A GRAMMAR OF WAMPIS

by

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A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Department of Linguistics
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

December 2015
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Title: A Grammar of Wampis

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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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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the Wampis people who taught me so much more than their language, specially to Juan Luis Nuningo Puwai and his family, Shapiom Noningo Sesén, Atilio Noningo Noningo, Andrés Noningo Graña, Dina Ananco Ahuananchi, Lidia Wajarai, Clara Navarro, Josué Yacum, Eder Yacum, and Óscar Jimpikit and his family. I am grateful to the Wampis leaders Juan Luis Nuningo, Julio Hinojosa and Alfonso Graña for allowing me to carry out my research and for helping me make contacts in different communities of Kanus.

In Jaén, my appreciation to the people of Centro Waimaku and to the Carranza family for welcoming me at their house at different times while traveling for field work.

I would like to express my gratitude to my advisor, Professor Doris L. Payne, for supporting me all these years. I really do not know where I would be without Doris’ guidance; certainly not finishing a dissertation. She has very patiently read and re-read through every piece of this work and has given my chaotic thoughts a legible form. Our conversations have greatly enriched my understanding not only of language, but of how to do research in general. Scott DeLancey and Spike Gildea are great professors and scholars, and great people. As their student or assistant, I have learned a lot from them. I am honored to have them in my committee and grateful for their comments and criticism. I am grateful to Claudia Holguín for supporting my project since we met for the first time and for her comments on my work.
All of my friends at the Department of Linguistics of the University of Oregon have helped me keep my sanity at acceptable levels, especially Rosa Vallejos (and Óscar and Álvaro), Michael Ahland, Yolanda Valdez. Shahar Shirtz, Manuel Otero, Danielle Barth, Ellen Kress and Matt Stave provided insightful comments on the Wampis data or helped with my questions about English. My thanks also to all of my professors and staff at the Department of Linguistics and to the people at Romance Languages, with whom I worked when I started my graduate career in Oregon. My research was supported by the Department of Linguistics, a 2008 Summer Research Grant by the Center for Latino/Latina and Latin American Studies, and a Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant awarded by the National Science Foundation (Award 1226222).

I would be nowhere without the love and support of my parents, Isaac Jaime and Zadith. My sister Ketty has been my best friend since before I was born, and I am always happy to see her, her husband Yuri and my nephew Iván. My in-laws are always supportive of our endeavors, I am especially grateful to Teresa Arellano for everything she has done for us.

I am indebted to Adriana Da Silva, who has helped me greatly with the maps. Adriana not only found time to help me, but also to be a great mother to our sons Joaquín Alejandro, Nicolás Jaime and Octavio Carlo. All of you are the greatest thing to ever happened upon me. Language fails me to express how much I love you all.
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.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1. Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2. The Jivaroan Linguistic Family</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3. Other Proposed Jivaroan Connections and Language Contact</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4. Previous Studies of Jivaroan Languages</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5. Previous Studies about Wampis</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6. Socio-Linguistic Situation</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6.1. Varieties of Wampis</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6.2. Auto-Denomination</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7. Non-Verbal Communication</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8. This Dissertation</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.9. Theoretical Framework</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10. Methodological Considerations: Fieldwork and Data</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10.1. Fieldwork</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10.2. Data, Data Gathering and Processing</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11. Typological Profile: The Wampis Language at a Glance</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE WAMPIS PEOPLE</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1. Introduction</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2. Brief Ethnohistory of the Wampis</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3. Current Situation: The Wampis Today</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4. Material Culture</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5. Tsantsa ‘Shrunken-Head’</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6. Economy and Subsistence</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7. Traditional Beliefs and Religion</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7.1. Evangelization</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8. Oral Tradition and Folklore</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.9. Cultural Transmission, Social Life and Organization</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY AND PHONETICS</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1. Introduction</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2. Consonant Phonemes</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.1. Oppositions</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2. Stops</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2.1. Voiceless Bilabial Stop /p/</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2.2. Voiceless Dental Stop /t/</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2.3. Voiceless Velar Stop /k/</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2.4. Glottal Stop /ʔ/</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.3. Nasal Consonants</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.3.1. Bilabial Nasal /m/</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.3.2. Alveolar Nasal /n/</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.3.3. Marginal Consonantal Nasal Phoneme /ɲ/</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.3.4. Nasal Consonants in Coda and Word-Final Positions</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.4. Fricatives</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.4.1. Alveolar Fricative /s/</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.4.2. Palato-Alveolar Fricative /ʃ/</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.4.3. Glottal Fricative /h/</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.5. Affricates</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.5.1. Voiceless Alveolar Affricate /tɨs/</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.5.2. Voiceless Palato-Alveolar /tʃ/</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.6. The Rhotic /r/</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.7. Marginal Palatal /j/</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3. Consonant Allophonic Variation</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.1. Bilabial Labialization</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2. Consonant Palatalization</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.3. Affricativization of /ʃ/</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.4. Dissimilation of Affricates</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4. Optional Variation of Consonants</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.1. Fricativization of /tʃ/</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.2. /h/ → [f]</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.4. On the Approximant [ɰ] ................................................................. 173
4.3. Phonotactics .................................................................................... 174
  4.3.1. Syllable Structure in Wampis ..................................................... 175
  4.3.2. Phonotactic Restrictions ........................................................... 189

V. MORPHOPHONOLOGY ........................................................................ 192
  5.1. Introduction .................................................................................... 192
  5.2. Morpheme Boundary ..................................................................... 193
  5.3. Reduction of the Last Vowel of a Stem ........................................ 194
    5.3.1. Set I Nominalizer -\textit{inu} ....................................................... 195
    5.3.2. Set II Nominalizer -\textit{u} ......................................................... 198
    5.3.3. High Affectedness -\textit{d(u)} .................................................... 201
    5.3.4. Low Affectedness -\textit{i} ......................................................... 205
    5.3.5. Imperfective -\textit{a} .................................................................. 208
    5.3.6. Third Person Perfective -\textit{ĩ~i} .............................................. 210
  5.4. Vowel (Mora) Reduction of the Suffix\Clitic at Morpheme Boundary . 210
    5.4.1. Plural Imperfective -\textit{ina} ...................................................... 212
    5.4.2. Non-Imperfective Plural -\textit{ara} ............................................. 212
    5.4.3. Declarative -\textit{i} .................................................................... 214
    5.4.4. Apprehensive -\textit{ai} .............................................................. 215
    5.4.5. Sudden Realization and Tag Question = \textit{api} ......................... 215
  5.5. Vowel Harmony ........................................................................... 216
    5.5.1. Restrictive =\textit{ki} .................................................................. 216
    5.5.2. Do While Moving -\textit{ki(ni)} .................................................... 218
  5.6. Different Forms of Suffixes or Clitics ............................................. 219
    5.6.1. Locative =\textit{nVm} .............................................................. 220
    5.6.2. High Affectedness -\textit{d(u)} .................................................... 221
    5.6.3. Do While Moving -\textit{ki(ni)} .................................................... 221
    5.6.4. Locative = \textit{(n)ĩ} and Different Subject -(n)\textit{ĩ} ..................... 222
    5.6.5. Copula Clitics ......................................................................... 223
  5.7. Other Phenomena ......................................................................... 228
Chapter | Page
--- | ---
5.7.1. Degemination of Stops | 228
5.7.2. Optional Gemination of Consonants | 229
5.7.3. Optional Metathesis | 229
5.8. Vowel-Switching for Marking Possession | 231

VI. PROSODY | 232
6.1. Introduction | 232
6.2. Previous Works and Preliminary Notions | 232
6.3. The Mora and Mora Requirement | 237
6.4. Stress in Wampis | 240
   6.4.1. Stress and Tone in Bimoraic Words in Wampis | 241
   6.4.2. Stress in Words with More than Two Moras | 242
   6.4.3. Acoustic Correlates of Stress | 248
   6.4.4. Vowel Elision | 251
   6.4.5. Word-Final and Word-Internal Vowel Elision | 252
      6.4.5.1. Elision of CV in N.CV Sequence | 257
      6.4.5.2. Special Vowel Elision in CVV Sequences | 259
      6.4.5.3. Immunity to Elision | 261
6.5. Tone in Wampis | 265
6.6. Induced Metrical High Tone Shift in Non-Predicates | 269
   6.6.1. Two and Three Mora Stems | 270
   6.6.2. Special Tone Effect with -\textit{fi} ‘Diminutive’ and =\textit{nVma} ‘Locative’ | 271
   6.6.3. Four Mora Stems | 275
   6.6.4. Nominal Morphemes that Have Lexical Tone | 275
   6.6.5. Grammatical High Tone | 278
   6.6.6. Distribution of Tone in Predicates | 280
6.7. Summary of Stress and Tone | 283
6.8. The Prosodic Word | 284
6.9. Notes on Utterance-Level Prosody | 286
   6.9.1. Declarative Intonation Contour | 286
   6.9.2. Non-declarative Intonation Contour | 287
6.9.3. Prosody of the *anemamu*, the Protocolar Salutation Ceremony of the Wampis .................................................................289
6.10. Nasal Prosody in Wampis ..................................................................................................................291
   6.10.1. Alternation between Ṽ and VN and between Ṽ and V ..........................................................292
   6.10.2. Nasality as High Pitch ........................................................................................................294

VII. INTRODUCTION TO MORPHOLOGY ...................................................................................296
   7.1. Introduction ...............................................................................................................................296
   7.2. Wampis Morphological Typology .............................................................................................297
   7.3. Root, Stem and Word ...............................................................................................................298
   7.4. Grammatical Categories and Roots ..........................................................................................302
   7.5. Fuzzy Boundaries and Clear-Cut Boundaries ........................................................................308
   7.6. Bound and Free Morphemes ....................................................................................................313
       7.6.1. Affixes: Derivation and Inflection ..................................................................................313
       7.6.2. Clitics ................................................................................................................................319
   7.7. Reduplication ............................................................................................................................321
   7.8. Compounds ................................................................................................................................325
   7.9. Particles ......................................................................................................................................328

VIII. CLOSED WORD CLASSES .........................................................................................329
   8.1. Introduction ...............................................................................................................................329
   8.2. Pronouns ......................................................................................................................................330
       8.2.1. Personal Pronouns ........................................................................................................330
           8.2.1.1. Combining Forms of 1sg and 2 Personal Pronouns ..............................................334
           8.2.1.2. Genitive Forms of Personal Pronouns ..................................................................335
           8.2.1.3. Use of 3 Person Pronouns as Definite Articles ...................................................336
           8.2.2. Cataphoric Hesitation Pronoun *naa* ...................................................................337
   8.3. Demonstratives ..........................................................................................................................339
       8.3.1. Demonstratives and Agreement ......................................................................................343
       8.3.2. The Similative Constructions with *-mamtin* ..........................................................346
       8.3.3. Other Functions of Demonstratives ...........................................................................349
8.3.4. Resumptive Verbs from Demonstratives .................................................. 353
8.4. Tikifji ‘Other’ ................................................................................................. 353
8.5. Interrogative Words ...................................................................................... 354
  8.5.1. Morphosyntactic Properties of Interrogative Words .............................. 358
  8.5.2. Interrogative Words in Non-Interrogative Constructions ...................... 373
8.6. Adverbs ........................................................................................................ 375
  8.6.1. Manner Adverbs .................................................................................... 376
  8.6.2. Time Adverbs ........................................................................................ 385
    8.6.2.1. Suffix -tín ‘Time’ ........................................................................ 388
  8.6.3. Location adverbs ................................................................................... 389
  8.6.4. ãi and ãiatiki ‘Only’ ............................................................................... 391
8.7. Non-Numeral Quantifiers ........................................................................... 393
8.8. Numerals ...................................................................................................... 397
  8.8.1. Morphological Properties of Numerals: Distributive Reduplication and -á ‘Iterative’ ............................................................... 403
8.9. Noun Modifier ÿántu ‘Group’ ..................................................................... 405
8.10. Conjunctions .............................................................................................. 407
8.11. Interjections ................................................................................................ 412
8.12. Ideophones .................................................................................................. 414
8.13. Grammatical Particles ............................................................................... 420

IX. ADJECTIVES .................................................................................................. 422
9.1. Introduction ................................................................................................... 422
9.2. Defining the Adjective in Wampis ............................................................. 423
9.3. Adjectives vs Verbs ..................................................................................... 426
9.4. Adjectives vs Nouns ................................................................................... 426
9.5. Morphology Associated with Adjectives ......................................................... 431
  9.5.1. Diminutive -íí with Adjectives ........................................................... 432
  9.5.2. The Negative Nominalizer -íáu and Adjectives ..................................... 432
  9.5.3. Adjectives and Case and Post-Positional Clitics .................................. 433
9.6. The Adjective Phrase (AdjP) ...................................................................... 436
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.7. Syntactic Operations of Adjectives</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.7.1. Adjectives as Modifiers of Head of NP</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.7.2. Adjectives in Copular and Non-Verbal Constructions</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.7.3. Gradability</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.7.3.1. Adjectives in Comparative Constructions</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.7.3.2. Comparison of Equality</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.7.3.3. “Less” Comparison</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.7.3.4. Adjectives in Superlative Constructions</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.8. Derivation of Adjectives</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.8.1. Zero Derivation</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.8.2. Derivation with -taku</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.8.3. Derivation with -rama</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.8.4. Unproductive Adjectivalizer -patinu</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.8.5. Augmentative = hakin</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.9. Semantic Types of Adjectives</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.10. Discoursive Functions of Adjectives</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. THE NOUN AND NOUN MORPHOLOGY</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1. Introduction</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2. Defining the Noun in Wampis</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3. Noun Classes</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3.1. Proper Nouns</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3.2. Kinship Terms</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3.3. Location Nouns</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3.4. Compound Nouns</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4. Morphology</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4.1. Marking on the Possessed Noun</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4.1.1. Type I Nouns</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4.1.2. Type II Nouns</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4.1.3. Possession Marking of Derived Diminutive Nouns</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4.1.4. Possession Marking of Idiosyncratic Nouns</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10.4.1.5. Arbitrariness of the Type I/Type II Distinction ........................................469
10.4.2. Diminutive -tʃi.....................................................................................472
10.4.3. Attributive -tinu ..........................................................475
10.4.4. Benefactive -nau .............................................................................477
10.4.5. Negative Nominalizer -tʃau ..........................................................480
10.4.6. Case .................................................................................................481
   10.4.6.1. Nominative .............................................................................482
   10.4.6.2. Accusative = na .......................................................................483
       10.4.6.2.1. Accusative = na in Ditransitive Constructions .................486
   10.4.6.3. Genitive .....................................................................................486
       10.4.6.3.1. Possible Historical Development of the Genitive ...........488
   10.4.6.4. Vocative ....................................................................................491
       10.4.6.4.1. Vocative Forms of Kinship Terms ..................................492
       10.4.6.4.2. Vocative Form of Foreign Names ..................................493
       10.4.6.4.3. Other Cultural/Familiar Vocatives and Terms to
                   Address People .........................................................................494

