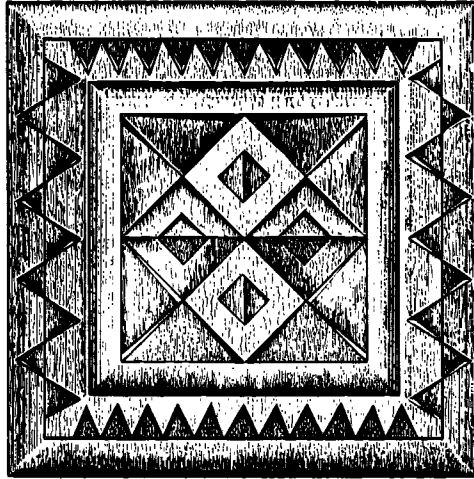


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OF THE
GUIANAS



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LANGUAGES OF THE GUIANAS

Edited by Joseph E. Grimes

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PREFACE

Team research is well established in science. A coordinated effort is often the best way to do the job where there is much ground to be covered, since nowhere in the world are there ever enough trained people to cover it.

In the Summer Institute of Linguistics we have worked out a pattern for field investigation of little known languages that makes use of the team concept. Usually two people are given the primary responsibility for field work in a language. They learn to speak it by living in a community where it is the main language spoken. They interact with members of the society that speaks that language in everyday life and function as mediators of information from the outside. Along with using the language they are trained to organize information on its phonology, grammar, and semantics for linguistic analysis.

The work of the field investigators is, however, supplemented by that of linguistic consultants who periodically go over the conclusions arrived at in the field with the people who made them. They criticize the work that has been done and help the field worker lay out lines of investigation to follow from that point. They also give assistance in the mundane matters of organization of field notes and presentation of conclusions. Sometimes a consultant works at a field location with the investigators for a period of time. In recent years, since there is usually only one senior consultant available for about every ten field projects of the Institute, it has become common for several investigators and their informants to meet for two to three months in a place that is removed from the ordinary interruptions of life in the bush. In such a field seminar or workshop it is possible to accomplish much.

Most of the papers in this volume came out of such a joint effort. The field work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Surinam got under way in the latter part of 1968, under an agreement between the Institute and the Government of Surinam. In February and March of 1969, about the time people had their feet thoroughly wet in their field work, the director of the Institute in Surinam, Joel D. Warkentin, arranged for the editor to conduct a workshop. George and Mary Huttar, Edward and Joyce Peasgood, Naomi Glock, and Catherine Rountree, all members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, took part. Frances Tracy of the Unevangelized Fields Mission, who had begun the study of Wapishana in Guyana at about the same time

as the Surinam group began their work, was able to participate as well. Hubert and Joanne Traugh of the Pilgrim Holiness Mission in Guyana, working on Guyanese Carib, participated for the first few weeks. Morgan Jones, Ivan Schoen, and others of the Surinam Interior Fellowship of the West Indies Mission, who have made studies of the Cariban languages of the interior of Surinam, were present for a week. The papers by Jones and by Schoen's colleague Jackson were already near final form before the workshop began and were simply gone over for details during the brief time available (which even included some editorial checking by radio after Jones had to return to the Tapanahonij). All the other papers, though based mainly on observations and hypotheses made in the field before the workshop, took their present form during the workshop and include material that was elicited from informants during that period.

Special recognition for excellent handling of the logistic details of having so many people working intensively in one place goes to John and Shirley Larson of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who took care of everything from visas to baby sitting and thereby made it possible for the participants to devote full time to the seminar. I am also indebted to George Huttar for sharing the consultation with me.

There are four layers of languages in the Guianas. First are the Cariban and Arawakan languages of the aboriginal peoples of the area, represented here by Carib, Trio, Wayana, and Wapishana. Second are the creole languages that came into prominence during that sad epoch when people from various parts of West Africa were forcibly uprooted and brought to the new world as slaves. These were the languages around which the societies of escaped slaves in the interior, represented here by Djuka and Saramaccan, crystallized; others like Sranan and the patois of French Guiana became the informal means of communication in the city-oriented societies of the coast. Third are the languages brought from Asia by contract laborers a century ago after the slaves were emancipated: Javanese, Chinese, and dialects related to Hindi and Urdu. None of this group is represented in this volume, though the changes in each since their transplanting certainly merit special study. Finally there are the languages of commerce and government, of education and wider communication: Dutch, French, English, and to a lesser extent Portuguese, Spanish, and Lebanese Arabic.

This collection is a step toward understanding that linguistic complexity. Further studies are already under way to complete the documentation of the languages on which work has just begun. The Summer Institute of Linguistics also plans to allocate teams of field workers to languages that are not yet being studied, thereby broadening the coverage.

Two of the papers in this volume cover the same area as work done on Saramaccan by Voorhoeve and on Carib by Hoff. Rather than being duplications, however, they build on the earlier studies in a significant way.

First, they give an independent corroboration of most of what the earlier authors said. Second, they call attention to parts of the earlier studies that really needed further work: the relationships among vocoids in the high to mid range, and certain restrictions on segment sequences, in Saramaccan, and the whole question of underlying versus surface phonological form in Carib. In this sense they constitute a healthy critique of the work that has gone before, confirming most of it. Other papers, like the Huttars' evidence on tone in Djuka and Glock's work on semantic relationships in Saramaccan, break new ground.

As a result of the workshop the team of field investigators have also developed a perspective on the pace of their work and on where they need to concentrate their efforts at different phases of it. This should increase the efficiency of their time in the field. Inasmuch as all of them have in mind applied linguistic projects, the teamwork approach they have worked out will help them toward those goals as well.

Joseph E. Grimes
Paramaribo, 30 March 1969

A WAYANA GRAMMAR

Walter S. Jackson

West Indies Mission

[This grammar of Wayana, a Cariban language spoken in the south and southeast of Surinam, was prepared for the Surinam Interior Fellowship of the West Indies Mission for the use of its missionaries working among the Wayana. Because of the amount of information it contains, based on considerable field experience, and because the author is no longer working in Wayana, it is published here in the pedagogical format in which it was prepared, modified to bring it into line with the style and format of the other papers.

Jackson's grammar of Wayana goes beyond De Goeje's earlier study (1946) in a number of significant points. He fills the gaps in De Goeje's sketch of the person distinctions. He distinguishes between transitive inflections with subject focus and transitive inflections with object focus, and between the use of transitive subject focus inflections with intransitive motion verb stems and the use of the intransitive inflection for other intransitive stems, and thereby clarifies verbs considerably. He bases part of the variation in the form of inflectional morphemes on six morphophonemic stem classes. He separates the recent past inflection from the distant past, and keeps the pluralizers of nouns distinct from the pluralizers of the noun possessives. He is consistent in recording postvocalic *h* and in recognizing its morphophonemic function. The vowel distinctions are recorded phonemically rather than in De Goeje's allophonic and sometimes questionable notation.

On the other hand, Jackson's work only hints at the syntactic patterns of the language. The functions of many affixes, including the stative or impersonal mode of the verb, the desiderative *-he* and the equative *-me*, causatives *-nëp* and *-po*, perfective *-nma*, and negative *-la*, cannot be explained without reference to the kinds of clauses and sentences they are found in. The distinction among suffixes, enclitics, postpositions, and particles could be established more firmly and the assignment of forms to each of these categories could be made more definite by closer reference to the syntax, plus a more thorough investigation of accent and higher level phonology. Furthermore, although the division of verbs into morphophonemic stem classes clarifies some things about affix allomorphs, a good deal of affix

alternation is left unexplained. Affix classes and affix positions remain to be worked out. It would be worth while to know about the transformationally definable relationships like fronting and embedding that can be discerned in the examples; but that kind of research was hardly in focus when Jackson did his investigations. I am indebted to Jackson's colleague Ivan Schoen for help in preparing the grammar for publication. J.G.]

1. **Phonology.** The vowels of Wayana are a low nonfront (central), e mid front (open), i high front (close), o mid nonfront rounded (close, back), u high nonfront rounded (close, back), ɨ high nonfront unrounded (back), and ɛ mid nonfront unrounded (central).

	Front	Nonfront	
		Unrounded	Rounded
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e	ɛ	o
Low		a	

The consonants include syllable initial p, t, k, s, m, n, l, w, y, h. s has fallen together with h in the speech of some of the Wayana on the Tapanahonij River, but is kept distinct from it by the majority. The sibilant s varies freely between alveolar and alveopalatal points of articulation. l is a reverse flap with lateral opening. After e and i there tends to be less lateral opening. The stops p, t, k are voiced before voiced consonants: ipələp 'I was winded', ipələpyai [ipələbyai] 'I am getting winded'.

Syllable finally there are three nasals: m, n, ŋ. Usually the velar occurs before pause and before k, the alveolar before alveolars, and the labial before labials; but other combinations are possible. There is also a semivowel h as in uhpak 'long ago', compare upak 'early'. It varies freely from devoicing of the vowel of the syllable nucleus to a fricative articulation: bilabial fricative before p as in uhpak [uppak] 'long ago', interdental fricative before m and apicals as in ihme [iθme] 'being with something', velar fricative before velars as in imilikhkə [imilixkə] 'write it!'.

The stops change morphophonemically to h or to nasals under conditions that have not yet been completely worked out. p changes to h before p and some occurrences of m but not all: t-ənep-he 'bring', t-ənep-po-i 'cause to bring' [hyphen indicates morpheme boundaries]; iw-ei-top 'concerning my being', iw-ei-toh-me 'in order for me to be'. Before n and other instances of m it changes to m: w-enep 'I brought it (immediate past)', w-enem-ne 'I brought it (distant past)'; ipələp 'I was tired (immediate past)', ipələm-ne 'I was tired (distant past)'. t changes to h before t, l, and some occurrences of n but not all: wapot 'fire', wapotoh-tak 'to the fire'; uhpakat 'an old one', uhpakah-lə-me 'a thoroughly old one (equative)'; w-epekat 'I bought it

(immediate past)', *w-epakah-ne* 'I bought it (distant past)'. *t* changes to *m* when followed by other instances of *n*: *y-etat* 'my hammock', *y-etam-na* 'to my hammock'. *t* changes to *n* when followed by *m*: *tolopit* 'bird', *tolopin-he* 'bird (equative)'. *k* changes to *h* when followed by another *k*: *mëkî* 'come', *mëh-kë* 'come!'. *k* changes to *ŋ* when followed by *m* or *n*: *mahak* 'mosquito', *mahaŋ-me* 'mosquito (equative)'; *inik* 'sleep', *k-i'niŋ-net* 'come, let us sleep'.

2. Verbs. There are two kinds of verbs: active verbs and stative verbs. Active verbs are inflected for subject, object, tense, mode, negation, and supplementary inflections. The stative verb inflection is more limited.

2.1 Verb stem classes. Active verbs fall into six morphophonemic classes: CLASS 1 stems include all stems that end in *a*. They form the present tense by changing the final *a* to *e* and suffixing *-i*; all other stem classes form the present by suffixing *-ya* before *-i*: *epa* 'teach', *w-epe-i* 'I teach, I am teaching'; *ipanaŋma* 'hear', *w-ipanaŋme-i* 'I hear, I am hearing'; *etalepa* 'talk', *w-etalepe-i* 'I talk, I am talking'. Class 1 stems, like Class 3 stems, take a final *-k* suffix to form the proximal imperative.

CLASS 2 stems include most stems that end in a stop or nasal followed by *i* or *u*; but some stems of the same form are in Class 4. Stems of Class 2 drop the final vowel before all suffixes except the negative *-la* and the desiderative *-he*. The loss of the vowel may entail further changes in the final stem consonant as described under morphophonemics. Examples of loss of the final vowel include *enepî* 'bring', *w-enep-ya-i* 'I bring', *enep-kë* 'bring it!'; *onamî* 'bury, hide', *w-onam-ya-i* 'I bury', *onam-kë* 'bury it!'. Examples of final vowel retention are *ën-enepî-la wai* 'I am not bringing it', *enepî-he wai* 'I am wanting to bring it'.

