$. In the following passage, the narration is told from the

perspective of the husband of the protagonist, who is planning to go see who is eating

his squash. Then the perspective changes from the husband to his wife, the protagonist

of the story (in 16.b), who is re-introduced in the discourse via the use of $=ka$.

(16)

16.a

íistahɛɛ tiú timaji

ii-sa-ta-ha-i   ti-u timaji

see-ATT-IMM.FUT-DECL   say + LOAF-NMLZ NARR

'He said "I am going to see (who is eating my squash)",'

16.b

aúhuka ʃíir jurumín asã

auhu = ka ʃiira iurumin a-sã

Auju = foc very eater cop-sub\3.ss

'Auju being a big eater . . .'

       The clitic = *ka* also is used for contrastive focus. In the next example, the

speaker contrast how diabetes is said in Spanish (17.a) and in Wampis (17.b).

(17)

17.a

óuhmatsattahɛɛ wíi jaméi hatán pat͡ʃisan háta ðiaβetes tamóun

auhumatu-sa-tata-ha-i   ui   iamai   ha-ta = na

tell-ATT-DEF.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL   1SG   now   be.sick-NMLZ = ACC

pat͡ʃi-sa-nu   ha-ta   diabetes   ta-mau = na

mention-ATT-1SG.SS   be.sick-NMLZ   diabetes   say + IPFV-NMLZ = ACC

'Today, I am going to tell about a disease, mentioning what is called the disease diabetes'

17.b

turáʃa íikʲa núka wat͡sámat háta táji

turaʃa **ii = ka**   **nu = ka**   uat͡sa-ma-ta   ha-ta ta-hi

but   **1PL = FOC NON.VIS = FOC** get.thinner-REFL-NMLZ   be.sick-NMLZ SAY-1PL.SBJ + DECL

'but we (i.e. the Wampis), that, we call it the disease that gets one thinner.'

       The focus = *ka* is also used to express assertion. In the next example, a person

dreams that he is going to transform into a jaguar, but no one believes him. The

character exclaims:

(18) *wík^ja kanáruith^jεε*

ui＝**ka**   kana-ra-u＝ita-ha-i

1SG＝**FOC**   dream.PFV-DISTR-NMLZ＝COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I **did** dream (about that)'.

       In the next example, the narrator re-asserts a new information just provided.

First he introduces the name of the character ("Inchis") and then he re-asserts this new

information:

(19)

19.a

ínt͡ʃis naártin

int͡ʃisu naa-rĩ-tinu

Inchis name-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRIB

'her name [was] Inchis'

19.b

naárĩŋka núka núwaka ínt͡ʃis

naa-rĩ＝**ka**   nu＝**ka**   nua＝ka   int͡ʃisu

name＝1PL/2PL/3.POSS＝**FOC**   NON.VIS＝**FOC**   woman＝**FOC**   Inchis

'The name of that woman [was] Inchis.'

       Another use of ＝*ka* is in parenthetical clauses. Parenthetical clauses are clauses

that are not grammatically required; rather, they add information usually used to

comment, qualify, clarify, or provide an afterthought to an statement. The following are

the final lines of a text in which one of my Wampis teacher was teaching me how some

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plants are used to cure wounds. After he finishes ("those are [the plants that we use for

healing]") he adds an afterthought comment which is marked with =*ka*:

(20) *nu έinawεi jatsúr haimito íikʲa ímanisrikʲa ðoktórnumka wíatsʰi*

nu	a-ina-ua-i	iatsu-ru	haimito
NON.VIS	COP-PL.IPFV	brother-1SG	Jaime

ii=**ka**	ímanis-ri=**ka**	doktor=numa=**ka**	wi-a-tsu-hi
1PL=**FOC**	INTS.ADV-1PL.SS=**FOC**	doctor=LOC=**FOC**	go-IPFV-NEG-1PL.SBJ-DECL

'Those are [the plants we use for healing], brother Jaimito—we don't go much to the doctor.'

Finally, I have found that =*ka* is used in cleft-like constructions, marking a

relative clause in focus function (in this case, the structure in brackets [ ] is relativized

by the non-visible demonstrative *nu*):

(21) *wíkʲa nekáati túsan wakírah núka jűwεiti*

[wi=ka	nɨka-a-ti	tu-sa-nu	uakɨra-ha	nu=ka]
1SG=FOC	know-IPFV-JUSS	say-SUB-1SG.SS	want+IPFV-1SG.SBJ	NON.VIS=FOC

hũ=aiti
PROX=COP.3+DECL

'What I want you to know is this." (Lit.: '[What I want, saying: 'let him know'], is this.'

The focus marker =*ka* and the conditional -*ka* (§19.11) are homophonous and

likely related (cf. Overall (2007: 507) for an initial suggestion of this claim in Awajun,

and Haiman (1978) for a cross-linguistic study on the development of conditionals). I

have found some examples of what appears to be the focus =*ka* being used as a

conditional. This is based on the fact that the conditional is only used in subordinate

verbs (cf. §19.11), but in the example below =*ka* occurs on *pinkira* 'good'', which is an

adjective.

(22) *tikítʃĩk plánta árak haŋkírtin . . . píŋkirka warurĩʃa áwai*

one plant	araka	hanki-rĩ-tinu	pínkira = ka
one plant	plant = FOC	thorn-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRIB	good = FOC

waru-rĩ = ʃa	a-ua-i
worm-1PL/2PL/3.POSS = ADD	exist-3.SBJ-DECL

'[it is] a plant that has thorns. . . if it is good, there is **waru** too (i.e. there are a species of worms if the plant is good).'

18.5. Additive =*ʃa*

The additive =*ʃa* has a variety of functions. Its basic function is to serve to mark

additive focus, i.e. =*ʃa* expresses "that the predication holds for at least one alternative

of the expression in focus" ((Krifka 1998: 11)).

A simple additive focus function is illustrated in the following example.

(23) *ɲawáã arútmaʃa áhaku tímaji*

jaguar	arutama = ʃa	a = hak-u	timaji
jaguar	power.vision = ADD	exist = PT.HAB-NMLZ	NARR

'There used to be also *Arutam* jaguar.'

The additive =*ʃa* is also used to mark the topic of a question:

(24) *nihʲamã́ntʃĩʃa áwak*

nihamã́tʃi = ʃa	a-ua-ka
manioc.beer = ADD	exist-3.SBJ-Q

'Is there manioc beer?'

The additive =*ʃa* has also other extended uses when it is used with the

restrictive $=ki$ (cf. §18.3).

18.6. Speculative $=ʃa$

The speculative $=ʃa$ indicates that the speaker judges that the proposition

expressed by his or her utterance is possibly true, but there is a possibility that it is not.

This meaning is usually translated as "may be" (*tal vez*) by Wampis speakers.

(25) *ʃiampín paántam hiámuhɛ̃ɲʃa juáwarmaji*

ʃiampi = na   paatama hia-mau = haĩ = **ʃa**   iu-áu-ara-ma-ji

hen = ACC   plantain cook.manioc-NMLZ = COM = **SPEC** eat-HIAF-PL-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

'Maybe they ate hen with cooked plantain.'

18.7. Inferential $=\widehat{tsu}$

The clitic $=\widehat{tsu}$ marks inference or supposition. It attaches mostly to nominals

but can also be received by verbal elements.

The following example comes from a 'Pear film' story (see Chafe (1980)). In this

part, some children take a basket full of pears that a man has been collected. When the

man climbs down the tree, he sees the children walking away and notices that one of

his baskets is missing. From the evidence at hand, he infers that it has been the children

who took the basket:

(26) *atákʃa út͡ʃi wakítki minípan íis nit^ját͡suk kasámturkaruiti túsa tú inínteim^jar iɲɛ́isouwɛiti*

atakʃa út͡ʃi   wakɨ-tu-ki   uini-ina-na   ii-sã

again child   walk-APPL-WHILE.MOVING come-PL.IPFV-NMLZ   see-SUB\3.SS

nita=t͡su=kɨ   kasama-tu-ru-ka-ara-u=iti   tu-sã

3PL=**INFER**=RESTR steal-APPL-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-PL-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL say-SUB\3.SS

'Again, seeing that the children were walking, saying "They [the children] must have robbed me".'

The clitic =t͡su can occur with a verbal suffix -*tai* that also marks inference

§14.4.5. The difference between =t͡su and -*tai* is not well understood but there is

apparently no semantic change in the inferential meaning added by these morphemes.

In terms of their distribution, when -tai occurs on the verb, =t͡su can occur but only

attached on a nominal constituent. The next example illustrates this. In the passage seen

in the example, a group of women is making *tuim* /tuimpi/, a type of food that was

served in some special occasions. In this case, the Wampis have just defeated a group of

Awajun, and the warriors, following a ritual of celebration, were to eat *tuim* for the

occasion. However, one of the women is half-Awajun and half-Wampis. The other

Wampis women and the *pamuk* (a type of ceremonial leader) notice that the half-

Awajun woman's tuim smells of blood.

(27) *míɲa nukút͡ʃru nukurí tuímrɨŋkʲa númpa númpa sɨ̃r sɨ̃r mɨhía tímaji núnitʲɛ̃ pámuk wa-hóo t͡ʃít͡ʃak ámɨka kámɨ awarún númpa takákɨamɨ [...] túkɨ patɛ́imit͡suk áɨɲatɛɛ*

27.a

mina	nukut͡ʃi-ru	nuku-rĩ	tuimpi-rĩ=ka
1SG.GEN	grandmother-1SG	mother-PL.SAP/3.POSS	type.food-PL.SAP/3.POSS=FOC

'My grandmother's mother's tuim'

27.b

numpa	numpa	sɨɨr_sɨɨr	mihía	nuni-taĩ
blood	blood	IDEO:blood.smell	stink + IPFV	do.that-1SG/3.DS

'[smelled like] blood, "it stinks like blood", then,'

27.c

pamuka	uaha-a-u	t͡ʃit͡ʃa-kã
leader	stand-IPFV-NMLZ	speak-INTENS/3.SS

'the *pamuk* stood and said'

27.d

amɨ = ka	kamɨ	auaruna	numpa
2SG = FOC	INTERJ	Awajun	blood

"you have Awajun blood"

27.e

takaku-a-mɨ	[...]	patai-mɨ = t͡su = kɨ	a-ina-tai
have-IPFV-2SG.SBJ + DECL		relative-2SG.POSS = **INFER** = RESTR	cop-PL.IPFV-INFER

"it must be your [dead] relatives (i.e. it must be your dead relatives who are causing the fod to smell bad)".

The inferential = t͡su might be related to the homophonous negative imperfective

verbal suffix -t͡su (cf. §13.4).

18.8. Interrogative = *ka*

The interrogative is marked with the question marker = *ka*, as in (28).

(28) *ájatɨk awákɨamɨk*

aiatɨkɨ	auakɨ-a-mɨ = ka
only	return-IPFV-2SG.SBJ = Q

'Do you only rewind it [i.e. the cassette]?'

Though = *ka* occurs mostly on nouns and verbs, it actually can be received by

most parts of speech: pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. The following is an example in

which the interrogative $=ka$ attaches to a noun.

(29) *ámɨ warí arútmak wɛínkʲatam*

 amɨ   wari   arutama=ka   waina-ka-ta-mɨ

2SG   what   power.vision=Q   see-INTENS-IMM.FUT-2SG.SBJ

'So you, which Arutam are you going to see?'

       An important morphological property of the question clitic marker is that it

occurs before the copula clitics:

(30) *pɨ́ŋkɨrkɛita*

pɨnkɨra=ka=ita

good=Q=COP.3

'Is it good?

       The question marker is historically related to the focus marker $=ka$ (cf. §18.4).

However, unlike the focus marker, which never undergoes apocope, the question

marker does undergo apocope, as in (29) above.

18.9. Sudden realization $=api$ and Tag question $=api$

       The clitic $=api$ is primarily used when someone realizes that something has not

gone as expected, with an outcome usually regarded as negative. Unlike the mirative,

the event depicted by $=api$ is typically directly associated to a volitive action done by

the speaker and thus the event is not as strongly counter-expected as with the mirative.

In the next example, a woman who is a big-eater eats up all the food without saving

some for her husband. So, while the realization that there is no more food is sudden,

this is not totally unexpected information (as she herself has been eating it all up):

(31) *ɛíʃrunka ampíratʃhapi*

aiʃi-ru=na=ka ampi-ra-t͡ʃa-ha=api

husband-1SG=ACC=FOC save.food-DISTR-NEG-1SG.SBJ=sud.realz

'Oops, I didn't save food for my husband!'

And in the following example, the speaker recounts how the villagers agreed in a

community assembly to ask shamans from other communities for help, after they realize

that the children in their village were behaving strangely due to witchcraft.[260] She uses

a construction with =*api* to talk about this situation:

(32)*íikʲa húniakur puhut͡ʃuapitji warín áa huĩʃa warín hátak áa*

ii=ka huni-a-ku-ri puhu-t͡ʃu=api=iti-hi

1PL=FOC do.this-IPFV-SIM-1PL.SS live-NEG.NMLZ=SUD.REALZ=COP-1PL.SBJ+DECL

warĩ a huĩ=ʃa warĩ hata=ka a

what exist here=SPEC what sickness=Q exist

'We do not live like that, what is there here, which sickness is there?'

In terms of the distribution of =*api*, it is interesting to notice that in the above

example =*api* is received by a nominalized form, and in turn =*api* is followed by a

copula clitic. So it seems that =*api* behaves distributionally in a similar fashion as the

question marker =*ka*, which can be received by other non-verbal elements but works at

_____

260. Notice, again, that this is—culturally—not totally unexpected information, as sickness and
psychological problems are usually attributed to witchcraft in the Wampis worldview.

the level of the clause, and also precedes the copula clitic.

The other use of =*api* in Wampis is in tag questions. In that function =*api* too

attaches to a verb or nominal element and turns a declarative proposition into a

question. Not surprisingly, most examples of =*api* in tag questions come from

conversations, as in the following example.

(33)*t͡ʃii ɛ́itkas aán uháktahɛɛ ámɨkɨapi miníttamɨ*

t͡ʃi	aitika-sa	aanu	uha-ka-ta-ha-i
yes	do.like.that-SUB	MED	inform-INTENS-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

amɨ-kɨ=api	uini-tata-mɨ
2SG-RESTR=TAG	come-DEF.FUT-2SG.SBJ

'Okay, I am going to inform like that, only you are going to come, aren't you?'

18.10. Mirative

The category of Mirativity is related to the expectation of knowledge: "the term

mirativity refers to the linguistic marking of an utterance which is new or unexpected to

the speaker" (DeLancey 2001b: 370), information that is thus new and not yet part of

the "speaker's integrated picture of the world" (DeLancey 1997: 49). The mirative in

Wampis is done with the morpheme =*hama*. This morpheme can occur suffixed or

detached from the verb,[261] forming its own prosodic word, thus I treated as a clitic-like

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261. In some cases, while transcribing, speakers would correct me if I did not write hama as a separate word.

morpheme.

The next example comes from a text in which a group of Wampis is besieged at their house by an enemy Awajun group. Having been attacked all night by the enemy, they are expecting the worse when they hear that more people come closer to their house:

(34)

34.a

huwánkootʃi huwánkootʃi wíjéithɛɛ wíjɛithɛɛ

huanka-utʃi[262]	huanka-utʃi	ui꞊aita-ha-i	ui꞊aita-ha-i
Juan-DIM	Juan-DIM	1SG꞊COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL	1SG꞊COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'[One of the people from outside spoke:] "Juancito, Juancito, It is me! It is me!'

34.b

uratritʲá wɛítin tóo tímaji tútaĩ

ura-tu-ru-i-tá		waiti꞊na	ta-u		timaji	tu-taĩ
open-APPL-1SG.OBJ-LOAF-IMP		door꞊ACC	say + IPFV-NMLZ	NARR		say-1SG/3.DS

'Open the door for me!' he said; when he said that'

34.c

jáki núʃa núka ʃuártʃowahama

ia-ki	nu꞊ʃa	nu꞊ka	ʃuara-tʃau꞊a-**hama**
who-INT.FOC	NON.VIS꞊SPEC	NON.VIS꞊ADD	enemy-NEG.NMLZ꞊COP-MIR

'[The ones inside the house said:] "who could that be?" "It is not the enemy!"'

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262. This is the only example that I have where the diminutive surfaces identical as its lexical source *utʃi* 'child'.

34.d

núka íĩ̵na patéĩ̵nahama

nu = ka	iina	pataĩ = a = **hama**
NON.VIS = FOC	1PL.GEN	relative\PL.SAP/3.POSS = COP-**MIR**

'"It is our relative!".'

In the example above, we can see that the new information acquired by the speakers is not expected, i.e. they did not expect that someone would come to help them as the enemy had surrounded their house.

A more colorful example comes from a situation in which an clumsy linguist doing fieldwork used a blowgun that had a dart in it (no one knew that the blowgun was loaded with a dart) and accidentally shot someone in the leg, thankfully without hurting him. As the event was clearly not expected by anyone in the scene, the surprised linguist's host exclaimed:

(35) *nuĩ́ áma háma*

nuĩ	a-ma	hama
there	exist-REC.PT	MIR

'There was a dart there!'

The next example is interesting and reveals the use of =*hama* for counter-expectations. I had asked a speaker to tell me about her village. When she starts describing her house, she marks the clause with =*hama*.

(36) *waβálka mína hĩárka kámɨ ikám húwa háma tikít͡ʃ ʃuár mat͡sátɨamunmaka nuíŋkʲa ihús húwatsui*

Wabal=ka	mina	hĩa-ru=ka	kamɨ	ikám	hua-a	**hama**
Huabal=FOC	1SG.GEN	house-1SG=FOC	INTERJ	forest\LOC	be.located-IPFV	**MIR**

tikit͡ʃi	ʃuara	mat͡satu-a-mau=nVma=ka	nuĩ=ka	ihusa
other	person	live-IPFV-NMLZ=LOC=FOC	there=FOC	near

hua-a-t͡su-u-i
be.located-IPFV-NEG-3.SBJ-DECL

'In Huabal, my house, is located in the forest, it is not located near to where other people live.'

When I asked why she would use =*hama* in her description, she told me that she thought that in my knowledge of the world, I would think that all houses are part of a town. However, her house is relatively far from the village, as it was built following the old tradition where families used to live scattered, not forming villages or towns. So, to convey that unexpected information on the part of the interlocutor, she uses =*hama*.

A similar example comes from a conversation. In this occasion, the son of one of my hosts in the community of Puerto Galilea had brought a DVD with videos and pictures of his son, my host's grandson (who lives in the city, not in the village). Unbeknownst to my host's son, their DVD player is broken:

(37)

A: *βiðeo at͡ʃiáuk diβidi*

video	at͡ʃi-á-u=k	dvd
video	grab-HIAF-NMLZ=Q	dvd

'Did you grab the DVD?'

B: *diβiði misírmahama mátʃu*

dvd   misi-ra-ma=hama   matʃu

dvd   ruin-DISTR-REC.PT=MIR   male

'The DVD is broken, son.'

CHAPTER XIX

SWITCH-REFERENCE AND SUBORDINATION

19.1. Introduction

In Wampis, what I call a subordinate clause is defined by the presence of a

subordinate verb (see §19.2). A subordinate clause is subordinated relative to what I

call a reference clause, i.e. a clause that functions as the main clause in the

construction. Subordinate verbs in Wampis occur with suffixes whose main function is

reference-tracking and topic continuity (Givón 1983; Watkins 1984; Mithun 1993).

These suffixes indicate whether the dependent clause and the independent clause share

the same subject (SS) or whether the dependent clause and the independent clause have

a different subject (DS). That is to say, Wampis exhibits what typologically is

understood as a switch-reference system. This type of switch-reference where the

subordinate clause is marked as sharing or not sharing the same subject with the

reference clause is understood in the present work as canonical switch-reference

(Haiman & Munro 1983). Wampis also possesses a non-canonical switch-reference

system, which I define as a reference-tracking device where at least one of the

participants in the subordinate clause and in the reference clause is not a subject; i.e.

non-canonical switch-reference tracks continuity of some other participant in particular

grammatical relations (Mithun 1993; Stirling 1993). Structurally, verbs that carry a

canonical switch-reference marker inflect for person, whereas verbs that carry a non-

canonical switch-reference marker do not inflect for person. In addition, Wampis forms

subordinate clauses with subordinating suffixes accompanying the marking of switch

reference on the verb. I call these suffixes "subordinators" in the restricted sense of

suffixes that occur on a subordinate verb, as defined in §19.2. Most subordinators create

a verbal stem that is marked for person, except in non-canonical switch-reference where

person is not marked. In this way, I disntinguish between what I call "subordinate

verbs" and nominalized verbs that occur in relative clauses and complement function.

The distinction between what I define as nominalized verb (as defined in Chapter XV)

and what I define as subordinate verb is made in §19.2. From the point of view of the

functions a nominalized verb and a subordinate verb can have in Wampis, nominalized

verbs are used for relativization. Complementation is accomplished using a range of

means, including nominalization, subordination and quotative constructions.[263] What I

will call "subordination" (in the specific sense to this study of Wampis) is left to achieve

263. See Chapter XX for details on these different constructions.

most other possible functional clause combinations in Wampis (i.e. expressions of cause, reason, simultaneity, sequentiality, frustration, and so on). This gives Wampis a highly hypotactic "character", which is one of its salient features.

This chapter follows this structure: §19.2 defines the subordinate verb and its morphosyntactic properties; §19.3 presents the subordinators in Wampis, §19.4 discusses person marking in subordinate verbs. This is followed by the description of non-temporal (§19.5), simultaneous (§19.6), sequential (§19.7) and imperfective DS subordinate clauses (§19.8). Section §19.9 describes different subordinating suffixes that occur in SS clauses. Next, §19.10 discusses non-canonical subordination in Wampis, which is followed by an analysis of conditional (§19.11) and concessive (§19.12) constructions. The chapter closes with a short note on "clause chaining" §19.13.

19.2. The subordinate verb

What I call "subordinate" verbs in Wampis cannot head independent clauses—an independent clause is characterized by having a main predication, prototypically this function in Wampis must be fulfilled by finite main verbs, as defined in §12.2 and §12.7. Unlike nominalized verbs, subordinate verbs cannot modify nouns (i.e. they do not function as relative clauses), cannot be used as referring expressions, they are not

marked like arguments of the verb (crucially lacking properties of nominals such as case

marking)—though they can function as arguments (i.e. in complementation), and have

special morphology that is unique to subordination.[264] The subordinate verb in Wampis

is characterized by:

• Presence of a switch-reference marker.

• With regard to TAM marking, the subordinated verb is not marked for tense and most

  mood categories described in Chapter XIV.

• Use of special forms to mark person, which are different than the set of person

  markers used in finite verbs.