XI. THE NOUN PHRASE AND POSTPOSITIONS ............................................496
11.1. Introduction ..........................................................................................496
11.2. The Noun Phrase (NP) in Wampis ..........................................................496
11.3. NP Constructions ...............................................................................498
   11.3.1. The Determined NP .....................................................................498
   11.3.2. The Possessive Construction .....................................................498
   11.3.3. The Attributive Construction .....................................................499
   11.3.4. The Plural Construction .............................................................501
   11.3.5. Construction with uiantu ‘Group’ ..............................................503
11.4. Case ......................................................................................................505
11.5. Postpositional Clitics and the Marking of Oblique Relations ..................505
   11.5.1. Locatives ......................................................................................506
       11.5.1.1. Locative = nVma ..................................................................508
       11.5.1.2. Locative = (n)t.................................................................512

xx
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.5.1.3. Locative ẃ</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5.2. Ablative = ia</td>
<td>516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5.3. Allative = ni</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5.4. Comitative = haĩ</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5.5. Comitative = tuk</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5.6. Plural Speech Act Participant = tĩ</td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5.7. First = ā</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5.8. Affective = á</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XII. INTRODUCTION TO THE VERB: CLASSES, VERB DERIVATION, STRUCTURE AND CONJUGATION PATTERNS ........................................531

12.1. Introduction .....................................................................531

12.2. Defining the Verb in Wampis ........................................532

12.3. Valency and Transitivity: Verb Classes .............................533

12.3.1. Labile Verbs ................................................................536

12.4. Auxiliary Verbs ..............................................................538

12.5. Other Lexical Types of Verbs ............................................538

12.5.1. Lexically Negative Verbs ..............................................538

12.5.2. Verbs that Lexicalize a Specific Type of Patient or Location 539

12.6. Verb Derivation ...............................................................540

12.6.1. Zero Derivation .........................................................540

12.6.2. Denominal Verbalizer -ma ...........................................541

12.6.3. Other Unproductive Verbalizers ..................................542

12.6.4. Derivation with -tika and -ni: Resumptive Verbs ............543

12.7. Basic Structure of the Wampis Verb ..................................547

12.8. Verb Conjugation Patterns ..............................................553

12.8.1. Imperfective Conjugations ............................................554

12.8.1.1. Imperfective Conjugation I ......................................554

12.8.1.2. Imperfective Conjugation II .....................................556

12.8.1.3. Imperfective Conjugation III ....................................558

12.8.1.4. Derived Verb Conjugations ....................................559
### 12.8.2. Perfective Conjugations

- **12.8.2.1.** Perfective Conjugation I .................................................. 560
- **12.8.2.2.** Perfective Conjugation II .................................................. 562
- **12.8.2.3.** Perfective Conjugation III .................................................. 563

### XIII. THE VERB I: “DERIVATIONAL” LEVEL ........................................... 566

- **13.1.** Introduction .............................................................................. 566
- **13.2.** Valence Operators ..................................................................... 566
  - **13.2.1.** Valence-Decreasing Morphology ........................................ 567
    - **13.2.1.1.** Detransitivizer -na ...................................................... 568
    - **13.2.1.2.** “Placeholder” -na ...................................................... 569
    - **13.2.1.3.** Detransitivizer -pa ...................................................... 571
    - **13.2.1.4.** Reflexive -ma(ma) ...................................................... 571
    - **13.2.1.5.** Reciprocal -nai .......................................................... 576
  - **13.2.2.** Valence-Increasing Operators ............................................. 577
    - **13.2.2.1.** Causatives .................................................................. 577
      - **13.2.2.1.1.** Causative V .......................................................... 579
      - **13.2.2.1.2.** Causative -mitika ............................................... 582
      - **13.2.2.1.3.** Causative -ka ....................................................... 583
    - **13.2.2.2.** Transitivizer -ki .......................................................... 584
  - **13.2.3.** Applicative -ru ~ -tu ............................................................ 584
    - **13.2.3.1.** Homophony between the Applicative Forms and the 1sg Object Markers ...................................................... 592
    - **13.2.3.2.** Double Marking of Applicative? ................................. 593
  - **13.2.4.** Object Marking on the Verb ............................................... 594
    - **13.2.4.1.** First Person Object .................................................... 595
    - **13.2.4.2.** Second Person Object: 3 > 2 ..................................... 600
    - **13.2.4.3.** Second Person Object: 1 > 2 ..................................... 602
    - **13.2.4.4.** A Paradigm of Object Marking .................................... 604
    - **13.2.4.5.** Applicative and Objects ............................................ 606
  - **13.2.5.** The Suffix -nin ‘Almost’ ..................................................... 608
## Chapter 13.3. Verbal Slot 3: Aktionsart, Imperfective, Durative, Present Habitual and Potential Suffixes

### 13.3.1. Overview

### 13.3.2. Aktionsart

- **13.3.2.1. High Affectedness Aktionsart -á(u)**
- **13.3.2.2. Low Affectedness Aktionsart -i**
- **13.3.2.3. Intensive Aktionsart -ka**
- **13.3.2.4. Distributed Action Aktionsart -ra**
- **13.3.2.5. Attenuative Aktionsart Suffix -sa**
- **13.3.2.6. Do Action While Moving -ki(ni)**
- **13.3.2.7. Do in Proximity -ri**
- **13.3.2.8. Do in Another Location -u**

### 13.3.3. Imperfective -a and Plural Imperfective -ina

### 13.3.4. The Durative -ma

### 13.3.5. The Present Habitual -na

### 13.3.6. Potential -mai

### 13.3.7. Verb Stems: “Aspect”

### 13.4. Negation

### 13.5. Non-Imperfective Plural -ara

## XIV. THE VERB II: “INFLECTIONAL” LEVEL

### 14.1. Introduction

### 14.2. Tense

- **14.2.1. Present Tense**
- **14.2.2. Past Tense**
  - **14.2.2.1. Just-Done Actions**
  - **14.2.2.2. Recent Past**
  - **14.2.2.3. Intermediate Past**
  - **14.2.2.4. Distant Past**
  - **14.2.2.5. Remote Past**
  - **14.2.2.6. Habitual Past**
## 14.2.3. Future Tense

- 14.2.3.1. Immediate Future ................................................................. 654
- 14.2.3.2. Definite Future ................................................................. 655

## 14.3. Person

- 14.3.1. 1 and 2 Person S/A ................................................................. 656
- 14.3.2. Third Person S/A Marking ................................................... 657

## 14.3.3. The Typologically Uncommon Argument Indexation Pattern of Wampis

- 14.3.3.1. Indexation of S Arguments .................................................. 662
- 14.3.3.2. Indexations of Arguments in Transitive Clauses ...................... 667

## 14.4. Mood

- 14.4.1. Declarative ........................................................................... 670
- 14.4.2. Exclamative ......................................................................... 670
- 14.4.3. Commands and Manipulative Mood: Imperative, Jussive, Hortative and Prohibitive ................................................................. 672
  - 14.4.3.1. Imperative ......................................................................... 672
  - 14.4.3.2. Familiar Imperative .......................................................... 674
  - 14.4.3.3. Jussive ............................................................................. 676
  - 14.4.3.4. Hortative .......................................................................... 677
  - 14.4.3.5. Prohibitive -pa ............................................................... 678
- 14.4.4. Apprehensive -ai ................................................................... 679
- 14.4.5. Inferential -tai ...................................................................... 681
- 14.4.6. Narrative Modality timaji ...................................................... 683

## XV. NOMINALIZATION

- 15.1. Introduction ............................................................................. 686
- 15.2. The Nominalized Verb ............................................................. 687
- 15.3. Nominalizers in Wampis ............................................................ 692
- 15.4. Derivational Nominalization ...................................................... 695
  - 15.4.2. Set I -tinu, ‘Future Nominalizer’ .......................................... 698
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15.4.3. Set I -(ta), ‘Action Nominalizer’</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.4.4. Set I Nominalizer -(ta\ɨ), ‘Non-Agentive Nominalizer’</td>
<td>701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.4.5. Set II Nominalizer -(u), ‘Subject Nominalizer’</td>
<td>704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.4.6. Set II Nominalizer -(mau), ‘Non-Subject Nominalizer’</td>
<td>706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.4.7. Negative Nominalizer -(ʦau)</td>
<td>708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.4.8. Nominalizer -(na)</td>
<td>708</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XVI. SINGLE VERB CONSTRUCTIONS WITH LEXICAL VERBS, AND NOTES ON WORD ORDER AND ALIGNMENT | 710 |
| 16.1. Introduction | 710 |
| 16.2. Notes on Constituent Order | 710 |
| 16.3. Alignment and Grammatical Relations | 711 |
| 16.4. Intransitive Constructions | 720 |
| 16.4.1. Existential Construction | 721 |
| 16.4.2. Weather Constructions | 722 |
| 16.5. Copular Constructions | 723 |
| 16.6. The Transitive Construction | 723 |
| 16.7. The Ditransitive Construction | 725 |
| 16.8. Quotative Construction | 726 |
| 16.9. The Possession Predication Construction | 727 |

XVII. POSSESSIVE, EXISTENTIAL, LOCATIONAL, ATTRIBUTIVE AND EQUATIONAL CLAUSES | 728 |
| 17.1. Introduction | 728 |
| 17.2. Overview of Functions of Non-Verbal Predication | 728 |
| 17.3. Overview of the Structure of Non-Verb Lexical Predications in Wampis | 729 |
| 17.4. Non-Verbal Clauses | 731 |
| 17.4.1. Juxtaposition Constructions: Equative, Proper Inclusion, Attributive | 731 |
| 17.4.2. Negation in Juxtaposition Constructions | 733 |
| 17.4.3. The Construction NP + NP-\(tinu\): Possession | 735 |
17.4.4. Tense Reference and Juxtaposition .................................................................736
17.5. Copular and Existential Predications ............................................................737
  17.5.1. Brief Overview of the Copulas and the Existential .................................737
  17.5.2. Morphosyntactic Distinctions ..................................................................739
    17.5.2.1. The Expression of TAM Categories ..................................................739
    17.5.2.2. The Marking of Plurality in Non-Verbal Predicates .........................744
    17.5.2.3. The Marking of Negation in Verbal Predicates .................................747
    17.5.2.4. Copular and Existential Predicates in Subordinate Clauses ............749
  17.5.3. Functions of the Copula a, Copula Clitics and the Existential a ............751
    17.5.3.1. The Copula a ..................................................................................751
    17.5.3.2. The Copula Clitics ..........................................................................753
    17.5.3.3. Existential Clauses ...........................................................................757
      17.5.3.3.1. Possession with Existential a + Applicative ..............................758
      17.5.3.3.2. Predicate Locatives .................................................................760
  17.6. Other Copulative Verbs .................................................................................767

XVIII. DISCOURSE-ORIENTED AND MOOD PHRASE-LEVEL CLITICS ..........769
  18.1. Introduction ...............................................................................................769
  18.2. Overview .....................................................................................................769
  18.3. Restrictive =ki .............................................................................................770
  18.4. Focus =ka .....................................................................................................776
  18.5. Additive =fa ..................................................................................................781
  18.6. Speculative =fa ............................................................................................782
  18.7. Inferential =itsu ...........................................................................................782
  18.8. Interrogative =ka ........................................................................................784
  18.9. Sudden Realization =api and Tag Question =api ......................................785
  18.10. Mirative ......................................................................................................787

XIX. SWITCH-REFERENCE AND SUBORDINATION ........................................792
  19.1. Introduction ..................................................................................................792
  19.2. The Subordinate Verb .................................................................................794
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19.2.1. Morphological Structure of the Subordinate Verb</td>
<td>798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.3. Subordinators</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.4. Person Marking</td>
<td>804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.4.1. A Note on the Nasal Marking of Person in Subordinate Verbs</td>
<td>806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.4.2. Different Subject -(n)ĩ</td>
<td>807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.5. Non-Temporal Subordination</td>
<td>809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.5.1. Same Subject -sa</td>
<td>809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.5.2. 1/3 Different Subject -taĩ</td>
<td>812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.6. Simultaneous Subordination -ku</td>
<td>814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.6.1. Same-Subject Simultaneous Subordinate Clauses</td>
<td>815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.6.2. Different Subject in Simultaneous Clauses</td>
<td>817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.7. Sequential Subordinate Clauses ∅</td>
<td>818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.7.1. Same-Subject Sequential Clauses</td>
<td>820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.7.2. Different Subject Sequential Clauses</td>
<td>823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.8. Imperfective Different Subject Subordination ∅</td>
<td>824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.9. Same-Subject Only Subordinators</td>
<td>825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.9.1. Frustrative -tahkamā</td>
<td>826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.9.2. Terminative -hkamā</td>
<td>829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.9.3. Purpose -tasa</td>
<td>832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.9.4. Reduplicative -kaua</td>
<td>834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.10. Non-Canonical Switch-Reference</td>
<td>836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.10.1. Non-Subject to Subject -ma</td>
<td>838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.10.2. Subject to Object -tatamana</td>
<td>840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.11. Conditional Clauses with -ka</td>
<td>842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.13. A Brief Note on “Clause-Chaining”</td>
<td>848</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XX. RELATIVIZATION, COMPLEMENTATION AND OTHER COMPLEX CONSTRUCTIONS | 851 |

20.1. Introduction | 851 |
20.2. Relativization | 851 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20.2.1. Relative Clauses with Encliticized Demonstrative</td>
<td>852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.2.2. Relatives Clauses with Set II Nominalizers -u and -mau</td>
<td>853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.2.2.1. Externally and Internally-Headed Relative Clauses</td>
<td>854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.2.2.2. Headless Relative Clauses</td>
<td>858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.3. Complementation</td>
<td>860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.3.1. Complementation Using Nominalization and Subordination</td>
<td>861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.3.2. Desiderative Constructions</td>
<td>863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.3.3. Quotative Construction</td>
<td>865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.4. Other Adverbial Constructions Involving Nominalization</td>
<td>865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.5. “Tautological Infinitive” Construction with -taĩ</td>
<td>866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI. THIS GRAMMAR IN BROADER CONTEXT</td>
<td>870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. ABBREVIATIONS</td>
<td>882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. SELECTED TEXTS</td>
<td>885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES CITED</td>
<td>907</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1. Map of the Jivaroan Languages</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2. Subgrouping of the Jivaroan Family Based on Stark (1985)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3. Map of Fieldwork Sites</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1. Non-Local Palatalization of an /n/ after an /in/ Sequence of a Preceding Syllable</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2. Spectrogram Showing a Surface Palatal Nasal [ɲ] in Word Boundary</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3. Plot-Chart of Wampis Vowel Acoustic Space</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4. Spectrogram of [wístuːa] Showing a Very Reduced Vowel at the End</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1. Syllable Structure at an Intermediate Stage (Before Vowel Elision)</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2. Maximal Syllable Structure in Wampis</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1. Spectrogram Showing Pitch Contour of [wáːa] ‘hole’</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2. Spectrogram Showing Pitch Contour of [wāːnɑm] ‘in the hole’</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3. Parsing Directionality in Wampis</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4. Spectrogram of Framed Token of [tikíkiːja] ‘one more’</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5. Spectrogram Showing the Pitch Track for [túki] ‘whole’</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xxix
6.6. Spectrogram Showing the Pitch Track for [tukí] ‘always’..........................268