CLASS 3 stems include all stems that end in *ë*, *o*, *e*, and *i*. They are inflected like Class 1 stems except that the present tense is formed with *-ya* before the *-i*. They take the *-k* form of the proximal imperative: *ene* 'see', *w-ene-ya-i* 'I am seeing', *ene-k* 'see!'; *oko* 'cut', *w-oko-ya-i* 'I am cutting', *oko-k* 'cut!'; *alë* 'carry', *w-alë-ya-i* 'I carry', *alë-k* 'carry!'.

CLASS 4 stems all end in *i* or *u*; but unlike Class 2 stems, the final vowel does not drop. Class 4 stems also differ from stems of Classes 1 and 3 in that they take the *-kë* form of the singular of the proximal imperative: *epî* 'bathe', *w-epî-ya-i* 'I bathe', *epî-kë* 'bathe!'; *eli* 'drink', *w-eli-ya-i* 'I drink', *eli-kë* 'drink!'.

CLASS 5 stems contain the stem formative suffixes *-li*, *-lu*, *-yu*, and *-yi*. The stem formative is retained in forms like the immediate past, the 3rd singular and plural of the distant past, with the agentive *-ne*, with the negative nominalizer *-pin*, and in a number of other cases that are mentioned with the particular affixes involved. The stem formative is dropped in the present tense, the distant past except for the 3rd singular and plural, with the stative suffixes *-i*, *-he*, *-se*, with command forms, and in other cases mentioned where appropriate. Examples include *ei-yu* 'angry, fierce', *y-ei-yai* 'I am angry', *y-ei-yu* 'I was just angry'; *imoi-yi* 'to regard talk', *w-lmoi-ya-i* 'I am regarding

talk', *w-imoi-yi* 'I just regarded talk'; *t-i-li* 'fix, make', *w-i-ya-i* 'I am fixing it', *w-i-li* 'I just fixed it'; *apu-lu* 'close, shut', *w-apu-ya-i* 'I am closing it', *w-apu-lu* 'I just shut it'.

CLASS 6 stems contain the stem formative suffix *-si*. This stem formative behaves differently from the Class 5 stem formatives in that it changes to *-h* in the present. The conditions under which it is present or absent are not the same as for Class 5 verbs: *apë-si* 'receive', *w-ëpë-h-ya-i* 'I am receiving it', *w-apë-i* 'I just received'.

2.2 Transitive with subject focus. The person inflection of active verbs is of four types: transitive with subject focus, transitive with object focus, reflexive, and intransitive. The system of person distinctions, which also applies to possessives and to pronouns, is:

1s, first person singular, the speaker 'I'

2s, second person singular, the hearer 'you'

3s, third person singular, someone who is neither speaker nor hearer 'he'

1p, first person (exclusive) plural, the speaker and others but not the hearer or hearers 'we but not you'

1-2, first and second person dual, the speaker and the hearer but nobody else 'you and I'

1-2p, first person (inclusive) plural, the speaker and others including the hearer or hearers 'we all'

2p, second person plural, the hearer and others 'you all'

3p, third person plural, others not including the speaker or the hearer 'they'.

Pluralizers of the person markers on verbs vary with the tense and are described under that heading (2.6).

The transitive with subject focus implies a third person object that is already defined by the context. Some syntactically intransitive verbs, notably verbs of motion, also take these prefixes rather than the intransitive prefixes (2.12). The forms are as follows:

1s *w-* except before some stems in *u*, where it is zero: *w-oko-ya-i* 'I am cutting', *w-uhmo-ya-i* 'I am hitting', *umëk-ya-i* 'I am coming'.

2s, 2p *m-*: *m-oko* 'you just cut', *m-umëk-ya ka* 'did you come?' *m-oko-tëo* 'you all just cut'.

3s, 3p *kun-* in distant past tense, *n-* in immediate past and present, *mën-* in future: *kun-ene* 'he saw (distant past)', *n-ene* 'he just saw'; *n-epe-i* 'he teaches', *mën-epe* 'he will teach'.

1p *emna kun-*, *emna n-*, *emna mën-* parallel to 3s: *emna kun-ene* 'we but not you saw (distant past)', *emna n-ene* 'we but not you just saw'.

1-2, 1-2p *h-* before *a*, *e*, *ei*; *s-* before *i*; *k-* before *ë* and some instances of *ï* (with stem initial *ik* changing to *uk* in some cases); *kut-* before *o*, *u*, and other instances of *ï*: *h-ene* 'you and I just saw it', *h-ene-tëo* 'we all just saw it'; *s-imilik* 'you and I just drew it'; *k-ëtuhmo* 'you and I just fell down'; *kut-ï-ya-i* 'you and I are fixing it'.

2.3 Transitive with object focus. The transitive with object focus indicates both subject and object of a transitive verb, but with focus on the object. It occurs with the same stems that take the transitive with subject focus. It does not cover all possible combinations of subject and object. The plural suffix follows the tense indicator.

- 1s object, 3s subject y- before vowels (V), i- before consonants (C): y-ene 'me he saw'
- 1s object, 3p subject y- before V, i- before C, plural suffix -tot: y-ene-tot 'me they saw'
- 1s object, 2s subject k-: k-ëne-ya-i 'me you are seeing'
- 1s object, 2p subject k-, plural suffix -tëi: k-ëne-ya-të-i 'me you all are seeing'
- 2s object, 3s subject ëw- before V, ë- before C: ëw-ene-ya 'you he is seeing'
- 2s object, 3s subject ëw- before V, ë- before C, plural suffix -tëo: ëw-ene-ya-tëo 'you all, he is seeing you'
- 2p object, 3p subject ëw- before V, ë- before C, plural suffixes -tëo -tot: ëw-ene-të-ne-tot 'you all, he saw you (distant past)'
- 2s object, 1s subject kuw-: kuw-ene-ya-i 'you I am seeing'
- 2p object, 1s subject kuw-, plural suffix -tëo: kuw-ene-ya-të-i 'you all, I am seeing you'
- 3s object, 3s subject (different from object) zero: ene-ya kan 'him God is seeing'
- 3s object, 3p subject zero prefix, plural suffix -tot: ene-ya-tot 'him they are seeing'
- 1p object, 3s subject emna: emna ene-ya mëhë 'us this one sees but he does not see you'
- 1p object, 3p subject emna, plural suffix -tot: emna ene-ya-tot 'us they see but they do not see you'
- 1-2 object, 3s subject k-: k-ëpetpîma 'us two, he just paid us'
- 1-2 object, 3p subject k-, plural suffix -tot: k-ëpetpîma-tot 'us two they paid'
- 1-2p object, 3s subject k-, plural suffix -tëo: k-upanaŋme-tëo kan 'us all, God hears us'
- 1-2p object, 3p subject k-, plural suffixes -tëo -tot: k-ëpetpîma-tëo-tot 'us all, they just paid us'.

2.4 Reflexive. Reflexive person markers occur with transitive stems to indicate identity of the subject and object. They consist of a person prefix followed by the reflexive prefix ët-, ëh-, e-. Verb stems that begin with e or ei take ëh-: w-epe-i 'I teach it', w-ëh-epe-i 'I teach myself'. Verb stems that begin with o, u, or i take ët-: w-onam-ya-i 'I hide it', w-ët-onam-ya-i 'I hide myself'; uhmo-ya-i 'I hit him', w-ët-uhmo-ya-i 'I hit myself'; w-i-ya-i 'I fix it', w-ët-i-ya-i 'I fix myself'. Some verb stems that begin with a take ët-; others take ëh-: w-alonŋme-i 'I stick it', w-ët-alonŋme-i 'I stick myself'; h-alëya-të-i 'we all carry it', k-ëh-alëya-të-i 'we all carry ourselves'. Verb stems that begin with i change the i to e: w-imilik 'I wrote', w-emilik 'I wrote on myself'. Some instances of et- and eh- as reflexives have been noted as well.

The person indicators that go with the reflexive marker are: 1s w-, 2s, 2p m-, 3s, 3p n-, 1p emna n-, 1-2 and 1-2p k-.

2.5 Intransitive. For the intransitive the person markers are:

- 1s y- alternating with i-, which replaces the initial vowel
- 2s, 2p ew- alternating with e-, which replaces the initial vowel
- 3s, 3p kun-, n-, mën- (same as transitive with subject focus)
- 1p emna kun-, emna n-, emna mën- (same as transitive with subject focus)
- 1-2, 1-2p k- plus initial vowel change, alternating with kut-.

Examples of the intransitive person markers are given in the form of paradigms that illustrate their effect on stem initial vowels.

e initial stems: emaminumī 'work'

- 1s y-emaminum-yai 'I work'
- 2s ew-emaminum-yai 'you work'
- 3s n-emaminum-yai 'he works'
- 1p emna n-emaminum-yai 'we but not you work'
- 1-2 h-ēmaminum-yai 'you and I work'
- 1-2p h-ēmaminum-ya-të-i 'we all work'
- 2p ew-emaminum-ya-të-i 'you all work'
- 3p n-emaminum-ya-tot 'they work'

i, ī initial stems: ilëwëita 'unconscious, dizzy'

- 1s ilëwëita 'I was recently unconscious'
- 2s ëlëwëita 'you were recently unconscious'
- 3s n-ilëwëita 'he was recently unconscious'
- 1p emna n-ilëwëita 'we but not you were unconscious'
- 1-2 k-ulëwëita 'you and I were unconscious'
- 1-2p k-ulëwëita-tëu 'we all were unconscious'
- 2p ëlëwëita-tëo 'you all were unconscious'
- 3p n-ilëwëita-tot 'they were recently unconscious'

a initial stems: asikapamī 'angry'

- 1s y-asikapam-yai 'I am angry'
- 2s ew-asikapam-yai 'you are angry'
- 3s n-asikapam-yai 'he is angry'
- 1p emna n-asikapam-yai 'we but not you are angry'
- 1-2 k-asikapam-yai 'you and I are angry'
- 1-2p k-asikapam-ya-të-i 'we all are angry'
- 2p ew-asikapam-ya-të-i 'you all are angry'
- 3p n-asikapam-tot 'they are angry'

u initial stems: uwa 'dance'

- 1s y-uwe-i 'I am dancing'
- 2s ew-uwe-i 'you are dancing'
- 3s n-uwe-i 'he is dancing'

1p emna n-uwe-i 'we but not you are dancing'
 1-2 kut-uwe-i 'you and I are dancing'
 1-2p kut-uwe-të-i 'we all are dancing'
 2p ëw-uwe-të-i 'you all are dancing'
 3p n-uwe-tot 'they are dancing'

2.6 Tense. The tense system for active verbs includes present, immediate past, and future.

The present tense of Class 1 verbs (a final) is formed by changing the stem final a to e and adding the tense suffix -i. For all other verbs the present tense is formed by adding the tense suffixes -ya and -i. In all verb classes the first and second person plural indicator is -tëo, which drops the o when -i is added: epa 'teach', w-epe-i 'I am teaching', h-epe-të-i 'we all are teaching'; epï 'bathe', w-epï-ya-i 'I am bathing', h-epï-ya-të-i 'we all are bathing'. The third person plural indicator is -tot: emna ene-ya-tot 'us they see but not you'.

Verb stems are intrinsically immediate past. Class 5 verbs retain the stem formative in the singular in this tense. This unmarked member of the tense system indicates action just completed or completed within the past 24 hours. The plural indicator for the immediate past is -tëo: w-epa 'I taught', w-ene 'I saw', h-etalepa 'you and I talked', h-etalepa-tëo 'we all talked', w-i-li 'I fixed it' (Class 5), kut-i-tëo 'we all fixed it'.

The distant past tense is formed by adding -ne. In the distant past the kun- form of the 3s, 1p, and 3p transitive subject focus and intransitive person markers is used; when kun- is used, -ne is not added. The plural indicator for the distant past is -të. Class 5 verbs retain the formative in the persons that use the prefix kun- and drop it in the other persons. The distant past tense indicates action that took place any time from roughly 24 hours before the time of speaking back indefinitely: w-ene-ne 'I saw', emna kun-i-li 'we but not you fixed it' (with formative), kut-i-të-ne 'we all fixed it' (without formative).