• Overt subordinating morpheme attached to the subordinated verb.

    For comparison, Table 19.1 shows the TAM properties associated with finite

independent verbs, subordinate verbs and nominalized verbs. The term "Aspectual

Stem" in the table refers to whether the verb stem may contain a morpheme that can fill

the morphological position where aktionsart, imperfective, durative, present habitual or

potential suffixes occur (see §12.7 for details).

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264. Subordinators in Wampis do not possess the lexical derivation properties of nominalizers
either—they do not create nouns that can be used at the lexical level. The scope of subordinators
is always clausal.

Table 19.1. TAM properties of independent, subordinate and nominalized verb

TAM\Verb type	Independent Verb	Subordinate Canonical	Subordinate Non-Canonical	Nominalized Verb
Aspectual stem	✓	✓	✓	Some[a]
Person	✓	✓[b]	---	Very marginal
Tense	✓	---	---	---[c]
Mood	✓	Limited	---	---

[a] Set II Nominalizers and Set I -*tinu* 'Future Nominalizer' can attach to an "Aspectual stem".
[b] Subordinated verbs use a paradigm of person markers that is distinct from the paradigm used by finite verbs.
[c] The future nominalizer -*tinu* is historically composed of the future marker -*ta* and the Set I agent nominalizer -*inu*. Synchronically, no tense marker can be received by the nominalized verb.

Table 19.1 shows the "deranking" cline of subordinate and nominalized verbs relative to the finite independent verb. Deranking is understood as the use of a verb form that is structurally different than a verb form used in an independent clause; a deranked verb cannot be used in independent clauses (Stassen 1985: 77; Cristofaro 2003). Depending on the language, a deranked verb can occur with a special marker that signals that it is not an independent verb; however, depending on the language, it can also occur without certain verbal categories, such as TAM or agreement markers. Relative to subordinate verb forms in Wampis, it can be said that a deranked verb is

marked by reduced TAM morphology and by receiving a switch-reference morpheme.

Unlike fully finite verbs, subordinated verbs are not inflected for tense[265] and have very limited mood marking. It is possible to categorize verbs according to the place they occupy in the finite/non-finite continuum, as well as in terms of what type of clause type they can occur in. This is shown in Table 19.2. Note that quotative constructions serve as direct reported speech complements of a matrix speech verb, and are also used in subordinate clauses that are the functional equivalent of complements of cognition and desiderative verbs (see §20.3.2 and §20.3.3 for details).

Table 19.2. Types of verbs and associated clause types

Verb type	Clause type
Finite main verb	
Independent	Main clauses
Dependent	"Coordinated" clauses, quotatives
Subordinate	
Person-marking	Canonical SS and DS subordinate clauses
Non person-marking	Non-canonical switch-reference subordinate clauses

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265. An exception seems to confirm the norm: a few examples in the database show that a verb marked with the definite future *-tata* can receive the simultaneous *-ku* (§19.7). In such occasions, the marked verb has an interpretation of 'be about to Verb' (which can still be seen as related to the simultaneous).

19.2.1. Morphological structure of the subordinate verb

The structure of the subordinate verb is presented in Table 19.3 and Table 19.4.

Table 19.3. Morphological structure of the canonical switch-reference subordinate verb

0	1	2	3	4
Verb Stem	Subordinator	Person	Switch-reference	Conditional
				Concessive
				Some Mood[a]

[a] The only mood categories that can be marked in a subordinate verb are $=ka$ 'Interrogative', $=ʃa$ 'Speculative' and $=\widehat{tsu}$ 'Inferential'.

Table 19.4. Morphological structure of the non-canonical switch reference verb

0	1	2
Verb Stem	Switch-reference	Conditional
		Concessive[a]

[a] The marking of mood categories with non-canonical switch-reference is not attested in the data.

The person markers in SS clauses are actually portmanteau suffixes that mark person and identity of subjects. Different-subject clauses add a DS marker -(n)ĩ which is historically related to the homophonous locative $=(n)ĩ$. On the other hand, clauses that take non-canonical switch-reference are not marked for person, as indicated in Table 19.4. Thus, subordinate verbs marked with canonical switch-reference show more complex structure than verbs marked with non-canonical switch-reference.

Morphologically, the subordinate verb differs from the main verb in the marking of certain categories. With regards to mood, only $=ka$ 'Interrogative', $=\widehat{tsu}$ 'Inferential' and $=\int a$ 'Speculative' (these morphemes are described in Chapter XVIII) can be marked on the subordinate verb, but these are clause-level clitics that can be received by other constituents. Verb-only mood markers (i.e. all other mood sufixes in Wampis, cf. §14.4) do not occur with subordinated verbs.

Subordinate verbs always have a morphological marking that indicates that the verb does not belong to the main clause. Subordinate verbs can receive some inflection or not, depending on the type of switch-reference the subordinate verb co-occur with. Non-canonical switch-reference suffixes *-tatamana* 'Subject to object' and *-ma* 'Non-subject to subject' do not receive person marking, although they can occur with conditional and concessive clauses. When the subordinate verb co-occurs with a canonical switch-reference marker, it receives person marking.

Aside from their verb forms, subordinate clauses essentially retain the same syntax as main independent clauses: case marking is the same; in general, relative order of noun phrases, obliques and adverbs is relatively free; dropping of pronouns and subject noun phrases is completely possible (actually, it is the most frequent pattern).

There is a strong tendency for the subordinate verb to occupy the final (right-most)

position in the subordinate clause, though a number of examples show that it is possible

that other constituents occupy that position, as in (1), where there is an NP (the name

of the town) after the verb:

(1) *óuhmatsattahɛɛ wíi míɲa jaáktarun patʃ͡ĩsan Kanðúɣosan*

auhumatu-sa-tata-ha-i	ui	mina	iaakta-ru = na	patʃ͡i-sa-nu
tell-ATT-DEF.FUT-1SG-DECL	1SG	1SG.GEN	town-1SG = ACC	mention-SUB-1SG.SS

Kandungosa = na
Kandungos = ACC
'I am going to tell mentioning my town Kandungos.'

19.3. Subordinators

The Wampis subordinating suffixes are presented in Table 19.5. I have divided

the subordinators in four groups, marked by the heavy dotted lines. The symbol "---"

means that the respective SS or DS category does not occur with the subordinating

suffix. The first group is composed of subordinating suffixes that occur in SS and DS

clauses. The non-temporal *-sa* belongs to this first group but it has a suppletive form *-taĩ*

in DS clauses, which is a portmanteaux suffix that marks person and DS (see Table 19.7

below). The second group has only one type: the "zero form" subordinator occurs on an

imperfective stem marked for person, and only occurs in DS clauses. The third group is

composed of subordinators that only occur in SS clauses. Finally, the fourth group is

composed of the conditional and the concessive suffixes. Unlike the other subordinators,

the conditional and the concessive occupy a different morphological position (last—

right most—position, cf. Table 19.3 and Table 19.4) in the subordinate verb. In

addition, the conditional and the concessive are compatible with both canonical and

non-canonical switch-reference marking.

Table 19.5. Wampis subordinators

Subordinator	Meaning	SS marking	DS marking	Type of switch-reference
-sa/-taĩ	Non-temporal	✓	✓[a]	canonical
-ku (~ -ka)	Simultaneous	✓	✓	
∅	Sequential	✓	✓	
∅	Imperfective	---	✓	
-tahkama	Frustrative	✓	---	
-hkama	Terminative	✓	---	
-tasa	Purpose	✓	---	
-kaua	Reduplicative	✓	---	
-ka	conditional	✓	✓	canonical and non-canonical
-ʃa	concessive	✓	✓	

[a] The non-temporal subordinator *-sa* occurs only in SS clauses. In DS clauses, the suppletive form *-taĩ* is a portmanteau of person and DS marking.

All of the subordinators show a strong tendency to co-occur with a specific

aspectual stem.[266] There are sporadic examples where the simultaneous action *-ku,* purpose *-tasa* and reduplicative *-kaua* suffixes occur with an aspectually-unmarked stem, but in general the subordinators co-occur with the stem types shown in Table 19.6. For greater descriptive accuracy, I have also added the non-canonical switch-reference markers *-ma* and *-tatamana* to the table, since the verb stems that carry these suffixes also vary according to the presence of any one of these switch-reference markers.

Table 19.6. Aspectual stems associated with specific subordinators

Type of stem	Subordinator	Meaning
unmarked	-sa	non-temporal
imperfective	-ku	simultaneous
aktionsart/perfective	∅	sequential
imperfective	∅	imperfective
aktionsart/perfective	-tahkamá	frustrative
aktionsart/perfective	-tasa	purpose
imperfective	-hkamá	terminative
imperfective	-kaua	reduplicative
imperfective or aktionsart/perfective	-ma	non-subject to subject
unmarked	-tatamana	subject to object
imperfective or aktionsart/perfective	-ka	conditional
imperfective or aktionsart/perfective	-ʃa	concessive

266. Recall that there are five stems related to aspect in Wampis: imperfective, perfective (done with aktionsart suffixes), potential, durative and habitual. See §13.3 for a description of these suffixes.

As can be seen, the conditional *-ka* and concessive *-ʃa* can occur with either perfective or imperfective stems; the non-subject to subject *-ma* can also occur with a perfective or imperfective stem. There is no attested occurrence of the durative (*-ma*), potential (*-mai*) or habitual (*-na*) stems in subordinate verbs (recall that the durative, potential and habitual occupy the same morphological position in the verb as imperfective and aktionsart suffixes, forming a paradigm, see §13.3). An auxiliary copula verb marked for subordination occurs in the case of the potential; or the potential-marked verb may occur nominalized as a complement of the subordinate verb as in (2), where the verb 'feel' carries the simultaneous and SS suffixes.

(2) *pakínkʲa ahápan ikúkmiahɛɛ huméintʃu nɨkápɨakun*

paki=na=ka	ahapa-a-nu	iku-ki-mia-ha-i
peccary=ACC=FOC	abandon-IPFV-1.SS	leave-WHILE.MOVING-DIST-PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

hu-mai-na-t͡ʃu	nɨkapɨ-a-**ku-nu**
take-POT-NMLZ-NEG.NMLZ	feel-IPFV-**SIM-1SG.SS**

'I left abandoning the peccary, feeling I couldn't take it.'

The fact that the durative and the present habitual do not occur in subordinate clauses is likely due to the fact that subordinate clauses have stems marked for imperfective, simultaneous, or reduplicative action that generally overlap in the same functional domain as the durative and habitual (they all are somewhat associated to

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imperfectiveness).

19.4. Person marking

As defined in §19.1, canonical switch reference in Wampis is related to the to the marking of the subject in the dependent and reference clauses (canonical switch-reference). Canonical switch-reference verbs in Wampis mark the person-number of the subject. Table 19.7 shows the person markers used in canonical switch-reference (non-canonical switch reference, as defined in §19.1, does not inflect for person—non-canonical switch-reference is covered in §19.10). "V" in Table 19.5 stands for stem final vowel.

As can be seen in Table 19.7, the marking of person somewhat differs for SS and DS clauses. Non-temporal and sequential subordinate clauses use portmanteau suffixes that conflate person and DS marking. In fact, in DS clauses, there is a striking neutralization in the marking of 1SG/3 persons, whereas 2 and 1PL remain distinctively marked. Note that, in the case of simultaneous and sequential DS clauses, the suffixes *-ĩ* (which is the short form of the DS marker *-(n)ĩ*—see §19.4.2) and *-mataĩ*, respectively, neutralize 1SG and 3 person.[267]

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267. It is really striking how the distinction between 1SG/3 and 2/1PL in DS subordinate clauses is so neatly similar to distinctions in other parts of the grammar. In particular, the grouping of

Table 19.7. Person markers used in canonical switch-reference subordinate clauses

Person	Non-temporal		Simultaneous		Imperfective	Sequential	
	SS	DS	SS	DS	DS	SS	DS
1sg	-nu	-taĩ	-nu	-ĩ[a]	∅	-nu	-mataĩ
2sg	-mɨ	---	-mɨ	-mi	-mɨ	-mɨ	-mi
3sg	Ṽ	-taĩ	Ṽ	-ĩ	Ṽ	Ṽ	-mataĩ
1pl	-ri	-taĩ	-ri	-ri	-ri	-ri	-ri
2pl	-rumɨ	---	-rumɨ	rumi	rumɨ	-rumɨ	-rumi
3pl	-ara	-taĩ	-Ṽ	-ĩ	-Ṽ	-ara	-mataĩ

[a] 1sɢ and 3 persons in simultaneous DS clauses are marked by attaching the DS marker *-(n)ĩ* (§19.4.2) directly to the simultaneous subordinator *-ku* (§19.6).

From Table 19.7, it can be seen that 1sɢ, 1ᴘʟ and 3 grammatical person marking is neutralized with the non-temporal DS marker *-taĩ*. We will see that the suffix *-(n)ĩ* is also used in sequential subordinate clauses with 2 and 1ᴘʟ persons. Recall from §19.2.1 that the conditional and concessive subordinating suffixes occur after the person marking, in the right-most morphological position of the subordinate verb. The person-marking of subordinators that occur only in SS clauses (see Table 19.5) generally

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these categories is identical to how grammatical persons pattern together in the split marking system of participant arguments, as seen in §16.3. In that case, a distinction between these two groups, 1sɢ/3 and 2/1ᴘʟ, is made: if a 1sɢ or 3 Agent-like participant acts upon a 3 Patient-like participant, the object noun phrase receives accusative marking. If a 2 or 1ᴘʟ Agent-like participant acts on a 3 Patient-like participant, the object noun receives does not receive accusative marking.

patterns with the paradigm shown for simultaneous SS clauses in Table 19.7.

19.4.1. A note on the nasal marking of person in subordinate verbs

Table 19.7 shows that nasalization occurs in the marking of third and 1 person

in subordinate clauses. In Wampis, naasalization is realized in various surface ways, and

sometimes actual nasalization is not produced (the realization can be oral, via high

pitch—i.e. high tone; or by a consonant [n] on the margins of the syllable containing

the nasal vowel). Where no other morpheme follows a morpheme marked for nasality,

the realization is really variable and often times is not distinguishable, at first look,

from an oral vowel. This phenomenon also occurs in subordination. However, examples

like the following, where a nasal consonant surfaces in the verb [ákuŋka], show that

underlying nasalization is present to mark the third person:

(3) *íiŋa puhútnaʃa jatʃámaru ákuŋka núu ʃuár núwɛiti píŋkɨr*

iina   puhu-ta=na=ʃa   jat͡ʃa-ma-ra-u   a-kũ-ka

1PL.GEN live-NMLZ=ACC=ADD   wise-VBZ-DISTR-NMLZ   COP-SIM\3.SS-COND

nu   ʃuara   nu=aiti   pɨnkɨra

NON.VIS person NON.VIS=COP.3+DECL   good

'if [a person] is one that has learned our way of living [Lit.: 'our life'], that person is a good person.'

In (3), the simultaneous suffix *-ku* carried by the copula is marked for third

person. This marking is via nazalization, as shown in Table 19.7. Contrast with (4),

where the simultaneous *-ku* is followed by the 2pl -rumɨ. As can be seen, no nasal

surfaces in this case, as 2PL marking does not involve nasalization of its last vowel.

(4) *ʃuár pɨ́ŋkɨr ákurmɨka tarímat puhárum*

ʃuara	pɨnkɨra	a-ku-rumɨ-ka	tarimata	puha-rumɨ
person	good	COP-SIM-2PL.SS-COND	abundance	live+ipfv-2PL.DECL

'If you (PL) are a good person, you (PL) live in abundance.'

19.4.2. Different subject *-(n)ĩ*

The suffix *-(n)ĩ* occurs in simultaneous and sequential Different Subject (DS)

clauses only. It indicates that the subject of the dependent clause and the subject of the

reference clause are different. The suffix *-(n)ĩ* is distinct from the other DS markers, *-taĩ*

and *-mataĩ*, because it occupies a morphological position after the person markers,

whereas *-taĩ* and *-mataĩ* occupy the position of person markers, as they conflate person

and DS marking (see §19.5.2 for a description of *-taĩ* and §19.7.2 for a description of -

mataĩ). In simultaneous clauses, *-(n)ĩ* co-occurs with all grammatical persons. In

sequential clauses, *-(n)ĩ* is used with 2 and 1PL persons and the portmanteau *-mataĩ* is

used with 1SG and 3 persons. Table 19.8 summarizes the forms of *-(n)ĩ* in simultaneous

and sequential DS clauses, giving a paradigm with the verb *puhu* 'live'. The imperfective

stem—in this case, *puha* (*puhu* plus imperfective *a*)—is used for simultaneous clauses,

and the root+aktionsart (in this case, attenuative *-sa*) are used for sequential clauses.

As we saw in §13.3.3 and §13.5, the imperfective plural *-ina* and the non-imperfective *-ara* are used in the verbal stem for 3PL persons.

Table 19.8. Paradigm of *-(n)ĩ*

Person	Simultaneous DS clause[a]	Sequential DS clause
1sg	puha-ku-ĩ	puhu-sa-mataĩ
2sg	puha-ku-mi-nĩ	puhu-sa-mi-nĩ
3sg	puha-ku-ĩ	puhu-sa-mataĩ
1pl	puha-ku-ri-nĩ	puhu-sa-ri-nĩ
2pl	puha-ku-rumi-nĩ	puhu-sa-rumi-nĩ
3pl	puhu-ina-ku-ĩ	puhu-sa-ara-mataĩ

[a] Imperfective DS clauses used the same paradigm of person and DS markers as Simultaneous, but do not include the simultaneous suffix *-ku*. See §19.8.

The suffix *-(n)ĩ* has two forms. The form *-ĩ* occurs when the preceding vowel is not /i/ and the form *-nĩ* occurs when there is a preceding /-i/. The marking of 1SG and 3 persons is neutralized in simultaneous DS clauses. Notice from Table 19.8 that the 2 person markers *-mi* change their usual last vowel /ɨ/ when they precede *-(n)ĩ*.[268]

However, before *-(n)i* they occur as *-mi* and *-rumi* respectively. An alternative analysis would be that underlyingly the second person ends in /ɨ/ and this vowel undergoes

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268. In other paradigms, including the person markers of finite verbs, 2sg is *-mɨ* and 2pl is *-rumɨ*, both ending in vowel /ɨ/.

harmony with the vowel /-ĩ/. This morphonological change would in turn trigger the

occurrence of the consonant *n* in the form *-nĩ* (likely as a means of dissimilation, as the

form *-nĩ* also occurs following the 1PL marker *-ri*, which also has an /i/).

Based on homophony and morphophonological properties, the most obvious

source of the DS *-(n)ĩ* is the locative *=(n)ĩ* (described in §11.5.1.2). The *-ĩ* of *=(n)ĩ* is

probably also present in the other DS suffixes, *-taĩ* and *-mataĩ*, though in those cases the

development may have followed further steps (the portion /taĩ/ seems to correspond to

the patient/location nominalizer *-taĩ*).

19.5. Non-temporal subordination

19.5.1. Same subject *-sa*

Non-temporal subordination is done with the suffix *-sa* in SS clauses. This suffix

is used as a general SS manner subordinator. The suffix *-sa* attaches to an unmarked

root. As the name indicates, non-temporal subordination indicates that the event of the

subordinate clause is concomitant to that of the reference clause, without indication of

a temporal relation between the dependent and the reference clause per se—however, a

relative temporal meaning can be obtained depending on the context. For instance, in

(5), there are two clauses marked with *-sa* that adopt a cause meaning. The first

subordinate clause marked with *-sa* was interpreted by my Wampis teacher as past tense and prior to the event of the main clause. The second subordinate clause marked with the suffix *-sa* was interpreted as present habitual[269] whereas the main verb was interpreted as past with the intensive aktionsart suffix *-ka* giving the stem a perfective sense.

(5) *kuntíɲan táŋku taŋkumátsã wakɨra ásã naántʃa áráknaʃa arakmátsã wakɨriɲ ásã níŋka t͡sukín huákuiti*

[kuntina = na tanku tanku-ma-á-tasã   wakɨra   a-**sã**]
animal = ACC   REDUP animal-VBZ-HIAF-PURP\3.SGSS   want + IPFV COP-SUB**3SG.SS**

[naa = na = ʃa   araka = na = ʃa   araka-ma-á-tasã
HESIT.PRO = ACC = ADD   plant = ACC = ADD   plant-VBZ-HIAF-PURP\3SG.SS

wakɨru-inu   a-**sã**]
want-NMLZ   COP-SUB**3SG.SS**

nĩ = ka   t͡sukínta   hua-ka-u = iti
3SG = FOC   corner\LOC   stay-INTENS-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'[My mother] because she wanted to domesticate animals, umm, because she likes to grow plants too, she stayed [to live] in the corner[270].'

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269. I asked the speaker if a past tense interpretation was possible and the answer was affirmative. The point is that in a non-temporal construction, there is no intrinsically established temporal reference; any temporal interpretation comes from the context, not from the subordinator itself.

270. By 'corner' the speaker means on the outskirts of the village, where there is more free room for farming.

In the following example, the non-temporal subordinated clause acts as an

adverbial of manner, indicating how the main action is done. Thus, the main action in

the next example ('living') is done by 'fishing' and 'eating':

(6) *mína nuwárhɛinka maásan júsan puháhɛɛ*

mina	nua-ru=haĩ=ka	mãa-sa-nu	iu-sa-nu	puha-ha-i
1SG.GEN	woman-1SG=FOC	kill-SUB-1SG.SS	eat-SUB-1SG.SS	live+IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I live with my wife fishing and eating.'

Another example with the non-temporal subordinator *-sa* is in (7). The literal

translation of this example shows that the semantics of the subordination is similar to

the previous example, i.e. it behaves like a manner adverbial. Notice that the expression

is very formulaic: this is the way how the general topic of most texts is stated in

Wampis ('I will say, mentioning X')—the expression is usually translated as 'I am going

to talk about X'.[271] Interestingly, the main verb 'say' is not inflected for declarative, so it

must analyzed as being inside the interrogative clause.

(7) *wii urúk t͡suámaru titʲáh núna pat͡ʃísan*

ui	uruka	t͡sua-ma-ra-u	ti-ta-ha
1SG	how	heal-REFL-DISTR-NMLZ	say+LOAF-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ

---

271. In the Wampis vocabulary (Jakway et al. 1987), the form <*pachisa*> is misinterpreted and glossed with the meaning of 'about' ('acerca de' in the Spanish original). However, I have no evidence that this form has developed into some sort of postposition or into an adverb. It behaves as a full verb in my data.

nu=na   pat͡ʃi-sa-nu
NON.VIS=ACC   mention-SUB-1SG.SS

'I am going to tell how I healed [from a wound inflected by a peccary]' (Lit.: 'I am going to tell how I healed [from a wound...], mentioning that'.)