6.7. Spectrogram with Pitch Track for [máma] ‘manioc’.................................272

6.8. Spectrogram with Pitch Track for [mamaátʃ] ‘little manioc’.......................273

6.9. Spectrogram with Pitch Track for [wampísnumka] ‘in Wampis’ ...............274

6.10. Spectrogram of the Word [uʃjitʃa] ‘we the young yoo’.........................277

6.11. Spectrogram with Pitch Track for

[hitinkartintja] ‘we the teachers first’..................................................278


6.13. Prosodic Contour of ‘This story is called "Auhu"’..................................287

6.14. Prosodic Contour of ‘How can we live?’............................................288

6.15. Prosodic Contour of ‘I tell you thanks’.............................................290

8.1. Distance-Oriented Scheme of Wampis Demonstratives..........................340

11.1. Structure of Noun Phrase.....................................................................497

16.1. Wampis Simple Lexical Verb Word Order............................................711
**LIST OF TABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1. Previous Studies on Other Jivaroan Languages</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2. Dialectal Situation along the Santiago River According to García-Rendueles (1996-1999)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3. Possible Dialectal Variation Proposed for Wampis</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4. Field Trips to Wampis Communities</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5. Primary Wampis Teachers and Expert Collaborators</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1. Wampis Consonant Inventory</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2. Distribution of Nasals in Front of Obstruents</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3. Reflexes of Proto-Jivaroan *r and *h</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4. Distribution of Consonants in Wampis</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5. Wampis Vowel Inventory</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6. Means for F1 and F2 Measurements of Wampis Vowels</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7. Distribution of Vowel Clusters</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8. Assimilation of /a/</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9. Sample of Spanish Loanwords in Wampis</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xxxi
3.10. Sample of Quechuan Loanwords in Wampis.................................155

3.11. Some Wampis Words from Other Amazonian Languages ...............156

4.1. Provisional Distribution of Syllable Types in Wampis .....................177

4.2. Distribution of Syllables Types in Wampis ..................................183

5.1. Morphophonological Processes in Wampis ..................................193

5.2. Morphemes that Trigger Reduction of Last Vowel (Mora) of the Stem...195

5.3. Verbs that Never Reduce their Final Mora when Receiving the
    High Affectedness Aktionsart Suffix -á(u)........................................204

5.4. Morphemes that Reduce Their First Vowel (Mora) in
    Morpheme Boundary ............................................................................211

5.5. Morphemes that Exhibit Different Forms .........................................220

5.6. Forms of Copula Clitics in Wampis .................................................223

6.1. Measurement of Vowel and Consonant Length in
    Pre-Tonic, Tonic and Post-Tonic Positions..........................................249

6.2. Bound Morphemes that Allow Internal Vowel Elision .......................260

6.3. Bound Morphemes Immune to Vowel Elision in Wampis ..................263

6.4. Morphemes that Induce High Tone Shift in Two and Three Mora Words.....270
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.5. Autosegmental Tone Morphemes in Wampis</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6. Verbal Suffixes that Bear a Lexical High-Tone</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7. Verbal Suffixes that Sometimes Surface with Unpredictable High Tone</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1. Examples of Roots and Propositional Act-Types in Wampis</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2. Examples of Roots Used in Different Propositional Act Functions</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3. Morphosyntactic Properties of Major Word Categories in Wampis</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4. Aktionsart Suffixes in Wampis</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5. Canonical Inflection and Derivational Properties</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6. List of Clitics Found in Wampis</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1. Personal Pronouns in Wampis</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2. Combining Forms of Personal Pronouns</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3. Genitive Forms of Personal Pronouns</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4. Morphemes Attested as Marking Agreement between the Pronoun <em>nāa</em> and Its Noun Co-Referent</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5. Demonstratives with Case, Post-Positional and Discourse-Related Clitics</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.6. Morphemes that Display Agreement in the Presence of a Demonstrative</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 8 Sections</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.7. Interrogative Words in Wampis</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.8. Person Markers that Occur on Question Words <em>uruka</em> and <em>itura</em></td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.9. Attested Subordinating and Switch-Reference Morphology Associated with Interrogative Words</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.10. Semantic Organization of Manner Adverbs in Wampis</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.11. Person-Marking Adverbs</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.12. Suffixes Used by Person-Marking Manner Adverbs</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.13. Time Adverbs in Wampis</td>
<td>386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.14. Location Adverbs in Wampis</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.15. Nouns Grammaticalizing as Location Adverbs</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.16. Non-Numeral Quantifiers in Wampis</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.17. Wampis Numerals</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.18. Reduplication of Numerals ‘one’, ‘two’, ‘three’</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.19. Words that Function as Conjunctions in Wampis</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.20. Common Interjections in Wampis</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.21. Sample of Wampis Ideophones</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10.8. Criteria for Vowel-Grade in Type II Possessed Noun Marking ..........467

10.9. Paradigms of Type I and Type II Person/Possessive Marking ..........467

10.10. Possessive Marking with Nouns Derived with the Diminutive -tʃi.........468

10.11. Type I and Type II Kinship and Affine Terms .................................470

10.12. Type I and Type II Body Part Terms ..............................................471

10.13. Type I and Type II General Nouns ..................................................471

10.14. Nouns that Can Be either Type I or Type II ....................................472

10.15. Nominative and Genitive Forms of Personal Pronouns in Wampis ..489

10.16. Nominative, Accusative and Genitive forms of numi 'tree'

and naiapi 'swallow-tailed kite' ..................................................................490

10.17. Sample of Nominative, Accusative and Genitive Forms of Nouns ....491

10.18. Vocative Forms ..................................................................................492

10.19. Exceptional Vocative Kinship Terms. .................................................493

11.1. Functions of Locative Markers ..............................................................506

11.2. Sample of Words that Can Receive the Locative ű ..............................514

11.3. Words that Occur with the Locative when Carrying the Ablative ......517
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12.1. Common Intransitive and Transitive Verbs</td>
<td>534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2. Auxiliary Verbs in Wampis</td>
<td>538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.3. Unproductive Verbalizers in Wampis</td>
<td>542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.4. Verbs Derived with \textit{-tika} and \textit{-nì}</td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5. Overall Structure of the Wampis Verb</td>
<td>548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.6. Suffixes that Occupy Position 3 in the Wampis Verb Structure</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.7. Suffixes that Insert a Vowel $i$ in the Imperfective Stem</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1. Valence-Decreasing Suffixes in Wampis</td>
<td>567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2. Wampis Derivations with Detransitivizer \textit{-na}</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3. Verbs where “Placeholder” \textit{-na} Occurs</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.4. Some Verbs Prefixed with the Causative \textit{V-}</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5. Sample of Verbs that Select Forms \textit{-ru} and \textit{-tu} of Applicative</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.6. Combination of Applicative and 1sg Object suffixes</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.7. Verb Structure (Simplified)</td>
<td>594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.8. First Person Singular and Plural Object Suffixes</td>
<td>596</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19.1. TAM Properties of Independent, Subordinate and Nominalized Verb..............796

19.2. Types of Verbs and Associated Clause Types..............................................797

19.3. Morphological Structure of the Canonical Switch-Reference

   Subordinate Verb ............................................................................................798

19.4. Morphological Structure of the Non-Canonical Switch Reference Verb.....798

19.5. Wampis Subordinators.................................................................................801

19.6. Aspectual Stems Associated with Specific Subordinators.........................802

19.7. Person Markers Used in Canonical Switch-Reference

   Subordinate Clauses ..........................................................................................805

19.8. Paradigm of -(n)i..........................................................................................808

19.9. Paradigm of Verb puhu ‘live’ in SS and DS Sequential Clauses .................820

19.10. Paradigm of puhu ‘live’ in Imperfective DS clauses.................................825

19.11. Frustrative Constructions in Jivaroan languages ........................................828


19.13. Person Marking in Conditional Clauses......................................................843
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 area of Peru. The language name is written <Wampís> (the underlying form is /uampisa/, which is pronounced [wampíːs]) 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

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

2. The term <Chicham> (/ʃama/) ‘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/.
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 Shiwiari, 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. It also runs the risk of imposing a methodologically-derived construct that does

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, Shiwiari 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

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). The traditional subgrouping of Jivaroan languages is shown in Figure 1.2.

![Diagram of Jivaroan subgrouping]

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

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, an 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), but his analysis is rather inconclusive.\footnote{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, Saïgnes, & 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shuar</td>
<td>Turner (1958b)</td>
<td>Ph.D. dissertation focusing on phonology and morphology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuar</td>
<td>Pellizaro (1969)</td>
<td>Sketch grammar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuar</td>
<td>Turner (1992)</td>
<td>Sketch grammar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuar</td>
<td>Pellizaro and Náwech (2005)</td>
<td>Dictionary with grammar notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuar</td>
<td>Gnerre (2010)</td>
<td>Description on parts of the grammar (phonology, verb, noun) and some historical comparison with other language families.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuar</td>
<td>Saad (2014)</td>
<td>Sketch grammar with focus on morphology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achuar-Shiwiar</td>
<td>Fast et. al (1996)</td>
<td>Dictionary for pedagogical purposes that contains a grammar sketch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achuar/Shiwiar</td>
<td>Fast (1975a)</td>
<td>Study of Shiwiar phonological system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achuar/Shiwiar</td>
<td>Fast (1975b)</td>
<td>Short study of Achuar phonology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awajun</td>
<td>Pike and Larson (1964)</td>
<td>Study about hyperphonemes and their distribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awajun</td>
<td>Larson (1978)</td>
<td>Study of reported speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awajun</td>
<td>Corbera (1978)</td>
<td>Bachelor's degree thesis with a focus on phonology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awajun</td>
<td>David Payne (1989; 1990a)</td>
<td>Two studies of “accent”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awajun</td>
<td>Corbera (1994)</td>
<td>Doctoral dissertation, a grammar with emphasis on phonology and morphology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Year</td>
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<td>----------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awajun</td>
<td>Wipio et al. (1996)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Awajun</td>
<td>Uwarai et al. (1998)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Awajun</td>
<td>Overall (2008)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Awajun</td>
<td>Overall (2011)</td>
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*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). 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.

11. The author bases his analysis on a questionary that asks what word speakers use for the concepts of ‘butterfly’, ‘flute’ and ‘number one’. Unfortunately, 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, school classes and local authority meetings. 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).

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
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, though it seems to be the most sociolinguistically marked 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

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>García-Rendueles’ proposed groups</th>
<th>García-Rendueles’ comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yakinia Shuar (‘people from up-river’)</td>
<td>North-Santiago area, related to the Shuar of Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muraña Shuar (‘people from the mountains’)</td>
<td>Shuar from the headwaters of the Santiago river affluents. (Located on both sides of the Santiago.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moronanmanan Shuar (‘People from the Morona’)</td>
<td>Wampis speaker who migrated from the Morona area into the Santiago basin. (Located on the east side of the Santiago.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shir-Wampis (‘Good Wampis’)*</td>
<td>Located in the middle-Santiago (on the west side of the river.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wampis-Awarun</td>
<td>“Corrupted language” (spoken for people living in the transitional border between Wampis and Awajun territory)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apach (‘mestizo, non-Wampis’)</td>
<td>(Spanish-speaking people) from Loreto and the Andes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*<Shir> (/ʃiɪra/) 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
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. Thus, I would propose a tentative revision of García-Redueles’ work with four main varieties 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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposed Wampis varieties</th>
<th>García-Rendueles’ equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Upper Santiago (iaki = nĩ = ia ūara, murá = ia ūara)(^a)</td>
<td>Yakinia Shuar/Muraña Shuar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Middle Santiago (naka = ia ūara)(^b)</td>
<td>Shir-Wampis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Katirpisa (amaini = ia ūar)(^c)</td>
<td>Moronanmana Shuar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Morona (muruna = numa = ia ūar)(^d)</td>
<td>Variety spoken in the Morona basin, not included in García-Rendueles’ sub-classification. There can be sub-varieties.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) 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 [juár wampís] (ʃuara uampisa ‘person Wampís’), i.e. ‘Wampis person’. Other common
denominations are [ii wampisti] (ii uampisa = ti ‘1PL Wampis-PLURAL SPEECH ACT
PARTICIPANT’), [huti wampisti] (huti uampisa = ti ‘1PL Wampis-PLURAL SPEECH ACT PARTICIPANT’),
which both can be translated as ‘we the Wampis’. Another term used is [ii juartí] (ii
ʃuara = ti ‘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)iura from which modern
[ʃuár] /ʃuara/ is a reflex (Gnerre 1973). The ethnonyms Shuar, Achuar and Shiwiard all

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 ʼaguj‘ + ʃuara ‘person’).

The etymology of the name Wampis most likely derives from the noun ʃuampi ‘sabalo sp. (Salminus sp.)’ and what seems to be a phonetic reduction of ɨntsa ‘river’ > -sa. The same reduced structure is verified in some Jivaroan toponyms in Wampis territory, cf. ʃunkasa [kaŋkás] from ʃanka ‘boquichico’ + sa (Spanish < Cangasa >), i.e. ‘boquichico stream’; ʃinkanasa [tʃiŋkanás]21 from ʃinkana ‘bamboo sp.’ + sa ‘stream’ (Spanish < Chinganaza >, i.e. ‘bamboo stream’; ʃapisa [tʃapís] from ʃapi ‘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 ʃuampi fish” to the location where they were summoned.23 Other people were more

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 ʃinkana + ɨntsa ‘river’.

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

23. The ʃuampi 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 [íná tʃʃjáṃ] (*iına tʃʃama* ‘1pl.gen)
language’), i.e. ‘our language’, [wampís ʃʃitʃám] (uampisa ʃʃitʃama ‘Wampis language’),
[ʃuará ʃʃitʃám] (ʃuará ʃʃitʃám ‘person\GEN language’), i.e. ‘the language of the people’ or
simply [ʃʃitʃám] (ʃʃitʃama ‘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 katʃu (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 anínta '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

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. [yaák] (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 suá ‘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 spears26 when they march to protest regional or national policies perceived as contrary to their interests. Men who have achieved high status

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/)
usually made of toucan feathers and giant beetle wings, and put on their typical red or
purple/blue dresses [tarāʃi] (/taratʃi/), 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 standpoint 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 activity 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date (approximate duration)</th>
<th>Communities visited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June-August 2008 (8 weeks)</td>
<td>Puerto Galilea, Boca Chinganaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July-August 2011 (4 weeks)</td>
<td>Puerto Galilea, Boca Chinganaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February-March 2013 (7 weeks)</td>
<td>Puerto Galilea, Huabal, Boca Chinganaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2013 (4 weeks)</td>
<td>Puerto Galilea, Boca Chinganaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2013 (3 weeks)</td>
<td>Puerto Galilea, Huabal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July-August 2013 (6 weeks)</td>
<td>Puerto Galilea, Candungos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October-December 2013 (8 weeks)</td>
<td>Puerto Galilea, Candungos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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.