The future tense is indicated by -tan. It occurs only in the 3s and 3p transitive with subject focus, with the person marker mën-: mën-ët-i-tan 'he will fix himself'; mën-iptë-tan 'he will come down'.

The most common way of expressing future time is by means of the present tense. The particle wantë 'in the future' may be added: wantë kuw-ekalë-yai 'in the future I will give it to you'. There are also a group of forms with (am-) plus verb plus (-si-le) -wap that have a future meaning 'after an interval': am n-ene-wap 'wait; he will see'; umëki-sile-wap 'wait; I'll be coming'. The enclitic moo 'at another time' also has future meaning: w-ekalë-ya-i moo 'I will give it in the future'.

2.7 e-si 'be'. The irregular verb e-si 'be', Class 6, is given in paradigmatic form in the present, immediate past, and distant past:

	PRESENT	IMMEDIATE PAST	DISTANT PAST
1s	wai	weha	wehaken
2s	manai, man	meha	mehaken
3s	man, nai	neha	kunehak
1-2	kutai	heha	hehaken
1p	kutatëi	hehatëo	hehatëken
1-2p	nai emna	neha emna	kunehak emna
2p	manatëi	mehatëo	mehatëken
3p	man, nai tot	neha tot	kunehak tot

man as 2s is used only in questions. There are other forms of e-si as well. The inflectional pattern for other forms is regular except for the person markers, which are peculiar to this verb: iw-e-si-ke 'because of my being', ëw-ei-toh-me 'in order to be', iw-ei-topo-npi-kom 'their former being'.

The verb e-si 'be' enters into a number of specialized constructions. These include:

Predicate modifier: ipok wai 'I am good', ipok-ela wehaken 'I was not good'

Equative, with construction markers -me positive and -mna privative: epa-ne-me man 'he is a teacher' (with noun), kanawa-mna wai 'without a canoe I am', ëniŋ man 'who are you?' (with interrogative pronoun), min man 'there it is!' (with demonstrative pronoun)

With desiderative -he, -se: tuna-he nai emna 'we, but not you, want water'

With nominalized negative, in which the prefix indicates the object: i-panaŋma-la neha 'he did not see me'

With postpositional phrase: kan pona wai 'on God I am; I am trusting God'.

2.8 Negation. Negation is indicated by the suffix -la. A negated verb is inflected only for object by a set of prefixes given later (2.11); the subject is that of the verb e-si 'be' that follows the negated verb. The complete verb stem occurs in the negative, including the formatives of Classes 5 and 6. Examples are given of all stem classes with the negative object ën- 3s:

ën-ipanana-la wai 'I am not hearing it', Class 1

ën-enepi-la man 'he is not bringing it', Class 2

ën-ene-la nai emna 'you all and I are not seeing it', Class 3

ën-upi-la weha 'I did not seek it', Class 4

ën-ï-li-la neha 'he did not fix it', Class 5

ën-apë-si-la wai 'I am not receiving it', Class 6.

Besides entering into construction with inflected forms of e-si 'be', in which the auxiliary carries tense information as well as person information,

negative verbs enter into a timeless construction with the independent personal pronouns:

ën-ipanawma-la ëmëlamkom 'you all not hearing it'
 ën-epa-la iu 'me not teaching it'
 ën-alë-la ëmë 'you not carrying it'
 ën-i-lï-la mël 'him not fixing it'.

2.9 Imperative. In addition to the declarative mode forms given, there are four types of imperative: proximal (to be carried out in the place where the command is given and received), ablative (to be carried out after going somewhere else), allative (to be carried out after coming to the place where the command is given), and negative. The imperative is restricted to four persons: 2s, 2p, 1-2, and 1-2p, the last two being referred to as hortatory. The plural indicator for all imperatives is -të.

The proximal imperative (2s, 2p) is indicated by -k in the plural, and in the singular by -k on verbs of Classes 1 and 3, -kë on all other verbs:

ipanawma-k, ipanawma-të-k 'listen!', Class 1
 onam-kë, onam-të-k 'hide!', Class 2
 ene-k, ene-të-k 'look!', Class 3
 epï-kë, epï-të-k 'take a bath!', Class 4
 t-i-kë, t-i-të-k 'fix it!', Class 5 (A t- prefix goes with certain stems in the imperative and hortatory.)
 apëi-kë, apëi-të-k 'receive it!', Class 6.

The ablative imperative is indicated by -ta in the singular and -ta with -k in the plural:

ipanawma-ta, ipanawma-ta-të-k 'go listen!', Class 1
 onam-ta, onam-ta-të-k 'go hide!', Class 2
 ene-ta, ene-ta-të-k 'go look!', Class 3
 epï-ta, epï-ta-të-k 'go take a bath!', Class 4
 t-i-ta, t-i-ta-të-k 'go fix it!', Class 5
 apëi-ta, apëi-ta-të-k 'go receive it!', Class 6.

The allative imperative is indicated by -kët in both singular and plural:

ipanawma-kët, ipanawma-të-kët 'come listen!', Class 1
 onam-kët, onam-të-kët 'come hide!', Class 2
 ene-kët, ene-të-kët 'come look!', Class 3
 epï-kët, epï-të-kët 'come take a bath!', Class 4
 t-i-kët, t-i-të-kët 'come fix it!', Class 5
 apëi-kët, apëi-të-kët 'come receive it!', Class 6.

The proximal hortatory (1-2, 1-2p) is indicated by the suffix -i together with the dual transitive subject focus prefixes, whose allomorphs depend upon the stem initial phoneme:

- s-ipanangma-i, s-ipannangma-të-i 'let's listen (you and I, 1-2; all of us, 1-p)', Class 1
 k-iniki-i, k-inik-të-i 'let's sleep', Class 2
 h-ene-i, h-ene-të-i 'let's see', Class 3
 h-epi-i, h-epi-të-i 'let's bathe', Class 4
 kut-i-li-i, kut-i-të-i 'let's fix it', Class 5
 h-apë-si-i, h-apë-të-i 'let's receive it', Class 6.

The ablative hortatory is indicated by the suffix *-ta* in the singular and *-ta* with *-n* in the plural. The prefixes are the same as in the proximate hortatory:

- s-ipanangma-ta, s-ipannangma-ta-të-n 'let's go listen', Class 1.

The allative hortatory is indicated by the suffix *-net*. The prefixes are the same as in the proximate hortatory. When this form is used, the speaker is requesting one or more people to come to him in order to perform the desired action together:

- s-ipanangma-net, s-ipannangma-të-net 'let's come listen!', Class 1.

A form that is used much like the hortatory was already mentioned under the future tense. It consists of *-si*, *-si-le*, or *-si-le-wap* in 1s, 1-2, and 1-2p:

- w-ene-si-le-wap 'wait, let me see it!
 umëki-si-le-wap 'wait, let me come!
 kut-i-të-si 'let's all fix it!
 kut-upi-të-si-le 'let's all look for it!
 h-ene-të-si-le 'let's see!'

Following a second person imperative a verb with prefix *w-* and suffix *-i* has the force of a first person singular hortatory:

- enep-kë w-ene-i 'bring it; let me see!
 mëhkë w-epa-i 'come; let me teach you!
 kuw-epinëpi-i 'let me heal you!' [without a preceding imperative or *w-* prefix].

The negative imperative includes only the second person singular and plural forms, not the hortatory. Neither is there a distinction among proximal, ablative, and allative in the negative. The form of the negative imperative is similar to that of the proximal hortatory in that both take the dual transitive subject focus person prefix appropriate to the first vowel of the stem. The negative imperative takes the *-tëo* pluralizer, and lacks the *-i* suffix of the proximal hortatory. It requires the emphatic particle *nai*, which may occur with the proximal hortatory:

- h-epa nai, h-epa-tëo nai 'don't teach!
 kut-i-li nai, kut-itëo nai 'don't fix it!'

nai follows the verb unless the sentence contains an object, in which case it precedes the verb: *kuwamasi nai h-enep-tëo* 'don't you all bring colds!'

2.10 Supplementary suffixes. Supplementary suffixes can be added to a simple stem. The result is inflected in the same way as the simple stem itself. Various combinations of supplementary suffixes are possible.

TRANSITIVIZER OF INTRANSITIVE STEMS. *-nëp* or *-nëpka* on some stems, and *-nïp* or *-nïpka* on others, make an intransitive verb transitive. Generally the intransitive denotes a state and the transitive counterpart indicates that the subject has caused the object to change to that state. The derived transitive verb takes the transitive person markers that indicate subject focus. (NOTE: Some verbs take the transitive subject focus person markers even though they are syntactically intransitive (2.12). *ëmëm* 'enter', *itë* 'go', *mëkï* 'come'. So *w-ëmëm-ya-i* 'I enter' must still take the *-nëpka* suffix to make it transitive.) *y-etomam-ya-i* 'I wake up', *w-etomam-nëp-ya-i* 'I wake someone'; *y-anukte-i* 'I change', *w-anukta-nïp-ya-i* 'I change someone'; *i-tënkam-ya-i* 'I forget', *w-itënkam-nëp-ya-i* 'I forget someone'; *i-lëwëite-i* 'I am dizzy', *w-ilëwëita-nïp-ya-i* 'I make someone dizzy'; *w-ëmëm-ya-i* 'I enter', *kuw-ëmëm-nëpke-i* 'I cause you to enter; I baptize you'.

CAUSATIVE OF TRANSITIVE STEMS. *-po* or *-nehpo* in free variation forms the causative of simple transitive stems: *w-ene-po-ya-i*, *w-ene-nehpo-ya-i* 'I am causing someone to see', *inïgma-nehpo-k* 'cause him to sleep!'. *-po* is used to form the causative of transitives that are derived from intransitives by *-nëp*, *-nëpka*, *-nïp*, *-nïpka*: *etomam-nëpka-po-ta-le*, *etomam-nehpo-ta-le* 'to go cause him to be awakened again', *w-anukta-nïpka-po-ya-i*, *w-anukta-nih-po-ya-i* 'I am causing someone to change'.

The completive *-kep* indicates that the action of the verb is completely finished: *ïpakolon w-i-kep* 'I just finished making my house', *kuw-epetpïma-kem-ne* 'I completely finished paying you', *tï-kanawa t-ëklë-kep-he eya* 'he completely finished carving his own boat'.

The perfective *-nma(i)* can be followed by *-kep* completive. [The usage of the perfective is not further described. J.G.] *w-epa* 'I taught it', *w-epa-nma* 'I have taught it', *w-epa-nme-i* 'I will have taught it', *w-epa-nma-kep* 'I have just completed teaching it', *w-epa-nma-kem-ne* 'I had completed teaching it'.

The resumptive *-më* indicates resumed action. *umëkë-më-ya-he* 'I am coming again, completing my trip', *w-itëi-më-ya-i* 'I am going again'.

The necessitative *-po* occurs with stems that denote bodily functions: *isïkta-po-ya-i* 'I have to urinate', *y-inïk-po-ya-i* 'I have to sleep', *uika-po-ya-i* 'I have to defecate'.

Repetition is indicated by reduplication of all or part of the prefix-stem sequence: *w-itë-w-itë-ya-i* 'I am going and going', *ëwï-ëwï-nïk* 'you slept and

slept (many nights)', *kup-të-kup-të-top-kom* 'our continual going', *w-imi-w-imilik-ya-i* 'I am writing and writing (again and again)' with reduplication involving only part of the stem.

2.11 Specialized person markers. Transitive verbs in the negative take an object prefix; their subject is that of the accompanying form of *e-si* 'be':

- 1s *y-* before V, *i-* before C: *i-panaŋma-la man* 'he is not hearing me'
 2s *ëw-* before V, *ë-* before C: *ëw-epa-la wai* 'I am not teaching you'
 3s *ën-* before V, *i-* before C: *ën-ï-li-la manai* 'you are not fixing it'
 1p *emna n-*, *emna ën-*: *emna ën-ipanaŋma-la man* 'he is not hearing us (not you)'
 1-2 *k-* plus initial vowel change: *k-ï-li-la man* 'he is not fixing you and me'
 1-2p *k-* plus initial vowel change, pluralizer *-he*: *k-upanaŋma-la-he man* 'he is not hearing us all'
 2p *ëw-* before V, *ë-* before C, pluralizer *-he*: *ëw-ï-li-la-he man* 'he is not fixing you all', *ë-panaŋma-la-he man* 'he is not hearing you all'
 3p *ën-*, pluralizer *-tot*: *ën-ipanaŋma-la-tot man* 'he is not hearing them'.