19.5.2. 1/3 Different subject *-taĩ*

In non-temporal DS clauses, *-sa* is not used. Instead, the suffix *-taĩ* occurs. *-Taĩ* is a portmanteau suffix that marks the clause as having a DS for 1 and 3 persons (see Table 19.7). The suffix is, as far as I know, not compatible with 2 person. This is very similar to how Overall (2007) describes the cognate DS marker in Awajun. As stated, -*taĩ* indicates that the subjects of the dependent and reference clause are different. In (8), the subject of the subordinated verb 'go' is a 3SG person, while the subject of the reference clause—which is a nominalization of the verb 'follow'—is a third person plural.[272]

(8) *naŋkí at͡ʃík iími̵ki wi̵tɛ̃ nitʲaʃa patáatukaru*

nankí	at͡ʃi-kã	i̵ima-ki	**wi̵-taĩ**
spear\ACC	grab-INTENS\3.SS	move.forward-WHILE.MOVING	**go-1/3.DS**

nita=ʃa   pataa-tu-ka-ara-u
3PL=ACC   follow-APPL-INTENS-PL-NMLZ

'[He] having grabbed the spear, [he] going forward, they too followed [him].'

---

272. Notice that there is no overt 3PL subject inflection on the verb (because it is nominalized), but there is a plural marking *-ara* that is used with third person. Hence, there is no problem in the interpretation of the argument of the nominalized verb. Recall that a nominalized verb does not take tense, person or mood suffixes.

In (9), the different subject suffix *-taĩ* occurs on the verb 'say' (actually, most examples of *-taĩ* in the data occur with the verb 'say'). In narratives, it is very common to use the verb 'say' with a SS or DS marker to recapitulate actions in between clauses. To simplify the example, a number of other subordinate clauses before the reference clause have been omitted in (9)—this is indicated by the ellipsis mark.

(9) *jumí t͡sĩ́nt͡sak naŋkimaáta ʃuár jahá wɨ́arɛi tuɨ́na tímaji tútɛɛ̃ maʃíant͡ʃa áju tákun t͡saáŋ anármoo húakũ . . . jumí umpuá tímaji*

9.a

iumí	t͡sĩ́nt͡saka	nankima-á-tá	ʃuara	iahá	wɨ-ara-i
rain\GEN	dart	throw-HIAF-IMP	enemy	far\LOC	go.PFV-PL-APPR

tu-ina	timaji
say-IPFV	NARR

'They were saying "Throw a rain's dart!" "May the enemies not go away!",'

9.b

[tu-**taĩ**]

say-**1/3.ds**

'[when they said that],'

9.c

maʃianta=ʃa	aiu	ta-kũ	t͡saanku	ana-ra-mau	hu-a-kũ
Maʃianta=ADD	okay	say+IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS	tobacco	brown-DISTR-NMLZ	take-IPFV-SIM\3.SS

'Mashián too, while saying "okay!" and taking browned tobacco leaves'

9.d

. . .	jumí	umpu-á	timaji
	rain\ACC	blow-HIAF	NARR

'. . . he blew (i.e. to invoke) the rain.'

In the next example, *-taĩ* attaches to the resumptive verb 'do that' and marks it

as having a different subject than the reference clause. The subject of the verb 'do that'

is 'Nantu', whereas the subject of the reference clause is 'Auhu'.

(10) *wáa tímaji nántu pitʲakrí húkĩ túramunam núnitʲɛ̃ɛ náa aúhuʃa mı́na ɛ́ɛʃru ukúrɨawɛɛ tusã . . . nı̃́ĩʃa wáa tímaji*

10.a

ua-a		timaji	Nantu	pitaka-rĩ	hu-kĩ
climb-IPFV	NARR	Moon	traveling.basket-1PL/2PL/3.POSS		take-WHILE.MOVING\3.SS

'Having taken his traveling basket, Nantu was climbing [a ladder to the sky],'

10.b

tura-mau=nama	[nuni-**taĩ**]	naa
then-NMLZ=LOC	do.that-**1/3.DS**	HESIT

'then, [when he did that],umm,'

10.c

Auhu=ʃa	mina	áiʃi-ru
Common.potoo=ADD	1SG.GEN	husband-1SG

uku-ru-a-ua-i	tu-sã . . .	nĩ=ʃa	ua-a	timaji
leave.behind-1SG.OBJ-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL	say-SUB\3SG.SS	3SG=ADD	climb-IPFV	NARR

'Auju too, saying: "my husband is leaving me!", . . . she too was climbing.'

19.6. Simultaneous subordination *-ku*

The subordinating suffix *-ku* indicates that the action of the subordinate clause

takes place simultaneously or overlapping with the action of the main verb.

The verb subordinated with *-ku* usually has in an imperfective stem.[273] In simultaneous DS clauses, the DS suffix *-(n)ĩ* is added, as described in §19.4.2. Thus, the simultaneous subordinate verb has the following general structure:

<div align="center">

Imperfective stem-*KU*-person-*((n)ĩ)*

</div>

There are a few examples of the simultaneous *-ku* attaching to a verb marked with future. So perhaps the relation between the imperfective and the simultaneous *-ku* is epiphenomenal—after all, an ongoing action marked with imperfective is also very likely to be interpreted as simultaneous if it is related to another event. On the other hand, the construction of a verb marked with future + *-ku* has the semantics of 'ABOUT TO VERB'. An example of the occurrence of *-ku* with a future-marked verb is given in (11).

(11) * iɲártatak iɲártatak wakóo*

iia-ra-tata-kũ	iia-ra-tata-kũ	ua-ka-u
fall-DISTR-DEF.FUT-SIM\3.SS	fall-DISTR-DEF.FUT-SIM\3.SS	climb-INTENS-NMLZ

'About to fall, he climb up [the tree].'

19.6.1. Same-subject simultaneous subordinate clauses

SS simultaneous clauses are marked by *-ku* plus the respective person marker as indicated in Table 19.7. Example (12) shows the use of *-ku* in a simultaneous SS clause.

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273. There are occasional examples of *-ku* attaching to a stem unmarked for aspect.

(12) *ɨmístumarɛim ímʲɛ̃ ímʲɛ̃ wɨkákum*

ɨmɨsa-tu-ma-ra-i-mɨ   imaĩ   imaĩ   wɨka-a-**ku**-mɨ

ruin-APP-REFL-DISTR-APPR-2SG.SBJ over.there   over.there   walk-IPFV-**SIM**-2SG.SS

'May you not ruin yourself [i.e. your own life] while you walk far over there.'

        In (13), an interesting copy-verb strategy can be observed. The first instance of the verb 'plead' is subordinated with the simultaneous *-ku*, the second 'plead' is the main verb and occurs with the past habitual =*hak* (which in the example occurs as a separate phonological word). The passage tells how the Wampis elders who knew *anɨnta* 'magical song' pleaded with *Nunkui*, a being related to earth, agriculture and good hunting.

(13) *u͡tsúmkaʃ puhústɨɲa núna kámɨ aruttí túsar sɨuɟéɨɲak núu úun já͡tʃa ɛ́ɛɲa núka sɨuɟá hakáruiti*

u͡tsuma-ka-t͡ʃa puhu-sa-tinu=a   nu=na   kamɨ

lack-INTENS-NEG live-ATT-FUT.NMLZ=COP NON.VIS=ACC   INTERJ

a-ru-tu-ti   tu-sa-arã   sɨa-ina-**kũ**

exist-APPL-1SG.OBJ-JUSS say-SUB-3PL.SS   plead-PL.IPFV-**SIM\3.SS**

nu   uunta ia͡tʃa   a-ina   nu=ka   sɨa   hak-ara-u=iti

NON.VIS elder   wise   COP-PL.IPFV NON.VIS=FOC plead HAB.PT-PL-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

'To live without needing, [the elders] to that[274] saying "to have (Lit.: 'let it exist to my benefit')", [the elders] while pleading, the wise elders used to plead.'

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274. The speaker is referring to Nunkui.

19.6.2. Different subject in simultaneous clauses

DS simultaneous subordinate clauses add the suffix *-(n)ĩ*, as stated in §19.4.2.

Example (14) shows a simultaneous DS subordination. In the context from where the

example comes, a young man talks to his father about becoming a peccary. The

simultaneous marking of the subordinate gives an overlapping temporal sense between

the actions (what the youth is saying and what his father is thinking while he hears it).

(14) *páki nahaánartasan wakírahεε túsã tóo tímaji tákuĩ apáriŋkʲa aántran͡tsuk tátεε túsã . .
.*

paki	nahaana-ra-tasa-nu	wakɨra-ha-i	tu-sã
peccary	make-DISTR-PURP-1SG.SS	want + IPFV-1SG.DECL	say-SUB\3.SS

ta-u	timaji	[ta-**ku**-ĩ]	apa-rĩ = ka
SAY + IPFV-NMLZ	NARR	say + IPFV-**SIM**-DS	father-1PL/2PL/3.POSS = FOC

aanturã = t͡su = kɨ		ta-tai	tusã
in.vain\3.SS = INFER = RESTR		say + IPFV-INFER	say-SUB\3.SS

'[The youth] said: "I want to become a peccari", while he was saying that, his father
saying: "He must be lying" (Lit.: 'He must be speaking in vain') . . .'

There is an important alternation in the form of the simultaneous subordinator

in DS clauses. The simultaneous *-ku* often times assumes the form *-ka*.[275] This alternation

of vowels is not well-understood at present, but it does not seem to be related to any

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275. Actually, in most examples of simultaneous DS clauses the form of the simultaneous suffix
is *-ka*. But notice that *-ku* also occurs, as in (13) above.

synchronic rule. What is more, the alternation in the vast majority of cases occurs in DS

clauses (there are very few examples[276] of the form *-ka* attested in SS clauses).[277] For

instance, in (15), the simultaneous + DS marker sequence is pronounced [kɛɛ̃] and not

[kuĩ]. Thus, the underlying representation must be */kaĩ/*—recall that the sequence /ai/

in Wampis is pronounced either [ɛɛ] or [ɛi] (cf. §3.7.1).[278]

(15) *kiárɛɛ̃ wɨkaímiahi kámɨ huákmiahi kintamɨakɛɛ̃*

kiaraĩ	wɨka-i-mia-hi		kamɨ
at.sunset	walk-LOAF-DIST.PT-1PL.SBJ + DECL		INTERJ

hua-ka-mia-hi	kintama-a-**ka**-ĩ
STAY-INTENS-DIST.PT-1PL.SBJ + DECL	become.night-IPFV-**SIM**-DS

'At sunset, we went, and we stayed when it was becoming dark.'

19.7. Sequential subordinate clauses ∅

Sequential subordinate clauses present the events of two or more clauses in

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276. Only three examples of the form *-ka* in SS clauses were found in a search in 40 Wampis texts and all of them occur with the resumptive verb *nuni* 'do that'. The remaining occurrences of *-ka* are in DS clauses, occurring in 53 instances (95%) in the same texts.

277. Some other morphemes in Wampis also show this *u~a* alternation. For example, the applicative form *-tu,* sometimes surfaces as *-ta.* What remains a mystery to me, though, is why the simultaneous form *-ka,* as far as I know, occurs with such vast propensity in DS clauses.

278. Speakers also wrote <ka> instead of the expected *-ku* when I asked them to help me identify the suffix while translating texts (this is not unexpected, though, because the writing practice of Wampis speakers is not normalized yet; i.e. writing is based on how they hear the sounds).

succession or temporal sequence. In Wampis, subordinate verbs in sequential clauses are zero-marked. The subordinate verb must be formed with a perfective stem (with one of the available aktionsart suffixes)[279] plus the respective person markers. The relationship between perfectivity and sequentiality has been argued for in the broader literature (Hopper 1979; Fleischman 1990); but see various studies (Payne & Shirtz 2015), which show it is not universal. The motivation to use the perfective is presumably to let the discourse move on by presenting discrete, successive actions. In SS sequential clauses the [perfective stem + person markers] structure is enough to identify the verb as sequential. DS sequential clauses are marked with a portmanteau -*mataĩ* in 1SG and 3 persons, and with a person marker plus the DS marker -*(n)ĩ* for 2 and 1PL persons. A paradigm of the sequential subordinate form with the verb *puhu* 'live' is presented in Table 19.9. The "preferred" aktionsart suffix that occurs with the verb *puhu* 'live' to form the aktonsart stem is the attenuative -*sa*.

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279. But recall that not all verbs select an aktionsart suffix.

Table 19.9. Paradigm of verb *puhu* 'live' in SS and DS sequential clauses

Person	Sequential SS clause	Sequential DS clause
1SG	puhu-sa-nu	puhu-sa-mataĩ
2SG	puhu-sa-mɨ	puhu-sa-mi-nĩ
3SG	puhu-sã	puhu-sa-mataĩ
1PL	puhu-sa-ri	puhu-sa-ri-nĩ
2PL	puhu-sa-rumɨ	puhu-sa-rumi-nĩ
3PL	puhu-sa-ara	puhu-sa-ara-mataĩ

19.7.1. Same-subject sequential clauses

SS sequential clauses have a zero form subordinator, and the subordinate verb is marked for person.

In (16), the verb 'make' is marked as a SS sequential clause. The verb occurs with the high affectedness aktionsart suffix *-á* and it is marked with the 1PL person form the set of subordinate person markers (in this case *-ri* (cf. Table 19.9)). Notice that the reference clause contains a normative construction with a copula plus a nomizalition. One of the predicative functions of the patient/location nominalizer *-taĩ* is to mark a normative tense with the meaning of "what we usually do". Even though the copula is marked for 3 person, the normative is understood as 1PL, thus the SS person marking in the subordinated verb 'make' is 1PL. The verb 'fix' in the context of the example assumes

the meaning of 'prepare'.

(16) *nihʲámt͡ʃíkʲa tú iwʲartɛi̠nti tú nahanár umutéi̠nti wampistíkʲa*

nihamã͡tʃi = ka		tu	iuara-tai̠ = aiti
manioc.beer = FOC		thus	fix = NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

[tu	nahana-**á-ri**]	umu-tai̠ = aiti	wampisa = tí = ka
thus	make-**HIAF-1PL.SS**	drink-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL	Wampis = PL.SAP = FOC

'The manioc beer thus we prepare, having prepare [it] thus, we the Wampis drink.'

The next example comes from a text in which the speaker explains how to make

manioc beer. As can be observed, there is a string of sequential clauses, all marked as

1SG.SS. All dependent verbs are marked with an aktionsart suffix (in the example, the

intensive *-ka* and the attenuative *-sa* occur on the subordinated verbs) and their

interpretation is perfective. The dependent clauses are all subordinated to the clause

containing the finite verb 'crush', which appears at the end of the string.

(17) *hii̠núm ɨkíŋkan i̠nárkan nuĩ́ i̠níkan apúhsan ihúahɛɛ*

[hii = numa	ɨkɨna-ka-nu]	[inara-ka-nu]
fire = LOC	set.fire-INTENS-1SG.SS	cook-INTENS-1SG.SS

nuĩ	[ɨnɨ-ka-nu]	[apuhu-sa-nu] ihu-a-ha-i
there	take.out.of.fire-INTENS-1SG.SS	put-ATT-1SG.SS crush-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'[I] having put it (i.e. the manioc) in the fire, cooked it, there, having taken it out of the fire and put it [on a surface], I crush it.'

In (18), there is another example with SS sequential clauses. The example comes

from a text in which the speaker tells about the foundation of the Wampis town of

Puerto Galilea (one of the founders is the elder mentioned in the example, Alfonso

Graña). The resumptive verb 'do that', plus 'arrive' and 'speak', are all ordered

sequentially, and temporally the events in the subordinate clauses all occurred before

the event of the verb 'take' in the reference clause (which appears at the end of the

example). The clauses that contain a subordinate verb are in square brackets [ ].

(18) *iríŋku D. B. naántin taámiaji nútikʲa taá eskuéla uréimi túsã t͡ʃít͡ʃás huiŋá túkɨ átiŋa nú*
na ut͡ʃín hukíñɛiti Alfonso Graŋa . . . Pukálpa hukíñɛiti

18.a

irinku	D. B.	naã-tinu		ta-á-mia-ji
white.person	D. B.	name\1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRIB	arrive-HIAF-DIST.PT-3.PT + DECL

'One white man whose name was D. B. arrived,'

18.b

[nutika-ā́]	[ta-ā́]	[[eskuela	ura-i-mi
do.that-HIAF\3.SS	arrive-HIAF/3SG.SS	school	open-LOAF-HORT

tu-sã]	t͡ʃít͡ʃa-sã]
say-SUB\3SG.SS	speak-ATT/3SG.SS

'having done that, having arrived, having said: "Let's build a school",'

18.c

huĩ = ia	tukɨ	a-tinu = a	nu = na
here = ABL	INTERJ	COP-FUT.NMLZ = COP	NON.VIS = ACC

ut͡ʃi = na	hu-ki-inu = aiti	Alfonso Graŋa
child = ACC	take-WHILE.MOVING-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL	Alfonso Graña

'he took that young man who was going to be from here (i.e. who would found the town), Alfonso Graña . . .'

18.d

Pukalpa hu-ki-inu = aiti

Pucallpa take-while.moving-nmlz = cop.3 + decl

'he took him to [the city of] Pucallpa.'

19.7.2. Different subject sequential clauses

As presented in Table 19.9, DS sequential clauses are marked with *-mataĩ* for 1sg

and 3 persons, and with *person + -(n)ĩ* for 2 and 1PL persons. As the name indicates, DS

sequential clauses describe events in temporal sequence, in which the subject of the

event predicated by the dependent clause is different from the subject of the reference

clause. Instances of DS sequential clauses can be observed in (19)–(20). In (19), the

different subject is a 3 person ('toucan' in the subordinated clause, and 'Ikam' in the

reference clause), so the suffix *-mataĩ* is used on the subordinate verb.

(19) t͡sukaŋká ninákmataĩ íkʲam tukúmají

[t͡sukanká nina-ka-**mataĩ**] íkama tuku-ma-ji

toucan fly-INTENS-**1SG/3.DS** Forest shoot.PFV-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

'When the toucan flew, Ikam shot it.'

On the other hand, in (20), the different subjects are 2SG person in the

subordinate clause and 1SG person in the reference clause. Thus, the 2SG DS of the

subordinated clause is marked with a person marker *plus* the DS suffix *-(n)ĩ,* in

accordance with the paradigm previously given in Table 19.9.

(20) *umarú háime wíʃa ámɨ hɨ̃́min puháhɛɛ ámɨ unts͡úrkaʔmin taáhɛɛ*

uma-rú	haime	ui = ʃa	amɨ	hɨ̃ɨ-mi = nɨ̃
brother-1SG\VOC	Jaime	1SG = ADD	2SG	house/POSS-2SG = LOC

puha-ha-i
live/be + IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

[amɨ	unts͡u-ru-ka-**mi-nɨ̃**]	ta-á-ha-i
2SG	call-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-**2SG-DS**	arrive-HIAF-1SG-DECL

'My brother Jaime, I too am in your house, you having called me, I have come.'

19.8. Imperfective different subject subordination ∅

An imperfective stem with a "zero" subordinator can appear in switch reference constructions and its interpretation is somewhat similar to simultaneous clauses with -*ku*. However, unlike the subordinator -*ku*, this imperfective subordination only occurs in DS clauses, marked with the DS suffix -*(n)ɨ̃*. Thus, the structure of the imperfective DS subordinate verb is similar to the DS simultaneous subordinate verb (§§19.6.2), minus the subordinator -*ku*:

<div align="center">

IMPERFECTIVE STEM-PERSON-*(n)ɨ̃*

</div>

A paradigm with the verb *puhu* (the imperfective stem is *puha* from puhu 'live' + -a 'Imperfective'; for 3PL, -*ina* 'Plural imperfective' is used) is given in Table 19.10.

Table 19.10. Paradigm of *puhu* 'live' in Imperfective DS clauses

Person	DS marking
1SG	puha-ĩ
2SG	puha-mi-nĩ
3SG	puha-ĩ
1PL	puha-ri-nĩ
2PL	puha-rumi-nĩ
3PL	puha-ina-ĩ

Notice, again, that the marking of 1SG/3 persons is neutralized, whereas 2/1PL

remain with their respective person markers. The next example illustrates the use of the

DS marker *-(n)ĩ*.

(21) *tikítʃka pakí mẽĩɲeĩ níŋkʲa pakí wíamunam ímani útʃika patáatukĩ pakí wíu tímaji*

[tikít͡ʃi = ka   pakí   mã-ina-**ĩ**]
other = FOC   peccary\ACC   kill-PL.IPFV-**DS**

nĩ = ka   páki   wɨ-a-mau = nama
3SG = FOC   peccary   go-IPFV-NMLZ = LOC

imani ut͡ʃi = ka   pataa-tu-kĩ   pakí   wɨ-u   timaji
INTS   child = FOC follow-APPL-WHILE.MOVING\3.SS peccary\ACC go-NMLZ NARR

'Other [people] were killing peccaries, [but] the he (i.e. the young man), when the peccaries were gone, the young man having followed the peccaries, he went away.'

19.9. Same-subject only subordinators

There are subordinators in Wampis that are only used in SS clauses. They

receive the same person marking of the simultaneous SS clauses as described in Table

19.7. SS-only subordinators are: *-tahkamá* Frustrative', *-hkama* 'Terminative', *-tasa*

'Purpose' and *-kaua* 'Reduplicative'.

19.9.1. Frustrative *-tahkamá*

The expression of frustration is a grammatical category in Wampis. The

frustrative construction can be structurally defined as:

$$[\text{V-\small FRUST}, \text{V}_{\small MAIN}]$$

The subordinate verb receives the frustrative suffix and an overt main reference

clause states the source[280] or the consequence of the frustration. Semantically, the

frustrative codifies an action that is done in vain, i.e. the expected outcome fails to be

realized. Typologically, frustrative as a grammatically-marked category is not

commonly found across-languages; however, it does seem to be a category employed by

a fair number of languages of the greater Amazon region (Payne & Payne 1990; Dietrich

2006; Aikhenvald 2012: 183–185).

The use of *-tahkamá* is exemplified in (22). In this case, the frustrative suffix is

received by a perfective stem of the verb 'say' (marked as perfective by the the low

affectedness aktionsart suffix *-i*—in the example, *ti* is composed of *tu* 'say' plus *-i* 'Low

affectedness'):

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280. Statements equivalent to being 'unable' or 'have difficulty' to carry out an action are also
considered 'source' of frustration by this definition.