38
poverty map elaborated by FONCODES\textsuperscript{28} (2006), is one of the top 15 poorest districts in Peru by index of deprivation. According to the poverty map elaborated by INEI\textsuperscript{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”\textsuperscript{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

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{28.} Peru’s Fund of Cooperation for Social Development (\textit{Fondo de Cooperación para el Desarrollo}).

\textsuperscript{29.} Peru’s National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (\textit{Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática}).

\textsuperscript{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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Community of origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Óscar Jimpikit</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Teacher, story-teller, historian, culture expert, translator, ethnobiology expert</td>
<td>Candungos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dina Ananco</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Teacher, translator, story-teller</td>
<td>Huabal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clara Navarro</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>Wise woman, culture expert, story-teller</td>
<td>Puerto Galilea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shapiom Noningo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Wise man, teacher, story-teller, culture expert</td>
<td>Puerto Galilea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Luis Nuningo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>Wise man, teacher, story-teller, historian, culture expert</td>
<td>Puerto Galilea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atilio Nuningo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Teacher, translator</td>
<td>Puerto Galilea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josué Yacum</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Teacher, translator</td>
<td>Boca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lidia Wajarai</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Teacher, culture expert</td>
<td>Candungos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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 morphosyntactic 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
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 time scales as they appear in the referenced works.

57
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

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

58
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 (/iuwa/), who in the stories eats the Wampis and Awajun until he is finally killed by the Jivaroan cultural hero Etsa ‘sun’ (/ɨtsâ/), 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

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 /i/), and the consonants <ch, j, k, m, n, ñ, p, r, s, sh, t, ts, w, y> (where <ch> = /ʃ/, <j> = /h/, <ñ> = /n/, <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 ethno-linguistic 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). 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, 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, the Tabancales, the

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 Jivaros 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, 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,

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 Marañón, 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
efforts to avoid being captured, many Jivaroans committed 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 Marañón 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 addition, 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 authorities40 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

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; 

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 (\textipa{tsamarainta/}), 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 (\textipa{piru\textdagger/}), who apparently was met in his late years by
reconstruction of the historical on-and-off relationship of the Jivaroan with the Spanish and
other groups).
American explorer Lewis Cotlow (1953). 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

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. 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.

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* (/itʃinaka/) ‘jar (generic)’, *muits* (muïtsa/) ‘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. The making of cloths and baskets constitutes a rich tradition among the Wampis. Men weave traditional cloths *itip* /itipa/ ‘male skirt’, *tarach* /taratʃi/ ‘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* /uampatʃi/ ‘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 /ʃɪŋkana/) 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 rifles (generally
called *akaru /akarú/.* 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 /ʦintsaka/*) are also made by hand; when used, the point is coated with *curare* poison (*tseas /ʦiasa/*). 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 /tuntui/ ‘signal drum’, the tsapraka /tsapraka/ ‘traverse flute’, the tuman /tumanki/ ‘type of jaw harp’ and the keer /kiira/ ‘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.

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 /nampit/ 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 cutting the heads of their enemies and making trophies of them, known as *tsantsa* (/tʃantsa/). 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* (/nihamā̃ʃi/) ‘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* /ɨntsə/ ‘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 /natima/). 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 /aiamatai/ ‘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* /iauaā/ ‘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* /muuki/ ‘head’. 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”.  

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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”.

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” (*fiir puhut*). A good life is also related to the concept of living in abundance (*tarimat*/*tarimata*). 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 /juara/ ‘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. 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 (/aninta/) ‘magical song’, nampet (/nampita/) ‘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

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 wais /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

\(^{53}\) 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-ini ‘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”.

93
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 (occurring only sporadically in fast speech). Beasley and Pike based their analysis on one speaker of the dialect of the

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/, /t̪/, /k/ and /ʔ/), three nasals (/m/, /n/ and /ɲ/), three fricatives (/s/, /ʃ/
and /h/), two affricates (/ts/ and /tʃ/), one rhotic /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], [uɹ] and [ɹ]—(with the one exception just described above)—to be positional allophonic realizations of /u/, /i/ and /i/, respectively (see §3.7.3). Table 3.1 shows the consonant phonemes of Wampis.

Table 3.1. Wampis consonant inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ɾ</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>(ʔ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>(ɲ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>ɾs</td>
<td>ɾʃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhotic</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(j)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whereas most consonant phonemes (except /ɾ/, /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 ŭ

#CV /puku-/ ‘plant manioc stem’ vs /tu\(\ddot{u}\)ka-/ ‘hit target with dart or bullet’

.CV /hapa/ ‘deer’ vs /ha\(\ddot{a}\)/ ‘sickness’

\(^{57}\) 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 /iṭi/ ‘wasp’ vs /iki/ ‘yet’

(4) \( m \) vs \( n \)

#NV /mai/ ‘both’ vs /nai/ ‘tooth’
.NV /numi/ ‘tree’ vs /nuni/ ‘do that’

(5) \( s \) vs \( ŋ \)

#CV /sampi/ ‘shimbillo (Inga spp.)’ vs /jampi/ ‘lizard’
.CV /mísu/ ‘naked’ vs /míʃu/ ‘cat’ (< Quechua míʃu)

(6) \( s \) vs \( h \)

#CV /hau/ ‘sickly’ vs /sau/ ‘foam’
.CV /aha/ ‘garden’ vs /asa-/ ‘burn’

(7) \( ŋ \) vs \( h \)

#CV /juata/ ‘palmiche (palm sp.)’ vs /hua-ṭa/ ‘stay’ (stay-NMLZ)
.CV /kuʃi/ ‘coati’ vs /kuhi/ ‘kinkajou’

(8) \( ts \) vs \( tʃ \)

#CV /tsai/ ‘mince’ vs /tʃai/ ‘bear’
.CV /kuʃsa/ ‘type of stilt palm’ vs /kutʃa/ ‘puddle’ (from Quechua kutʃa ‘lake, puddle’)

98
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 ₁s

#CV /napa/ ‘bee’ vs ₁tsapa/ ‘calabash’
.CV /punu/ ‘calabash sp.’ vs /putsu/ ‘white’

(12) n vs r

.CV /anuma/ ‘dock (V)’ vs /aruma/ ‘later’

(13) s vs ₁s

#CV /sai/ ‘brother-in-law (of male)’ vs ₁tsai/ ‘tree sp.’
.CV /sasa/ ‘small water stream/waterfall’ vs ₁tatsa/ ‘paternal aunt’

(14) s vs r

.CV /tu-sa/ ‘say-SUB’ vs /tura/ ‘then’

(15) ₁s vs r

.CV ₁tsatsa/ ‘paternal aunt’ vs ₁tsara/ ‘thorny’

58. The rhotic does not occur word-initially, there are very few examples of it word-initially in borrowings from Spanish.
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 /pakí/ → [páki] ‘collared peccari’
(18) V.CV /ápá/ → [ápa] ‘father’
(19) N.CV /ampúʃ/ → [ampúʃ] ‘owl’
(20) /tʊntʊʔ/ → [tʊntʊp] ‘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) tʊntʊ ‘over eat’
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/ → [jukápk'a]. 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 `/t/`

The voiceless stop `/t/` 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 `[ŋ]` when it follows `/t/`, which indicates a dental feature received by the nasal:

(23)
\begin{verbatim}
anințeze/m'at
anințai-ma-ța
heart-VBZ-NMLZ
‘mind’
\end{verbatim}
The distribution of /t/ 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, /t/ can occur as a syllable coda (27).

(24) #C /t̪u/ → [t̪u] ‘say’
(25) V.CV /i̪ti/ → [i̪ti] ‘wasp’
(26) N.CV /hi̪nta/ → [hi̪nta] ‘trail’
(27) /kupi̪ta/ → [kupi̪t] ‘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/ → [kanu] ‘canoe’
(29) V.CV /i̪kama/ → [i̪kâm] ‘forest’
(30) N.CV /ki̪nki/ → [ki̪nki] ‘sachapapa (Dioscorea trifida)’
(31) /ipaku/ → [i̪pa] ‘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.
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) /ɨtsā tiaʔaĩ/    ‘time between 1-3 p.m.’
(34) /kiaʔaĩ/    ‘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/ [haʔa] ‘yes’ vs /haʔá/ [haʔá] ‘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

59. This expression is composed of ɨtsā ‘sun’ and the root tia ‘incline’. The analysis of tiaʔaĩ is a
bit complicated as the word is already lexicalized, but it is possible that etymologically it comes
from tia ‘incline’ and a=ɨ ‘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 /ʔai/ 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 [ⁿb] 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)\(^\text{60}\) or Achuar-Shiwiar (Fast 1975a; Fast 1975b; Fast et al. 1996).

\textbf{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 /miṭika/ → [miṭk] ‘equal’
(37) V.NV /mama/ → [máma] ‘manioc’
(38) VN. /ampuʃa/ → [ampūʃ] ‘owl’
(39) /kaima/ → [kawǐm] ‘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 /nasi/ → [nási] ‘wind’
(41) V.NV /uini/ → [wínu] ‘mouth’
(42) VN. /nanți/ → [nántu] ‘moon’
(43) uunța → [uúŋ] ‘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/ [kaɲr] ‘parasitic fish species’ and /muɲusunka/ [muɲusũŋ] ‘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.\(^6\)

\begin{align*}
(44) & /\text{namáŋ}/ \rightarrow \text{[namáŋ]} \quad \text{‘flesh’} \\
 & /\text{titíŋ}/ \rightarrow \text{[titíŋ]} \quad \text{‘scorpion’} \\
 & /\text{tátaŋ}/ \rightarrow \text{[tátaŋ]} \quad \text{‘pottery board’}
\end{align*}

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 /namank\(\text{i}/, /titínk\(\text{i}/ and /tátaŋku/, respectively. When they are in the nominative case, their pronunciations are [namáŋ], [titíŋ] and [tátaŋ], 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).

\begin{align*}
(45) & \text{namanki} = \text{na} \rightarrow \text{[namánk\(\text{i}\)]} \quad \text{‘flesh (ACC)’} \\
 & \text{titínk\(\text{i}\)} = \text{na} \rightarrow \text{[títínk\(\text{i}\)]} \quad \text{‘scorpion (ACC)’} \\
 & \text{tátaŋku} = \text{na} \rightarrow \text{[tátaŋk\(\text{u}\)]} \quad \text{‘pottery board (ACC)’}
\end{align*}

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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\(^{6}\) 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.\textsuperscript{62} This assimilation process is entirely predictable, hence there is no need to posit the velar nasal as a phoneme.

The examples of \( \eta \) 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.

\begin{equation}
\begin{array}{c}
/wai\textsuperscript{ŋ}kiu/ \rightarrow [waiŋgióu] \text{ ‘found’ (Beasley & Pike 1957: 2)} \\
/ukuiŋkiata/ \rightarrow [ukuiŋgiata] \text{ ‘Open it!’ (Beasley & Pike 1957: 2)}
\end{array}
\end{equation}

Finally, the palatalized realization of the spurious \( \eta \), 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 [\( \eta \)] (i.e. assimilated to the next consonant).\textsuperscript{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 \( \eta \), and both [\( \eta \)] and [\( \eta \)] 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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 /t/ in coda position (either word-internally or word-finally, following an elided consonant), as shown in (47)–(48).

(47)
īmkaṭsa
iima-ka-ṭasa
advance-INTENS-PURP
‘intending to advance’

(48)
pouṁtan
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/m/</th>
<th>/n/</th>
<th>/p/</th>
<th>/t̪/</th>
<th>/k/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

c 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)

$hɨ̃n \sim \, hɨ̃$

$hɨ̃$

house\1\text{PL}/2\text{PL}/3.\text{POSS} 

‘his/her/our/your (pl)/their house’

(50)

$núwɨ̃$

nuɨ̃

woman\1\text{PL}/2\text{PL}/3.\text{POSS} 

‘his wife’

Additional examples of a homorganic N surfacing in front of a stop are given in

(51)–(52).

(51)

$warímp’a$

warí = pa

what = Q

‘what?’

(52)

$níŋk’a$

nī = 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 /nuα/ 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) /tsiasa/ → [tsiás] ‘poison’
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/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(56) #C</td>
<td>/ʃuara/</td>
<td>[ʃuár]</td>
<td>‘person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(57) V.CV</td>
<td>/ataʃu/</td>
<td>[atáʃ]</td>
<td>‘hen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(58) V.C.</td>
<td>/aiʃimanku/</td>
<td>[ɛ́iʃmaŋ]</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(59) /aiʃiru/</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>[ɛ́iʃur]</td>
<td>‘my husband’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

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 /aiʃi/ ‘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.
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 Matisoff (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 > ñ > h; in other words, apparently in Awajun /h/ and /ñ/ 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

65. The Awajun and Shuar examples are cited from Overall (2007: 35).
Table 3.3. Reflexes of Proto-Jivaroan *r and *h

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Awajun</th>
<th>Shuar</th>
<th>Wampis</th>
<th>Proto-Jivaroan</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aha</td>
<td>aha</td>
<td>aha</td>
<td>*aha</td>
<td>‘fell (trees)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āha</td>
<td>ara</td>
<td>ara</td>
<td>*ara</td>
<td>‘sow seeds’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uha</td>
<td>uha</td>
<td>uha</td>
<td>*uha</td>
<td>‘tell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūha</td>
<td>uha</td>
<td>uha</td>
<td>*ura</td>
<td>‘open’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /tʃ/ and a palato-alveolar /tʃ/. 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 [ɦu], 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 /aːtsa/ is reduced to [tsá], but never [sá]. This indicates that /ts/ is considered synchronically as one segment by Wampis speakers. 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) /tinjútsa/ → [tinjúts] ‘Proper name’

3.2.5.1. Voiceless alveolar affricate /ts/

The voiceless occurs at syllable-initial position and can follow a close or open syllable. The affricate /ts/ 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 /ts/.