A similar conjugation occurs with the irregular verb *-he* 'want', which also takes *e-si* 'be'. It is given here in paradigm form:

- 1s *i-he man* 'me he is wanting'
 2s *ë-he man* 'you I am wanting'
 3s *i-se wai* 'it I am wanting'
 1p *emna-he man* 'us but not you he is wanting'
 1-2 *ku-he man* 'you and me he is wanting'
 1-2p *ku-he-he man* 'all of us he is wanting'
 2p *ë-he-he wai* 'you all I am wanting'
 3p *i-se-he wai* 'them I am wanting'.

Reflexive stems are inflected like nouns in a form that has the syntax of a nominal. The person markers are: 1s *ïw-*, 2s *ëw-*, 3s *iw-*, 1-2p *emna* plus zero prefix, 1-2 *kuw-*, 1p *kuw-* ... *-kom*, 2p *ëw-* ... *-kom*, 3p *iw-* ... *-kom*: *ëw-ëh-epa-kom he wai* 'your teaching of yourselves (learning) I want', *iw-ët-u-topo-npi-kom* 'their former talking with themselves', *kuw-ëh-epa-top-kom* 'our teaching of ourselves'.

A resultative nominal is formed by adding the resultative person markers to a verb stem. The person markers indicate the agent of the action, and the entire nominal denotes the object of the action. The person markers are: 1s *in-*, 2s *ën-*, 3s *in-*, 3s identical to the subject of the sentence in which the nominal occurs *tin-*, 1p *emna n-*, 1-2 *kun-*, 1-2p *kun-* ... *-kom*, 2p *ën-* ... *-kom*, 3p *in-* ... *-kom*, 3p same as subject *tin-* ... *-kom*: *in-epa* 'the one I am teaching', *ën-ene* 'the one that you see', used in letters in the sense of 'the letter I am sending you for you to see', *yesu n-epa-tpi-tom* 'Jesus, the ones he formerly taught; the Disciples', *kun-ï-li-tpi-kom* 'the thing we made; our former making'.

The examples that follow illustrate verb forms that are easily confused by English speakers:

y-epa-topo-npi 'concerning my former teaching by another'

in-epa-topo-npi 'concerning my former teaching of another'

iw-eh-epa-topo-npi 'concerning my former teaching of myself (learning)'.

h-ene-ya-të-i 'we are seeing (someone or something)'

k-ëne-ya-tëo 'our being seen by someone'

kun-ene-kom 'our seeing (something)'

k-ëh-ene-ya-të-i 'we are seeing ourselves'

kuw-ëh-ene-top-kom 'concerning our seeing ourselves (as in a mirror, for example)'

kuw-ene-yai 'you I am seeing'

kuw-ene-ya-të-i 'you all I am seeing'.

kut-i-ya-të-i 'we are fixing (someone or something)'

k-i-ya-tëo 'our being fixed by someone'

kun-i-li-kom 'our fixing (someone or something)'

k-ët-i-ya-të-i 'we are fixing ourselves'

kuw-ët-i-top-kom 'concerning our fixing (by ourselves)'

kuw-i-ya-i 'you I am fixing'

kuw-i-ya-të-i 'you all I am fixing'.

w-ipanaŋme-i 'I hear (someone or something)'

ipanaŋme-i 'my being heard by someone'

ipanaŋma-tot 'my having just been heard by them'

ku-panaŋme-i 'my being heard by you'

ku-panaŋma-k 'hear me!'

ku-panaŋme-tëo 'our being heard by someone'

s-ipanaŋme-të-i 'we all are hearing'

ku-panaŋma-tëo 'our just having been heard by someone'

ku-panaŋma-të-ne 'our formerly having been heard by someone'.

Verbs with incorporated nouns form a stem with the reflexive, a noun denoting a body part, and a verbal element:

w-e-pup-taŋma 'I knocked (stubbed) my foot'

w-ë-tamo-taŋma 'I knocked my hand'

w-e-pana-loŋma 'I pierced my ear'

w-e-pana-paŋma 'I knocked my ear'

w-ë-tup-tama 'I hit my head'

w-ë-tamot-paŋpaŋme-i 'I am clapping my hands'

w-ë-tamo-loŋme-i 'I am piercing my hand'.

2.12 Stative verbs. All the verbs mentioned up to now have been active verbs. Stative or impersonal verbs denote either an ongoing state or a state that is the result of the completion of an action. They make no reference to time or tense; nor are they inflected for mode, person, or negation like the active verbs.

Stative verbs have a prefix *t-*. They take the nonfinite suffix *-i*, *-se*, *-he* with variants as follows: *-i* is added to most stems that end in *a*, *e*, *ë*, *o*: *t-ïpanaŋma-i ë-ya* 'heard by you', *t-ëne-i ï-ya* 'seen by me', *t-ëlë-i e-ya* 'carried by him', *t-uhmo-i e-ya-he* 'hit by them'. *-se* is added to Class 2 stems that have *t* as their final consonant; the final vowel drops: *t-ëpekat-se ë-ya-he* 'bought by all of you', *t-ënat-se* 'finished'. *-he* is added to all other stems: *t-enep-he ku-ya* 'brought by you and me', *t-ëpëi-he ku-ya-he* 'received by all of us'.

The stative plus pronoun construction is a test frame for the classification of verb stems into transitives and intransitives. Occurrence of a verb with intransitive or transitive active person markers is not fully diagnostic; some verbs (motion verbs) that in the stative turn out to be intransitives can occur with transitive active person markers. The pronoun that accompanies a stative in this construction takes the suffix *-ya* if the verb is basically transitive; it does not take *-ya* if the verb is basically intransitive. Transitives include *t-ëkalë-i ï-ya* 'given by me', *t-ëpa-i e-ya* 'taught by him'. Intransitives include *t-umuk-he ïu* 'me coming, me having come', *t-ëne-i ëmë* 'you seeing, you having seen', *t-ïpanaŋma-i ëmëlamkom* 'you all hearing'.

Stative forms of verbs occur most commonly in construction with personal pronouns or alone if the subject is clear from the context: *t-umëk-he ïu* 'I came', *okï t-ëli-he nai emna* 'we, but not you, are drinking drink'. Without person indicator: *tihulenma t-ïnik-he poto po* '(he) slept very long in the city', *molo-inë t-ïtë-i* 'from there (he) went', *t-ïtë-i awaina-tihwë* '(he) went after it dawned'.

The stative form of reflexives is made with the prefix *ëw-* after *t-* and before the regular reflexive prefix: *t-ëw-ët-uhmo-i* 'hitting oneself', *t-ëw-ët-i-he* 'fixing oneself', *t-ëw-ëh-alë-i* 'carrying oneself, going', *t-ëw-eh-ene-i* 'seeing oneself', *t-ëw-ët-onam-he* 'hiding oneself'.

The first verb of a two-verb sequence is inflected with the nonfinite suffix *-i*, *-se*, *-he* with change of the stem initial vowel but without the stative *t-* prefix. The result is a gerund that indicates purpose. It may also be inflected for object:

ene-i w-ïtë-ya-i 'for the purpose of seeing I am going'

enep-he umëk 'to bring (it) I came'

epi-he w-ïtë-ya-i 'to bathe I am going'

enat-se unëk-ya 'to finish it I am coming'

apu-he n-ïtëm 'to close it he went'

ëw-ene-i umëk 'to see you I came'.

A nominal form ending in *-hem* is based on the stative: *t-ïmilik-hem* 'something to write', *t-ëli-hem* 'something to drink', *t-ëpa-hem* 'something to teach', *t-ëne-hem* 'something to see'. The regular stative suffix is dropped.

The resumptive form for the stative is *-mëi*. With verbs of Classes 1 and 3 the nonfinite suffix *-i* is retained; with other classes it is lost. The final vowel of the stem changes in some verbs; while in others an extra vowel or extra syllable is added after the stem. *t-itë-i-mëi* 'going back', Class 1, *t-ëpa-i-mëi* 'teaching again', Class 1, *t-ëne-ë-mëi* 'bringing back' (stem final vowel change), *t-i-lë-mëi* 'making again' (extra syllable after stem), *t-apu-lë-mëi* 'closing again' (extra syllable after stem), *t-upi-yëmëi* 'seeking again' (extra syllable after stem), *t-ëpëi-mëi* 'receiving back again' stative (suffix lost).

The suffixes *-nëp*, *-nëpka* 'cause change of state', *-po*, *-nehpo* 'transitive causative', *-kep* 'completive', *-nma(i)* 'perfective', and *-po* 'necessitative' are added to stems in the stative in the same way as *-mëi*, including the retention or loss of the nonfinite suffix.

The stative pluralizer is *-tot*: *t-ëw-ët-i-he-tot* 'they were fixed', *t-ëpa-i-tot* 'they were taught', *t-ëw-ëh-alë-i-tot* 'they went'.

As in the active, reduplication of the stem and prefixes (and sometimes the nonfinite suffix) indicates repetition: *t-itë-t-itë-i* 'go and go without stopping', *t-ïnik-t-ïnik-he* 'sleep many nights at a place', *t-ëpa-i-t-ëpa-i-lëken i-ya* 'I just taught him and taught him'.

3. Modifiers. Modifiers denote times, seasons, qualities, weights, measures, and desire. They can be inflected for object [not discussed. J.G.] and negation. They can be nominalized; the nominalized form can take the plural. The modifiers are listed by general semantic categories.

TIMES AND SEASONS. *uhpak* 'long ago', *wantë* 'in the future', *ëkëmnë* 'later, the next time', *anu-malë* 'tomorrow', *kokone* 'yesterday', *he-malë* 'today', *mïn-kokone* 'the day before yesterday', *mïn-anu-malë* 'the day after tomorrow'.

QUALITIES. *elam-hak* 'worried', *pëtuku* 'beautiful, nice', *maika-me* 'bitter', *yu-phak* 'bright, shiny', *ipok* 'good', *pïpe* 'ashamed', *amole-phak* 'rapid (talk)', *ïka-phak* 'fat', *t-akïp-he* 'hard', *tawake* 'happy', *pïnapo-phak* 'kind', *ikï-phak* 'lazy', *uwa-me* 'healthy', *katip* 'like', *ëmëm-hak* 'greedy', *anum-hak* 'strong'.

SIZES AND SHAPES. *wiyom* 'crooked', *yun-me* 'big, wide', *pepta* 'big', *tuntulam* 'horizontal', *timulihule* 'long-waisted', *waya-me* 'round', *imulikuhpe* 'short-waisted', *pïli* 'upright'.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. *teŋ-me* 'heavy', *tupke* 'full, deep', *apsik* 'a little', *kole* 'a lot', *howoi-me* 'light in weight', *kawë* 'high', *t-immok-e* 'full', *yahpine* 'shallow', *kupi-me* 'long', *mëŋ-me* 'thick'.

Most modifiers that end in *-(p)hak* are negated by replacing that morpheme by *-mna* 'without, lacking the quality of'. A few are negated by adding *-la* after V, *-(V)la* after C:

anum-hak 'strong'

etum-hak 'hurting'

elam-hak 'worried'

iki-phak 'lazy'

ipok 'good'

anum-na 'without strength',

anumhak-ila 'not strong'

etum-na 'not hurting'

elam-na 'unworried'

iki-la, iki-phak-ila 'not lazy'

ipok-ela 'bad'.

Other modifiers are negated by adding -la, -ela.

mëḡ-me 'heavy'

maika-me 'bitter'

kole 'many'

tawake 'happy'

mëḡ-me-la 'not heavy'

maika-me-la 'not bitter, fermented'

kole-la 'not many'

tawake-la 'not happy'.

The negative nominalizer -pîn is discussed under Class Changers, Section 6.