(22) *mĩɲaka jatsúrnaka manturtuáwarɛ̃ titahkamɐ̃́ úutu tímaji*

mina = ka	iatsu-ru = na = ka	mã-tu-ru-tu-áu-ara-ĩ[281]
1SG.GEN = FOC	brother-1SG = FOC	kill-APPL-1SG.OBJ-APPL-HIAF-PL-3.PFV + DECL

ti-**tahkamɐ̃́**	uu-tu-u	timaji
say + LOAF-**FRUST\3.SS**	cry-APL-NMLZ	NARR

'[he] wanted to say "they killed my brother (to my detriment)", but he cried.'

In the next example, because the character had been hiding the food from her husband, he got angry and tore her mouth, so she cannot pronounce words well. When her husband abandons her, she tries to say something but she is unable to:

(23) *auhuʃa nunik uutahkamɐ̃́ wáa ɛ́iʃrua titahkamɐ̃́ waúhu waúhu tóo tímaji*

auhu = ʃa	nuni-kã	uuta-hkamɐ̃́
Common.Potoo = ADD	do.that-INTENS\3SG.SS	cry + IPFV-TERM/3SG.SS

wa	aiʃi-ru-a	ti-**tahkamɐ̃́**
IDEO	husband-1SG-AFF	say + LOAF-**FRUST/3SG.SS**

wauhu	wauhu	ta-u	timaji
IDEO	IDEO	say + IPFV-NMLZ	NARR

'Auhu, having done that, upon crying, she wanted to say "ay, my husband!", but she said "wauhu wauhu".'

Historically, the Wampis frustrative *-tahkamá* may have developed from a periphrastic desiderative construction. First, for comparison consider Table 19.11, which shows the different frustrative constructions in Jivaroan languages.

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281. This is one of the examples where there seems to be a double marking of the applicative. This was previously commented in §13.2.3.

Table 19.11. Frustrative constructions in Jivaroan languages[a]

Shuar	Achuar-Shiwiar	Awajun	Wampis
-tah tukamá	-tat kamá	-takama	-tahkamá

[a] Data comes from: Turner (1992) for Shuar, Fast et al. (1996) for Achuar-Shiwiar and Overall (2007) for Awajun.

Following arguments expressed in Overall (2007: 386), the frustrative suffix

seems to have grammaticalized in Awajun and Wampis from a construction in which

the subordinate verb received the desiderative *-tah* and was dependent on the verb *tu*

'say' marked with an (old?)[282] terminative *-kamá* form. This can be more clearly

observed with examples from Shuar:[283]

(24) <ijiatma-r-taj tu-kamá iniáje-a-wa-i>
  defecate-DISTR-DES say-TERM\3.SS be.constipated-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'Though he wants to defecate, he is constipated' (Spanish original: 'Aunque quiera defecar, está estreñido') (Pellizaro & Náwech 2005: 183)

(25) <taka-s-taj tu-kama-n (umi-k-cha-m-ja-i)>
  work-ATT-DES say-TERM-1SG.SS complete-INTENS-NEG-PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'Even though I worked, I did not complete it' (Spanish original: 'A pesar de haber trabajado, (no cumplí)' (Turner 1992: 83)

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282. Notice that the terminative suffix in Wampis is *-hkamá*, whereas the cognate forms in other Jivaroan languages is *-kamá*. See §19.9.2 for a description of the terminative in Wampis.

283. The examples are presented as they appear in the original sources. I retain the alphabetic conventions in those sources, thus <j> = /h/ and <ch> = /t͡ʃ/. The glosses are mine—notice that Pellizaro and Náwech do not gloss the example, and Turner glosses *tukama* as 'even though' ('a pesar de').

So the old complex construction had the semantics of 'On saying I want to do X, (X failed to be realized)'. In Wampis, it seems that the verb 'say' that used to be in the original periphrastic construction has been phonologically eroded, and the remaining morphology collapsed onto the desiderative *-tah*. The desiderative *-tah* historically contained a future marker *-ta* (which synchronically in Wampis is the 'Immediate future') plus the first singular person marker *-ha*. This explains the "strange" modern form *tahkamá* with a consonant /h/ as coda in the first syllable (as we saw in Chapter III, underlyingly, Wampis syllables always end in a vowel), as well as why the modern suffix *tahkamá* does not delete any of its vowels (historically, the expression fossilized with an elided vowel).

19.9.2. Terminative *-hkamá*

The terminative *-hkamá* indicates the ending limit of the action of the subordinate clause relative to the (punctual) expression of the event of the reference clause. The terminative construction involves a subordinate verb with an imperfective stem marked with *hkamá* plus a perfective-marked verb in the reference clause:

[V-TERM, V_{MAIN}]

Semantically, the event of the subordinate clause marked with *-hkamá* is

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interpreted as an ongoing action that ends as the event of the reference clause is performed. Unlike simultaneous clauses, terminative clauses do not imply simultaneity in the events of the subordinate and reference clauses; and unlike sequential clauses, the event in the subordinate clause is seen as ongoing (whereas in sequential clauses the event is bound, perfective). This can be seen in the next example. A group of people goes searching for a young man that had left his family to live with peccaries. The action of searching concludes as they find the young man's tracks:

(26) *pakí patáatuk ijahkamã́ nawí wɛínkʲar . . .*

pakí	pataa-tu-kã	ii-a-**hkamã́**
peccary\ACC	follow-APPL-INTENS\3.SS	see-IPFV-**FRUST****3SG.SS**

nawɨ̃	uaina-ka-ara
foot\1PL/2PL/3.POSS	see-INTENS-3PL.SS

'When they were following the peccaries, they found his [the young man's] foot prints . . .' (Lit.: 'Having followed the peccaries, upon looking around, having found the foot prints . . .')

In (27), the verb 'thus happen' receives the terminative subordinator:

(27) *miɲíɲa tímaji tumahkamã́ wɛíɳkʲaru tímaji jakí ikímas kɨnkúkanam atʃímas*

uini-ina	timaji	tuma-a-**hkamã́**	uaina-ka-ara-u	timaji
come-PL.IPFV	NARR	thus.happen-IPFV-**TERM****3SG.SS**	see-INTENS-PL-NMLZ	NARR

iakí	ikɨma-sã	kɨnkuka=nama	atʃi-ma-sã
above\LOC	sit-SUB\3.SS	bamboo=LOC	grab-REFL-SUB\3SG.SS

'They were coming, on happening thus, they saw [the girl] sitting above, grabbing herself in the bamboo.'

The form of the Wampis terminative *-hkamá* slightly differs from its cognates in

other Jivaroan languages. Awajun has the form *-kama* (Overall 2007: 384). There is no

certain data from Achuar, Shiwiar and Shuar, but some examples found in Fast et al.

(1996) and Pellizaro and Náwech (2005) may suggest that there exists a form *-kamá*

(perhaps not very productive anymore?)[284] in Achuar-Shiwiar and Shuar. Without a

context the clauses in the examples may be interpreted with a terminative meaning;

nevertheless, the cited authors seem to translate them with a frustrative meaning

(unfortunately there are no explanations provided for the examples). That said, notice

that the structure of the frustrative construction presented by Fast et. al. (1996) for

Achuar-Shiwiar and Turner (1992) for Shuar (as summarized previously in Table 19.11)

is different from what can be observed in (28)–(29):

(28) <uchi   yutá-n   yu-kamá   kajeem-ra-yi> (Achuar-Shiwiar)
     child   food-ACC   eat-TERM?/FRUST?   choke-DISTR-3.PFV+DECL
'The child choked trying to eat the food' (Spanish original: 'El niño se atoró tratando de tragar la comida') (Fast et al. 1996: 153)

(29) <Eem-kamá   ja-ká-yi> (Shuar)
     go.forward-TERM?/FRUST?   die-INTENS-3.PFV+DECL
'Because of going forward, he died.' (Spanish original: 'Por adelantarse se murió') (Pellizaro & Náwech 2005: 158)

Another important morphosyntactic difference with the Awajun terminative

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284. Saad states that, in Shuar, *-kamá* is only found fosilized in the frustrative (Saad 2014: 137). But see example (29) below for a possible example of *-kamá* in Shuar.

construction is that in Awajun the form *-kama* attaches to an unmarked stem, whereas

in Wampis it attaches to an imperfective stem. If it is assumed that the suffix *-kamá* in

the above examples from Achuar-Shiwiar and Shuar are cognates with the Wampis

terminative suffix, then it can be seen that in those Jivaroan languages the cognate

suffix *-kamá* apparently also attaches to an unmarked stem. The difference in

morphosyntactic behavior and phonological form seem to point to a different historical

development for the Wampis terminative *-hkamá*. Speculatively, it seems like in Wampis

the suffix comes from an imperfect stem marked for person (a paralel with the

frustrative construction suggests that this was a 1SG *-ha*)[285] plus the old form **-kamá*.

Eventually, the 1SG person marker + **-kamá* portion would have been reanalyzed into

the modern terminative, whereas in the other languages **-kamá* continued to be the

terminative.

19.9.3. Purpose *-tasa*

The suffix *-tasa* introduces a purpose adverbial; i.e. a clause that exhibits an

intention to motivate the realization of an event "which must be unrealized at the time

of the main event" (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007: 250). The next examples

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285. Another person marker that contains an /h/ is the 1PL *-hi*.

illustrate purpose clauses.

(30) *núna ʃuará wɛínkʲar máa t͡ʃit͡ʃástasa ipʲármiaji*

nu = na	ʃuará	uaina-ka-ara	ma
NON.VIS = ACC	person\ACC	see-INTENS-3PL.SS	INTERJ

t͡ʃit͡ʃa-sa-**tasã**	ipa-ara-mia-ji
speak-ATT-**PURP\3.SS**	invite-PL-DIST.PT-3.PT + DECL

'Having seen that person, they would invite him to speak.'

(31) *húu t͡ʃit͡ʃáman uháktasan táhamɨ*

hu	t͡ʃit͡ʃama = na	uha-ka-**tasa**-nu	ta-hamɨ
PROX	problem = ACC	inform-INTENS-**PURP**-1SG.SS	say + IPFV-1SG > 2SG + DECL

'I tell you to inform you of that problem.'

For Shuar, Turner (Turner 1992: 82-83) has suggested that *-tasa* may be a

contraction of < taj tsa- > / < taj tu-sa > which can be analyzed as:

(Stem)-*tah*	*tu-sa*
(Stem)-DES	say-SUB

Following Turner's analyzis, the modern Wampis purpose suffix *-tasa* likely

developed from a similar construction, i.e. from a desiderative construction involving

the verb 'say' marked with the non-temporal subordinator *-sa*. The phonological

reduction may be explained by the intermediate form **tah-tsa* (not present anymore in

Wampis but reported by Turner for Shuar) with the vowel /u/ of *-tu* elided: **tah-tu-*

sa > *tah-tsa* > *tasa*. Additional comparative evidence comes from Awajun, where the

fossilized verb *tu* 'say' can still be observed in the 3 person purpose marker *-tatus* < **-ta*

'Desiderative future', *tu* 'say' and *-sa* 'Subordinator' (Overall 2007: 382).

The purpose subordinator *-tasa* is used in complement functions with the desire verb *uakɨru* 'want' (§20.3.2). While semantically a complement, the structure involved in this type of complementation is the same as that used for switch-reference subordination.

19.9.4. Reduplicative *-kaua*

The reduplicative *-kaua* indicates the reiterative nature of the action of the event described in the subordinate clause. The presence of the suffix *-kaua* (iconically) triggers the reduplication of all the phonetic material up until the second surface mora (i.e. second vowel from the left) of the marked verb. The reduplicated material always occurs preposed to the marked-verb. The reduplicative occurs on an imperfective verb stem. The vowel /u/ of the suffix *-kaua* allows for internal vowel elision of the preceding /a/ vowel in cases when this /a/ occupies a position in which it can be elided. This suggests that historically the suffix *-kaua* may be decomposable into the formatives *-ka* and *-ua*. The possible meanings of these hypothesized formatives are not known at present. The reduplicative construction can be summarized as:

[Redup Verb-redup]

As stated above, the event of the clause marked with *-kaua* presents a reiterative

action that spans a certain amount of time. In (32), a 1sg participant comments about

how he was fishing during a trip into the forest, and then how his group continues

moving to find a place to camp:

(32) *putúŋka huwá huwákuan ɛímkamiahɛɛ ójanam flétʃaheɛ̃ ihʲún máa máakuan tikítʃ aʃí ʃíir núkap maámiahɛɛ nutikan wía wíakuar ítsa kiakeĩ atakʃa nuĩ hintʲá huwákmiahi*

32.a

putu=na=ka		huwa	huu-a-**kaua**-nu
carachama=ACC=FOC		REDUP	gather-IPFV-**REDUP**-1SG.SS

aima-ka-mia-ha-i		oja=nama
fill-INTENS-DIST.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL		pot=LOC

'Gathering and gathering *carachama* fish, I filled the pot;'

32.b

fletʃa=haĩ	ihu-nu		maa	mã-a-**kaua**-nu
harpoon=COM	stab.PFV-1SG.SS		REDUP	kill-IPFV-**REDUP**-1SG.SS

tikítʃi	aʃi	ʃiira	nukapɨ	mã-á-mia-ha-i		nutika-a-nu
other	all	very	many	kill-HIAF-DIST.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL		do.that-IPFV-1SG.SS

'having stabbed with the harpoon, killing and killing, many other [fish] I fished having
done that;'

32.c

wɨa	wɨ-a-**kaua**-ri		ɨtsã	kia-a-ka-ĩ
REDUP	go-IPFV-REDUP-1PL.SS		sun	get.dark-IPFV-SIM-DS

atakʃa nuĩ   hintʲá   huá-ka-mia-hi
again there trail\LOC   stay-INTENS-DIST.PT-1PL.SBJ+DECL
'[we] going and going, when the sun was setting, there, again on the trail we stayed.'

In the next example, the reiterated action is 'walk':

(33) *waká wakákuã kaʃikí taá tímaji*

uaka   uaka-a-kauã   kaʃi=kɨ́   ta-á   timaji
REDUP walk-IPFV-REDUP\3.SS   night=RESTR\LOC   arrive-HIAF   NARR
'Walking and walking, he would arrived at night.'[286]

Apparently, an extended function of the reduplicative *-kaua* is to intensify the

action of the marked verb. For instance, in (34), the reduplication emphasizes the

action of crying, rather than indicating that the child cries several times:

(34) *awatím kámɨ ut͡ʃi úutu timaji úu úutɨakua kamɨ ut͡ʃi jakí wákoo timaji h̃ɨ̨á nɛíntin*

auati-ma   kamɨ   ut͡ʃi uu-tu-u   timaji
hit+LOAF-NON.SBJ>SBJ INTERJ   child   cry-APPL-NMLZ   NARR

uu   uu-tu-a-kaua   kamɨ
REDUP   cry-APPL-IPFV-REDUP   INTERJ

ut͡ʃi   iakí   ua-ka-u   timaji h̃ɨ̆á   naintĩ=nĩ
child   above\LOC climb-INTENS-NMLZ NARR   house\GEN top\1PL/2PL/3.POSS=LOC
'When they hit her, the child cried, crying and crying, the child climbed up above to the
roof of the house.'

19.10. Non-canonical switch-reference

Wampis possesses two switch-reference markers that do not behave like the

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286. The verb 'walk' is *uɨka*. I was told that the form *uaka,* which occurs in this example, is a
variant pronounced by some Wampis speakers.

canonical switch-reference system described in the preceding sections. In canonical switch-reference, subject continuity is tracked among different clauses; however, in non-canonical switch-reference at least one of the participants in the subordinate clause and in the reference clause is not a subject (Mithun 1993; Stirling 1993). Wampis possesses two another reference tracking system that marks a transition between events where at least one co-referential participant is not a subject in one of the clauses of the subordinating construction: *-ma* 'Non-subject to Subject" and *-tatamana* 'Subject to Object'. In each case, the second-named role of the glosses is the role of the "reference" clause. Thus, the Wampis non-canonical switch-reference can be described as a device that tracks the continuity of a participant through a shift of scenes, regardless of whether it is a subject or not. Table 19.12 summarizes the marking of participants with *-ma* and *-tatamana*.

Table 19.12. Non-canonical switch-reference markers in Wampis

Stem	Suffix	Subordinate clause → Reference clause		
imperfective or aktionsart/perfective	-ma	Non-subject	→	Subject
unmarked aspect	-tatamana	Subject	→	Object

A subordinate verb that carries *-ma* nor *-tatamana* cannot receive person marking. This suggests that a possible historical scenario from where these two switch-reference markers developed was a process of nominalization. Specifically, **-ma* seems to have been an old nominalizer (this hypothesized morpheme seems to be a formative in Set II nominalizer *-mau* 'Non-subject nominalizer' too); the 'subject to object' switch reference *-tatamana* seems to be composed of a formative **tata*, the hypothesized old nominalizer **-ma* and **na*, which is likely related to the current accusative =*na* in modern Wampis. A verb marked with non-canonical switch reference cannot take other subordinators (which in the verb marked with canonical switch-reference occupy the position that precedes the marking of person (cf. Table 19.3)). However, non-canonical switch reference is compatible with the conditional *-ka* (§19.11) and concessive *-ʃa* (§19.12) suffixes. Notably, these suffixes are historically related to the focus marker =*ka* (§18.4) and the additive focus marker =*ʃa* (§18.5), which are usually hosted by nouns and noun phrases.

19.10.1. Non-subject to subject *-ma*

The suffix *-ma* attaches to an aktionsart/perfective stem and indicates that a non-subject participant (a P participant, an object of applicative or a Location) in the

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subordinate clause becomes the subject (A/S participant) of the reference clause.

If -*ma* occurs on transitive verbs, the resulting the sense of the verb is similar to a passive, but there is no true passive in Wampis. For instance, in (35) the subject 'dream' occurs overtly in the nominative case and is not demoted, whereas the object ('him') does not occur as an overt noun phrase (3 person objects are not overtly marked in the verb).

(35) *kára mãám núʃa éiʃmaɲt͡ʃiʃa kanárui*

kara	mã-á-ma	nu=ʃa	áiʃimanku-t͡ʃi=ʃa	kana-ra-u=i
dream	kill-HIAF-NON.SBJ>SBJ	NON.VIS=ADD	man-DIM=ADD	sleep-DISTR-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

'When he was really sleepy (Lit.: 'The dream having killed him'), that little man too fell asleep.'

In (36), the object of the applicative ('her') becomes the subject of the nominalized verb 'melt' in the main clause:

(36) *tíi t͡siɨr ukátram tíi t͡siɨr ukátram miɲáru*

tii	t͡siɨra	uka-tu-ra-**ma**	tii	t͡siɨra	mina-ra-u
INTS	hot	pour.liquid-APPL-**NON.SBJ>SBJ**	INTS	hot	melt-DISTR-NMLZ

'[Because] They poured very hot [water] [on to her], she was one to melt.'

The use of -*ma* to mark a Location-to-Subject interclausal relation is rare but entirely possible. In (37), the location within subordinate clause is co-referent with the subject of the reference clause. Here the location is the 'road' to the town of Bagua, on which a 1SG participant is traveling.

(37) *túra wíi wɨkám Báɣwa hintɨ́n kámɨ nuɨ́ hínt^ja mɨ̃tsáŋkrukamiaji*

tura	ui	wɨka-a-**ma**	Bagua	hintĩ=nĩ
then	1SG	walk-IPFV-**NON.SBJ**＞SBJ	Bagua	trail\1PL/2PL/3.POSS=LOC

kamɨ	nuĩ	hinta	mĩtsánkVru-ka-mia-ji
INTERJ	there	trail	collapse-INTENS-DIST.PT-3.PT＋DECL

'Then, when I traveled on the road to [the town of] Bagua, there, the road collapsed.'

19.10.2. Subject to object *-tatamana*

The suffix *-tatamana* indicates that the subject (an A/S participant) of the

subordinate clause is co-referent with an object (a P participant) of the reference clause.

(38) *wɨ́tatman hɨɨ�materík wɨ́tatman ípati mãáwaru tímaji*

wɨ-**tatamana**	hɨa-á-tata-kũ[287]	wɨ-tatamana
go-**SBJ**＞**OBJ**	arrive-HIAF-DEF.FUT-SIM\3.SS	go-SBJ＞OBJ

ípatĩ	mã-áu-ara-u	timaji
shoot＋LOAF\3.SS	kill-HIAF-PL-NMLZ	NARR

'He was going, when he was about to arrive, having shooting him, they killed him.'

The following passage from a narrative nicely summarizes the complex

conveyance of information that speakers can accomplish with non-canonical switch-

reference *-ma* 'Non-subject to subject' and *-tatamana* 'Subject to object'. The passage

describes how a woman named Ipak turns into the *achiote* (*Bixa orellana*) tree, and why

the red squirrel (who in the myth is a man named Kunam) is red-colored. To help guide

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287. Notice here another example of the future＋simultaneous construction previously
mentioned in §19.6.

the reading of the passage, I include a parenthetical indication of the grammatical role

of the co-referent participants (either Ipak or Kunam) on the right side of the gloss line.

A ">" symbol means that the grammatical role of the co-referent participant changes in

the next main clause.

(39) *ipʲákun nahaánartasa puhóon kámɨ nahaánar waháttaman warúku tímaji náa kúnam*
nútikʲa warám núka ipʲákka nahaánarka húu nahaánatɛ̄k nirɨ́k apíhʲuma wahásu tíma-
ji nútika ímani kúnam kámɨ watátman tapít at͡ʃík ʃaúkasa jákar akúpkau tímaji

39.a

Ipaku=na	nahaana-ra-tasa	puha-u=na	kamɨ
Achiote=ACC	make-DISTR-PURP	live/be+IPFV-NMLZ=ACC	INTERJ

'That Ipak that was to transform...

39.b (**Ipak: SBJ in this clause >OBJ in next clause**)

nahaana-ra	uaha-**tatamana**
make-DISTR	stand-**SBJ>OBJ**

'having transformed [into a tree]...

39.c (**Ipak: OBJ**)

ua-ru-ka-u	timaji	naa	Kunampɨ
climb-APPL-INTENS-NMLZ	NARR	HESIT.PRO	Red.squirrel

'umm, Kunam climbed (i.e. Kunam climbed Achiote).'

39.d (**Ipak: OBJ in this clause > SBJ in next clause**)

nutikã	ua-ru-a-**ma**	nu=ka	ipaku=ka
do.that+HIAF\3.SS	climb-APPL-IPFV-**NON.SBJ>SBJ**	NON.VIS=FOC	Achiote=FOC

nahanaa-ra=ka
make-DISTR=FOC

'Having done that, when he was climbing [Ipak], that Ipak having transformed...'

39.e **(Ipak: sʙᴊ)**

hu   nahaana-taĩ＝kɨ   nɨrɨ-kã
PROX   make-NMLZ＝RESTR   yield.fruit-INTENS\3.ss

apihu-ma   uaha-sa-u   timaji
bend-REFL   stand-ATT-NMLZ   NARR
'when she was transformed, having yield a lot of fruits, she stood hanging low.'