(64) #C /tšamarainta/ → [tšamarɛɲ] ‘proper noun’
(65) V.CV /i舌a/ → [iša] ‘sun’
(66) VN.CV /i̲ntsa/ → [i̲ntsa] ‘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.
3.2.5.2. Voiceless palato-alveolar /tʃ/

The distribution of /tʃ/ is similar to that of /ts/. Syllable finally, it only occurs after vowel deletion.

| (67) /tintǐsa/ | → [t̪intĭs] | ‘proper noun’ |

(68) #CV /tʃǐni/ → [t̪iŋki] ‘bird’
(69) V.CV /tʃitʃa/ → [t̪itʃa] ‘speak’
(70) VN.CV /intʃi/ → [insula] ‘sweet potato’
(71) /tikiʃį/ → [t̪ikiʃį] ‘other’

3.2.6. The rhotic /r/

The rhotic /r/ varies mostly freely between a flapped [r] 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) /pinkira/ → [pʷíŋkiri] ~ [pʷíŋkiri] ‘good’
(73) /arutama/ → [aɾútama] ~ [aɾútama] ‘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 [r] 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 intervocally (cf. §3.7.3 and §4.2).\textsuperscript{69} The only case where the palatal glide is not predictable is with -ji, where /j/ can occur word-internally after a consonant:

(74) 
\textit{māǎmji} 
mā-á-ma-ji 
kil-\text{HIAF-IMM.PT-3PT.} + \text{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

(75): 
\textit{huabália} 
Huabal = ia 
Huabal = \text{ABL} 
‘from Huabal’

\textsuperscript{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. \textit{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 intervocally or word-initially.
It is very likely that the morphophonological environment has played a decisive role in the development of the suffix -ji ‘3.\textit{pt} + \textit{DECL}’. In fact, the modern form -\textit{ji} seems to be a reanalysis of what historically was a sequence probably related to the old past marker *\textit{ia}\textsuperscript{70} and the third person perfective marker -\textit{i} ~ -\textit{i}. This sequence *\textit{ia} + *\textit{-i} may have collapsed to -\textit{ji}. Further, because this suffix frequently occurs with the declarative -\textit{i} (which “fuses” to the preceding -\textit{i}), -\textit{ji} has been reanalyzed as a single Person + Mood portmanteau suffix:

\textit{(77) afi we\textsuperscript{118}ŋkaru t\textsuperscript{118}nu ârmaji}
afi \hspace{1em} uaina-ka-ara-u \hspace{1em} tu-inu \hspace{1em} a-ara-ma-ji
all \hspace{1em} see\textsuperscript{-INTENS}-PL-NMLZ \hspace{1em} say-NMLZ \hspace{1em} COP-PL-IMM-PT-3.\textit{pt} + \textit{DECL}

‘They saw everything.’

The best evidence for the reanalysis of -\textit{ji} as a single morphological unit is that the suffix -\textit{ji} is dropped completely in non-declarative contexts. This means that the -\textit{ji} is considered a single unit marking 3.\textit{pt} and declarative, so it has to be deleted in non-

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\textsuperscript{70} Synchronically, the suffix -\textit{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 wiármia
uruk  puhu-u   wi-ara-mia
how   live-NMLZ   go-PL-DIST.PT
‘How did they live?’

(79) urúk . . . nahaánarukit tíŋu árma ŋüna ōůhmatattsahë
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:

\[ C \rightarrow C^\wedge / \_i \]

[ + bilabial]

The following examples illustrate this rule:

(80) /pĩnkira/ \rightarrow [pʰĩʔkir] ‘good’
(81) /ami/ \rightarrow [ámʰi] ‘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**

\[ C \rightarrow [C^j]/ i(N) _ \]

[ + stop]
Rule 2: Palatalization of a Nasal Consonant

N → \([N^j]/ i __ V\)

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/ → [ip\'ák] ‘achiote (Bixa orellana)’
/íkama/ → [ík\'am] ‘forest’
/i\̞urtʃa\̞ta/ → [i\̞úrtʃa\̞] ‘difficult’

(83)
/ima\̞i/ → [im\'éɛ] ‘way over there’
/inita/ → [iɲít] ‘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)
/kin\̞ta/ → [kíɲ\̞t\`a] ‘afternoon’
/in\̞ta\̞ʃi/ → [iɲt\̞ăʃ] ‘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)
níŋk’a
ní = ka
3SG = FOC
‘he’

(86)
peíŋk’amu
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)
máánignum
mā-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:
sukúrtińnsa
suku-ra-tinu = na = ūa
shrink.head-DISTR-FUT.NMLZ = ACC = ADD
‘The head-shrinking too (ACC)’

nahánartińna
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
[nahánartińna] ‘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
[nahánartińna] ‘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
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 [jurumínásã] in the
text from where it comes.

(90)
\begin{align*}
\text{jurumín} & + \text{ asã} & \rightarrow & \text{[jurumínásã]} \\
iu-ru-ma-inu & \quad a-sã & \\
\text{eat-APPL-REFL-NMLZ} & \quad \text{COP-SUB/3SG,SS}
\end{align*}

‘Being a big eater . . .’

Figure 3.2 shows the spectrogram where [jurumínásã] is pronounced. As can be
seen, [n] surfaces following /i/. As in the previous figure, notice the low F1 and high F2
of [n], 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

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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
[ɲː]. Wampis speakers consider that what they pronounce is a palatal [ɲ], which is reflected in
the way how they write it: <ṅ>. Correspondingly, I transcribe it also as [ɲ].
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...
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 [jurumínásã] 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

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 /tʃ/ are neutralized following another consonant. This is formalized by the following rule:

/ʃ/ → [tʃ] / C __

Examples of the neutralization of /ʃ/ and /tʃ/ are given below. In (91), the last vowel of the root is deleted, and because [ntʃ] is an impossible cluster in Wampis, the intermediate [t] is also deleted (no stop can occur in the margin of a complex coda).

(91)

\[\begin{align*}
tsaw\text{āntʃa} \\
\text{day} = \text{ADD} \\
\text{‘days too’}
\end{align*}\]

(92)

\[\begin{align*}
h\text{ɪəntʃa} \\
h\text{ɪ}= na = \text{ʃa} \\
\text{house} = \text{ACC} = \text{ADD} \\
\text{‘to the house too’}
\end{align*}\]

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, the /ʃ/ of =fa becomes [tʃ] (as per the rule given in §3.3.3). When this happens, at an intermediate level, it comes in contact with the /tʃ/ of tikitʃ and dissimilation occurs.

(93)
\[
tikittyʃa
\]
tikitʃi = ſa
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: =fa ‘Additive’, -ʃfa

‘Negative’ and the historically related form ſau ‘Negative nominalizer’.

3.4. Optional variation of consonants

3.4.1. Fricativization of /tʃ/

In word-final environments, the affricate /tʃ/ can be realized as a fricative, neutralizing the opposition with the alveolar /ʃ/. The following rule formalizes this variation:

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 =fa above, are immune to apocope. Vowel elision is explained in Chapter VI.
\( /\text{ʃ}/ \rightarrow [ʃ] /\_\# \)

The neutralization of \( /\text{ʃ}/ \) and \( /\text{ʃ}/ \) at the end of words can be observed comparing (94) with (95):

(94)

\( \text{tikiʃ} \)
\( \text{tikitʃi} \)

‘other’

(95)

\( \text{tikiʃ} \)
\( \text{tikiʃi} \)

‘knee’

As we can see, the underlying \( /\text{ʃ}/ \) of ‘other’ becomes a fricative. This surface form is undistinguishable from ‘knee’ in the nominative form.

Notice that the fricativization process is particular of \( /\text{ʃ}/ \), as it does not happens with the alveolar affricate \( /\text{s}/ \), as shown in (96).

(96)

\( \text{tintuts} \)
\( \text{tintitsa} \)

‘proper noun’

3.4.2. \( /\text{h}/ \rightarrow [f] \)

Very occasionally, it is possible to hear the glottal fricative \( /\text{h}/ \) being realized as a labiodental fricative [f] or even as a voiceless bilabial fricative [φ], as in (97).
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 ~ φ 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 underlingly, the Wampis language has a strong preference for simple open syllables, and it generally

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/#_/</th>
<th>/V._/</th>
<th>/N._/</th>
<th>_.</th>
<th>/_#/</th>
<th>/_i/</th>
<th>/_i/</th>
<th>/_a/</th>
<th>/_u/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔ/</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ts</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃ/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 /i/ with the palato-alveolars /ʃ/ and /tʃ/ is a significant finding. The language drastically disfavors syllable combinations between palatal affricates and the high central vowel. The incompatibility of /ts/ and the vowel /i/ is also very remarkable.⁷⁵ Though it may not appear clearly from Table 3.4, the 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 /ti/ and /si/ 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 /tʃ/ 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 /ts/ disfavor combinations with /i/ and
  instead favor combinations with the next closest vowel, which is /i/.

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
sibilants. In the case of Wampis, it is possible to say that there is a neutralization of /tʃ/ and /ts/ in specific environments:

\[
\text{ts} \rightarrow \text{tʃ} / \_\text{i} \\
\text{tʃ} \rightarrow \text{ts} / \_\text{i}
\]

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 /i/ 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 point of future research.

3.6. Vowel phonemes

Wampis possesses a system with four contrastive vowel qualities, including a high central vowel /i/ 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

\(^76\) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ĩ</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ĩ</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ĩ</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [tjitjámkka ________ táhi núweiti] 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
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>441.586</td>
<td>2595.739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>481.88</td>
<td>1597.941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>777.873</td>
<td>1768.847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>393.645</td>
<td>1079.221</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, i, u/.

(98)

i vs i

/ɪnɪʃi/ ‘sweet potato’ vs /sinɪʃi/ ‘strong’

i vs u

/ʊ/ ‘intensifier’ vs /tu/ ‘say’

i vs a

/ɑ̃t̪iːta/ ‘hatch (N)’ vs /takaːta/ ‘work (N)’

i vs u

/nUKI/ ‘only that’ vs /nuku/ ‘mother’

i vs a

/ia/ ‘look for’ vs /aa/ ‘write’
3.6.3. Oral versus nasal contrasts

The following contrastive examples show the phonemic status of oral versus nasal vowels.

(99)

\(i\) vs \(i\)

\(/hi/\) ‘fire’ vs \(/hi/\) ‘his eye’

\(i\) vs \(i\)

\(/ui/\) [\(w\)] ‘salt’ vs \(/ui/\) [\(w\)] ‘he is gone’

\(u\) vs. \(\ddot{u}\)

\(/uuru/\) ‘cry several’ vs \(/\ddot{u}uru/\) ‘shake (earthquake)’

\(a\) vs \(\ddot{a}\)

\(/sasa/\) ‘small waterfall’ vs \(/s\ddot{a}sa/\) ‘hoatzin (\textit{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 /ii/ and /ii/ clusters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/u/</th>
<th>/a/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 /i/ in an iV cluster, a velar approximant [ɰ] can be inserted optionally (i.e. the cluster may become [iuV] 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
V \rightarrow V / & \quad \underline{V} \\
[+\text{low}] & \quad [+\text{high}] & \quad [+\text{high}]
\end{align*}
\]

From the rule stated above, the sequences /ai/ and /au/ are pronounced [ei] 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 [ɛɛ] and [oo], whereas word-internally the preferred realizations are [ɛi] and [ou]. Notice that this surface alternation does not happen with the sequence /ai/.77

The specific allophonic rules are presented in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8. Assimilation of /a/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specific allophonic rules</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ai/ → [ɛi] ~ [ɛɛ] /_i</td>
<td>/nai/ → [nɛ́i] ~ [nɛ́ɛ]</td>
<td>‘tooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/ → [ou] ~ [oo] /_u</td>
<td>/au/ → [óu] ~ [óo]</td>
<td>‘distal demonstrative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ai/ → [ə]/ _i</td>
<td>/aɪ́/a/ → [əɪ́]</td>
<td>‘green (not ripe)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The surface realizations [ɛɛ] 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 > ei > ɛɛ. This change has not been reported for other Jivaroan languages. The word /ahu/ ‘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 /ai/ 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)
/kuih/ → [kúi] ‘kinkajou (Potos flavus)’
hakɨ/ → [hákə] ‘warm water’
kuiu/ → [kúu] ‘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 intervocally. In other environments they are prohibited.

(101) /iauã/ → [jawã]

The formation of glides can be more clearly seen in sandi environments:

78. With the one exception /j/ in the suffix -ji ‘3.pr’. See §3.2.7.
In (102), when the copula \( a \) carries the remote past suffix -\( ia \), the glide \([j]\) surfaces. Likewise, in (103), when the base \( \text{pinkira-tfau} \) ‘not good’ hosts the copula \( =a\text{ita} \), 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: \( ji, ji, ja; ji, ji, jã; wi, wi, wa, wu; wî, wî, wã, wã. \) 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:

\[ [w] \rightarrow [\beta]/i \]
The following examples illustrate the above rule:

(104)
/ui/ → [βí] ‘I’
/saaui/ → [saáβì] ‘transparent’
/uinka/ → [βíŋká] ‘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)
\textit{mii\textipa{t}a\textipa{h}ee} \sim \textit{mi\textipa{t}\textipa{d}a\textipa{h}ee}
\textit{mi-\textipa{t}a-\textipa{h}a-\textipa{i}}
\textit{come-def.fut-1sg.sbj-decl}
‘I will come.’
(106)

\textit{kɪ́nt̪ˈa} \sim \textit{kɪ́nt̪a}

kinta  

‘Afternoon’

In addition, the first /n/ of /pininka/ never seems to undergo palatalization, it is pronounced \(\text{[pinɪŋ]}\) and not \(\text{[piɲɪŋ]}\). 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)

/\textit{iuantʃi}/ \rightarrow [\textit{iwántʃ}] \sim [\textit{iw'antʃ}] \quad \text{‘devil’}

/\textit{ihu}/ \rightarrow [\textit{ɪhu}] \sim [\textit{ɪh'u}] \quad \text{‘palm heart, chonta (Astrocarium chonta)’}

3.8.3. Alternation [mʷi] \sim [mu]

In rapid speech, the sequence [mʷi] is sometimes realized as [mu].

(108)

/\textit{ami}/ \rightarrow [\textit{amʷi}] \sim [\textit{ámʊ}] \quad \text{‘you’}

/\textit{kami}/ \rightarrow [\textit{kamʷi}] \sim [\textit{kámu}] \quad \text{‘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, /\textit{ami}=ʃa/ ‘you too (2SG = ADD)’ may surface as [ámʷiha]. I observed this variation primarily in Candungos (Upper Santiago), but not in communities of the Middle Santiago such as Puerto Galilea or Huabal.
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
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> [kañt̪unkus], <Cangaza> [kañkás], <Huambisa> [wampís], <Chinganaza> [tʃinkanás], 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

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 [irúnôramu] (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 [nawañt̪ɾumhɛɛ] ‘with your daughter’, where /t̪/ is not voiced in spite of following /n/).

Thus, it must be concluded that voicing is not systematic.

(109) irunôramu ám̄i nawañt̪ɾumhɛɛ puhušt̪̄san
iruna-țu-ra-mau ami nuanța-rumi =haï 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. 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 /uísuța/ ‘ant sp.’ (which is otherwise pronounced [wísuț]) in Figure 3.4.