The nominal derivatives of modifiers are formed with -an, -t, -at, -l, -lon, -lën, with pluralizers -kom, -nom. If the modifier ends with e, it is replaced by a.

ipok 'good'

anum-hak 'strong'

uhpak 'old'

mëḡ-me 'heavy'

tawake 'happy'

ëkëmnë 'later'

he-malë-lon-kom 'the people of today'

wantë-lën-kom 'the people of the future'

anu-malë-ën-kom 'the people of tomorrow'

kokon-at-kom 'the people of yesterday'.

ipok-an 'a good one'

anum-hak-an 'a strong one'

uhpak-at 'an old one'

mëḡ-m-an 'a heavy one'

tawak-an 'a happy one'

ëkëmnë-t 'the last one'

4. Nouns. Nouns are inflected for possessor, negation, aspect, and number.

Possessive prefixes involve allomorphic alternation [illustrated but not described]. The person distinctions for possessives are the same as those for person markers on verbs:

1s i- before C, y-, iw- before V: i-pupu 'my foot', i-wolisi 'my sister', y-état 'my hammock', iw-ïpili-n 'my evil', iw-oka-n 'my fishhook'.

2s ë- before C, ëw- before V: ë-pupu 'your foot', ë-wolisi 'your sister', ëw-état 'your hammock', ëw-ïpili-n 'your evil', ëw-oka-n 'your fishhook'.

3s i- before C, zero, a-, aw-, iw- before V: i-pupu 'his foot', a-wolisi 'his sister', état 'his hammock', iw-ïpili-n 'his evil', aw-oka-n 'his fishhook'.

1p emna: emna pupu 'our feet, not yours', emna wëlisi 'our sister, not yours', emna état 'our hammock, not yours', emna wipili-n 'our evil, not yours', emna oka-n 'our fishhook, not yours'.

1-2 ku- before C, k-, kuw- before V: ku-pupu 'your feet and mine', ku-wolisi 'your sister and mine', k-état 'your hammock and mine', kuw-ïpili-n 'your evil and mine', kuw-oka-n 'your fishhook and mine'.

- 1-2p ku- before C, k-, kuw- before V, with pluralizer (of the possessor, not of the noun itself) -kom: ku-pupu-kom 'all of our feet', ku-wolisi-kom 'the sister of all of us', k-état-kom 'the hammock of all of us', kuw-ípíli-n-kom 'the evil of all of us', kuw-oka-n-kom 'the fishhook of all of us'.
- 2p ë- before C, ëw- before V, with pluralizer -kom: ë-pupu-kom 'your (pl) feet', ë-wolisi-kom 'the sister of you all', ëw-état-kom 'the hammock of you all', ëw-ípíli-n-kom 'the evil of you all', ëw-oka-n-kom 'the fishhook of you all'.
- 3p i- before C, zero, a-, aw-, w- before V, with pluralizer -kom: i-pupu-kom 'their feet', a-wolisi-kom 'their sister', état-kom 'their hammock', iw-ípíli-n-kom 'their evil', aw-oka-n-kom 'their fishhook'.

Some nouns are completely irregular in the possessive forms for the dual and the first person (inclusive) plural: i-kot 'your meat and mine', i-kot-kom 'the meat of all of us'; iku 'your bread and mine', iku-kom 'the bread of all of us'. Note also inma 'my soup', ënma 'your soup', inma 'his soup', emna inma 'our soup but not yours', kunma 'your soup and mine', kunmakom 'the soup of all of us', ënmakom 'the soup of you all', inmakom 'their soup'.

Along with the regular third singular is a form in t-, tí-, tíw-, tëw- that identifies the possessor as the same person as the subject of the clause within which the possessed noun occurs: tí-pampila-n 'his own paper', tí-pampila-n-kom 'their own paper'; tëw-oka-n 'his own fishhook'; t-état 'his own hammock', t-état-kom 'their own hammock'; tíw-ípíli-tpí 'his own evil', tíw-ípíli-tpí-kom 'their own evil'.

Nouns with the third person singular possessive may have the negative -la added. In construction with a form of e-si 'be' this negative indicates that the subject of e-si does not possess whatever the noun denotes:

- i-kalakuli-la wai 'I do not have any money'
 i-münpalé-la wai 'I do not have any possessions'
 i-pakolo-la man 'he does not have a hut'
 aw-oka-la emna 'you all and I have no fishhook'.

Nouns with or without a possessive may have the suffixes -me-la added in the equative construction, with the meaning 'not -':

- kanawa-me-la 'not a canoe'
 i-pín-me-la 'not my wife'
 ëw-etan-me-la 'not your hammock'.

Nouns with or without a possessive may have the suffix (V)mna added in the equative construction, with the meaning 'without -':

- ku-kanawa-kom-omna 'without our canoe'
 kanawa-mna ka man 'are you without a canoe?'
 yolok-omna 'without a spirit that causes illness'

ku-hapa-nu-mna 'without your and my machete'
 y-etat-imna 'without my hammock'
 ekī-mna 'without a pet'
 mīnpalē-mna nai emna 'without possessions are we, but not you'.

A nominal form that denotes 'one who does not possess —' is formed by affixing *-mīn*, *-pīn* for the singular nominal and *-mnom* for the plural. A vowel or an extra syllable is added before the suffix in some cases. If the stem noun is inanimate, it must be inflected with the third singular possessor:

i-pumali-pīn 'one who does not have a crown'
 kaikusi-mīn 'one who does not have a dog'
 eu-lu-mīn 'eyeless one'
 yolok-omnom 'ones who do not have a spirit that causes illness'
 i-kanawa-mnom 'ones who do not have a canoe'
 i-pampila-pīn 'one without a book'
 a-wono-mīn 'one without beads'
 akono-mīn 'one without another; only child'.

See also the negative particle *-tapek* used with nouns, described in 9.

Aspect-like distinctions on nouns distinguish current possession from possession that has terminated. For current ownership or possession some nouns take *-n*, others *-lē*: *kan pampila-n* 'God's Word', *kan mumu-lē* 'God's Son', *y-etah-lē* 'my hammock'.

Terminated possession is indicated by *-(V)tpē*, *-(V)npē*, *-(V)tpī*, *-(V)npī*. The form that begins with a vowel is added after stems that end in a consonant. Unpossessed nouns, proper names, and pronouns take the suffixes that end in *ē*: *kanawa-tpē* 'what used to be a canoe', *yolok-otpē* 'a spirit that formerly caused illness', *ehet-īnpē* 'a former name'. If the possessor is given immediately before the noun, the terminated possessive also ends in *ē*: *i-sapa-tpī* 'his former machete', but *mēklē hapa-tpē* 'that one's former machete'; *i-imilik-topo-npī* 'concerning his former writing', but *malipa n-imilik-topo-npē* 'concerning Malipa's former writing'. Nouns that end in *n* and *t* take the allomorphs *-(V)npē*, *-(V)npī*: *y-etat-īnpī* 'my former hammock', *ehet-īnpī* 'his former name', *i-pun-unpī* 'his former flesh'. The terminated possessive may be used following *-topo* 'relative to': *īn-ekalē-topo-npī* 'relative to my former giving', *kuw-ēh-epa-topo-npī-kom* 'relative to our former teaching of ourselves (learning)'. A related form is a resultative nominalizer on verb stems, and with a vowel *o* instead of *ī*, *ē*. Another suffix is an agentive nominalizer; both are discussed under 7, Class Changers.

The pluralizers of nouns are never in a predicative construction: *-tom*, *-nom*, *-ham(o)*, *-yam*, *-amo*, and *-lam*. They must be distinguished from *-kom*, which is the pluralizer of possessors and takes precedence over the noun pluralizer. If the possessive pluralizer *-kom* occurs on a word, the noun

pluralizer cannot; the word must be preceded by *kole* 'many' instead. There are two exceptions: *ëw-eḡ-nom-kom* 'the pets of all of you', and *ku-pei-nom-kom* 'the children of us all'.

The ordinary noun pluralizer is *-tom*: *ë-maliya-n* 'your knife', *ë-maliya-n-tom* 'your knives'; *i-tamu-tom* 'his elders'; *mekolo-tom* 'Bush Negroes'. *-nom* is used with some nouns: *uhpak-at-o-nom* 'the old ones'; *akena-to-nom* 'the first ones'; *i-pëi-nom* 'my children', *ku-pei-nom* 'the children of you and me'. *-tom* can be added to *-(h)am(o)*, *-lam*: *wëlii-hamo* 'the women', *ëpih-tom* 'your wives', *ëpi-lam-tom* 'your wives', *oka t-ikolok-amo* 'the white fishhooks', *të-hamo-tom* 'game', *t-ïwipilin-k-amo* 'the evil ones'.

5. Pronouns. There are three sets of pronouns: personal, interrogative, and demonstrative. Most of them substitute for nouns; a few are related to other parts of speech. They are inflected almost identically with nouns.

The personal pronouns are:

1s *iü*, *yu* 'I'

2s *ëmë* 'you'

3s *mëi*, *mëhe* nearby, *mëklë* distant or unseen, *inëlä* identity understood from previous identification in discourse 'he, she, it'

1p *emna* 'we but not you'

1-2 *kunmë* 'you and I'

1-2p *kunmëlamkom* 'all of us'

2p *ëmëlamkom* 'you all'

3p *mëham* nearby, *mëkyam* distant or unseen, *mëha* 'these (animate)', *sinkom* 'these (inanimate)', *inamolö* identity understood 'they'.

The interrogative pronouns are:

ëtï 'what? (animate)': *ëtï pëḡ man* 'what are you doing?'

tala 'how?'

ta 'what? how?': *ta mïkei eya* 'what will you say to him?'

ta-phele 'how many?': *ta-phele-he man* 'how many do you want?'

ënik 'who?': *ëniḡ man* 'who are you? (what is your name?)'

të-non 'which one?': *të-non-he man* 'which one do you want?'

të-na 'where to?': *të-na pa nëtïli* 'where did it fix itself, where is it?'

tala-n 'what one?'

tala-n katip 'like what?'

tala-sike 'why?' (also *ëtï-ka-toh-me* and *toh-me*, *taka-toh-me* 'why?', which are probably not pronouns)

ëtë 'where?'

tala-ptao 'when?'

The demonstrative pronouns are:

sïn 'this (animate)'

helë 'this (inanimate)'

mïn 'that (animate)'

mələ 'that (inanimate)'
 huwa 'just that (intensive)'
 mala, mala-lə 'like that'
 masike 'therefore'.

Pronouns have a definite or intensive inflection that they do not share with nouns. Definite suffixes are -n, -non, -lo, and -lon. The sequence -lo-lo may contain -lə 'throughout' as its second element: huwa-lon-me 'just that very one', huwa-lo-lo-me 'just that very one'; mala-lon-me 'like that one', mala-lo-lo-me 'like that very one'; ma-lon-me 'that very one; after that'; molo-n 'that one there (referring to a definite place)'; tē-non 'which one?'; tala-n 'what one?'

The suffix -(V)tpë used with nouns to indicated terminated possession, occurs with pronouns in a similar sense: sīn-ī-tpë 'formerly this (animate)', helë-tpë 'formerly this (inanimate)', ëti-tpë 'what formerly?', mala-latpë 'like that formerly', mëlë-tpë 'that formerly', molo-n-utpë 'formerly that place there', iu-tpë 'formerly me, my former sex partner', ëmë-lëtpë 'formerly you, your former sex partner', huwa-latpë 'formerly just that'.

Pronouns may be inflected for negation with -la. The negative suffix may not, however, be added directly to the pronominal stem; at least one other morpheme must intervene. mala-lë 'like that throughout; the same', mala-lë-la 'not like that throughout; not the same'; mëlë-tpi-la 'not formerly that', helë-tpi-la 'not formerly this', helë-me-la 'not this', mëlë-me-la 'not that'.

The adversative tapek 'in contradistinction to something else' occurs with pronouns as well as with verbs (see 9.): ëmë-hek iu tapek 'it is up to you, not me'; ënik tapek wayana 'who, indeed, is not a Wayana?'; sīn-hek, mīn tapek 'this one, not that one'.