39.f **(Kunam: sʙᴊ in this clause > oʙᴊ in next clause)**

nutikã   ímani   Kunampɨ   kamɨ   ua-**tatamana**
do.that＋HIAF\3.ss   INTS   Red.squirrel   INTERJ   climb-**sʙᴊ>oʙᴊ**
'Having done that, when Kunam climbed far up...

39.g **(Kunam: oʙᴊ)**

tapit   at͡ʃi-kã   ʃouka-sã   iaka-rã
IDEO   grab-INTENS\3sɢ.ss   ornate-SUB\3sɢ.ss   rub-DISTR\3sɢ.ss

akupɨ-ka-u   timaji
let.go-INTENS-NMLZ   NARR
'[she] having whisked him away, having rubbed him painting him, she let go [of Kunam].'

19.11. Conditional clauses with *-ka*

Conditional constructions mark the protasis (which is the subordinated verb in

Wampis) with *-ka,* whereas the apodosis contains the main finite verb. Unlike all other

previously described subordinators, *-ka* occurs in the last position in the subordinate

verb (fourth morphological slot, as seen previously in Table 19.3). The conditional

suffix can combine with other subordinators that can appear in DS clauses (non-

temporal, simultaneous, sequential and imperfective) and can occur on either an

imperfective or perfective stem.

The structure of the conditional-marked verb can be summarized as:

<small>STEM</small>-(<small>SUBORD</small>)-<small>PERSON</small>-((n)ĩ))-***ka***

Person marking follows the Simultaneous SS and DS pattern (see Table 19.7),

with one important difference: the 1PL can be optionally marked by the suffix *-i* and not

by *-ri*. This 1PL suffix *-i* is unique to conditional clauses in the Wampis data. The person

marking paradigm in conditional clauses is provided in Table 19.13.

Table 19.13. Person marking in conditional clauses

	SS	DS	+ Conditional
1sg	-nu	-ĩ	
2sg	-mɨ	-mi-nĩ	
3sg	Ṽ	ĩ	-ka
1pl	-i / -ri	-i / -ri	
2pl	-rumɨ	-rumi-nĩ	
3pl	-Ṽ	-ĩ	

The following examples illustrate the conditional. In (40), it can be observed

that the conditional occurs on the verb 'exist' that contains the simultaneous suffix *-ka*

plus the DS *-nĩ*:

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(40) káti ʃíir pín̩kɨr kuír ákɛiŋkʲa matʃítrĩ húkĩ t͡supík ahũár kámɨ húu ármaji

katĩ   ʃiira   pínkɨra kuira   a-ka-ĩ-**ka**

shoot (plant)\1PL/2PL/3.POSS   very   well   baby   exist-SIM-DS-**COND**

mat͡ʃita-rĩ   hu-kĩ   t͡supi-kã

machete-1PL/2PL/3.POSS   take-WHILE.MOVING\3.SS   cut-INTENS\3.SS

ahũá-rã   kamɨ   huu-u   a-ara-ma-ji

knock.down-DISTR\3.SS   INTERJ   gather-NMLZ   COP-PL-IMM.PT-3.PT

'If there are very green palm shoots, [the women] having taken the machete, having cut and knocked [the palm shoots] down, they gather [the palm shoots].'

In (41), there are two conditional clauses subordinated to the verb *umu-mai-na＝iti* 'it can be drunk'. Notice that in the first verb (*uma-ka-i-ka*) marked with the conditional, the 1PL is marked as *-i*. The second verb (*uma-ra-tah ta-ku-ri-ka*) is a complex desiderative construction that literally means 'if we say: let's drink' but is translated as 'if we want to drink it', the 1PL is marked with *-ri*. Apparently, there is no difference in marking the 1PL with *-i* or *-ri*.

(41) *kaʃík t͡sawántɛĩkʃa umákɛika umúmɛiɲɛiti jumín umártah takúrka*

kaʃiki   t͡sauanta-ĩ＝kɨ＝ʃa   uma-ka-**i-ka**

early.morning day＝LOC＝REST＝ADD   drink＋IPFV-SIM-**1PL-COND**

umu-mai-na＝iti

drink-POT-NMLZ＝COP.3＋DECL

iumin   uma-ra-tah   ta-ku-**ri-ka**

sweet   drink.PFV-DISTR-DES   say＋IPFV-SIM-**1PL-COND**

'Early next day, if we drink [the plantain drink], it can be drunk (Lit: it is drinkable), if we want to drink it sweet.'

In the next example there is a 2SG participant; the main verb is an imperative form:

(42) *ámɨ uʦúmakmɨka sɨatá*

 amɨ uʦuma-a-ka-mɨ-ka sɨa-tá

2SG lack-IPFV-SIM-2SG-COND plead-IMP

'If you need, request!'

Some examples in the data show that the conditional can occur with non-canonical switch-reference markers too. In (43), a speaker is narrating about the old quarrels between the Awajun and the Wampis, the suffix *-ma* 'Non-subject to subject' occurs with the conditional in the excerpt. Notice that there appears to be a small error of performance in the example—the speaker uses the 3SG pronoun instead of a 3PL. In Wampis, number is optional, so these "errors" are not usually salient as the referents are almost always clear from context.[288]

(43) *mãámka ʃuarán wampísnaʃa kahɨ́rak nĩ́ʃa mã́ hakáruiti*

mã-á-**ma-ka**   ʃuara = na wampisa = na = ʃa

kill-HIAF-**NON.SBJ > SBJ-COND** enemy = ACC Wampis = ACC = ADD

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288. This was translated in Spanish as '*El awajún también mataba*' taking the singular noun to represent the Awajun in general. Many varieties of Spanish allow for a singular noun to refer to a class of entities, though the agreement with the verb is always singular in that case—that is somewhat similar to what the Wampis speaker is doing, but there is an agreement mismatch in the example as there is a plural marking on the nominalized verb.

kahíra-kã	nĩi = ʃa	mã	hak-ára-u = iti
be.angry-INTENS\3.SS	3SG = ADD	kill	PT.HAB-PL-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'If [the Wampis] killed [the Awajun], [the Awajun] having gotten angry, they too used to kill the Wampis enemies.'

19.12. Concessive clauses with -ʃa

Concessive constructions indicate a relationship of contrast or counter-expectation of a main proposition (expressed in the reference clause) relative to a concession of another proposition (expressed in the subordinate clause). Concessive clauses in Wampis are marked by the suffix -ʃa. Like the conditional, the concessive occupies the last morphological position in the subordinate verb. Like conditionals, concessive clauses are compatible with canonical DS switch-reference as well as with non-canonical switch-reference.

The following example is from a text where the speaker is telling how to make a plantain drink. The process consists of boiling the plantain longer than normally, until it is very soft, so that the plantain can be easily mashed and combine with water:

(44) *narúkmatɛĩʃa iɲéisar ukuwá puhútɛiɲɛiti washuktí túsar*

naru-ka-mataĩ-**ʃa**	inai-sa-ri	uku-a
cook-INTENS-1SG/3.DS-**CONCESS**	leave-ATT-1PL.SS	boil-IPFV

puhu-taĩ = aiti	uaʃu-ka-tí	tu-sa-ri
live/be-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL	become.brown-INTENS-JUSS	say-SUB-1PL.SS

'Even though [the plantain] is cooked, we leave it boiling so that it becomes brown (Lit.: 'we leave it boiling, saying: "let it become brown".'

In the next example, a group of people is having trouble when their canoe is

about to sink. In spite of asking some young men for help, they do not help:

(45) *tútaɪ̃ʃa útʃikʲa ántitʃarmiaji*

tu-taɪ̃-ʃa	utʃi-ka	anti-t͡ʃa-ara-mia-ji
say-1/3.DS-CONCESS	child-FOC	hear+LOAF-NEG-PL-DIST.PT-3.PT+DECL

'Even though I told them [to help], the young men did not pay attention.'

In the context from where example (46) comes, the character feels ashamed

because he is sickly. He does not want to be seen by a couple of women that were

waiting for him:

(46) *wahóo tímaji hɪ̃ɥá hiɑ̃́ʃa ikʲám káʃi wɪ́matɛɛ̃ hɪ̃áthɛɛ túsã*

uaha-u	timaji	hɪ̃á	hiɑ̃-ʃa
stand+IPFV-NMLZ	NARR	house\LOC	arrive.PFV-CONCESS

ikám	kaʃi	wɪ-mataɪ̃	hɪ̃a-ta-ha-i	tu-sã
forest	night	come-1/3.ds	arrive-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL	say-SUB\3.SS

'He was standing, although he had arrived, in the forest (i.e. outside of the house), say-ing "when the night has come, I will arrive."

The concessive is historically related to the additive =ʃa, which usually occurs

with NP. According to Overall (2007), the additive in Awajun sometimes has concessive

readings, as in the next example:

(47) Awajun

wɪ-mi	dɪkas	kaʃi-ʃa
go:PFV-HORT	really	night-ADD

'Let's go, really, even though (it is) night.' (Overall 2007: 508)

I have not found examples like (47) in Wampis. What is very common in

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Wampis is to have the sequence $=k\dot{i}=\int a$ '=Restrictive=Additive' assuming functions of

scalar additives ("even") (Krifka 1998; Gast & Van der Auwera 2011). An example of

this function is given in (48).

(48) *wík^ja apátʃkiʃa*
ui=ka   apatʃi=kɨ=ʃa
1SG=FOC   mestizo=RESTR=ADD
'I am not even *mestizo*.'

Likely through this construction with a restricted focus, $=\int a$ developed further

functions such as concessive marking. The relationship between additive and concessive

appears to be very strong cross-linguistically (cf. König (1991), Gast and Van der

Auwera (2011) or discussion in some of the papers in Haspelmath (2004)).

19.13. A brief note on "clause-chaining"

Like many other predicate-final languages, Wampis is also a clause-chaining

language, i.e. speakers can (and usually do) use long strings of subordinate clauses that

are dependent on one reference (=main) clause. This pattern of clauses strung together

constitute a important feature of the Wampis discourse. The following is an example

from a Wampis narrative showing a long series of clauses strung together. The first

clause ('We ten people went') is left in the example to provide a more complete context,

as it connects with a previous string of clauses.

(49)

49.a

[dies ʃuara = tí   wɨ-mia-hi]

ten   person = SAP   go-DIST.PT-1PL.SBJ + DECL

'We ten people went,'

49.b

[taiu   wɨ-ru-a-ku-ri]

oilbird go-APPL-IPFV-SIM-1PL.SS

'while going to *Cueva de los Tayos*,'[289]

49.c

[wɨ-sa-ri]

go-SUB-1PL.SS

'going,'

49.d

[iamai = kɨ = ka   iurumaka   hu-ki-ri]

now = RESTR = FOC   food   take-WHILE.MOVING-1PL.SS

'at the beginning [we] having taken food'

49.e

[paantama   nihamã͡tʃi   umi-ka-ri]

plantain   manioc.beer   prepare-INTENS-1PL.SS

'plantain, having prepared the manioc beer'

49.f

[imani-sa-ri]

do.much-SUB-1PL.SS

'doing that much'

---

289. The literally translation is 'Oilbird' but the speaker is metonymically referring to the caves where the oildbirds live, known with the Spanish name *Cueva de los tayos*.

49.g

[aʃi umi-ka-ri]

all   prepare-INTENS-1PL.SS

'having prepared all,'

49.h

[ii   [iu-á-tinu-rĩ＝ʃa]   [aʃí   hu-ki-ri]

1PL   eat-HIAF-FUT.NMLZ-3/1PL/2PL.POSS＝ADD   all   take-WHILE.MOVING-1PL.SS

'what we were going to eat, having taken all,'

wɨ-mia-hi]

go-dist.pt-1PL.sbj＋decl

'we went.'

In (49), all clauses except the first and last one are non-finite: these are the only

clauses which possess verbs fully marked for TAM, i.e. they are marked for aspect,

tense, person and mood. All other clauses are both non-finite and subordinated, as can

be seen by the use of switch-reference suffixes and subordinators. This type of clause

chain are very typical in Wampis narratives, the study of constructions related to chain

clauses, including possible configurations, relations to aspectual distinctions and issues

of word order remains as a point of research for future study.

CHAPTER XX

RELATIVIZATION, COMPLEMENTATION AND OTHER COMPLEX

CONSTRUCTIONS

20.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the main strategies for relativization, complementation and other complex constructions. The chapter is functionally motivated, as relativization, complementation and the other complex constructions described in this chapter employ different morphosyntactic strategies, specially nominalization (as defined in Chapter XV) and subordination (as defined in Chapter XIX).

The structure of the chapter is as follows: §20.2–§20.3 provide notes on relativization and complementation in Wampis, respectively; §20.4 describes some adverbial constructions involving nominalization; finally, §20.5 describes the Wampis equivalent of a tautological infinitive construction.

20.2. Relativization

A relative clause is one that functions as a modifier of a noun. Relativization is a nominalization process in Wampis. Relative clauses in Wampis are typically postnominal, a syntactic property that they share with adjectives and appositional

phrases. There are two major relativization constructions in Wampis. The first involves

Set II nominalizaers *-u* 'Subject nominalizer' and *-mau* 'Non-subject nominalizer' (see

Chapter XV for a description of nominalizers). Both nominalizers can attach to an

aspectualized stem.

20.2.1. Relative clauses with encliticized demonstrative

The encliticized relative clause construction in Wampis consists of a verb that

can carry aspect, tense and person, but not mood information. In terms of its internal

structure, this construction preserves the argument structure of finite clauses (i.e. the

arguments of the relativized verb receive case marking) and the relativized verb always

occurs in final position. In terms of its external structure, the relativized verb is

inflected for its syntactic role in the matrix clause (2). However, when relativized with a

demonstrative, the copula *a* does not carry any verbal morphology (1). Relative clauses

with encliticized demonstratives can be externally-headed (1) or internally-headed (3).

(1) *ʃuár píŋkɨr anú taáji*

[NHead	Modifier]NP.subject		
ʃuar	[pɨnkɨra	a=nu]	ta-á-ji
person	good	COP=NON.VIS	arrive-HIAF-3.PT+DECL

'The person that is good arrived.'

(2) *táwa núna antúkhɛɛ*

[ta-ua nu] = na   antu-ka-ha-i

say-3.SG NON.VIS = ACC   hear-INTENS-2SG.SBJ-DECL

'I heard what he is saying'

(3) *nɨ̃ɨ puhánuɨ̃ wɨkáktahɛɛ*

[nɨ̃   puhawa = nu] = ɨ̃   wɨka-ka-ta-ha-i

3SG   live + IPFV-3.SBJ   = NON.VIS = LOC   travel-INTENS-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'I am going to travel where he lives.'

20.2.2. Relatives clauses with Set II nominalizers *-u* and *-mau*

Relative clauses with Set II nominalizers *-u* and *-mau* can be headless, externally-headed or internally-head in Wampis (see discussion below for illustrations). In terms of the internal grammar of the relative clause, though relativized (i.e. nominalized) verbs retain certain verbal morphology, they are not fully inflected as main, independent verbs are (see examples here, and Chapter XV for more details). In object relative clauses, the relativized verb in Wampis does not assign case to its object, the head of a relative clause. Thus, even when Wampis nominalizations allow for some verbal structure (they occur in aspectual stems, preferred order is verb-final), relative clauses in the language do not possess certain internal grammar characteristics that are related to a finite verb, such as the marking of core-argument NPs and, more obviously, full finite morphology. As for the external grammar exhibited by relative clauses in Wampis, it is basically that of a nominal, being able to receive most case/oblique and discourse-

related markers that a Wampis NP can usually take.

20.2.2.1. Externally and internally-headed relative clauses

Externally-headed relative clauses have their head outside the relative clause. The most frequently in externally-headed relative clauses is Head-Modifier. Internally-headed relative clauses have their head inside the relative clauses. When the common argument is the subject of the relative clause, the Set I nominalizer -*u* 'Subject nominalizer' is used. Example (4) illustrates the use of the nominalizer -*u* in an externally-head relative clause. The head noun is a core argument of the main verb, in this case the subject. There is a gap strategy employed by the construction, symbolized by ∅ in the morphemic analysis line.

(4) *túra tsiríka nuî puháu hatʃán waínkauwaiti*

[NHead		NModifier	]NP.subject
tura	tsere＝ka	[nuĩ ∅	puja-u]
and	monkey.spec＝FOC	there	live/be＋IMPERF-*NMLZ*

[N]NP.object	V
hacha＝na	waina-ka-u＝ait-i
axe＝ACC	see-INTENS-NMLZ＝COP-DECL

'And the monkey that was there looked for the axe.'

Relativization with -*u* in which the common argument is the object of the main verb is rare in the data gathered for Wampis. In (5) the accusative marker only occurs

attached to the last element of the object of the main verb, which happens to be the

nominalized structure.

(5) *ʃuár nĩ́hʲɛ̃ɪ̃ mããniktasa miɲóunʃa nekáhakuiti*

[ʃuara [nĩ=haĩ   ma-á-nai-ka-tasã   wina-u]]=na=ʃa
person 3SG=COM   kill-HIAF-RECP-INTENS-PURP\3SG.SS come+IPFV-NMLZ=ACC=ADD

nɨka-hak-u-iti
know-HAB.PT-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL
'He knew the person that was coming to fight him.'

  In some other cases, such as in (6), the head and the relativized verb share the

accusative marker.[290] This is analyzed as a case of a nominalized clause ('that was

swimming' in the example below) in an appositive construction with another noun

(t͡sunki 'water being' in the example below).

(6) *t͡sunkín jukumaún ɨntsánam waínkamiahɛi*

[t͡sunki]=na   [juku-ma-u]=na   ɨntsa=nama waina-ka-mia-ha-i
water.being=ACC   swim-DUR-NMLZ=ACC river=LOC   see-INTENS-DIST.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I saw a water-being that was swimming in the river.'

  In the following example, the object relative clause shares the focus marker =*ka*

with other members of the NP because of the presence of the demonstrative, which

triggers agreement of =*ka* among members of an NP (cf. §8.3.1). The object

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290. The only case where the accusative marker occurs in other elements of a NP is when a
demonstrative is present. Demonstratives in Wampis make it obligatory that other nominal and
adjectival/modifying elements in the NP occur with the accusative =*na* and the focus =*ka*. See
example (7) below.

('Arutama') of the relativized verb ('see') does not take accusative marker, neither it

takes the focus =*ka*. This is an indication that, first, *Arutama* is internal to the relative

clause (as it does not take =*ka*), and second, internally, the marked verb of the relative

is treated as a nominal and not as a predicate (as it does not mark its object, *Arutama*,

with the accusative).

(7) *núka ʃuárka arútam waínkouka*

nu = ka   shuara = ka   [arutama   waina-ka-u] = ka
that = FOC   person = FOC   spirit.power   see-INTENS-NMLZ = FOC
'that person who has seen Arutam. . .'

       Compare the previous example with (8). In (8) there is a finite verb with an

accusative-marked object NP.

(8) *arútman waínkamiahεε*

[arutama] = na   waina-ka-mia-ha-i
spirit.power = ACC   see-INTENS-DIST.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I saw an *Arutam.*'

       I turn now to non-subject participants of the relativized verb. Such participants

are relativized with the Set II nominalizer *-mau* 'non-subject nominalizer'. The head

noun is the object of the relativized verb. The example in (9) shows an object

relativization, with a gap strategy.

(9) iʃítʃik aníakmaun áuhmatsahai

[NHead   NModifier   ]NP.object   V
[iʃitʃiki   [∅   anɨa-ka-mau]] = na   auhumatu-sa-ha-i
little.bit   remember-INTENS-NMLZ = ACC   tell-ATT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I've just told the little bit that I remember.'

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When the subject of an object relative clause is an overt nominal, the overt

subject precedes both the object (which is the head of the relative clause) and the

nominalized verb. That is, the structure as a whole is internally headed. This order

shows a good degree of isomorphism between relative clause and main clause word

orders, which are SOV. Notice that in internally headed relative clause structures, the

head of the relativized verb does not carry the accusative marker, just as in example (9)

above. The structural properties of this type of relative clause in Wampis is illustrated in

(10).

(10) *wíi arútam aníakɨamuka kámɨ áwai muukán*

[wi [arutama] [anɨaku-a-mau]] = ka   kamɨ a-wa-i   muuka = na

1SG   spirit.power remember-IPFV-NMLZ = FOC INTERJ   exist-3.SBJ-DECL head = ACC

'*Arutama* that I remember...there is head-*Arutam*[291].'

As we can see, in (10) the head of the relative clause, *Arutam*, is embedded as

part of the relativized clause. Again, notice that the head is not marked with an

accusative marker, unlike the object of the fully inflected verb in (11).

(11) *muúk arútman aníakɨahɛɛ*

muuka arutama = na   anɨaku-a-ha-i

head   spirit.power = ACC   remember-IPFV-1SG-DECL

'I remember the head-*Arutam*.'

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291. The most important spiritual belief in the Wampis culture is that of *Arutama*, a spirit of
power that manifests itself through visions. One of its manifestations is a monstrous head, *muuka
arutama* 'head-Arutam'.

Set II nominalizer *-mau* can also relativize an oblique (semantically, the

location) argument of the verb.

(12) *núu núŋka wíi akíiŋamu*

nu   nunka [ui   akiina-mau]
NON.VIS land   1SG   be.born.PFV-NMLZ
'the land where I was born'

The locative relativization on a noun that functions as an object argument of the

main clause usually involves a topic-comment strategy in the matrix clause. The noun

phrase which contains the relative clause occurs initially, followed by a complete main

clause which makes a predication about the initial NP. In (13) the main clause verb is

hiã-ma 'build house'. Notice that in (13) there is no case marking on the fronted NP, but

there is an obligatory co-referential (or resumptive) pronoun with the accusative case

marker in the main clause (in (13), the resumptive pronoun is the non-visible anaphoric

nu).

(13) *mína hĩ́ar puhámunam wík^{j}a núna hiã́mramhɛɛ*

[mina hĩa-ru]$_j$ puha-mau=nam
1SG.GEN house-1SG   live+IPFV-NMLZ=LOC

wika   [nu=na]$_j$ hia-ma-ra-ma-ha-i
wi=FOC   NON.VIS=ACC   house-VBR-DISTR-REC.PT-1SG-DECL
'My house where I live, I build it.'

20.2.2.2. Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses are those "which themselves refer to the noun that they

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modify" (Payne 1997: 328). Headless relative clauses constitute a very common

relativization strategy in Wampis. Headless relative clauses in Wampis take case

marking. It is possible to have a headless relativization of an oblique argument with the

Set II nominalizer -mau 'Non-subject nominalizer' (an example of an oblique

relativization, which is semantically a location, is given in (17)), but speakers tend to

favor the inclusion of an overt NP to disambiguate the reference of the subject

relativized verb. The following examples illustrate headless relative clauses in different

argument positions as well as in nominal predicates.