80. See §6.4.4 for an analysis of vowel elision.
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/* → *[suntá]* ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wampis</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Phonological adjustment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/matʃu/</td>
<td>&lt; macho &gt;</td>
<td>‘male’&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>o &gt; u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/panka/</td>
<td>&lt; pan &gt;</td>
<td>‘bread’</td>
<td>C# + -ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uru/</td>
<td>&lt; oro &gt;</td>
<td>‘gold’</td>
<td>o &gt; u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iskupíta/</td>
<td>&lt; escopeta &gt;</td>
<td>‘shotgun’</td>
<td>e &gt; i; o &gt; u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/papí/</td>
<td>&lt; papel &gt;</td>
<td>‘book’&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>e &gt; i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/arusa/</td>
<td>&lt; arroz &gt;</td>
<td>‘rice’</td>
<td>o &gt; u; rr &gt; r; C# + -a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iusa/</td>
<td>&lt; dios &gt;</td>
<td>‘god, church’</td>
<td>C# + -a; dio &gt; iu C# + -ka;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iumunka/</td>
<td>&lt; limón &gt;</td>
<td>‘lime’</td>
<td>liu &gt; iu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/irinku/</td>
<td>&lt; gringo &gt;</td>
<td>‘white person’</td>
<td>#Cr &gt; #VrV; o &gt; u; g &gt; k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-adapted loanwords

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wampis</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/estre/</td>
<td>&lt; este &gt;</td>
<td>‘pragmatic marker’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kartutʃo/</td>
<td>&lt; cartuco &gt;</td>
<td>‘cartridge’ (for gun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bala/</td>
<td>&lt; bala &gt;</td>
<td>‘bullet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/liŋterna/</td>
<td>&lt; linterna &gt;</td>
<td>‘flashlight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gasolina/</td>
<td>&lt; gasolina &gt;</td>
<td>‘gas’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kaŋta-ma/</td>
<td>&lt; cantar &gt;</td>
<td>‘sing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> In Wampis, this is a familiar term to refer to a son.

<sup>b</sup> In Spanish, <papel> means ‘paper’, not ‘book’.

<sup>c</sup> 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. 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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wampis</th>
<th>Quechua</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Phonological adjustment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/sintʃi/</td>
<td>&lt; sinchi &gt;</td>
<td>‘strong’</td>
<td>i &gt; i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iaakaṭa/</td>
<td>&lt; lláktə &gt;</td>
<td>‘town’</td>
<td>a &gt; a; V-insertion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ima/</td>
<td>&lt; ima &gt;</td>
<td>‘Intensifier’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pínkui/</td>
<td>&lt; pinkúyu &gt;</td>
<td>‘flute’</td>
<td>u &gt; ∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kutʃə/</td>
<td>&lt; kuchə &gt;</td>
<td>‘puddle, lake’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kaʃu/</td>
<td>&lt; kachu &gt;</td>
<td>‘horn (to call)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃaa/</td>
<td>&lt; chara &gt;</td>
<td>‘corn sp.’</td>
<td>tʃ &gt; ṣ; r &gt; ∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/apu/</td>
<td>&lt; apu &gt;</td>
<td>‘chief’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kantʃa/</td>
<td>&lt; kancha &gt;</td>
<td>‘sports field’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iatʃa/</td>
<td>&lt; yacha &gt;</td>
<td>‘wise, clever’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wampis</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Possible source (according to Gnerre (2010))</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tuná/</td>
<td>[tuná]</td>
<td>‘waterfall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tsukánká/</td>
<td>[tsukanjá]</td>
<td>‘toucan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iuaá/</td>
<td>[nawáa]</td>
<td>‘dog (also jaguar)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kanú/</td>
<td>[kanú]</td>
<td>‘canoe’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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 /t/ 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 [ɾ] and [ɹ]. 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 /i/, 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 ũ, and an
underlying high tone with an accent mark Ź, 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 [ɰ]. 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 on grounds of analytical parsimony. Second, there are epenthetic glides [j], [w] and [ɰ] 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.pr’ 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)

\begin{align*}
\text{/nua/} & \rightarrow \quad [n\dot{u}.wa] \quad \text{‘woman’ (not *[nwa])} \\
\text{/tʃui/} & \rightarrow \quad [t\dot{ʃ}ú.wi] \quad \text{'paucar (Icteridae sp.)’ (not *tʃwil)}
\end{align*}
As a consequence of (a)–(c) above, an important principle of word-formation in Wampis is that glides are allowed word-initially and intervocally. 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,V(V) sequence, where V₁ is the high vowel /i/ or /u/, becomes V.GV(V).

\[
\begin{align*}
V V_1 V (V) & \rightarrow \text{V.GV(V)} \\
& \mid \\
& \text{fi, ul}
\end{align*}
\]

The examples in (2) illustrate this rule.

(2)

/auanki/ → (awaiŋki) → [awéŋki] ‘give back’
/asiuai/ → (asiiwai) → [asíwɛɛ] ‘adze’ (from Spanish < azuela >)
/kauaikama/ → (kawaikama) → [kawɛ́ikam] ‘loro machaco viper’ (Bothriopsis bilineata)
/iuanťiʃi/ → (iwantʃi) → [iwántʃ] ‘mythological character’
(A.ii). Any sequence of the form VVV₁V, where V₁ is the high vowel /i/ or /u/, becomes VVGV. The following rule captures this pattern:

\[ V V V_1 V \rightarrow VV.GV \]

| i, u |

The rule in (A.ii) is similar to the previous rule (A.i), but the important difference is in the position of V₁ (which represents the high vowel /i/ or /u/). This rule serves to explain (infrequent but attested) instances like the ones in (3).

(3)

/inaia/ → (inaija) → [iɲɛ́ija] ‘stop, leave’
/ankaiia/ → (ankaija) → [aŋkɛ́ija] ‘wasp’

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.

\[ V_1 V_2 \rightarrow GV/\#___ \]

| i, u |

The examples in (4) illustrate the above rule.

(4)

/iapi/ → [jápi] ‘face’
/iumi/ → [júmi] ‘water, rain’
/uakani/ → [wakán] ‘soul’
It is important to note that the high vowel /i/ never becomes an approximant [u]; so it never occurs in word-initial position as a glide. The velar approximant [u] in Wampis only occurs intervocally and it is purely epenthetic, as illustrated by the examples in (5).

(5)  
/iakama/ → [iuLOBAL] ‘hunt’  
/hía/ → [hiwa] ‘house’

More details on the velar approximant [u] are given in §4.2.4, see also next point, rule C.

C. Epenthetic glides [j], [w] and [u] are optionally inserted. Any sequence of the form V₁V₂, where V₁ is a high vowel and is not word-initial, may insert a homorganic glide intervocally. Examples:

(6)  
/uiaitahai/ → (wijaithai) → [wǐcith'ɛɛ] ‘I am’  
/sua/ → [súwa] ‘huito (Genipa americana)’  
/uiahai/ → (wuiwa) → [wǐwahe] ‘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 intervocally before they are created at the beginning of the word. Consider (7):
If we apply rule B in all of the above examples, the derivations of those words would be incorrect, e.g. *[jia] for ‘fall’, *[wuiha] 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.

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) 
\textit{jüawee}  
iu-a-ua-i  
eat-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL  
‘He is eating.’
In (9), we have a word that underlyingly contains several vowels: /iu-ua-i/. So following the rule A discussed in the previous section, the derivation would be

\[ \text{[iwa}wɛɛ]^{84} \text{ (intervocalic glide formation applies first, so the second /u/ becomes [w]).} \]

This is not the correct output, though. Thus, we have to explain the surface form

\[ \text{[ju}́ \text{aw}ɛɛ] \]

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)

\[
\begin{align*}
kutʃañmaja & \\
\text{kutʃa = numa = ia} & \\
\text{puddle = LOC = ABL} & \\
\text{‘from the puddle’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

-----

84. Recall from §3.7.1 that the sequence /ai/ is pronounce [ei] or [ɛɛ].

85. Morphophonological processes in Wampis are fairly complex. Many morphemes exhibit particular behaviors. Morphophonology is analyzed in Chapter V.
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 intervocally. 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:  /ikamía/  ‘from the forest’
Glide formation:  ikamaja
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)
/iajuma/  →  [jakúm]  ‘howling monkey’ (not *[ija̱juma])
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.ma.ta.na → [ajaˈmat] ‘rest (ACC)’

• From the above point, it follows that glides are do not count as moras. Evidence of this is 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/ ‘1sg’ derives a glide, then it must lengthen its vowel /i/: /ui/ → [wii]. In addition, because glides are

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 /i/ 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)
/kankapi/ → (kaŋ.'ka).pɨ → [kaŋkåp] ‘root’
/kutʃanumaia/ → (ku.ˈtʃa).(nu.ˈma)ja → [kuʃjánmaja] ‘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
/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/ \rightarrow [wíi] ‘1sg’
b. /uui/ \rightarrow [uwí] ‘peach-palm’

(18)
a. /ia/ \rightarrow [jáa] ‘who’
b. /iia/ \rightarrow [ijá] ‘fall down’

(19)
a. /iua/ \rightarrow [íwa] ‘mythological character’
b. /iuua/ \rightarrow [júwa] ‘cousin of female’

(20)
a. /ʃiua/ \rightarrow [ʃíwa] ‘trumpeter (bird sp.)’
b. /ʃuanka/ \rightarrow [ʃuán] or [ʃuwání]88 ‘buzzard’

In (17), if the word for ‘peach-palm’ were /ui/ phonemically, we would expect

88. The realization [ʃuwání] shows an optional epenthetic glide [w].
its phonetic realization to be [wí]i, 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 /iuwa/ 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)V₁V₁V₂ 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, tɪ, uɪ → 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, [tʃuánɔ] or
[tʃuwánɔ].

Epenthetic glides can always be optionally inserted in the environments u__i,
u__a, and i__a in rapid speech.

(21)
/kuíʃi/ → [kuwíʃ] ~ [kuʃʃ] ‘ear’
/muʃsa/ → [muwíʃs] ~ [muʃʃs] ‘type of jar’
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 /uuíha/ [uwíh] ‘hand’ has the variant pronunciation [iwíh] (i.e. there are two variant underlying lexical forms). Thus, underlying representations such as /uuíha/ and /iuiha/ must be posited, otherwise—i.e. if we analyze the word as /uiha/~/iiha/ in its lexical underlying form—in the second case (/iíha/), there would be no need of inserting a glide, as sequences of two identical vowels are perfect in Wampis. Hence, we must

89. This is a borrowing from Spanish <cuidar> ‘look after’.
propose /uuiha/~iuiha/ 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 [uʁ]

Unlike the other high vowels, the high central vowel /i/ does not have an approximant allophone in intervocalic position, though, as we saw in the previous section, a velar epenthetic glide can be inserted next to it. There are no examples of ViV sequences in roots in my data. Most examples of such sequences come from morphologically complex words. In these cases, /i/ does not change to [uʁ] but it may insert an homorganic glide, or just form a triphthong, as illustrated in (22)–(23).

(22)  
\[ ki:iamu \sim \text{kiiيومu} \]  
\[ ki:ima\mu \]  
\[ \text{burn-IPFV-NMLZ} \]  
\[ \text{‘fire’ (‘what is burnt’)} \]

(23)  
\[ na:kٚi:amu \sim \text{nakٚi:يومu} \]  
\[ na:kui:a:mu \]  
\[ \text{extend.arm-IPFV-NMLZ} \]  
\[ \text{‘arm’s extension’} \]

The epenthetic insertion of [uʁ] is completely optional when /i/ is followed by

---

90. This contrasts with Awajun, where [uʁ] is an allophone of /i/ (Overall 2007).
/a/, but [ʊ] is never inserted when /i/ is followed by /u/.

(24)

\[
\begin{align*}
/siuka/ & \rightarrow [siúk] \text{ ‘type of heron’} \\
/iKiù/ & \rightarrow [íkiù] \text{ ‘young child’}
\end{align*}
\]

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)

\[
\begin{align*}
/iakamata/ & \rightarrow [iakmat] \sim [iʊákmät] \sim [iɣákmät] \text{ ‘hunt’} \\
/híäß/ & \rightarrow [híä] \sim [híʊa] \sim [híɣa] \text{ ‘house’} \\
/piakávia/ & \rightarrow [piák] \sim [piʊák] \sim [piɣák] \text{ ‘bed’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

91. There are very few examples of this sequence of vowels in the data, so perhaps the apparent bias against the insertion of [ʊ], 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:

\[(C)V(N)\]

\((C = \text{consonant}, V = \text{vowel}, N = \text{Nasal consonant})\)

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).\(^9^2\)

![Syllable structure at an intermediate stage (before vowel elision)](image)

Figure 4.1. Syllable structure at an intermediate stage (before vowel elision)

Note: ɬ, 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

\(^{92}\) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-Initial</th>
<th>Word-Medial</th>
<th>Word-Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V, VN, CV, NV, GV, CVN</td>
<td>V, VN, CV, NV, GV</td>
<td>V, CV, NV, GV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NVN, GVN</td>
<td>GVN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Word-initially and word-medially, the syllable structures at this intermediate stage of derivation are the same, with the caveat that [uŋ], /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).  

Word-initial and word-medial

(26) V
/ami/ → a.mi → [ámi] ‘you’

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 → [í'kam] ‘forest’
/uruna/ → u.ru.na → [urún] ‘poor’
/hí.á.ʃi/ → hí.á.ʃi → [híáʃ] ‘small house’
/si.ʃu.ka/ → si.u.ka → [siúk] ‘type of heron’

(27) VN
/ánkanta/ → an.ʃu.ka.ta → [ánkán] ‘free’
/intša/ → in.ʃa → [íntša] ‘river’
/am.ʃu.ʃa/ → am.ʃu.ʃa → [ampúʃ] ‘owl’
/tsa.ʃa.nu.na/ → tsa.an.ku.na → [tsaankún] ‘tobacco (ACC)’

(28) CV
/tu.ʃi/ → tu.ʃi → [tukí] ‘always’
/ha.ʃi/ → ha.ʃi → [háki] ‘warm water’
/pa.ʃi/ → pa.ʃi → [páki] ‘peccary’

(29) NV
/nu.ʃi/ → nu.ʃu → [núku] ‘mother’
/mu.ʃu.ʃa/ → mu.ʃu.ʃa → [mukúʃa] ‘black’
/mi.ʃu/ → mi.ʃu → [míʃu] ‘cat’

(30) GV
/wa.ʃu/ → wa.ʃu → [wáwa] ‘type of palm’
/ja.ʃi/ → ja.ʃi → [jápi] ‘face’
/ja.ʃu.ʃa/ → ja.ʃu.ʃa → [jamá] ‘just now, newly’

(31) CVN
/kan.ʃu/ → kan.ʃu → [kánʃi] ‘type of plant’
/pampa/ → pa.ʃu.ʃa → [pámpra] ‘sandstone’
/iurank/ → ju.raŋ.ki → [juráŋ] ‘fruit’

(32) NVN
/nunka/ → nuŋ.ka → [nûŋka] ‘land, earth’
/namankina/ → na.man.ji.na → [namanńkín] ‘meat (ACC)’

(33) GVN
/ianíse/ → janísi → [jánísi] ‘frog sp.’
/aiumpana/ → a.jum.pà.na → [ajumpan] ‘rooster (ACC)’

Word-final
(34) V
/nuĩ/ → nu.ĩ → [nuĩ] ‘there’
/hĩa/ → hĩ.a → [hĩa] ‘house’
/aa/ → a.a → [āa] ‘outside’

(35) CV
/apa/ → a.pà → [āpa]
/panki/ → paŋ.ki → [páŋki] ‘boa’

(36) NV
/iama/ → ja mâ → [jamá] ‘newly’
/mama/ → ma.ma → [máma] ‘manioc’

(37) GV
/kaia/ → ká ja → [kája] ‘stone’
/tʃiuwa/ → tʃi wa → [tʃiwa] ‘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. 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.wi.ha
Feet: (u.'wi).ha
Vowel elision: u.wi.h
Re-syllabification: u.wih
Output: [uwɨh]

(39)
Input: /iurumakatʃi/ ‘small cooked manioc’
Glide: jurumakatʃi
Feet: (ju.'ru)(ma,ka).tʃi
Vowel elision: ju.ru.m.ka.tʃ
Re-syllabification: ju.rum.katʃ
Output: [jurúmkaʃi]

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 /iurumakatʃi/. After vowel elision, m re-
syllabifies and closes the second surface syllable, in turn, the affricate tʃ 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](image-url)
Note: ŭ, r and the marginal palatal n 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>
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</tr>
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<td>V, VN, CV, NV, GV, CVN, NVN, GVN</td>
<td>V, VN, CV, NV, GV, CrV, CrVC, CrVN, CVC, NVN, GVN</td>
<td>V, VN, CV, NV, GV, CrV, CrVC, CVN, CVC, NVN, CVNT, GVNT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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.kar.ma.na → ka.kar.man ‘powerful man (ACC)’
/iankipikitjí/ → jaŋ.ki.pi.ki.tį → jaŋ.kip.kitj ‘collared peccari (DIM)’

(41) CrV
/nauanturumina/ → na.wan.tu.ru.mi.na → na.wan.true.min ‘your daughter (ACC)’
/huakarika/ → hu.a.kra.ʁi.ka → hu.a.kria ‘if we stay’

(42) CrVC
/aiantarataša/ → a.jan.ta.ra.ta.sa → a.jaŋ.true.sa ‘intending to turn around’
/atukaratukati/ → a.tu.kar.ta.ru.kar.ti → a.tu.karat.kar.ti ‘May he help us!’