The plurals of personal pronouns have already been given. Interrogative and demonstrative plurals are given here. The suffix of terminated status -tpë precedes the pluralizer, which is -kom; the negative -la follows it. Interrogative plurals are: ënik-yamkom 'who? (plural)'; ëti-kom 'what? (plural)'; tala-n-kom 'what ones?'; tē-non-kom 'which ones?'. Demonstrative plurals are: sīn-kom 'these (animate)', helë-kom 'these (inanimate)'; mīn-kom 'those (animate)'; mëlë-kom 'those (inanimate)', mëlë-tpë-kom 'formerly those (inanimate)', mëlë-kom-ela 'not those (inanimate)'.

6. Postpositions. Postpositions follow a pronoun, noun, or noun phrase to indicate position, direction, instrument, or likeness. They may also be inflected.

The following postpositions indicate position or location:
 tao, yao, nao, ina, na, wë 'in': pakolo tao 'in the house', tapanani-kum tao 'in the mouth of the Tapanahonij River', ulumali-kum tao 'in the mouth

of the Oelemari River'; *kanawa yao* 'in the canoe', *kanawa wë* 'in the canoe'; *kapu nao* 'in the sky'; *antikî-lî ina* 'in the front of the boat'
kuwao 'immersed in a liquid': *tuna kuwao* 'in the water'
po 'on': *ëutë po* 'on the village', *mëlë po* 'on that'
 (V)htao 'among': *emna htao* 'among you all and me', *kalipono-tom ohtao* 'among people'
ohme 'filled with': *kuw-iwîli-tpî-kom ohme* 'filled with the sin of all of us'
polo 'resting on, in contact with': *tuna polo titëi kanawa* 'resting on the water went the canoe'; *wewe polo tēhanukhe wayana* 'on the tree climbed the Wayana'.

The following postpositions indicate direction:

tak, yak, nak 'to': *pakolo tak* 'to the house', *tapanani-kum tak* 'to the mouth of the Tapanahonij River', *ulumali-kum tak* 'to the mouth of the Oelemari River'; *anawa yak* 'to the canoe'; *kapu nak* 'to the sky'
kuwak 'into an immersing liquid': *tuna kuwak* 'into the water'
na 'to': *ëutë po-na* 'on to the village', *mëlë po-na* 'on to that', *talë na* 'to here', *molo na* 'to there', *etato po-na* 'on to the other side'
taowëinë, yaowëinë, naowëinë, kuwaowëinë, ëinë, inë, yeinë 'from'. These forms are parallel to some of the positional postpositions: *pekolo taowëinë* 'from the house', *kanawa yaowëinë* 'from the canoe', *kapu naowëinë* 'from the sky'; *tuna kuwaowëinë* 'from immersion in the water'; *ëutë poinë* 'from off the village'; *aowë inë* 'from the inside'; *hei yeinë* 'from there'
ailë, ilë, tailë 'through, straight, throughout': *kanawa ilë wîtëyai* 'by canoe (instrumental) I am going'; *ikutpa etpi tailë nîtëm* 'straight along the lake shore he went'; *ailë eikë* 'be straight, honest!'; *ailon-me* 'a straight one'.

Other postpositions are not locative or directional in their meaning:

akëlë 'in companionship with': *iwekî akëlë wîtëyai* 'I am going with my fellow tribesmen', *yesu akëlën-tom* 'the ones with Jesus, the disciples'
malë 'also, together with': *inëlë malë këhalëyatëi* 'we all are going with him', *pakolo malë wiyai* 'a house also I am fixing'
ke 'by means of, instrument': *ëtî ke kupeinomkom tapai kuyahe* 'by means of what shall we teach our children?', *hapa ke* 'by means of a machete', *hopu ke* 'by means of soap'
katip 'like': *mëlë katip* 'like that', *helë katip* 'like this'
hapon 'one like (nominalizing postposition)': *aimala hapon neha* 'it (a black stick in the water) was one like the aimala fish', *helë hapon wekaleyai ëya* 'one something like this I will give you'
ya doer or receiver of action [dative, benefactive? J.G.]: *kan pamiplan mën-ke ë ya* 'God's word will say to you', *w-ekalë-yai wayana ya* 'I am giving it to a Wayana', *ta mikel e ya* 'what will you say to him?', *opolan t-ëne-i ku ya* 'the airplane was seen by us two', *kalakuli tēpëihe e yahe* 'money received by them', *ene-tihwë i ya* 'after seeing by me'.

Postpositions occur frequently with pronouns: *mələ-tpə-me inə* 'being from that former one', *mələ-lə tao-lə* 'in that throughout (referring to a preceding statement), at that very time', *helə pək* 'concerning this'.

A number of words occur nowhere but with postpositions. These words denote location or position themselves. They are called postpositional stems; 'adverb' would also be a plausible label:

ilop tao, ilop tak, ilop taowəinə 'in, to, from the inside'

ilam nao, ilam nak, ilam naowəinə 'in, to, from the middle'

aktu poi, aktu po-na, aktu po-inə 'upstream, to upstream, from upstream'

eka tao, eka tak, eka taowəinə 'alongside of, to the side of, from the side of'

talih nao, talih nak, talih naowəinə 'on, to, from the outside'

iwaliip tao, iwaliip tak, iwaliip taowəinə 'at, to, from the back of'

etpi tao, etpi tak, etpi taowəinə 'at, to, from the edge (or bank of a river)'

empa tao, empa tak, empa taowəinə 'at, to, from the front of'.

A few postpositional stems can occur in isolation. [This makes it questionable whether they are postpositional stems or particles. J.G.]

tan 'here (definite place)': *enepkə tan e-na* 'bring it to this place', *tan man, pampila* 'here it is, the book!'

talə 'here (general area, indefinite)': *talə na mēhkə* 'come here!', *talə ka man* 'are you here?'

molo 'there': *molo man pampila* 'there is the book'

hei 'there (general area, indefinite)': *hei kapu nao* 'there (somewhere) in the sky', *hei yeinə uməkəmə* 'from there I came back'

siya 'this way': *siya nai* 'go this way!'

A number of other words can be included under this heading: *apətun* 'right', *apəwəin* 'left', *opinə* 'under', *epoi* 'over', *heiwihné* 'to the side (rather than the middle)', *məwihné* 'beyond the middle', *helewihné* 'this side of the middle', *ahpoi* 'higher', *ipuptikī* 'the bottom side'.

A postpositional phrase can be nominalized by the addition of *-li*, *-no*, *-n*, *-yen*. *-li* is used only after *tao*, *nao*, *yao*, *kuwao* with dropping of the final *o* of the postposition.

kapu nao, kapu na-li 'in the sky, the one in the sky'

tuna kuwao, tuna kuwa-li 'immersed in the water, the one in the water'

ituh tao, ituh ta-li-tom 'in the bush, the ones in the bush'

aowə no 'the one inside', *etato po-no-tom* 'the ones on the other side', *kawe no-kom* 'the high ones'

y-akələ-n 'the one with me', *ipuptikwə-n* 'the one underneath', *opinə-n* 'the one below'

ametai 'downstream', *ameta-yen-kom* 'the ones downstream'; *aktuhpo-yen-kom* 'the ones upstream'.

A postpositional phrase can be negated by the addition of *-la*: *ona po-la* 'not on the savannah'; *i-mīnpalə pək-əla* 'not around my possessions'.

Postpositions, instead of following a nominal or a postpositional stem, may be inflected for person. In that case the person marker stands in the same grammatical relation to the postposition as an independent nominal would stand:

- 1s i- before C, y- before V: y-ekatao 'beside me', i-pona 'onto me'
 2s ë- before C, ëw- before V: ëw-ekatao 'beside you', ë-pona 'onto you'
 3s i- before C, zero before V: i-katip 'like him'
 1p emna i- before C, emna before V: emna ekatao 'beside us (not you)'
 1-2 ku- before C, k-, kuw- before V: k-ëka-tak 'up to beside you and me'
 1-2p ku- before C, k- k-uw- before V with pluralizer -he or -wëhe:
 kuw-alip-tak-ëhe 'up to behind us all', ku-htao-wëhe 'among us all',
 ku-katip-ïla-he 'not like all of us'
 2p ë- before C, ëw- before V, with pluralizer -he or -wëhe: ë-pona-he 'onto
 you all'
 3p i- before C, zero, iw- before V, with pluralizer -he: iw-alip-tak-ëhe 'up to
 the backs of them', epona-he 'onto them'.

When the pronominal that accompanies a postposition refers to the same thing as the subject of the clause in which that postpositional phrase occurs, the reflexive person marker e-, ëh-, ëhe- is used: ëh-ëka-tailë 'beside itself (completely the same)', ëhe-katip-lë 'thoroughly like itself (exactly the same as it is)', ëh-empa-tak 'into a face-to-face position with each other', ëhe-pëk 'concerning itself'. With the third person singular t-, të- is used for the reflexive in some cases: të-pona 'on himself (trusting in himself)', të-pona tëmëipai eya 'on to himself he called him (he called him to trust in him)'.

7. Class changers. Derived stems are formed by adding a class changer to a word of a particular class. The composite result behaves as a stem of a different class, and can be inflected in the same way that a simple stem of that class is inflected.

7.1 Nominalizers. The derived stem formed by adding a nominalizer to a stem of another class is inflected like a noun:
 -top(o) 'something related to X', where X is the underlying verb: ene-top 'something related to seeing, eye glasses'; apuwa-top 'something related to opening, door'; yesu n-ekalë-topo-npï 'something related to Jesus's former teaching'. The sequence of -top and -me, between which the plural -kom may occur with reduction of the mm sequence to m, has the meaning 'in order to': kanawa enepkë, emna ëhalë-toh-me 'bring the canoe in order for us (but not you) to go!'; kanawa enepkë, kuw-ëhalë-top-ko-me 'bring the canoe in order for us all to go!'.
 -ne (singular), -nanom (plural) 'agentive; one who does X': enem-ne 'bringer', ene-ne 'seer', uwantanim-nanom 'feeders (ones who raise children)', apëi-ne-me 'one who is a receiver', epa-ne-me 'one who is a teacher'; k-ëpa-nanom-kom 'our teacher, our teachers'. The last form is ambiguous. -kom pluralizes the person marker k- and seems to require the use of -nanom, which otherwise signals the plural of the

nominalized form independently. Thus *k-ëpa-nanom-kom* is used of a single teacher rather than the expected *k-ëpa-ne-kom*, which can be elicited but is not normal.

- (V)tpë, -(V)tpī, -(V)npë, -(V)npī 'what was formerly done, the result of what was formerly done'. The same morpheme occurs with nouns. -(V)npë, -(V)npī is used after *-topo* [which implies that nominalization has already taken place. J.G.]; the forms with *t* are used directly with verb stems: *in-ekalë-tpī* 'my former giving', *kun-ekalë-tpī-kom* 'our former giving'; *iw-ei-si-tpī* 'my former being'; *emna epa-tpī* 'the former teaching of you all and me (by another)', *emna n-epa-tpī* 'the former teaching of you all and me (to another)'.
- tpon from *tpī* 'former' and *ne* agentive 'the one who formerly did X': *y-ekalë-tpon* 'my former giver, the one who formerly gave to me', *ëw-ili-tpon-me kan* 'God is the one who in a former time made you, your former maker'.

Affixes that nominalize stative verbs, modifiers, pronouns, and postpositional phrases have already been listed under those headings.

The negative nominalizer of verbs is *-pīn*, *-mīn* (singular), *-mnom* (plural) 'one who is not an object of X': *ene-pīn* 'one not seen', *ene-mnom* 'ones not seen'; *t-ī-lī-pīn* 'one not made', *t-ī-lī-mnom* 'ones not made'; *i-sahka-topo-mīn-me* 'one who is not related to being split; one who is whole (used of God)'.

[Two elements are listed under the heading 'noun clauses'. It is difficult to see how these differ from other nominalizers. J.G.]