Headless relative functioning as subject:

(14) *áuhutumauka nuín naŋkániawai*
[auhu-tu-mau]=ka   nuĩ   nankana-a-wa-i
tell-APPL-NMLZ=FOC   there   finish-IPFV-3-DECL
'What is told finishes there.'

Headless relative functioning as object:

(15) *áuhmatuhakmaun aníaku ása*
[auhuma-tu=hak-mau]=na anɨa-kũ   a-sã
tell-APPL=PT.HAB-NMLZ=ACC   remember+IPFV-SIM\3.SS   COP-SUB\3.SS
"Because she remembered what used to be told'

Headless relative functioning as complement in copular construction:

(16) *núwaiti kámɨ matsámsaruka kanúsa huínka*
nu=aiti   kamɨ   [matsama-sa-ara-u=ka   kanusa   huĩ=ka]
NON.VIS=COP.3 INTERJ   live-ATT-PL.PFV-NMLZ=FOC   Kanusa   here=FOC
'those are the ones who live here in Kanus.'

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Headless relative clause functioning as oblique argument (location):

(17) *waβálkɛiti akíɲarmu*

Huabalka = iti   akiina-ara-mau

Huabal = COP.3 + DECL   be.born.PFV-PL-NMLZ

'Huabal is the place where they were born.'

20.3. Complementation

A complement clause is understood in this work as a clause that functions as an argument of some other (prototypically main) clause (Payne 1997; Noonan 2007). There is no simple complement construction in Wampis. Functional Wampis equivalents to what are complement clauses in other languages are realized by employing morphosyntactically distinct strategies:

   a) nominalization

   b) subordination (with switch reference)[292]

   c) desiderative constructions

   d) quotative constructions

In what follows I provide some brief notes on complement clauses that employ nominalizing and subordinating strategies in §20.3.1. Desiderative and quotative constructions are described in §20.3.2 and §20.3.3, respectively.

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292. I am restricting the meaning of 'subordination' as this concept is defined in Chapter XIX.

20.3.1. Complementation using nominalization and subordination

There is no unique pattern of complementation for verbs in Wampis; that is,

what type of strategy is used depends on the matrix verb. Generally, it can be said that

nominalization is the favored strategy when the subject of the complement clause and

the subject of the matrix are co-referent. In turn, subordinating suffixes are used when

the subject of the complement clause and the subject of the matrix clause are different.

Some verbs of perception like *antu* 'hear' select a complement clause that refers

to an event, in which case the non-subject nominalizer *-mau* is used. This is illustrated

in the next examples. The nominalized clause, functioning as an object of the verb,

receives the accusative =*na*.

(18) *utʃirí ̃ uútmaun antúk*
[utʃi-rí ̃   uu-tu-mau] = na   antu-kã
child-1PL/2PL/POSS\GEN cry-APPL-NMLZ = ACC   hear-INTENS\3SG.SS
'The bear, having heard the cub's crying.'

(19) *mí ̃na hintárka jusá uhukí ̃ waháuwayi tamáun antúk*
[mina hinta-ru = ka iusá   uhukĩ   waha-u = a-ji
1SG.GEN trail-1SG = FOC macaw.sp\GEN tail\3.POSS   stand + IPFV-NMLZ = COP-3.PT + DECL

ta-mau] = na   antu-kã
say + IPFV-NMLZ = ACC   hear-INTENS\3.SS
'She heard that he was saying: "the macaws's tail is the one hanging in my trail".'

In the above examples, the subject of the complement clause and the subject of

the main clause are different. Another strategy when the subject of the complement

verb is different than the subject of the matrix verb involves a subordinate construction

that consists of the subordinator *-ku* 'simultaneous' plus a switch-reference person

marker (in this case, the different subject marker *-nĩ*).

(20) *kaʃítin ikámnumia táakmin antúkmahai*

kaʃi-tin	ikama = numa = ia	ta-a-<u>ku-mi-nĩ</u>	antu-ka-ma-ha-i
night-TIME	forest = LOC = ABL	arrive-IPFV-SIM-2SG-DS	hear-INTENS-REC.PT-1SG-DECL

'Last night I heard you arriving from the forest.' (lit. 'At night, you arriving from the forest, I heard.')

In (20), the subordinated verb 'arrive' receives the 'simultaneous action'

subordinator *-ku,* a person marker *-mi* and an different subject marker *-nĩ.* Rather than a

nominalized complement clause, what we have is a typical clause combining

construction in Wampis (cf. Chapter XIX).

Other verbs of perception such as *uaina* 'see' select a participant nominalization

with the subject nominalizer *-u* in their complement structure, as illustrated in (21).

(21) *eskúβi múnt͡su umóun waínkamhi*

[Sccoby munt͡su	uma-u] = na	uaina-ka-ma-hi
Scooby breast	drink + IPFV-NMLZ = ACC	see-INTENS-REC.PT-1PL + DECL

'We saw that Scooby drank milk.'

Another verb of cognition such as *nika* 'know' typically takes a complement with

Set I action nominalizer *-ta* if the subject of the main and the dependent clause are the

same, as in (22). Note that the nominalized verb does not receive case marking because

of the case-marking pattern of Wampis (if 2 A acts on a 3 P, P does not receives

accusative marking, as explained in §16.3).

(22) *ámɨka jukúmat nɨkámɨ*

amɨ=ka	iukuma-ta	nɨka-a-mɨ
2sg=foc	swim-nmlz	know-ipfv-2sg+decl

'You know how to swim.'

       With the same verb, *nɨka* 'know', when the complement clause involves a

different subject, there is a "relativization" strategy. The dependent verb is nominalized

with the subject nominalizer -*u* from set II.

(23) *ʃuár naŋkí hukḯ mɨɲaúntʃa nɨkáhakuiti*

[ʃuar	nankí	hu-kḭ	wina-u]=na=ʃa
person	spear\acc	take-while.moving\3sg.ss	come+ipfv-nmlz=acc=add

nɨka=hak-u=iti
know-pt.hab-nmlz=cop.3+decl

'He also knew the person that come carrying a spear.'

       A nominalized complement clause with Set I -*ta* 'action nominalizer' functions as

the object of the inchoative complement-taking verb 'begin'. Notice that, in this case,

the nominalized verb receives accusative marking.

(24) *nuḭ tʃitʃatán naŋkámawaru*

nuḭ	[tʃitʃa-ta]=na	nankama-áu-ara-u
there	speak-nmlz=acc	begin-hiaf-pl.pfv-nmlz

'There, they started to speak.'

20.3.2. Desiderative constructions

       We have seen some complementation uses of nominalizations in the previous

examples. However, not all verbs use nominalizers for complement clauses. Modality

verbs such as *wakɨru* 'want' express their complement with an purpose construction with

the subordinator *-tasa* 'purpose' (25) (see §19.9.3 for a description of *-tasa*) or they use a

desiderative construction with *-tah* 'desiderative' (26) (see discussion below for a

description of the desiderative construction in Wampis). When subordinators are used,

the clauses they subordinate do not receive argument marking; i.e. they are not treated

as nominals, unlike nominalized complement clauses.

(25) *wíi sɨ̃ títasan wakírahai*

wi	sɨɨ	ti-tasa-nu	wakɨru-a-ha-i
1SG	thanks	say+LOAF-PURP-1SG.SS	want-IPFV-1SG-DECL

'I want to say "thanks".'

       The desiderative construction consists of the desiderative suffix *-tah*, which

attaches to an aktionsart verbal stem, plus the verb 'say'.

(26) *wíi sɨ̃ titáh táhai*

wi	sɨɨ	ti-tah	ta-ha-i
1SG	thanks	say+LOAF-DES	say+IPFV-1SG-DECL

'I want to say "thanks".' (Lit: 'I say, wanting to say thanks!')

       For different subjects with 'want', speakers use a quotative construction with the

subordinator *-sa,* as shown in the next example.

(27) *táti túsan wakɨruthɛi*

ta-ti	tu-sa-nu	wakɨru-tu-ha-i
arrive-JUSS	say-SUB-1SG.SS	want-APPL-1SG-DECL

'I want you to come.' (Lit.: 'I want, saying: "may you come".)

20.3.3. Quotative construction

Manipulative verbs in Wampis also typically coach their "complements" in

quotative constructions, as shown in (28).

(28) *Puhupát akúpkamaji ikámnum Suwán wɨtá túsan*

Puhupata	akupɨ-ka-ma-ji		ikama=numa	Sua=na	uɨ-tá	tu-sã
Puhupata	send-INTENS-REC.PT-3.PT		forest=LOC	Sua=ACC	go-IMP	say-SUB\3SG.SS

'Puhupat ordered Suwa to go to the forest.' (Lit.: 'Puhupat sent Suwa to the forest, saying: "go!".')

The verb of perception *ii* 'see' usually occurs in quotative constructions with the

extended meaning of 'think' (i.e. the quotative construction with a perception verb is

used to express a cognitive process), as in the next example.

(29) *aímkamapha túsa ijahkamá tikɨ́t͡ʃik t͡ʃankín atsóon wɛ́ɲak*

aima-ka-ma-api-ha		tu-sã	ii-a-hkamã́
fill.up-INTENS-REC.PT-SUD.REAL-1SG.SBJ+EXCL		say-SUB\3SG.SS	see-IPFV-TERM\3.SG.SS

tikɨ́t͡ʃiki	t͡ʃankina	a-tsa-u=na	uaina-ka
one	basket	exist-NEG-NMLZ=ACC	see-INTENS

'upon thinking, saying: "I filled it (i.e. the basket) up!", having seen that there was one basket missing. . .' (Lit. 'Upon seeing, saying: "I filled the basket up". . .)

20.4. Other adverbial constructions involving nominalization

Nominalized constructions with *-mau* plus a locative marker can be used for

adverbial functions, typically temporal. Nominalized temporal constructions are

illustrated in the next examples, where they involve event nominalizations.

(30) *káʃi hásmaunam hɨɨɲáu*

[kaʃi has-mau=nama]   hɨa-u

night become-NMLZ=LOC   arrive-NMLZ

'When it became night, he was one to arrived.'

(31) *jamái puhúsa wɨ́amunam má jaákat úun hasé túsan tájame*

[jamai puhu-sa-nu   wɨ́-a-mau=nam]   ma

now   live-SUB-1SG.SS go-IPFV-NMLZ=LOC   INTERJ

jaakata uunta   has-ɨ   tu-sa-nu   ta-hamɨ

town   big   become-3.PFV+DECL   say-SUB-1SG.SS say-1SG>2SG+DECL

'Now while I go on living, the town has become big, I tell you.'

       The next example was translated with an interpretation of reason, rather than

with a temporal interpretation. The construction is basically the same as the previous

examples:

(32) *tʃitʃám iwárumunam awárunka kámɨ huɲínka utsaánawaiti*

[tʃitʃama iwára-mau=nam] awaruni=ka   kamɨ

problem   fix.PFV-NMLZ=LOC   Awajun=FOC hesit

huĩ=ni=ka   utsaana-u=aiti

here=ALL=FOC enter.PFV-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

'Because the problem [i.e. the war] was fixed, the Awajun entered over here.'

20.5. "Tautological infinitive" construction with *-taĩ*

       One stylistic construction found in Wampis narratives is similar to what have

been called "tautological infinitive" or "copy-verb" constructions in other languages

(Goldenberg 1998). In this construction, a nominalized form of the same verb occurs

before a semantically main verb.

In the Wampis data collected, the semantically main verb (i.e. the one with assertive force) can occur in its bare root form or as a nominalized form.[293] The verb in initial adverbial clause position, takes the Set I nominalizer *-taĩ* (§15.4.4) and then adds the restrictive =*kɨ* and the additive =*ʃa* morphemes.

(33) *tukutɛĩkɨʃa tukútmaji*

tuku-taĩ=kɨ=ʃa	tuku-tu-ma-ji
shoot-NMLZ=RESTR=ADD	shoot-APPL-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL

'Shooting him, he shoot him.'

The combination of the restrictive plus the additive clitics usually indicates temporal or locational continuity (see §18.3). This semantic property (presumably time continuity) is likely a motivating factor for the use of =*kɨ*=*ʃa* in this construction, because the initial nominalized verb indicates what is to happen immediately afterwards in the main predication. The construction serves to intensify an action that has been recently introduced in the discourse. In fact, while it is not as commonas nominalized complement, relative and adverbial clauses, the "tautological infinitive" construction often appears at key moments of the narratives to highlight an important action. The next examples illustrate this construction.

Example (34) comes from a text that tells the story of how a group of Awajun,

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293. This is interesting from a comparative perspective, as most "tautological" infinitive constructions I am aware of have a finite main verb.

who used to fight intertribal wars with the Wampis wanting revenge for one of their

dead relatives, come to kill the protagonist of the story. The passage in (34) narrates the

moment where the Awajun come looking for the main character, laying siege to his

house. Notice that third person objects are not marked on the verb, and the second verb

(semantically main verb) is formally nominalized.

(34) *ʃuár túkɨ awarún áiɲa ɨʉákaru tímaji matsátun nɨkáwaru nútika nekás naan kaʃi tariar ɨpíntaĩkʃa ɨpíɲaru hɨ̃́ɨ̃n*

34.a

ʃuara	tukɨ	awaruna	a-ina	ɨa-ka-ara-u	ti-ma-ji
person	INTERJ	Awajun	COP-PL.IPFV	look.for-INTENS-PL.PFV-NMLZ	say-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL

'Those persons...the Awajun looked [for him],

34.b

matsa-tu-u=na	nɨka-áu-ara-u	nutika-a	nɨkas	naa=na
live-APPL-NMLZ=ACC	know-HIAF-PL.PFV-NMLZ	do.that-HIAF	truly	HESIT.PRO=ACC

'they found out that he was one who lived; doing that, truly,'

34.c

ɨpɨna-**taĩ**=**kɨ**=**ʃa**	ɨpɨna-ara-u	hɨ̃ɨ̃=nĩ
fence.in-**nmlz**=**restr**=**add**	fence.in-pl.pfv-nmlz	house\1pl/3=loc

'as if[294] shutting him in, they shut him in in his house.'

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294. The translation given in Spanish for this construction is *como si...* 'as if...' or *casi como...* 'almost like [doing verb...]'.

The next example comes from a text in which a man finds a bear's cub and tries to take it

home to domesticate it. In the passage shown in (35), the bear's mother catches them up

and starts beating the man.

(35) *awá awátkawa kámɨ mãá/ mãátaĩkiʃa mãá* [...]

awa   awata-kawã   kamɨ   mã-á́

redup   hit + IPFV-REDUP\3SG.SS   INTERJ   kill-HIAF\3SG.SS

[mã-á-taĩ = kɨ = ʃa   mã-á́]

kill-HIAF-NMLZ = RESTR = ADD   kill-HIAF\3SG.SS

'hitting and hitting, she [the bear] killed him, as if killing him, she killed him [...]'

CHAPTER XXI

THIS GRAMMAR IN BROADER CONTEXT

This grammar has provided detailed documentation and analysis of the structures of Wampis, as well as of the functions those structures serve. The main goal has been to provide an accurate description of the language, covering sound patterns, prosody, morphological processes, word classes, simplex and complex constructions, and selected notes on discourse. I have provided hypotheses to try to understand the synchronic phenomena found in the Wampis language, either by relating them to processes of grammaticalization or to greater cognitive pressures, as well as by relating my findings to typological claims in the broader literature. In addition, the present work has also provided basic ethnohistorical and ethnographic notes about the Wampis people.

Any language that is spoken is in constant movement, i.e., it is shaped by the constant activity of its speakers. A grammar is never finished. I have no illusions of having captured everything that can be found in a language like Wampis, or that the hypotheses presented in this work will remain unchallenged. Much investigation remains to be done for Wampis, especially in the fields of prosody (including

nasalization), discourse structure, comparative reconstruction (with other Jivaroan languages), and language contact.

For the most part, this grammar has been written employing linguist's jargon and in a specific (academic) writing tradition. It is thus my hope that this grammar sparks discussion amongst specialists looking at patterns of the Wampis language, as well as at how those patterns may inform current theories of language, regardless of the theoretical perspective one takes.

As we approach the end of this work, I would like to dedicate a few words to discuss, if briefly, one final topic: the impact of this work for the greater scientific community, as well as for interested members of the public, including the community of Wampis speakers.

I have tried to be careful in presenting definitions as clearly as possible to make the grammar more accessible to non-linguists. Some parts of this work may constitute a first introduction to the Wampis world for scholars from other fields, for instance, anthropologists, ethnographers, educators or historians. While this is a grammar written by someone who views language through analytical tools provided by linguistic theories, I would be happy if part of the knowledge transmitted here, which has been

shared with me by my Wampis teachers and collaborators, provokes the reader to become interested in learning more about the Wampis language and the Wampis people.

The Introduction in Chapter I stated that the Wampis are very conscious of their language and other cultural aspects that come with language. They want to do things with their language, and they have expressed needs related to language such as materials for intercultural education, vocabulary, development of jargon for specific fields, and translation of Peruvian laws and policies into Wampis for future consultation of new legislation with the Wampis population, especially in regard to land prospection and land rights. One of the issues of writing this dissertation in English is a basic problem of accessibility: many Wampis and Peruvians will have to work harder to read and understand this grammar, as English is not their first language—that is very unfair. One first step to remedy this problem is to make the data collected for the research presented here available to the public, especially to the Wampis. A second step is to try to make a bilingual pedagogical grammar and a dictionary (Wampis/Spanish), taking the present work as a basis to achieve those goals. Such products will help produce materials for education as well as help in translation of laws, for instance. In general,

the ultimate goal is to facilitate that the Wampis people themselves be able to use these recourses as they see fit, and to facilitate resource development with the ideal goal that, at some point in the future, the Wampis people can produce materials of diverse types in their own language. That is a difficult goal to achieve, and perhaps it will be some time before it can be feasible, but it is not a crazy idea. Though endangered, the Wampis language is still being transmitted to future generations, and younger generations are able to write in Wampis. Though writing has not been standardized, there are interesting writing practices using Wampis, both inside the community—many Wampis write poems and songs—and outside the villages—such as using technologies (chat and other social media) to communicate over distances, for instance. But there are still many complex challenges. Consider the following example: Just three weeks before I submitted my dissertation to my committee, I received an email from a Wampis friend who is now in Lima. She has received higher education at university level in Lima. She is one of the most intelligent and caring people I have met, and is doing some extraordinary things; for instance, she is writing literature in Wampis. In Peru, especially in the area of the Amazon, that is truly unique. I translate specific parts of her message with her permission (the email was originally written in Spanish; I have

anonymized personal references and the reason for underlining certain portions of the translation will be explained shortly):

> I write to you hoping that you can read this message. I really do not have many linguists' contacts, especially those ones who study Wampis, so every time <u>I have difficulties to understand my own language</u>, strange as it may seem, <u>I have hopes of being able to read your work</u> . . . Not long ago I had a meeting with someone who works in DIGEIBIRA at the Ministry of Education[295] and he recommended <u>that first I must learn Wampis if I want to write</u>. It <u>really left me thinking</u>. I have <u>many doubts that are not resolved</u> . . . To give you an example, according to the specialist at DIGEIBIRA, the accent marks that I have used in my short stories should not be there. My short stories are now without accent marks, the worst part is that <u>they do not have a good argument</u> [to tell me why I should not use accent marks], as for me, <u>now I cannot explain why I put accent marks</u> . . ."

Some of the passages of this email, especially those that are underlined, reveal several complex issues (some of them would probably need another dissertation to explain!), so I offer here just brief comments. On one hand, this email reveals how important language is for the Wampis: my friend is truly concerned about whether she is representing her own native language, Wampis, in a fair way. On the other hand, my friend has a concern about being able to access this present work, but more importantly, whether she will be able to read and understand it. As I said, I am conscious that having written this grammar in English and in a specific academic

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295. DIGEIBIRA = *Dirección General de Educación Intercultural, Bilingüe y Rural* (General Office of Intercultural, Bilingual and Rural Education).

tradition may be unfair to those most interested in reading it but who do not read English; so it is my task to make this work more accessible to non-English readers, specially to the Wampis.

My friend's message also reveals some pre-conceptions of people about language. That one person suggests to another person that she has to learn her native language (which she already orally speaks, and writes) is striking, and sad, to me. In the best case scenario, the person at the Ministry of Education really wants to help but has no clue about how to do it (note also that he may be confusing oral with written language). The ideas 1) that one has to (re-)learn their own native language which they already speak (in the case of my friend, Wampis); 2) that someone discourages the use of my friend's native language to express herself (in the case of my friend, via writing literature in Wampis) left me very perplexed. There is much work to do in the field of intercultural education in Peru.

The Wampis are no exotic people. I consider it to be demagogic and very un-critical to treat them as victims or "subaltern subjects". It is true that, through colonial and independent times, the Wampis have suffered many abuses, but they have defended themselves too. Unlike many other native groups in the Americas, the Wampis culture

was never suppressed by the dominant colonial power, or by republican powers in independent times—that combative spirit and sense of freedom has likely prevented the extinction or total assimilation not only of the Wampis, but of the Jivaroan peoples in general. The Wampis identity is centuries old, and dates back to pre-national Peruvian times. Just like their language, the Wampis consider themselves subjects in a modern culture, the Wampis culture, within the greater Peruvian national society. The Wampis culture is not an immobile atavistic culture. It is very modern on its own way, and just like the language, the Wampis culture is in constant adaptation. I finished Chapter II with a quote by one of my Wampis teachers: "we no longer defend ourselves with weapons, we defend ourselves with words". It is perhaps no coincidence that one word for 'to defend' in Wampis is based on the word t͡ʃit͡ʃama 'word, speech'.[296] Language and communication are at the center of Wampis culture, and much of what I found in Wampis discourse about how they conceive of themselves and their problems in current times centers around being able to communicate their needs to others. As Óscar Jimpikit, secretary of the Community of Candungos, puts it:[297]

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296. The reader will find several instances of this word written as a stem <chicham> in the examples below.