(43) CrVN
/amikurunaf’a/ → a.mi.ku.ru.na.ja → a.mi.krun.ja ‘my friend too’
/kautramkaji/ → ko.ut.ru.ma.ja.ji → ko.ut.tram.kaj.i ‘They came for you.’

**Word-final**

(44) VN
/ˈtsaŋku/ → ˈtsan.ku → ˈtsan ‘tobacco’
/paantsa/ → pa.ant.ʦa → pa.ant ‘clear’

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
/iuanṭsi/ → ju.an.ṭsi → ju.ánts ‘reed’

(46) CrV
/tśintsakarī/ → tśin.ṭsa.ka.rī → tśin.ṭsá.krī ‘his dart’
/piripiri/ → pi.ri.pi.ri → pi.ri.pri ‘plants used for healing and bewitching’

(47) CrVC
/tʃjaaparaka/ → tʃa.a.pra.ka → tʃa.á.praқ ‘type of traverse flute’

(48) CrVN
/nakanturana/ → na.kan.tu.ra.na → na.kán.ṭrun (ACC) ‘ant sp.’
/siituruna/ → si.i.tu.ru.na → si.i.ṭrun (ACC) ‘cedar’ (from Spanish < cedro >)

(49) CVN
/ankanta/ → aŋ.kan.ta → aŋkán ‘free’
/nauantu/ → na.wan.tu → nawán ‘daughter’

(50) CVC
/kantuta/ → kan.tu.ta → kan.ṭút ‘type of bird’
/timafi/ → ti.ma.ṭi → ti.máf ‘lice’

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).
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:
Now consider the following parsing for the word ‘small’, which derives the correct output in the language, following the iambic pattern:

(55) /iairatʃi/ → (ja.'i).ra.tʃi] → [jeɪratʃi] ‘small’

If we consider a different parsing, for instance, if we consider that the portion jai is one syllable and we parse (jai.'ra).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.'ra).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) *jú a júakuā*

\[ \text{iu-a-kauā} \]
\[ \text{REDUP eat-IPFV-REDUP}_\text{3SG.SS} \]
‘[she/he] eating and eating’

cf. /iuakaua/ → *ju.a.ku.ā*

(57) *puhú puhújnakuā*

\[ \text{puhu pahu-ina-kaua} \]
\[ \text{REDUP living-PL.IPFV-REDUP}_\text{3.SS} \]
‘[they] living and living’

cf. /puhuinakaua/ → *pu.hu.ijna.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 imperfective /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]).
• Reduction of vowel sequences: Some vowel sequences can be reduced if the vowel is in a prosodic position where it undergoes elision. 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) /iaĩaita/ → (ja.ĩ)(na.ĩ)ta → [jeĩiıt] ‘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

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 ? 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 ìi or ìi. 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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Cross-reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vowel (mora) reduction:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• reduction of the last vowel of the stem</td>
<td>§5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• reduction of the first vowel of the suffix/clitic.</td>
<td>§5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vowel harmony</strong></td>
<td>§5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other phenomena:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• degemination</td>
<td>§5.7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• optional gemination of consonants</td>
<td>§5.7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• optional metathesis</td>
<td>§5.7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Vowel-switching for marking possession</td>
<td>§5.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

\[ V_i + V_j \rightarrow V_j \]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme (§functional discussion)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-inu (§5.3.1)</td>
<td>‘Set I nominalizer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u (§5.3.2)</td>
<td>‘Set II nominalizer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-á(u) (§5.3.3)</td>
<td>‘High affectedness aktionsart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i (§5.3.4)</td>
<td>‘Low affectedness aktionsart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a (§5.3.5)</td>
<td>‘Imperfective’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ĩ ~ -ī (§5.3.6)</td>
<td>‘Third person perfective’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.1. Set I nominalizer -inanu

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 -inanu ‘Agentive nominalizer’. A final low vowel /a/ of a stem is lost to the first vowel of -inanu 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**.

---

98. There are two sets of nominalizers in Wampis, -inanu belongs to Set I. See Chapter XV for an analysis of nominalization.
(1)  
*Morphological analysis:*  
ɨtsiru-\-nu  
announce-NMLZ  
‘announcer’

*Derivation: /ɨtsiru/nu/  
glide: none  
syllable: i.ɨs.i.ru.i.nu.na  
sandhi: i.ɨs.i.ru.i.nu  
feet: (i.ɨs).i.ru.i.nu  
vowel elision: ɨtsirin  
output: [ɨtsirin]

(2)  
*Morphological analysis:*  
hintina-karat\-nu  
teach-1\_\_OBJ-NMLZ  
‘teacher’ (i.e. ‘someone who teaches us’)

*Derivation:*  
/hintinakaratu/nu/  
glide: none  
syllable: hin.ti.na.kar.a.ta.tu.i.nu  
sandhi: hin.ti.na.kar.a.ta.tu.nu  
feet: (hin.ˈti).n(a_.ka).(ra_.ti)nu  
vowel elision: hintinkatin  
output: [hintiŋk'artin]

With regard to a preceding low vowel /a/ of a stem, when the nominalizer -\-nu is used: a) the low vowel /a/ of a stem is reduced if the stem possesses more than two
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:
uika-inu
walk-NMLZ
‘walker’

derivation:
/uikainu/

/ /uikainu/  
glide: wikainu  (two-mora stem: wika ‘walk’)  
syllable: wi.ka.i.nu  
sandhi: does not apply  
feet: (wi.'ka).(i.,nu)  
vowel elision: wikaín  
output: [wikéin]

(4)
morphological analysis
iuruma-inu
eat.cooked.manioc-NMLZ
‘(big) eater’

derivation /iuramainu/  

/juru-mainu/  (three-mora stem: juruma ‘eat cooked manioc’)  

/glide: jurumainu/  
syllable: ju.ru.ma.i.nu  
sandhi: jurumin  
feet: (ju.'ru).(mi.,nu)  
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.’

d*erivation* /hintinatuu/

glide: does not apply

syllable: hin.ti.na.tu.u

sandhi: hin.ti.na tu

feet: (hin.ti).(na, tu)

vowel elision: hintintu

output: [hintíntu]

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 /i/\(^100\) all vowels (i.e. moras) are maintained:

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 *ui* ‘go’ receives the nominalizer, often times speakers seem to pronounce [wúu] (other times the pronunciation is an expected [wfu]). Two facts may contribute to the apparent assimilation of /i/ to /u/. First, the phonetic environment in which /i/ 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) ípātiu
ipati-u
shoot + LOAF-NMLZ
‘he was one who shot’

(7) pēpirīu
pipiri-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.

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 output as indicated in (9).

(9) derivation for /arakamau/ ‘planter’
feet: (a.'ra).(ka.,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) tipísu
tipi-sa-u
lie.down-ATT-NMLZ
‘one who sat’

derivation for /tipisau/ ‘one who sat’:
feet: (ti.'pi).(sa.,u)
vowel elision: tipisu
output: [tipísu]

In (10), the vowel /a/ of the attenuative suffix -sa is in a position where it is

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 [tipíšu]. 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 -jí. 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) hiáwei
hiá-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 established.

(13) ahuntóu
ahuntá-u
add.water + HIAF-NMLZ
‘She was one to add water.’

derivation:
syllable: a.hun.ta.á.u
sandhi: a.hun.ta.u
feet: (aˈhun).(tá.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 -\(d(u)\),\(^{103}\) 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) \(\tilde{\text{t}}\text{su}a\text{-ka}r\text{a}t\text{u}n\)
\(\tilde{\text{ts}}\text{ua}-\text{kara}tu\text{-ini} = \text{na}\)
\(\text{heal-1}\text{PL.OBJ-NMLZ = ACC}\)
‘the doctor (acc)’ (Lit.: ‘one who heals us’)

derivation: \(\sqrt{\text{tsuakratinuna}}/\)
syllable: \(\tilde{\text{ts}}\text{u}a.\text{ka}.\text{ra}.\text{tu}.\text{i}.\text{nu}.\text{na}\)\(^{104}\)
glide: \(\tilde{\text{ts}}\text{u}a.\text{ka}.\text{ra}.\text{ti}.\text{nu}.\text{na}\)
feet: (\(\text{tsu}.(\text{a}.)(\text{ka},(\text{ra}).(\text{ti},(\text{nu}).\text{na}\)
vowel elision: \(\text{tsuakratun}\)
output: \([\text{tsuakratun}]\)

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.

\(^{103}\) And also with the non-imperfective plural -\(ara\) and the copula clitics, as explained in §5.4.2 and §5.6.5, respectively.

\(^{104}\) Recall from §3.3.2 that /\(n/ becomes [\(n\] in an i_V environment.
Table 5.3. Verbs that never reduce their final mora when receiving the high affectedness aktionsart suffix -á(u)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akima</td>
<td>‘unfasten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inkima</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mā</td>
<td>‘kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paka–pika</td>
<td>‘put in a line’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>‘arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tankuma</td>
<td>‘domesticate animals’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The long form -áu of the high affectedness suffix occurs before the apprehensive -(a)i and the non-imperfective plural marker -ara. Examples:

(15) mantuáweip’a
mā-tu-áu-ai-pa
kill-1SG.OBJ-HIAF-PL-APPR-PROH
‘Don’t kill me!’

(16) mantuáwaru
mā-tu-áu-ara-u
kill-APPL-HIAF-PL-NMLZ
‘killers [of my brother]’

An alternative analysis is to propose that a glide [w] is inserted at the

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.

204
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 -d 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) wikéímiaji
uika-i-mi
walk-LOAF-2SG.SBJ + DECL
‘You just walked.’

*derivation*: /uikaimi/
glide: wikaitásá
syllable: wi.ka.i.mi
sandhi: does not apply (stem wika has two moras)
feet: (wi.'ka).(i.mi)
vowel elision: does not apply
output: [wikéími]
(18) jiikmimi
jiikima-i-mi
blow.nose-LOAF-3.SBJ + DECL
‘He just blew his nose.’

derivation /jiikimaimi/
glide: does not apply
syllable: ji.i.ki.ma.i.mi
sandhi: ji.i.ki.mi.mi
feet: (ji.'i.(ki.,mi).mi
vowel elision: jiikmimi
output: [jiikmimi]

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) titáhee
ti-ta-ha-i
say + LOAF-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
‘I will say.’

derivation: /tuitahai/
glide: does not apply
syllable: tu.i.ta.ha.i
sandhi: ti.ta.ha.i
output: [titáhee]
Next, (20) presents an example with ‘bathe’. The root *maa* is represented in a “fused” form with the low affectedness aktionsart suffix -i.

(20) *meíth'ee*
maí-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.i).(ta.ha).i
vowel elision: maithai
output: [meíth'ee]

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) *aewith'ee*
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 /i/. Recall that there is a restriction in Wampis that prohibits vowel clusters of the form /ii/ or /ii/ (§3.6.4). In general, it is very difficult to decide whether the low affectedness -i is lost to a previous vowel /i/ 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 /i/ and
that can carry the low affectedness suffix). Some examples from elicitation suggests that
with a verb ending in /i/, the low affectedness -i is not reduced but is assimilated:

(22) mihútmí
mihi-i-ta-mí
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) hintintawai
hintina-tu-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.tu.a.wa.i
sandhi: hin.ti.na.ta.wa.i.ti
feet: (hin.'ti).(na_.ta).(wa,i).ti
vowel elision: hintintawai
t output: [hintintawai]
In addition, a final vowel of a morphologically simple verb form belonging to the Imperfective conjugation II\textsuperscript{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) **puháwei**  
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) **amúawei**  
amu-a-ua-i  
**finish-ipfv-3.sbj-decl**  
‘She/he is finishing.’

\textsuperscript{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 -ĩ~-ɨ

A final vowel /i/ of the stem is reduced when it receives the third person perfective suffix -ĩ~-ɨ.\(^{107}\)

(26) \textit{patí}
\textit{patí-ɨ}
\textit{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) \textit{atʃikaɾeɨ́}
\textit{atʃi-ka-ara-ɨ́}
\textit{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 -\textit{ki(ni)} (see §5.6.3).

5.4. Vowel (mora) reduction of the suffix\cite{clic at morpheme boundary

Certain suffixes reduce their first vowels when they are in contact with a

\(^{107}\) In theory, the third person perfective -ĩ~-ɨ should reduce a vowel /i/ of the stem, but there are no examples of -ĩ~-ɨ occurring preceding a vowel /i/ 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 /i/).
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:

\[ Vi + Vj \rightarrow Vi \]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme (functional description)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ina (§5.4.1)</td>
<td>‘Plural imperfective’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ara (§5.4.2)</td>
<td>‘Non-imperfective plural’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i (§5.4.3)</td>
<td>‘Declarative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ai (§5.4.4)</td>
<td>‘Apprehensive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=api (§5.4.5)</td>
<td>‘Sudden realization’, ‘Tag question’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.1. Plural imperfective -<i>ina</i>

The initial /i/ of the plural Imperfective -<i>ina</i> 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 -<i>ina</i> is not reduced (30). Examples (28) and (29) illustrate the behavior of -<i>ina</i> with a preceding vowel /i/ and /ɨ/, respectively.