- tīhwë 'after' with pluralizer *-he* of person marker: *iwekaktai-më-tīhwë*, *tī-pakolo-n tapuhe eya* 'after coming out again, he shut his own house', *iw-ëhalë-tīhwë-he-psik aptao*, *kuw-epe-tëi* 'after they all go, I will teach you all', *ëw-enei-më-tīhwë aptao*, *kuw-epetpīme-i* 'after seeing you again, I will pay you'
- lihtaο*, *-ohtaο* 'while': *ëw-elamuk-te ën-epī*, *epīma lihtaο* 'you will be sweating while planting your food', *kuw-ehene-kom-ohtaο* 'while we were seeing ourselves' (the form with person marker has a different stem).

7.2 Adjectivizers. The derived stem formed by adding an adjectivizer to a stem of another class is a modifier:

- t(V)*- prefixed to a noun, plus suffixes *-k*, *-ke*, *-le*, *-ye*, *-he*, forms an attributive that can modify a noun, with the meaning 'with, having': *tī-mumu-ke* 'with a child', *tī-kanawa-k* 'with a canoe', *tī-pakolo-k* 'having a house', *t-ëwu-le* 'with eyes', *t-omo-le* 'with hands', *t-alī-he* 'with contents', *tī-mīwu-le* 'with blood, menstruating', *tī-mīnpalë-k* 'with possessions', *tī-yum-ke* 'with a father', *t-īpīt-ye* 'with a wife', *tī-ye-ke* 'with a mother', *tī-peito-ke-nma* 'with many servants', *t-ënom-ke-nma* 'with many pets', *tī-tamu-k* 'having a grandfather', *tīw-īpīlī-k* 'with evil', *tow-oka-k* 'having a fishhook'. This form can itself be nominalized by

adding a final *-m*, *-em*: *tī-pakolo-k-em* 'one with a house', *t-ali-he-m* 'one that has contents'.

-tse with verb stems of Classes 1, 3, and 4 when not negated, and *-të* with verbs of Classes 2, 4[?], and 6, and with all verbs when negated, form a verb modifier 'by continually doing X'. With these suffixes stem initial *i* drops and *e* becomes *ë*. The form is used frequently with *e-si* 'be': *ëne-tse* 'continually seeing', *itë-tse* 'continually going', *milik-të* 'continually writing', *panaṅma-tse* 'continual hearing'.

7.3 Verbalizers. The derived stem formed by adding a verbalizer to a stem of another class is a verb.

- ptë* 'provide someone with X', where X is a noun. The reflexive is *e-: w-e-pakolo-ptë-ya-i* 'I am providing myself a house', *kuw-ipakolo-ptë-ya-i* 'I am providing you a house', *ë-kanawa-ptë-k* 'provide yourself a canoe!', *i-kanawa-ptë-k* 'provide a canoe!'. This form also occurs with nominalized postpositions: *eka-li-ptë-tëk* 'provide a side for it!', *ëh-empata-li-ptë-k* 'provide one to face yourself!'
- kai* 'deprive someone of X' is the semantic opposite of *-ptë*: *t-upo-kai iya* 'undressed by me', *ewa-ka-ta* 'go unrope it!', *n-eu-ka pilëoke* 'he un-eyed him with an arrow', *ëh-epi-ka-la ekë* 'don't un-wife yourself', *ile-ka-k* 'disarm him!'
- ta* 'perform the activity that is usual for X': *i-kanawa-te-i* 'I am canoeing', *ku-sonte-ta-tëo* 'we all "Sundayed"', *n-i-sapa-ta* 'he used a machete', *emna n-i-pakolo-te-i* 'you all and I are making a house'.
- ma* 'act in the relation denoted by X', where X is a nominalized postposition: *të-pono-ma-i* 'put onto', *t-ëkëlë-n-ma-i* 'accompany', *t-ohpo-yan-ma-i* 'go above, put above'.
- pam*, *-ta* gives a verbal form of modifiers. If a modifier contains *-phak*, *-mphak*, those suffixes must be dropped when *-pam* is added. *-ta*, on the other hand, follows *-phak*, *-mphak* when they occur: *iki-phak*, *iki-pam-ya-i* 'lazy, I am lazy', *y-ame-phak*, *w-ët-amephak-ta-nip-ya-i* 'happy, I make myself happy', *i-pepta-pam-ya-i* 'I am becoming big', *mën-ïmyata-pam-ya* 'he is maturing (becoming a man)', *mën-ewaluhma-pam-ya* 'she is maturing (becoming a woman)'.
- pai* 'give X to someone', where X is a noun. Not all nouns can occur with *-pai*; those that cannot take *-të*: *tow-ok-pai* 'give drink', *t-u-pai* 'give bread', *t-o-pai* 'give meat', *t-ïpëinom-pai* 'give children (said of God)'.
- ma*, *-ka* 'make a noise like X', where X is an onomatopoeic expression: *wi-tëlëṅ-ma*, *we-tëlëṅ-ka* 'I made a ringing noise, I went "tëlëṅ"', *wi-toṅtoṅ-ke-i*, *wi-toṅtoṅ-ma-i* 'I am making a banging noise over and over, I am going "toṅ, toṅ"'

8. Enclitics. Enclitics can follow almost any word in a sentence:

- hpo*, *-ma*, *-hpoma* 'quickly, in a hurry': *mëhkë-ma* 'come here quickly!', *mëk-tëk-ë-hpo-ma* 'come here quickly, all of you!', *enepkë-hpo* 'bring it quickly!', *pampila-hpo imilih-kë*, *opolan mënëmëkya* 'write quickly, hurry; the plane is coming!'.

- tot 'plural' [This is the regular pluralizer of the third person marker in some verb conjugations. J.G.] tala-tot w-ilë-më-ya 'how shall I fix them?', ipok man-tot 'they are good', mën-mëk-ya-tot 'they are coming', y-ene-ne-tot 'they saw me (distant past)'.
- moo 'another time': awap-moo wekalëyai eyahe 'wait another time; I will give it to them all', kuw-enep-yai-moo 'I will bring it to you at another time', këtalepa-ŋ-moo 'teach me another time', moo w-ipkëlëyai 'another time I will cut it'.
- ka sentence (yes-no) interrogative, distinct from interrogative pronouns. The -i of the present tense affix drops: mëi-ka-ne ipok ëya 'is he good to you?', ame-tah-ka mütëya 'are you going down river?', m-ene-tëo-ka 'did you all see it?'.
- pitë 'a little': mëi-pitë wene 'I saw him a little', mëhya-pitë këhalëyatëi 'a little far we are going', sïn-pitë alëk 'this little bit, take it!', awa-pitë 'wait a little bit'.
- pihtële 'the first time'. This is a combination of -pitë 'a little', -h emphatic, and -le 'really'. The h can be held longer for emphasis; the longer it is held, the greater the emphasis: tukukhe-pihtële iya 'tried by me for the first time', alawata tuwëi-pihtële eya 'for the first time he shot a red howler monkey', imëkï-pihtële mëi 'he came for the first time', kulasi etapamï-pihtële 'the rooster crowing for the first time (in the morning)'.
- nai intensive. Its use with e-si 'be' has already been mentioned, as has its use with the negative imperative. With commands it further emphasizes the command: ulu-nai eneptëk 'bring it, the cassava bread!', paŋ-nal ene-ta 'go see it, the baking plate', ekalëŋ-nai eya 'give it to him!', ën-itenkapamïla-nai eitëk 'don't forget it! (negative imperative)', ën-enep-ï-la-nai eikë 'don't bring it!'.
- nahek 'the one that is really being referred to', a combination of -nai and the particle hek: sïn tapek, sïn-nahek 'not this, but this other', ulu-nahek enepkë 'bring the other bread (rather than this one)'.
- hku(lu) 'in quality, in quantity': kohle-hku palasisi 'very many white people in quantity', sïn kamisa pëtukulu-hkulu-nma 'this cloth is very beautiful in quality', ikiphakë-hkulu-nma 'an extremely lazy fellow', kaikë-hku 'do it better!', ipok-ela-hku 'really bad in quality'.
- hkukalep 'really intending to do something, but in vain': pampila-hkukalep wimilikya 'I am really wanting to write on paper, but in vain (because I can't sharpen my pencil)', ï-nëmëi-më-la-kukalem-ne 'I was really not wanting to be left behind, but in vain (they left me anyway)', witëya-hkukalep 'I really want to go back, but in vain (because it is raining and the airplane can't fly)'.

9. Particles. Particles are bound morphemes with general areas of meaning. [The reason for distinguishing them from clitics is not made clear. J.G.]

- (V)nma superlative: ipok 'good', ipok-enma 'very good', ipok-ela-nma 'very bad'; pepta 'big', pepta-nma 'very big'; ëhe-nma wai 'wanting you very much I am'; tuna-mna-nma 'entirely without water'.

- (V)nmapkë intensive superlative: ipok-enmapkë 'extremely good', pepta-nmapkë 'extremely big', tēpēyephe-nmapkë 'extremely hungry', kole-nmapkë 'extremely many', etumhak-enmapkë 'extreme pain'.
- (u)imē augmentative: kanawa-imē 'very big canoe', pakolo-imē 'very big house', ēkē-y-uimē 'very big snake', hapa-imē 'very big machete', ētah-tēimē 'very big hammock'.
- poptē 'moderately, rather (between extremes)': ipok-poptē 'rather good, somewhat good', wame-poptē 'somewhat healthy, somewhat improved in health'; iyume-poptē-lēken 'just moderately mature'.
- (V)psik diminutive: ipok-epsik-lēken 'just a little good', wame-psik-lēken 'just a little healthy, just a little improved in health', ē-he-psik wai 'I want you a little bit', mule-me-psiq man 'a very little child is he'.
- lep 'in vain, without the desired result': ipok-lep 'almost good, not completely good', wame-lep 'almost healthy', alawata kolenma-lep, lome ēn-uwē-la 'many red howler monkeys for naught, because I didn't shoot them', pampila t-ēne-i-lep iya, lome t-uwalē-la iu 'I look at paper in vain, because I do not understand it'.
- ken 'in addition, still, also, the other' (a nominalized form of interrogative ka: 'what about this one?'), -lē-ken 'only, just': sīn-ken i-se 'this other one also I want', ēmē-ken, itē-he 'you also, do you want to go?', iu-ken, m-ekalē-ya-hnē ka iya 'to me also are you going to give it?', inēlē-lēken numēk 'only he came'.
- hek the actual state of affairs, as opposed to some other possibility: mēi-hek pepta 'he is big (in contrast to my smallness)', epī-kēhek 'eat this! (not the other)', ēmē-hek, iu-tapek 'it is up to you, not to me', ai-kom-o-le-hek 'come anyway! (even though you hadn't planned to)'.
- tapek an unreal possibility, as opposed to the actual state of affairs: uwa, ēw-epīh-tapek sīn 'no, this is not your medicine (it is someone else's)', i-yum-tapek mēi, iw-ekī-lēken 'not my father, just a fellow tribesman'.
- antapek 'against my will or desires' (a particle containing -tapek): antapek wītēyai 'I am going even though I would rather not', antapek wekalēyai 'I am giving it even though I don't want to (because my own supplies are low)', antapek nītēm 'he went even though he didn't want to'.
- phele 'up to the limit': ta-phele 'how many', hakēne-phele 'as much as two', huwa-lē-phele 'only as much as that', iyume-phele 'very mature', tinēlē-phele timilikhe 'writing at full speed'.
- hnē, wēhnē, līhnē 'still, yet': imēkī-lihtao-wēhnē 'while it was still coming', mēlē-hnē 'that still', mule-me-hnē 'still being a child', ētikatohme itē-la-hnē opalan 'why did the plane not go yet?', imānpalē-līhnē 'still my possessions', pampila pēk-ēhnē eitēk 'still be busy with paper!', kamisa-he-hnē wai 'I am still wanting the cloth'.
- me equative construction marker. It seems possible that man, the second and third person singular of e-si 'be', is the nominalized form of -me: ipoŋ-me 'being good', ipoŋ man 'he is good', by analogy with -hpe 'full of', below, whose nominalized form is -hpan. ipok-an-me 'a good one', piyai-me 'a shaman (equative)', ene-ne-me 'one who sees (equative)', epa-ne-me 'one who teaches, a teacher (equative)', eluwa-me 'a man

(equative)', wēlii-me 'a woman (equative)', mēlē-me 'being that (equative)', helē-tpē-me 'formerly this (equative)'.