297. In the following examples, my focus lies beyond grammatical explanations, so I just provide

yatsuru tajame wait anesam chichamkartukta wari uun sunaiyachkursha chichamjai papijai

'my brother, I tell you, please support us, we are not asking for a big thing (i.e. money or other material things), but [help us express our needs] with words, with documents'

ameja atupkratkata tusa chicham etserkata iina yaaktari uunta jui

'saying help us, inform with words here in our big city (i.e. Lima, capital of Peru)'

nunka Peru tamau nankata jui

'here at the end of what is called Peruvian land' (i.e. inform others of the situation here where Peru ends = the Wampis territory)'[298]

The Wampis people, just like any other group, want to be respected and be able to negotiate policies and laws that may affect them. They do not want someone else to take decisions in their name. I asked a Wampis leader, Juan Luis Nuningo, *Apu* (local Chief) of the Community of Puerto Galilea, to record a text about current problems of the Wampis, what they would like for future generations from his perspective. He immediately construed a very interesting and wise speech, in which he considered a good person (from a Wampis perspective) to be someone who knows the Wampis language and culture as well as the national, mestizo culture (including Spanish, the national language of Peru)—that is, the Wampis do not consider themselves an isolated

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direct translations of the examples (and transcribe using the Wampis alphabet, not IPA symbols).

298. The Wampis territory is located in the border region with Ecuador.

group, but they really want to be part of a national group while maintaining their own

identity:

> *ii wampisti unuimakrika kame iiña pujuti kajinmatkimuka amaichuwaiti turamtai*
> 'we the Wampis, if we learned (i.e. if we receive education), we should not forget our own culture'

> *apatka mai apatka unuimamaiñaiti apach pujut apach chichama nuu*
> 'together both we must learn the mestizo culture, the mestizo language [and the Wampis culture/language]'

> *maa untsu nuniaku tumainaitji maa wiyaitjai wampisan*
> 'then, doing that, we can say "I am Wampis"'

> *kame unuimarunka tumaiñaitji turamtai antsuk iiña pujuti nekachu*
> 'we can call [the person who has been educated] "one who has learned", and without doing that, then she/he doesn't know our culture'

> *kame aya apachi pujutiña nuke nekakrika*
> 'if we only learn the mestizo culture'

> *apachnumani yunutkauwa anin wantiniaji nuka kame*
> 'it seems like we have included ourselves in the mestizo['s society]' (i.e. 'it seems like we have been assimilated to the national culture')

> *nunia nuka ayatek menká*
> 'having done that, that one is lost'

Juan Luis Nuningo considers access to education, respect and communication at

the center of Wampis efforts for future generations:

> *indigenas timautisha chichamrumakur weakur arantukmau amainatji*
> 'we the so-called indigenous people, if we go around defending ourselves we can be respected'

unuimarti tusa wakeraj nuka wakerajai uchi
'we want that our children learn (=receive education)'

imainsha nekas ekemas niisha ma
'far over there too [=in Lima], truly, sitting as authorities'[299]

tuke ma uun matsatea imai
'far there where the big ones (=authorities) are'

. . . nui chichak kame unuimara asa nui chichaiñakai nekas nuka nuni
'there, speaking, having learned, when they speak, truly, in that way'

yachamaku chichaiñakai iincha aranturmaktiñaiti gobiernoka
'when those [of us] who have learned speak, the government can respect us too'

To conclude, consider the following words also from Juan Luis Nuningo, Apu of

Puerto Galilea:

chicham weawai jutika iiña nunke surimkami iña nunke ayamrukmi
'the word goes around like that, let us take care of our land, let us defend our
land'

turamtai iiña pujutiña nu nekas kame kakaram asa iisha kame arantukmau atai
'thus happening, because we truly strengthen our lives, we too are respected,'

iruntra takakmakur
'while we work together,'

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299. The word <*ekema*> (/ɨkɨma/) means 'sit', but in this context it means 'sit as authority'. In
Wampsis culture, the respected adults and elders have a seat (/t͡ʃĩmpuiì/), which represents their
authority, where they sit to discuss different matters with other people.

kame matsamsami nutikakur iisha tuke kishmataiksha kishmakar matsamsami kame iiña waitkarmaiña nuu
'let us live as if we shoo away, let us live shooing away those who bother us'

wishikramu achami teperkamu achami
'let us not be laughed at, let us not be dominated'

kame nuu chicham weawai kame nuwaiti ii anentaimsar
'that word goes around, that is what we think'

unuimararti nekas uchi tusa wakeraj nuka
'saying, truly, "let the children get educated", that is what we want'

nuni ayamruniakar nuni chichamruniakar kame ii iruntrar matsamsar kame iisha kakaram asarmi tusar
'having done that, having defended ourselves, having done that, having defended ourselves with words, we, living altogether, let us be strong'

uchika chicharnawai kame nuwaiti juti anentainka
'we advise our children, that is our way of thinking.'

It is my hope that this work contributes not only to the knowledge of the Wampis language, but also to a better understanding of the Wampis culture—of which language is a central part. Moreover, it is my hope that the present work and its derived future works contribute to a more profound knowledge of the speakers, and facilitates a fair intercultural communication (cf. the allusions above to talk with the government, or to inform others in the "big city" (Lima) of the problems the Wampis' are facing, etc.)

This communication must start with the realization that the Wampis are not a static and

subjugated people, but very active people with their own voice—people who, by the

way, speak a very beautiful and very sophisticated language.

APPENDIX A

ABBREVIATIONS

In general, I have used abbreviations which follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules (2008). An equal symbol "=" separates an enclitic from a stem. I follow Overall (2007) in using a plus symbol "+" for phonologically identifiable markers in "fused" forms. An "\" symbol means that the morpheme received by the stem consists of a vowel switching process (for marking possession) or that the morpheme is autosegmental (e.g. high tone or nasalization).

1	'First person'
2	'Second person'
3	'Third person'
ACC	'Accusative'
ADD	'Additive'
ADJZ	'Adjectivalizer'
AFF	'Affective'
APPR	'Apprehensive'
APPL	'Applicative'
ATT	'Attenuative'
ATTRIB	'Attributive'
AUG	'Augmentative'
COM	'Comitative'
CON	'Conditional'

CONCESS	'Concessive'
COP	'Copula'
DEF	'Definite'
DIST	'Distal/Distant'
DISTR	'Distributed action aktionsart'
DS	'Different subject'
DTR	'Detransitivizer'
EXCLAM	'Exclamative'
FOC	'Focus'
FRUST	'Frustrative'
GEN	'Genitive'
HESIT	'Hesitation'
HIAF	'High affectedness aktionsart'
HORT	'Hortative'
IDEO	'Ideophone'
IMM	'Immediate'
INFER	'Inferential'
INT	'Interrogative'
INTERJ	'Interjection'
INTENS	'Intensive aktionsart'
INTS	'Intensifier'
IPFV	'Imperfective'
LOAF	'Low affectedness aktionsart'
LOC	'Locative'
MIR	'Mirative'
NARR	'Narrative'

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NMLZ	'Nominalizer'
NON.VIS	'Non-visible'
OBJ	'Object'
PL	'Plural'
PRES	'Present'
PRO	'Pronoun'
PROH	'Prohibitive'
PT	'Past'
PURP	'Purpose'
Q	'Question marker'
REC	'Recent'
RECP	'Reciprocal'
REDUP	'Reduplicative'
REFL	'Reflexive'
RESTR	'Restrictive'
RHET	'Rhetorical question'
SG	'Singular'
SIM	'Simultaneous'
SIMIL	'Similative'
SPEC	'Speculative'
SS	'Same subject'
SUD.REALZ	'Sudden realization'
TAG	'Tag question'
TR	'Transitivizer'
VBZ	'Verbalizer'

APPENDIX B

SELECTED TEXTS

Text 1: Pear film story

This is a Pear Film story (Chafe 1980). The speaker was asked to watch the film

and then relate it to another speaker.

Speaker: Atilio Nuningo; Age: 30

Community of origin: Puerto Galilea

Date: September 2014, Duration: 2 min. 02 sec.

(1) *húu nankámas ahúka*

hu	nankama-sa	a＝hu＝ka
PROX	happen-ATT	PROX＝FOC

'This is what happened'

(2) *tikít͡ʃik ʃuár aharĩ́n puhús jurankín ará huwáwɛi*

tikít͡ʃiki	ʃuara	aha-rĩ＝nĩ	puhu-sã
one	person	farm-1PL/2PL/3.POSS＝LOC	live/be-SUB\3SG.SS

iurankɨ＝na	arã́	huu-a-ua-i
fruit＝ACC	plant＋HIAF\3SG.SS	gather-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

'One person, being in his farm, having planted fruits, was gathering [them]'

(3) *túman jamɛ́ikikʲa tikít͡ʃik úun kuntíntrĩ tákakũ*

tumã	iamai＝ki＝ka	tikít͡ʃiki	uunta
happen.thus\3.SS	now＝RESTR＝FOC	one	elder

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kuntina-tu-rĭ   táka-kũ
animal-COM-1PL/2PL/3.POSS   have + IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS
'Thus, at the beginning one elder that had his animal'

(4) *naŋkamákmatɛɛ̃ ijá ijákua iɲánkaki*

nankama-ka-mataĩ   iia   ii-a-kauã   inanka-kĭ
happen-INTENS-1SG/3.DS REDUP see-IPFV-REDUP\3SG.SS   CAUS-pass-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS
'when that happened, looking and looking, having passed'

(5) *núna iís naŋkánɨak*

nu = na   ii-sã   nankanɨ-a-kũ
NON.VIS = ACC   see-SUB\3SG.SS end.IPFV-IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS
'having finished seeing that'

(6) *atákʃa jakí warúk*

atakʃa iakí   ua-ru-kã
again   above\LOC   climb.up-APPL-INTENS\3SG.SS
'again having climbed [on the tree]'

(7) *juránkɨn huúk t͡ʃankíntrin ɛímʲak puhóon tikít͡ʃik út͡ʃi tarí*

iurankɨ = na   huu-kã
fruit = ACC   gather-INTENS\3SG.SS

t͡ʃankina-ri = nĩ   aima-kũ   puha-ũ = na
basket-1PL/2PL/3.POSS = LOC   fill + IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS   live/be + IPFV-NMLZ = ACC

tikít͡ʃiki   ut͡ʃi   ta-ru-ĩ
one   child arrive-APPL-3.PFV + DECL
'Having gathered fruit, to that one filling his basket (i.e. the old man) one child arrived'

(8) *tikít͡ʃik t͡ʃankín ʔɛímkʲamuanúna huruknɑ́*

tikít͡ʃiki   t͡ʃankina   aima-ka-mau = a = nú = na
one   basket   fill.up-INTENS-NMLZ = COP = NON.VIS = ACC

hu-ru-kinĩ

take-APPL-WHILE.MOVING + 3.PFV

'He (i.e. the child) took one basket that was filled'

(9) *nútikʲa núu útʃi hurukí wɨsatahkamá̃*

nutikã   nu   útʃi   hu-ru-kĩ

do.that + HIAF\3SG.SS   NON.VIS child   take-APPL-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS

wɨ-sa-tahkamá̃

go-ATT-FRUSTR\3SG.SS

'Having done that, that child when he wanted to go having taken [the basket]'

(10 *tikítʃ kumparí miɲóon*

tikítʃi kumpa-rĩ   uina-u = na

other   friend-1PL/2PL/3.POSS come + IPFV-NMLZ = ACC

'to his other friend that was coming'

(11) *miɲóohɛɛ̃ tukúniawar núu hukí wɨámuanuna ukár*

uina-u-haĩ   tukuni-au-ara   nu

COME + IPFV-NMLZ-COM collide-HIAF-3PL.SS   NON.VIS

hu-kĩ   uɨ-a-mau = a = nu = na   uka-rã

take-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS go-IPFV-NON.SBJ.NMLZ = COP = ana = acc   spill-DISTR\3SG.SS

'the one who was coming collided with the one who was going having taken [the basket], and [the first child] spilled [the content]'[300]

(12) *ukármatɛɛ̃ kumparí ɛ́ɛɲa núu jɛ́ínkʲarɛɛ*

uka-ra-mataĩ   kumpa-rĩ   a-ina   nu

spill-DISTR-1SG/3.DS   FRIEND-1PL/2PL/3.POSS COP-PL.IPFV   NON.VIS

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300. The verb 'collide' marks its object with the accusative = *na*, but since the action is reciprocal, the other participant receives the comitative = *haĩ*.

iaĩ-ka-ara-i
help-INTENS-PL-3.PFV + DECL
'when he spilled it, his friends helped him'

(13) *huúk t͡ʃumpíamun nútikʲã kumparíhɛ̃ inkunirar*

huu-kã	t͡ʃumpi-a-mau = na	nútikã
gather-INTENS\3SG.SS	put.in-IPFV-NON.SBJ.NMLZ = ACC	do.that + HIAF\3SG.SS

kumpa-rĩ-haĩ	inku-nai-ra-ara
friend-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-COM	meet-RECP-DISTR-3PL.SS

'having gathered what he put in (i.e. the fruits in the basket), having done that, having met with their friends'[301]

(14) (*núka útʃĩkʲa …*)[302] *núu ukanáru anúna húkiar juáwar kumpamnéija ʃiákarɛɛ*

(nu = ka	útʃi = ka)	nu	uka-na-ra-u	a = nu = na
NON.VIS = FOC	child = FOC	NON.VIS	spill-DTR-DISTR-NMLZ	COP = NON.VIS = ACC

hu-ki-ara	iu-áu-ara	kumpa-ma-náia-a̋-ara
take-WHILE.MOVING-3PL.SS	eat-HIAF-3PL.SS	friend-VBZ-INCHO-RECP-HIAF-3PL.SS

ʃia-ka-ara-i
leave.PL-INTENS-PL-3.PFV + DECL
'having taken what that was spilled, having eaten, having become friends, they left.'

(15) *túma úun núu juránkɨn huwáwa nuka*

tuma	uunta	nu	iurankɨ = na	huu-a-u = a	nu = ka
thus	elder	NON.VIS	fruit = ACC	gather-IPFV-NMLZ = COP	NON.VIS = FOC

'Thus, that elder who was gathering the fruit'

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301. This passage is a little confusing, because the verb is in plural, suggesting that the action is referring to both children and not the (single) protagonist child. The same occurs in the next sentence.

302. The speaker hesitates at this point, and prefers to re-start with *núu ukánaru… .*

(16) *aímkamapha túsa ijahkamá tikíʧĩk ʧankín atsóon wɛíɲak*

aima-ka-ma-api-ha	tu-sã	ii-a-hkamá̃
fill.up-INTENS-REC.PT-SUD.REAL-1SG.SBJ + EXCL	say-SUB\3SG.SS	see-IPFV-TERM\3.SG.SS

tikíʧĩki	ʧankina	a-tsa-u = na	uaina-ka
one	basket	exist-NEG-NMLZ = ACC	see-INTENS

"upon thinking,[303] saying: "I filled it (i.e. the basket) up!", having seen that there was one basket missing'

(17) *atákʃa útʃĩ wakítki miníɲan ĩis*

atakʃa	utʃĩ	waki-tu-ki	uini-ina-na	ii-sã
again	child	walk-APPL-WHILE.MOVING	come-PL.IPFV-NMLZ	see-SUB\3SG.SS

'Again, seeing that the children were coming walking'

(19) *nitʲátsuk kasámturkaruiti túsa túu inínteimʲar naŋkáŋkowɛitʲi*

nita = tsu = kɨ	kasama-tu-ru-ka-ara-u = iti	tu-sã
3PL = INFER = RESTR	steal-APPL-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-PL-NMLR = COP.3 + DECL	say-SUB\3SG.SS

tu	ɨnɨntaĩ-ma-rã	nankana-ka-u = aiti
thus	heart-VBZ-DISTR\3SG.SS	end-INTENS-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'having thought thus, saying: "they must have robbed me!", he was one to finish.'

(20) *húka naŋkámasuiti*

hu = ka	nankama-sa-u = iti
PROX = FOC	happen-ATT-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

'This is what happened'

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303. The verb *ii* 'see' is translated here as 'think' by the speaker. It is frequent in Wampis to use the verb 'see' with a subordinated verb 'say' to express what a person thinks, so the construction literally translates as "seeing, saying "…"', but it means "thinking "…" '.

(21) tikítʃik ahánam úun nĩ́ŋki puhámunam

tikítʃiki   aha=nama   uunta   nĩ=kɨ   puha-mau=nama

one   farm=LOC   elder   3SG=RESTR   live-NMLZ=LOC

'in a farm where an elder, he only, lived'

(22) patɛ́ĩnkiʃa wɛíɲaktʃaji

pataĩ=na=kɨ=ʃa   uaina-ka-tʃa-ji

relative\1PL/2PL/3.POSS=ACC=RESTR=ADD   see-INTENS-NEG-3.PT+DECL

'his relative(s) has(have) not been seen'

(23) *ájatɨk úun nĩ́ŋki aharĩ́n takármas*

áiatɨkɨ uunta   nĩ=kɨ   aha-rĩ=nĩ   taka-ru-ma-sã

only   elder   3.SG=RESTR   farm-1PL/2PL/3.POSS=LOC   work-APPL-REFL-SUB\3.SS

'only one elder, he alone, working in his farm.'

(24) *núna núnikuiti*

nu=na   nuni-ka-u=iti

NON.VIS=ACC   do.that-INTENS-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

'That is what he did.'

Text 2: A woman encounters a *Tijai* in the forest

This is a narrative that tells the story of a woman that encounters a *Tijai* in the forest as she goes to hunt. *Tijai* are human-like people that inhabit the forest in the Wampis folklore. They are said to be tall and have uneven feet (usually they are described as having one foot shorter than the other). The Tijai are consider "people of the forest" by the Wampis. The protagonist is a woman, Inchis. The story is described as being part of "present history", it did not happen in the mythological past. The speaker, Óscar Jimpikit, says that the protagonist Inchis was a real person who was known by his father.

Speaker: Óscar Jimpikit; Age: 42

Community of origin: Candungos

Date: October 2013; Duration: 3 min. 30 sec.

(1) *tikítʃin óuhmatsathɛɛ tihɛ́ɛ patʃ͡isan*
tikit͡ʃi = na   áuhumatu-sa-ta-ha-i   tihai   pat͡ʃi-sa-nu
one = ACC   tell-ATT-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL   Tijai   mention-SUB-1SG.SS
'I am going to tell one, mentioning the Tijai.'

(2) *míɲa papár uhákmia núna uháktathamɨ haímito jatsurú*
mina   papa-ru   uha-ka-mia   nu = na
1SG.GEN father-1SG   inform-INTENS-DIST.PT   NON.VIS = ACC

uha-ka-tata-hamɨ   Jaimito iatsu-rú

inform-INTENS-DEF.FUT-1SG > 2SG + DECL Jaimito brother-1SG\VOC

'My father informed this, I am going to tell you, Jaimito, my brother.'

(3) núka jaméijɛiti jamɛija huĩ joúnt͡ʃukiant͡ʃu ímatikʲã

nu = ka   iamai = aiti   iamai = a   huĩ

NON.VIS = FOC now = COP.3 + DECL   now = COP   here

iaunt͡ʃukɨ = a = nu-t͡ʃau   ímatikã

long.ago = COP = NON.VIS = NEG.NMLZ   do.much\3SG.SS

'That is [from] now, it is here now, it is not from so much long ago'

(4) *jaméihũ mat͡samkí wiŋáh huĩ́*

iamai = hũ   mat͡sama-ki   uina-hi   huĩ

now = PROX   live.together = WHILE.MOVING   come + IPFV-1PL.SBJ   here

'right now here where we are going on living.'

(5) *nuwá nuwéitʲak uumí ampúntin tímaji*

nua   nua = ita-kũ   uumí   ampu-tu-inu   timaji

woman   woman = COP.3 + IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS   blowgun\ACC   blow-APPL-NMLZ NARR

'The woman, being a woman, she used the blowgun.'[304]

(6) *ínt͡ʃis naártin*

int͡ʃisu naa-rɨ̃-tinu

Inchis name-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRIB

'her name [was] Inchis'

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304. In the Wampis culture, men go to hunt (hunting is done with the blowgun), so the speaker is explaining that Inchis, the protagonist, had the characteristic of mastering the blowgun. Note the use of the simultaneous construction as a concessive—a more free translation of the sentence could be: 'the woman, [though] being a woman, knew how to use the blowgun'.

(7) *naárĩŋka núka núwaka íntʃis*

naa-rĩ = ka		nu = ka	nua = ka	intʃisu
name = 1PL/2PL/3.POSS = FOC	NON.VIS = FOC		woman = FOC	Inchis

'The name of that woman [was] Inchis.'

(8) *mína papáruka nukúr íntʃis tímaji núnaka*

mina	papa-ru = ka	nuku-ru	intʃisu ti-ma-ji		nu = na = ka
1SG.GEN	father-1SG = FOC	mother-1SG	Inchis say + LOAF-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL		NON.VIS = ACC = FOC

'My father called her "my mother Inchis".'

(9) *nútikʲamu núu nukuchúr³⁰⁵ íntʃisuanu tsiasán pɛíŋ*

nutika-mau	nu	nukutʃi-ru	intʃisu = a = nu
do.that-NMLZ	NON.VIS	grandmother-1SG	Inchis = COP = NON.VIS

tsiasa = na	paintã
curare = ACC	apply.poison.PFV\3SG.SS

'Thus, that my grandmother who is Inchis, having applied curare [to darts],'

(10) *mitʲáju wiká hakú tímaji jóuntʃukʃa*

mitaiu	uika	hak-u	timaji	iauntʃuki = ʃa
hunting	walk	HAB.PT-NMLZ	NARR	long.ago = ADD

'she was one to go hunting long ago too.'

(11) *nútikʲa tukí wikɛ́in tukú júu*

nutikã	tukí	wika-inu	tuku-u	iu-u
do.that.PFV\3SG.SS	always	walk-NMLZ	shoot-NMLZ	eat-NMLZ

'Having done that, she always walked, she was one to hunt and eat.' (Lit: 'always a walker, shooter, eater')

(12) *pakíntʃa tukú aʃí má unuímaru ampúntin ása*

paki = na = ʃa	tuku-u	aʃi	ma
peccary = ACC = ADD	shoot-NMLZ	all	INTERJ

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305. There is a metathesis in the surface form of this word.

unuima-ra-u		ampu-tu-inu asã
learn-DISTR-NMLZ		blow-APPL-NMLZ COP-SUB\3SG.SS

'[she] shot peccaries too, all [i.e. other animals that she found], she had learned, because she knew how to blow' (Lit.: '[she was] one who learned, being that she was a blower'.)

(13) *mitᶨáju wɨ́tasã t͡sɨasá pɛíŋkᶨu ásã*

mitaiu	uɨ-tasã	t͡sɨasá	painta-ka-u	a-sã
hunting	go-PURP	curare\ACC	apply.poison-INTENS-NMLZ	COP-SUB\3SG.SS

'To go hunting, because she was one to prepare [the darts with] curare,'

(14) *káʃik hiiŋkí wɨ́u tímaji uumí hukɨ́*

kaʃiki	hiina-kɨ̃	uɨ-u	timaji
early.morning	go.out-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS	go-NMLZ	NARR

uumí	hu-kɨ̃
blowgun\ACC	take-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS

'early morning, having gone out, she went, having taken the blowgun.'