-pena hesitation form: ēnik-pena 'who was it? (let me think)'

-(V)hpe 'full of': kuwamasi-hpe wai 'I am filled with a cold', ēlek-ēhpe 'filled with sores', ēlek-ēhpa-n 'one filled with sores', yemna-hpe 'filled with fever', yemna-hpa-n 'one filled with fever', motopi-hpe wai iwetepu-yao 'I am filled with worms in my stomach', kalakuli-hpa-n 'one filled with money, a rich man'.

-ne 'uncertainty': ēniŋ-ne walawalam 'who is talking? (not sure)', ēti katim-ne 'what is it like? (not sure)', ēitē-ne nītēm 'where did he go? (not sure)', ipoh ka-lem-ne ēya 'is it good enough to you?', ipok ka-ne sīn 'is it good?'.

-(pe)toma, kohmē 'authentic, responsible' indicates impatience with the person spoken to: ēdē-toma meha 'it was you who did it', elamna-nai-toma eikē 'do not be afraid (it is your responsibility not to be afraid)', ahpe-nma-toma emē 'you were the one who lied', epetpimaŋ-nai-toma 'pay it' (it is your responsibility to pay it), iu-lēken-toma wai 'it is really me', ma wika-toma 'that's what I said!', mēkyā-kohmē 'there they are!', said when a group for whom the speaker was waiting impatiently finally appeared at a bend in the river.

-pkē, -kopkē, -tipkē, -nupkē, and similar forms indicate endearment, used in baby talk: imunku-lu-psik-kipkē 'my sweet little child', pipi-pkē 'my nice big brother', i-pakolo-nupkē 'my nice house'.

-tēlē clause subordinator [?]: yesu-tēlē tēpēihe eya 'he received Jesus, but he is now bad', tēmaminumhe-tēlē uhpak, ikīla eikē hemalē 'you worked deceitfully before; so now be industrious!', ipoke-la-tēlē iu uhpak, lome ipok iu 'I was bad before; now I am good'.

-pophak 'good to': t-ē-pophak 'good (meat) to eat, delicious', ipanaŋma-pophak 'good to hear', aw-omi-pophak 'good talk', eli-pophak 'good to drink', ukuk-pophak 'good to try'.

-pola 'bad to': t-ē-pola 'bad (meat) to eat', ipanaŋma-pola 'bad to hear', aw-omi-pola 'bad talk', eli-pola 'bad to drink', ukuk-pola 'bad to try'.

-(tal)aptao 'when, if'. This morpheme can take subject person markers, with pluralizer -wēhe. [This, and several other particles, may be postpositions that can go with verb phrases. J.G.] opolan mēk-tihwē aptao, witēmēyal 'when the airplane comes, I am going back again', kan po-na ēw-aptao-wēhe man ipok 'if (when) you are on God (trusting God), it is good', elamhak wai, koko aptao 'I am afraid when it is dark'.

-uno 'afraid of [postposition?]': yolok-tom uno-la eitēk 'don't be afraid of spirits', y-uno-la eikē 'don't be afraid of me', kuwamai uno-nma wai 'I am very much afraid of catching cold'.

-iwalē 'possibly': ipok-iwalē 'it is good (but maybe it isn't)', tēnatse man-iwalē 'is it really gone? (maybe it isn't)', opolan-aillē itē-he-la man-iwalē 'she is not wanting to go by plane (or maybe she is)'.

-nēlē 'have you ever?': palamalipo-po-nēlē ka man 'have you ever been to Paramaribo?', mēklē hapon-nēlē ka meneya 'have you ever seen anything like that?'.

- tikena 'each the same as the others': pakolo-tikena 'each house being identical', kanawa-tikena 'each canoe being identical', a, a, a, a, a-tikena 'all the A's alike', tin-me-tikena 'being in groups of ten each'.
- pëk 'occupied with, busy with, bothering, about' [may be a modifier. J.G.]: kanawa-pëk wai 'I am busy about my canoe', ëti pëg man 'what are you doing?', imïnpalë pëkë-la eikë 'don't be bothering my things!', ku-pëkë-la-he man 'he is not bothering us'.
- lë 'really, throughout': ipokan-lë 'a thoroughly good one', mëlë-lë-me-lë 'really being that throughout'.
- (h)le 'really': ënik-ï-hle-ne 'who really? whoever', ï-pit-ï-hle 'really my wife'.
- tanaken 'in order to (at a later date)'. A combination of future tense -tan with -ken 'still, also, the other, in addition': ene-tanaken 'in order to see (later)', mïnpalë kawë tikë elaima-ï imëk-tanaken 'fix the possessions high (in the top of the hut) in order to be expecting his coming later', palu epï wenep, epimaimë-tanaken 'I brought banana plants in order to plant them again (in a new garden)'.
- ko 'really' with a complement of e-si 'be': i-se-nma-ko wai 'I am really wanting it', ahpe-nma-ko man 'he really lies', wayana-ko man tënatsë 'the Wayanas are really gone', tëipalëme malalë-ko man 'that's the way it really is', piyai-me-ko man 'he is really a shaman', ipok-ko wai 'I am really good'.
- kohek 'really, intensely' with a complement of e-si 'be': itë-he-nma-kohek wai 'I am really wanting to go', i-se-la-nma-kohek wai 'I am really not wanting it', ïpëlëpya-he-nma-kohek 'I am really tired out', w-ene-nma-kohek 'I really did see it'.
- he 'as I told you earlier' occurs only with wai 'I am' and -ya-ï 'present tense'. The i drops in both cases: ene-he wa-he 'I want to see it, as I told you', m-ene-ya-he 'see? (I told you how it was)', umëkëmë-ya-he 'I am coming back as I said I would', kopë nai n-umëk-ya-he 'the rain is coming; I told you so'.
- pi 'contrary to fact' occurs with -he desiderative and -me equative: ën-ene-he-pime aptao m-itë-yai 'if you wanted to see it, you would go', ën-ipanaqma-he-pi-me aptao mapënuq 'if you had wanted to hear (words like that), you would have answered'.
- manu contrary-to-fact condition: itë-la aptao nilëmep-manu 'if she hadn't gone she would have died (but she did go, so she didn't die)'.
- pa surprise, 'other than what I expect' often occurs with -ka in a question: helë-he-ka-pa man 'is this the one you are wanting? (I thought you would take the other one)', ëw-ïnik-ya-kapa 'are you sleeping? (I would not think so at this time of day)', ta-pa nika 'what did he say? (I think it was something I would rather not hear)', të-pa-ne wayana 'where are the Wayanas? (I expected them to come by now)', ipoke-la-lë ka-pa-ne-tot 'are they really bad? (I thought they were good)', hei ka-pa-ne 'is it this way? (I thought it was that way)'.
- kena(ha), -kenaiya 'with extreme pain or grief': tëpëyephe-nma-kenaha 'extremely hungry', y-ïnik-po-yai-kena 'I have to sleep', uwa-nma-kenaha 'I am very sorry there isn't any', w-atahame-ï-henma-kenaha 'I am

- extremely sorrowful', *etumhak-enma-kenaha* 'in extreme pain (as in childbirth)'.
 -*komela* 'really not being' consists of -*ko* 'really', -*me* equative, and -*la* negative: *tohme pa yinikpoyai-komela* 'why am I really not sleeping?'.
 -*kohmë*, *më-ko* 'maybe, probably': *talanne titëi-kohmë* 'maybe I'll go'; *wantë-kohmë w-ekalë-yai* 'may be in the future I will give it to you'.
 -*hap* 'of some time ago', -*han* 'of the present, newly', also listed as a postposition: *in-imilik-hap* 'like my old writing', *ënik y-i-hap* 'who fixed it like old me?', *palukuwa li mëk-hap mëhe* 'he is one who came some time ago from the Paru River'.
 -*panëk* 'because of', same general meaning as *esike*: *típanaymai iya-panëk* 'because I heard it', *eya-panëk tënei* 'because he saw it', *tuwalë ëmë-panëk* 'because you know it'.
 -*leya* 'really', possibly a combination of -*le* 'really' and the postposition *ya*: *anumhak-leya* 'really strong', *ikíphak-leya* 'really lazy', *ipok-enma-leya* 'really good', *ëmë-leya* 'it is really you (in the picture)', *alampiya-nma-leya* 'it is really Lampiya (in the picture)'.
 -*ponaka* 'enough, completely, all the way to the end': *kanawa imata-ponaka* 'until my canoe rots', *ë-lëmëp-top-kom-ponaka yesu-po-na eitëk* 'till you die be trusting Jesus'.
 -*míhen* 'really (with emotion)': *tawake-nma-míhen wai* 'I am really happy', *asikame-míhen man, ipit* 'my wife is really angry', *watahamei-híhen-kohek wai* 'I am really, really sorry'.
 -*ke* 'because of' occurs only with *e-si* 'be': *ipok iw-e-si-ke* 'good because of my being, because of me', *ahpe iw-e-si-tpi-ke* 'lying because of his former being, because of what he was'.
 -*pkëlële* superlative, probably composed of -*pkë* superlative, -*lë* 'throughout', and -*le* 'really': *oki ën-elili-la-pkëlële* 'we really didn't have anything at all to drink', *w-ene-pkëlële* 'I really saw it (already)', *pakila ën-ene-la-pkëlële* 'really did not see any peccaries at all'.
 -*aohamna* superlative is used also with -*nma*, -*nmapkë*: *ipok-aohamna-nma* 'extremely good', *ikíphak-aohamna-nmapkë ëmë* 'you are extremely lazy', *isolí-aohamna kane* 'is the rapids extremely bad?', *pepta-me-aohamna* 'extremely big'.
 -*h* with length is emphatic: *ipok-lëken* 'only good', *ipok-lë-hhhh-ken* 'only good really'; *míya* 'far', *mí-hhhh-ya* 'extremely far'; *uhpak* 'long ago', *uhhhhpak* 'long, long ago'. Other consonants can also be lengthened for emphasis: *ap...sik-lëken* 'very small only'.
 -*h* after V, *Vh* after C, marker of direct address: *olokowani-h* 'Olokowani!', *aiwën-uh* 'Aiwën!', *kulepeman-uh* 'Kulepeman!', *ipok-epin-ih* 'you bad one!', *kao-wet-ih* 'Cow Manure!' (name).

10. Descriptive words. Onomatopoeic words are numerous. They usually occur with verbs meaning 'say' or 'do'. The examples are given with *ka* 'do, say', the ordinary verb for onomatopoeia. [Since all the words given fit the phonological pattern of Wayana, it is preferable to consider them onomatopoeic forms like English 'boom, bang' rather than as ideophones.

J.G.]: hohoho tĭkai 'barking (of a dog)', tohtohtoh wĭkei 'I am coughing', sip tĭkai 'swishing (of a boat speeding through water)', tok tok tok tĭkai 'beating (of the heart)', kom kom kom tĭkai 'chewing noise', tumhalaphalap tĭkai 'noise made by jumping', telele kala eikĕ 'whispering'.

Interjections are also descriptive words:

kahek 'you don't say; is that right; who would have thought'

mĕk expression of surprise

ĕĕ assent or acknowledgement

kĕken uncertainty; 'I don't know'

uwa negative

uwa-nma 'no!' (uwa with superlative)

huwa 'just that'

huwa-lĕken 'just that and no more'

naipkĕ used when something is done badly or poorly

ihĭ, ĕhĕ 'yes, OK', acknowledgement

inaa 'yes, that's right'

ina-lep 'that's really right' (but note -lep 'in vain')

uwa mĭhen 'really without, I am sorry'

siu, sĭtĕk used to chase dogs away

ĕkĕĕ expression of pain

ale 'be careful! danger!'

alee, alenma, alenmapkĕ expressions of pain

seekiya 'alas' used when someone dies

ma 'there! that's what I had to tell you'

ai, aikom, aimĕt, aimĕt komĕt 'let's go (singular and plural forms)'

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