(15) *nútikᶨa wɨ̃ ímᶨɛɛ mitaju wɨkátɛɛ̃rɨ̃ hɨá*

nutikã	wɨ̃
do.that.PFV\3SG.SS	go.PFV\3SG.SS

ímai	mitaiu	wɨka-taɨ̃-rɨ̃	hɨ̃ã́
far.over.there	hunting	walk-NMLZ-1PL/2PL/3.POSS	arrive+HIAF\3SG.SS

'Thus, having gone, [she] having arrived where she walked to hunt, far over there' (Lit.: having arrived to her walking to hunt')

(16) *máʃu t͡ʃit͡ʃá matsátu wéiŋkᶨu tímaji*

maʃu	t͡ʃit͡ʃa	mat͡satu-u	uaina-ka-u	timaji
curassow	speak+IPFV	live.together-NMLZ	see-INTENS-NMLZ	NARR

'she found curassow that were singing.'

(17) *píʃ píʃ hɛíŋa tímaji máʃu nútikʲak*

píʃ	píʃ	ha-ina		timaji	maʃu	nutika-kũ
IDEO	IDEO	speak.animal-PL.IPFV		NARR	curassow	do.that + IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS

'"pish pish" the curassow were saying, while she was doing that (i.e. observing),'

(18) *míŋaka wɛiʧîtʲatmapi tú puháwa túsa ijá tímaji*

mi꞊na꞊ka	uai-ʧi-tata-ma-api		tu	puha-ua
1SG꞊ACC꞊FOC	see-1SG.OBJ-NEG-SUDD.REALZ		like.that	live/be + IPFV-3.SBJ

tu-sã	ii-ã́	timaji
say-SUB\3SG.SS	see-HIAF\3SG.SS	NARR

'she thought, saying: "it is not seeing me! It is there like that".'

(19) *nɛíŋnum hás ím^{j}ɛɛ hapóutanum hĩarĩ́ ímani ijá tímaji*

nainta꞊numa	has		ímai	hapauta꞊numa
hill꞊LOC	become		far.over.there	slope꞊LOC

hĭa-ru-ĩ	ímani	ii-a	timaji
arrive-APPL-LOAF\3SG.SS	INTENS.DEM.ADV	see-IPFV	NARR

'In the hill, far over there in the slope, having arrived, she was observing very carefully.'

(20) *nuĩ́ tihéɛʃa wahás ĩi wahátu tímaji núna máʃu tuíŋakɛɛ̃*

nuĩ	tihai꞊ʃa	uaha-sã	ii	uaha-tu-u	timaji	nu꞊na
there	Tijai꞊ADD	stand-SUB\3SG.SS	see	stand-APPL-NMLZ	NARR	NON.VIS꞊ACC

maʃu	tu-ina-ka-ĩ
curassow	say-PL.IPFV-SIM-DS

'A Tijai also standing there kept looking at those (i.e. the curassow), while the curassow were singing.'

(21) *nútikamtɛɛ̃ ʃuarápitʲa túsa*

nutika-mataĩ	ʃuara꞊api꞊ita		tu-sã
do.that-1SG.3.DS	person-꞊SUD.REALZ꞊COP.3 + DECL		say-SUB\3SG.SS

"Having done that, saying: "it is a person!""

(22) *núwaka intʲáʃiŋkʲa hútikʲã tɨntɨá it͡sɨma nahána wɨká ása*

nua＝ka	intaʃɨ＝na＝ka	hutikã	tɨntɨá
woman＝FOC	hair\1PL/2PL/3.POSS＝ACC＝FOC	do.this.PFV/3SG.SS	make.circle-HIAF\3SG.SS

it͡sɨma	nahana	wɨká	a-sã
tie.up.hair	make	wɨka＋IPFV	COP-SUB\3SG.SS

'the woman, because she walked having made her hair in a circular form,'

(23) *núnaka kuikɨ́ awás*

nu＝na＝ka	kui-kĩ	aua-sã
NON.VIS＝ACC＝FOC	unfasten-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS	untie.hair-SUB\3SG.SS

'having unfastened it (i.e. her hair) untying it'[306]

(24) *nuĩ́ná tarát͡ʃrĩ̃t͡ʃa huní itípruma wɨká ásã*

nuĩ＝ia	tarat͡ʃi-rĩ＝ʃa
there＝ABL	dress-1PL/2PL/3.POSS＝ACC＝ADD

hu＝ni	itipiruma	wɨka	asã
PROX＝ALL	wear.*itipi*＋IPFV[307]	walk	COP-SUB\3SG.SS

'in addition, because she went around wearing her dress in this way'[308]

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306. A cultural note for better comprehension of this part of the story: traditionally, men used to style a long hair that they would tie up. The woman of the story is portrayed as having several characteristics of men: she is able to hunt, fashions her hair like men and she uses her dress as an *itipi* [itíp]—a skirt-like garment only worn by men (see next line).

307. *itipi* = A skirt-like garment worn by men.

308. The speaker makes gestures signaling that the woman is wearing her dress as a skirt, hanging it from her waist.

(25) *nunáʃa kuikɨ́ nuŋkurú tímaji*

nu = na = ʃa	kui-kɨ́	nunku-ra-u	timaji
NON.VIS = ACC = ADD	unfasten-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS	put.cloths.on-DISTR-NMLZ	NARR

'having unfastened that too (i.e. her dress that was tied up around her waist), she put it on.'

(26) *núwa núnis wahásu tímaji*

nua	nuni-sã	uaha-sa-u	timaji
woman	do.that-SUB\3SG.SS	stand-ATT-NMLZ	NARR

'The woman, doing that, she [remained] standing.'

(27) *túra uúmrɨ̃kʲa atúsu tímaji*

tura	uumi-rɨ̃ = na = ka	atu-sa-u	timaji
and	blowgun-1PL/2PL/3.POSS = FOC	lean.against-ATT-NMLZ	NARR

'and she left her blowgun leaning (i.e. against a trunk)'

(28) *núna éiʃmaŋka tihéɛ wéɨnak sapíhmak*

nu = na	aiʃmanku	tihai	uaina-kã	sapija-ma-kã
NON.VIS = ACC	man	Tijai	see-INTENS\3SG.SS	fear-VBZ-INTENS\3SG.SS

'The Tijai-man having seen her, having become nervous,'

(29) *nútikʲa wahásunak tihéika nɨkáprin ásã nɨkapár[309] warukú tímaji*

nutika	waha-sa-u = na = kɨ	tihai = ka	nɨkapɨ-ra-inu	a-sã
thus	stand-ATT-NMLZ = ACC = RESTR	Tijai = FOC	feel-DISTR-NMLZ	COP-SUB\3SG.SS

nɨkapɨ-rã	ua-ru-ka-u	timaji
feel-DISTR\3SG.SS	climb-APPL-INTENS-NMLZ	NARR

'thus, to that (i.e. the woman) who was standing alone, the tijai, because he is one who feels, having sensed [her], he climbed toward her'

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309. Notice the metathesized pronunciation on the surface form.

(30) *warúk iʃá iʃámak hiã́ntou tímaji*

ua-ru-kã		iʃá	iʃama-kũ
climb-APPL-INTENS\3SG.SS		REDUP	be.afraid + IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS

hiã-tu-a-u	timaji
arrive-APPL-IPFV-NMLZ	NARR

'Having climbed, while being afraid, he was one to approach her.'

(31) *túra hiã́n jɛ́itʲam túsã tóu tímaji núwa*

tura	hiã	ia = ita-mɨ	tu-sã ta-u	timaji	nua
and	arrive.PFV\3SG.SS	who = COP-2SG.SBJ	say-SUB\3SG.SS	NARR	woman

'And having arrived, the woman said "who are you?"'

(32) *íntʃĩsua núu iɲía tímaji*

intʃisu = a	nu	inia	timaji
Inchis = COP	NON.VIS	ask + IPFV	NARR

'The one who was Inchis was asking.'

(33) *wíkʲa kampuiɲúnmaja ʃuáreithʲɛɛ tóu tímaji*

ui = ka	kampuinu = numa = ia ʃuara = aita-ha-i	ta-u	timaji
1SG = FOC	forest = LOC = ABL person = COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL	say + IPFV-NMLZ	NARR

'He said: "I am a man from the forest".'

(34) *nútikʲan kámɨ yɛ́itʲam túsa tóu tímaji*

nutikã	kamɨ	ia = ita-mɨ	tu-sã	ta-u	timaji
do.that.3SG.SS	INTERJ	who = COP-2SG.SBJ	say-SUB\3SG.SS	say + IPFV-NMLZ	NARR

'Having done that, he said: "who are you?".'

(35) *ĩtsɨ̃ri̯atʃu wíkʲa wíɟɛithɛɛ tóu tímaji*

ĩtsɨri-a-tʃau	ui = ka	ui = aita-ha-i	ta-u	timaji
declare.IPFV-IPFV-NEG.NMLZ	1SG = FOC	1SG = COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL	say + IPFV-NMLZ	NARR

'She was not one to say the truth, she said: "I am I".'

(36) *túra iʃámrukɛipʲa túsa tóu tímaji tíhɛɛ iʃámrukɛipʲa*

tura	iʃama-ru-ka-ai-pa	tu-sã	ta-u	timaji	tihai
and	be.afraid-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-APPR-PROH	say-SUB\3SG.SS	say + IPFV-NMLZ	NARR	Tijai

iʃama-ru-ka-ai-pa
be.afraid-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-APPR-PROH
'Then, the Tijai said "don't be afraid of me!", "don't be afraid of me!"'

(37) *wíjɛɛ̃ mítɨkatʃitʲam*

ui = haĩ	mɨtɨka-t͡ʃi = ita-mɨ
1SG = COM	equal-DIM = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL

"you are equal with me"

(38) *kuntúram itákia apátka iistáhmɨ*

kuntu-ramɨ	ita-kia	apatu-ka	ii-sa-tá-hamɨ
arm-2SG	ita-FAM.IMP	put.together-INTENS	see-ATT-IMM.FUT-1SG > 2SG + DECL

"bring your arm, I'll see you comparing"

(39) *tusã táma*

tu-sã	ta-ma
say-SUB\3SG.SS	say + IPFV-NON.SBJ > SBJ

'when he was saying that to her'

(40) *nuwáʃa kuntúrĩn hútikʲas iwɛíntus*

nua = ʃa	kuntu-rĩ = na	hutika-sã	i-uana-tu-sã
woman = ADD	arm-1PL/2PL/3.poss = ACC	do.that-SUB\3SG.SS	CAU-see-APPL-SUB\3SG.SS

'the woman too, doing that, showed him her arm.'

(41) *iísu tímaji*

ii-sa-u	timaji
see-ATT-NMLZ	NARR

'He saw.'

(42) *nútikʲa iwɛíntus iís*

nutikã	i-uaina-tu-sã	ii-sã
do.that.PFV\3SG.SS	caus-see-APPL-SUB\3.SS	see-ATT\3.SG.SS

'Having done that, having seen,'

(43) *wíhɛĩ mɨtíkɛitmɨ*

ui = haĩ	mɨtɨka = ita-mɨ
1SG = COM	equal = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL

"You are equal to me"

(44) *ámɨka wíi ʃuárɛitmɨ*

amɨ = ka	ui	ʃuara = ita-mɨ
2SG = FOC	2SG	person = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL

"You are a person like me."

(45) *tihɛ́ɛ ʃuárɛitmɨ túsa tóu tímaji*

tijai	ʃuara = ita-mɨ	tu-sã	ta-u	timaji
tijai	person = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL	say-SUB\3SG.SS	say + IPFV-NMLZ	NARR

'He said, saying: "you are a Tijai person",'

(46) *táma núwaʃa t͡ʃii túsa ájatik kámɨ sapíhmak huáku tímaji*

ta-ma	nua = ʃa	t͡ʃii	tu-sã
say + IPFV-NON.SBJ > SBJ	woman = ADD	uh-huh	say-SUB\3SG.SS

aiatɨkɨ	kamɨ	sapihama-kũ	hua-ka-u	timaji
only	INTERJ	be.afraid + IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS	stay-INTENS-NMLZ	NARR

'when he was saying that to her, the woman, saying "uh-huh", stayed afraid alone.'

(47) *nútikak wíka hɨ́̃u wíahɛɛ*

nutika-kũ	ui = ka	hũ	ui-a-ha-i
do.that + IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS	1SG = FOC	PROX	go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

'While doing that, "I am going this way"'

(48) *amíʃa wɨkása wakɨtkitⁱá tóo tímaji*

amɨ = ʃa	uɨka-sã	uakɨ-tu-ki-tá	ta-u	timaji
2SG = ADD	walk-ATT\3SG.SS	return-APPL-WHILE.MOVING-IMP	say + IPFV-NMLZ	NARR

'"You too having walked around, go back", he said.'

(49) *turák núwaka sapíhmaku ása aín͡tsan hɨ͂́ɨ͂́ wakítki*

tura = kɨ	nua = ka	sapihama-ka-u	a-sã
and = RESTR	woman = FOC	be.afraid-INTENS-NMLZ	COP-SUB\3SG.SS

ain͡tsanã	hɨ͂́ɨ͂́ = nĩ	wakɨ-tu-kĩ
in.that.way\3SG.SS	house\1PL/2PL/3.POSS = LOC	return-APPL-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS

'And the woman, because she had become afraid, in that way, she having returned to her house,'

(50) *núna ít͡sɨrkou tímaji ʃuará kuámkaja shuará weíŋkahɛɛ túsa*

nu = na	ít͡sɨra-ka-u	timaji
NON.VIS = ACC	relate-INTENS-NMLZ	NARR

ʃuará	kuamaka = ia	ʃuará	uaina-ka-ha-i	tu-sã
person\ACC	forest = ABL	person\ACC	see-INTENS-1SG.SBJ-DECL	say-SUB\3SG.SS

'she told about that, saying "I've just seen the person from the forest".'

(51) *núkɨti*

nu = kɨ = iti

NON.VIS = RESTR = COP.3 + DECL

'That is it.'

Text 3: How to prepare banana drink

This is a procedural text about how to make t͡samau, a refreshing drink made by

mashing and fermenting ripe banana (the Amazonian Spanish name for this drink is

<chapo>). T͡samau also means 'ripe banana'.

Speaker: Dina Ananco; Age: 29

Community of origin: Huabal

Date: August, 2013; Duration: 1 min 38 sec

(1) t͡samóo ikariár umártasarka

t͡samau	i-kari-á-ri	uma-ra-tasa-ri=ka
banana	CAUS-ferment-HIAF-1PL.SS	drink.PFV-DISTR-PURP-1PL.SS=FOC

'To drink banana that has been made fermented'

(2) paántam úun íisar tikít͡ʃik rasímo hukír ahákar hukír

paantama	uunta	ii-sa-ri	tikít͡ʃiki	rasimo	hu-ki-ri
banana	big	see-SUB-1PL.SS	one	bunch	take-WHILE.MOVING-1PL.SS

aha-ka-ri	hu-ki-ri
fell-INTENS-1PL.SS	take-WHILE.MOVING-1PL.SS

'having chosen one big banana bunch, having taken one bunch, having cutting it and
taken it,'

(3) kámɨ ʃíir t͡samákmatɛɛ̃

kamɨ	ʃiira	t͡sama-ka-mataĩ
INTERJ	very	ripen-INTENS-1SG/3.DS

'when they [the bananas] are very ripe'

(4) *tiʃírar ója úunnum*

tiʃi-ra-ri	oja	uunta=numa
peel-DISTR-1PL.SS	pot	big=LOC

'having peeled [the bananas] in a big pot'

(5) *kámɨ t͡samóo pakárar ója úunnum*

kamɨ	t͡samau	paka-ra-ri	oja	uunta=numa
INTERJ	banana	skin-DISTR-1PL.SS	pot	big=LOC

'having peeled the bananas in a big pot'

(6) *t͡ʃimpiár híi jumíiʃa ahɯ́ntar*

t͡ʃimpi-á-ri	hii	iumi=ʃa	ahũnta-ri
fill.in.recipient-HIAF-1PL.SS	fire	water=ADD	add.water.PFV-1PL.SS

'having filled them in the pot, in the fire, having added water too'

(7) *hiíʃa kámɨ ikáparmoo asámtɛɛ̃ nuɯ́ ɨkíŋkar ukúteɨ̃ɲɛiti*

hii=ʃa	kamɨ	ikapa-ra-mau	a-sa-mataĩ
fire=ADD	INTERJ	set.alight-ATTRIB-NMLZ	COP-SUB-1SG/3.DS

nuĩ	ɨkɨna-ka-ri	uku-taĩ=aiti
there	put.on.fire-INTENS-1PL.SS	boil-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

'the fire too, because it is lit, having put [the pot with bananas] on the fire, we boil [the bananas].'

(8) *híika ímanik kámɨ*

hii=ka	ímani=kɨ	kamɨ
fire=FOC	so.much=RESTR	INTERJ

'With a lot of fire,'

(9) *nɨ́wa nɨ́waka ɨmáht͡ʃatɛɨ̃ɲɛiti*

nɨua	nɨua=ka	ɨmaha-t͡ʃa-taĩ=aiti
flame	flame=FOC	progress-NEG-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

'with a lot of flame, we do not do it.'

(10) *ájatɨk ímatika awáhtʲuktsuk*

áiatɨk	imatika	auahitʲa-t͡su = kɨ
only	do.much	fan + IPFV-NEG = RESTR

'[We prepare the drink] without fanning the flames too much'

(11) *nɨntiár ámounam ɨkíŋkar*

nɨntiá-ri	a-mau = nama	ɨkɨna-ka-ri
calm.down.PFV-1PL.SS	COP-NMLZ = LOC	put.on.fire-INTENS-1PL.SS

'having put it [the pot with bananas] on the fire when there are embers'[310]

(12) *kuaktí túsa iɲáiteĩɲeiti waʃuktí tóo asár*

kua-ka-ti	tu-sa	inai-taĩ = aiti
boil-INTENS-JUSS	say-SUB	leave-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

uaʃu-ka-ti	ta-u	a-sa-ri
become.brown-INTENS-JUSS	say + IPFV-NMLZ	COP-SUB-1PL.SS

'saying "let it boil", we leave it, being ones who say "let them become brown"'

(13) *narúkmatɛĩʃa iɲɛísar ukuwá puhúteĩɲeiti washuktí túsar*

naru-ka-mataĩ-ʃa	inai-sa-ri	uku-a	puhu-taĩ = aiti
cook-INTENS-1SG/3.DS-**CONCESS**	leave-ATT-1PL.SS	boil-IPFV	live/be-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

uaʃu-ka-ti	tu-sa-ri
become.brown-INTENS-JUSS	say-SUB-1PL.SS

'Even though [the banana] is cooked, we leave it boiling so that it becomes brown (Lit.: 'we leave it boiling, saying: "let them become brown").'

(14) *túra núu aʃí waʃúkmatɛĩ paántam aʃí waʃúkmatɛĩŋkʲa*

tura	nu	aʃi	uaʃu-ka-mataĩ
and	NON.VIS	all	become.brown-INTENS-1SG/3.DS

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310. *Nɨntiári amaunama* was translated as '*cuando hay brasas*' 'when there are embers'; a more literal translation is 'when [the flames are] calmed down'.

paatanama aʃi   uaʃu-ka-mataĩ=ka
plantain   all   become.brown-INTENS-1SG/3.DS=FOC
'And when all that has become brown, when all the plantain has become brown,'

(15) *inɨ́kar ukútɛĩ̃ɲɛiti mikirtí tusar*

ɨnɨ-ka-ri   uku-taĩ=aiti   miki-ra-ti   tu-sa-ri
take.out.of.fire-INTENS-1PL.SS   leave-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL   cool-DISTR-JUSS say-SUB-1PL.SS
'we take it out of the fire, saying: "let it cool".'

(16) *nihámãⁱ̃t͡ʃ ihúaj ɛ́itkasar ihútɛĩ̃ɲɛiti t͡samóoʃa*

nihamãⁱ̃t͡ʃi   ihu-a-ji   aitika-sa-ri   ihu-taĩ=aiti
manioc.beer   mash-IPFV-1PL.SBJ do.like.that-SUB-1PL.SS   mash-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL

t͡samau=ʃa
banana=ADD
'Doing like we mash the manioc beer, we mash the banana too.'

(17) *nútikʲar ihúrika aʃí kámɨ ʃíir*

nutika-ri   ihu-ri=ka   aʃi   kamɨ ʃiira
do.that.PFV-1PL.SS mash.PFV-1PL.SS=FOC   all   INTERJ well
'Having done that, having mashed all well,'

(18) *ihú ihú ɨmásar*

ihu   ihu   ɨma-sa-ri
mash mash progress-SUB-1PL.SS
'doing it well mashed'

(19) *ukútɛĩ̃ɲɛiti naán*

uku-taĩ=aiti   naa=na
leave-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL   HESIT.PRO=ACC
'we leave it, umm,'

(20) *kámɨ ʃíir kariámtɛɛ umármi túsar*

kamɨ ʃiira kari-á-mataĩ uma-ra-mi tu-sa-ri

INTERJ very ferment-HIAF-1SG/3.DS drink.PFV-DISTR-HORT say-SUB-1PL.SS

'saying: "let's drink when it is very fermented"'.

(21) *túra kaʃí t͡sawántɛĩkʃa umákrikʲa umúmɛiɲɛiti jumín umártah takúrka túra*

tura kaʃíni t͡sauanta = ĩ = kɨ = ʃa uma-ku-ri-ka

and tomorrow day = LOC = RESTR = ADD drink + IPFV-SIM-1PL.SS-COND

umu-mai-na = iti iumintu uma-ra-tah ta-ku-ri-ka tura

drink-POT-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL sweet drink.PFV-DISTR-DES say + IPFV-SIM-1PL.SS-COND and

'Or the next day, if we want to drink, we can drink sweet, if we want, and' (Lit: 'Or the
next day, if we want to drink, we can drink while saying I want to drink sweet, and')[311]

(22) *nukáp t͡sawánkiʃa ukumɛ́iɲɛiti ʃíir kariá umártah takúrka*

nukapɨ t͡suanta = kɨ = ʃa uku-mai-na = iti

several day = RESTR = ADD leave-POT-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

ʃiira kari-á uma-ra-tah ta-ku-ri-ka

very ferment-HIAF drink.PFV-DISTR-DES say + IPFV-1PL.SS-COND

'we can leave [the banana drink] several days too if we want to drink it very
fermented.' (Lit: 'we can leave [the banana drink] several days too while saying I want
to drink very fermented.')

(23) *nukɨti*

nu-kɨ-iti

NON.VIS-RESTR-COP.3 + DECL

'That is it.'

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311. *Tura* usually means 'and' or 'then', but this instance was translated as 'or'.

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