(28) <i>wînawee</i>
ui-ina-ua-i
go-PL.IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
‘They are going’

(29) <i>umînawee</i>
umi-ina-ua-i
complete-PL.IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
‘The are finishing.’

(30) <i>tuînawee</i>
tu-ina-ua-i
say-PL.IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
‘They are saying.’

5.4.2. Non-imperfective plural -<i>ara</i>

The initial vowel /a/ of the non-imperfective plural suffix -<i>ara</i> is reduced with a preceding vowel of the same quality.
(31) *weíŋk'aru*

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.ka.a.ra.u
sandhi: wa.i.na.ka.ra.u
feet: (wa.ˈi).(naˌka).(raˌu)
vowel elision: wainkaru
output: [weíŋk'aru]

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-ta-ta-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.'ma).(ra..ra).ta.ta.(wa.ka)
re-check vowel elision: (u.ma).(ra.ra).ta.ta.wa.ka (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-1.PL.SBJ + DECL
‘We are saying’

(34) **támi**
ta-mi
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) tāheī
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) nāki ēp’a
naki a-ai-pa
lazy COP-APPR-PROM
‘Don’t be lazy.’

(37) atʃikeip’a
atʃi-ka-ai-pa
grab-INTENS-APPR-PROM
‘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) jatsūrnapi
iaʃu-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 /ii/ or /iɨ/ (§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: i → i. Compare the realizations of =ki (39) as opposed to (40).

(39)  nuɨ̃ki
nu =i =ki
non.vis = LOC = RESTR
‘there only’

109. One of the surface manifestations of underlying nasality is the occurrence of a nasal manifestation 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.
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) *wampiskifa*

uampisa = ki = 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) *nuʃikiti*

nu-ʃi = ki = 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 = ʃi reduces its first vowel /i/ when it is preceded by a vowel /i/ of the stem. The relevant parts of the derivation would be:

(43) *derivation for /nuʃikiti/*

syllable: nu.ʃi.ki.i.ʃi
sandhi₁: mora reduction: nuʃikiti
However, there are similar examples where vowel harmony applies:

(44)
\[ \text{nú\text{̃}kiti} \]
\[ \text{nuĩ = ki = iti} \]
\[ \text{NON.VIS = RESTR = COP.3 + DECL.} \]
‘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 \text{nú\text{̃}kiti} ‘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 -\text{ki(ni)}

The associated motion suffix -\text{ki(ni)} ‘do while moving‘ (§13.3.2.6) triggers optional vowel harmony with a high central vowel /i/ 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 i and at the same time are able to receive the associated motion suffix -\text{ki(ni)}. 

sandhi: vowel harmony: blocked
output: [nútʃikiti]
(45) *piît̠ki wîmaji*
piitu-ki wi-ma-ji
flash.lightning-while.moving go-imm.pt-3.pt + decl
‘Flashing of lightning went on.’

(46) *wakitkin*
uakitu-ki-inu
return-while.moving-nmlz
‘one who returned (i.e. a returner)’

The root of the verbs in the above examples possess an /i/, as evidenced in the

next examples where there is no vowel harmony.

(47) *piîtawee*
piita-ua-i
flash.lightning + ipfv-3.sbj-decl
‘It is flashing (lightnings).’

(48) *wakiteipawai*
wakita-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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme (functional description)</th>
<th>Gloss or Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( =nVma )</td>
<td>‘Locative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á(u)</td>
<td>‘High affectedness aktionsart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ki(ni)</td>
<td>‘Do while moving’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( =n\jI )</td>
<td>‘Locative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(n)\jI</td>
<td>‘Different subject’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( =aita\sim =ita; =aiti\sim =iti )</td>
<td>Copula clitics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

\[
\begin{align*}
kajänam & \quad wampis\jum
\end{align*}
\]

kaia = nama \quad uampisa = numa
stonce = LOC \quad Wampis = LOC

220
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nuŋkánam</th>
<th>ńsukíŋnum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nunka = nama</td>
<td>ńszukinta = numa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth = LOC</td>
<td>corner = LOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ik'ámnam ~ ik'ámmmnum</th>
<th>intsánam ~ intsanum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ikama = nVma</td>
<td>intsáa = nVma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forest = LOC</td>
<td>river = LOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -í ~ -i. 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) tikítík itjankin ðeimk/amuñína hurúki tí . . . núu útíi huruki wisatahkaná

tikítíkì itjanka aima-ka-mau = a = nú = na
one basket fill.up-INTENS-NMLZ = COP = NON. VIS = ACC

hu-ru-ki

take-APPL WHILE.MOVING +3.PVF

nu útíi hu-ru-kì wi-sa-tahkaná
NON.VIS child take-APPL WHILE.MOVING \3SG.SS go-ATT-FRSTR \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)i and Different subject -(n)i

The locative = (n)i occurs with a long form [nì] following a vowel /i/ of the
stem. The different subject -(n)i is historically related to the locative homophonous
form, and follows exactly the same pattern. Compare (52), where the form of the
locative is = i, with (53), where the long form is used.

(52) huì
hu = i
PROX = LOC
‘here’

(53) hintìni
hinti = nì
trail\1PL/2PL/3.POSS = LOC
‘In his trail.’
The following are examples of -(n)i 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech act participant</th>
<th>3 person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aita ~ ita</td>
<td>aiti ~ iti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
(56) *aróweithe*ee
ara-u = aita-ha-i
plant-NMLZ = COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL
‘I am a planter.’

(57) *waŋneiti*\textsuperscript{111}
uaâ = aiti
hole = COP.3 + DECL
‘It is a hole’

(58) *jaméjeiti*
iamai = aiti
now = COP.3 + DECL
‘It is now.’

• With a single final vowel /a/ of the stem, the short forms are used.\textsuperscript{112}

(59) *píŋkirciti*
pínkira = iti
good = COP.3 + DECL
‘It is good.’

\textsuperscript{111} The palatal [j] nasalizes to [ŋ] as nasalization spreads from the nasal vowel of the root to the glide.

\textsuperscript{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) _jeími_  
ia = ita-mi  
who = COP-2SG.SBJ  
Who are you?  

�lide derivation: /iaitami/ → jaitami (the stem [ja] has a final single vowel /a/) 

(61) _kanúsieithee_  
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. An epenthetic vowel is inserted if there is no allophonic glide:  

(62) _nįciti_  
nį = aiti  
3SG = COP.3 + DECL  
‘It is him.’ 

(63) _kusújeiti_  
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 _nį = ki = ût_ ‘3sg = restr = cop.3’ (‘he only is’) which surfaces as [nįŋkiti], 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) tikúñiti
tikitʃi = 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
/i/ is always reduced:
(66) núkiti
nu = ki = iti
non. vis = restr = cop.3 + decl.
‘That only is.’

(67) níriñi
nirí = iti
fruit = cop.3 + decl.
‘It is a fruit.’
(68) nukápthi
nukapi = 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 -d(u) (§5.3.3) and the non-imperfect plural -ara (§5.4.2), further elision of vowels is blocked. Compare (68), where the vowel /i/ is not deleted, with (69), where /i/ is deleted:

(69) nukápathi
nukapi-tʃau = 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) untsurjeiti
untsurí = aiti
numerous = COP.3 + DECL
‘They are numerous.’
(71) ściunájeiti
ściuná = aiti
Tsuná = COP.3 + DECL
‘It is Tsuná.’

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:

\[ \text{Ci} + \text{Ci} \rightarrow \text{Ci} \]

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) ściuhmati
ściuhmatu-tiu
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) óohmatsattahee
auhûmatu-sa-tata-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 nukutî ‘grandmother’ (that the underlying representation of ‘grandmother’ is nukutî is evident from (75)). In (76), the vowel /u/ of the 1 singular possessive -ru surfaces in its “normal” position:
(75) nukutín
nukutí = na
grandmother = ACC
‘my grandmother (ACC)’

(76) nukútrun
nukutí-ru = na
grandmother-1SG = ACC
‘my grandmother (ACC)’

However, examples from texts and casual speech show that speakers

metathesized forms can occur:

(77) nukútur
nukutí-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) nikápár warukú timaji
nikapi-rā ua-ru-ka-u timaji
feel-DISTR3.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’. The items are
shown in (79).

(79)

/iua/ [iwa] ~ /uia/ [úja] ‘Iwa (a mythological character)’
/iuantityi/ [iwanityi] ~ /uiantityi/ [újantityi] ‘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 ĩ. The
patterns of this vowel-switching phenomenon for marking possession are explained in
detail in §10.4.1.

115. Probably a nasal variation iuā triggered the occurrence of the nasal consonant /n/ before -
ʃi (this -ʃi 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)
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. Mandarin 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. Obligoriness 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”

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 Ŷ.

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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{kakáram} \\
\text{kakarama} \\
\text{‘powerful person’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{arútam} \\
arutama \\
\text{‘power vision’ (nominative)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{arútman} \\
arutama = na \\
power.vision = {\text{ACC}} \\
\text{‘power vision (ACC)’}
\end{align*}
\]
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 = \textit{nama} in (2)), the high tone changes to another vowel:

(2)

\begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textit{wáa} & \textit{wánam} \\
  \textit{uáa} & \textit{uáa = nama} \\
  \text{hole} & \text{hole = LOC} \\
\end{tabular}

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 \textit{[wáa]} ‘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 /nî/ ‘3SG’ when they occur alone and when they occur with other morphemes.

(3)

/hu/ [húú] ‘Proximal demonstrative’  /huka/ [húka] (hu = ka ‘PROX = FOC’)
/nî/ [nîí]  ‘3SG’  /nîna/ [nîña] (nî = 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/ ‘1sc’ lengthens its vowel /i/ after the glide [w] is derived, because glides do not count as moras.

(4) /ui/ [wii] ‘1sc’

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
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/apa/</td>
<td>[ápa]</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɨ́tsa/</td>
<td>[ï̃sá]</td>
<td>‘sun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hǐ̃a/</td>
<td>[h́ía]</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/paki/</td>
<td>[páki]</td>
<td>‘white-lipped peccary’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kanka/</td>
<td>[kánka]</td>
<td>‘boquichico (Prochilodus sp.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/númi/</td>
<td>[númi]</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/núku/</td>
<td>[núku]</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ui/</td>
<td>[uíi]</td>
<td>‘1sg’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 'S)

---

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):

\[(CV.ˈCV) (CV.ˌ,C.V) (CV.ˌCV) CV \ldots\]

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: \((V ˈV) (V V) \ldots\)

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:

\[CV.CVC.CVC.CVC \ldots\]

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 ' 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 (V̂).

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 [mɛíθɛɛ]. 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) mɛíθɛɛ
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.'i).(ta_.ha).i
vowel elision: maithai
output: [mɛíθɛɛ]

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).ka
vowel elision: namak
output: [namák]

(8) /tsauanta/ ‘day’
glide: ɪsavanta
syllable: ɪsawanta.ta
feet: (ɪsawanta).ta
vowel elision: ɪsawan (/t/ is also dropped, because it cannot occur in coda margin)
output: [ɪsawan]

(9) /paantama/ ‘plantain’
syllable: pa.an.ta.ma
feet: (pa.ˈan).ta.ma
vowel elision: paantam
output: [paántam]

(10) /maata/ ‘to bathe’ (maa-ta ‘bathe-NMLZ’)
syllable: ma.á.ta
feet: (maˈa).ta
vowel elision: maat
output: [maát]

(11) /hintinakaratuinu/ ‘teacher’ (hintina-karatu-inu ‘teach-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ’)
syllable: hin.ti.na.ka.ra.tu.i.nu
sandhi: hin.ti.na.ka.ra.ti.nu
feet: (hinˈti).(na.ka).(ra.ti.)nu
vowel elision: hintinkartin
output: [hintĩŋk'artin]
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.
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

\((V \acute{V})(V V)\ldots\).

The words in (16) further illustrate the rule of metrical high tone in use:

(16)
\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{aiamarukatasanu}/ & \rightarrow \textit{Glide}: \text{ajamarukatasanu} \rightarrow [\text{ajámrútatasan}] \text{‘in order for me to defend’ (aiamaru-ka-tasa-nu ‘defend-INTENS-PURP-1SG.SS’)} \\
/\text{iakamau}/ & \rightarrow [\text{iák moo}]^{116} \text{‘hunter’} \\
/\text{kaajapa}/ & \rightarrow [\text{kaájap}] \text{‘ray (fish)’} \\
/\text{kakarama}/ & \rightarrow [\text{kakárám}] \text{‘powerful person’} \\
/\text{kusia}/ & \rightarrow [\text{kusía}] \text{‘sabalo (fish sp.)’} \\
/\text{kuijí}/ & \rightarrow [\text{kuvíj}] \text{‘ear’} \\
/\text{kuntjai}/ & \rightarrow [\text{kuntjéi}] \text{‘type of fruit’} \\
/\text{namaka}/ & \rightarrow [\text{namák}] \text{‘fish’} \\
/\text{tutupini}/ & \rightarrow [\text{tutúpin}] \text{‘straight’} \\
/\text{uinuntji}/ & \rightarrow \textit{Glide}: \text{winuntjí} \rightarrow [\text{winúntj}] \text{‘clavicle’}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

116. Recall that the sequence /au/ is pronounced [ou]~[oo], and [ai] is pronounce [ei] ~ [ee]
(§3.7.1).

248
• 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:

kunku{kak} [kun]k’u{kak} ‘only Ungurahui (Oenocarpus bataua)’

tutupi{ni} [tu’tu{pin}] ‘straith’

tikifikhija [ti’ki{ji}ja] ‘one more’

fukukaka {ju’k’u{kak}] ‘only the shell’

akutata [a’k’u{t}] ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-tonic vowel</th>
<th>Tonic vowel</th>
<th>Post-tonic vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.57 s</td>
<td>0.88 s</td>
<td>0.62 s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-tonic consonant (onset of stressed syllable)</th>
<th>Post-tonic consonant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.142 s</td>
<td>0.102 s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 *tikitiki* [ti'kiʃkiʃa], 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 *tikitiki* [ti'kiʃkiʃa] ‘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). 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).

---

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.
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)\(^\text{118}\) vowel elision apply strictly in that order in Wampis. Generally speaking, they apply in words of more than two moras.\(^\text{119}\) 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

\(^{118}\) 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 vowels 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: (a’ru)(ta,ma)
output: [arútam]

When morphology is added to the word, and the vowel /a/ which was deleted is no longer in word-final position, the 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)  
/arutamaki/ ‘only *Arutam*’, =ki ‘restrictive’
feet: (a’ru)(ta,ma)kŋ
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/ → (i'pa)ku [ipák] ‘Bixa orellana’
/tʃan.ki.na/ → (tʃan'ki)na [tʃánkin] ‘basket’
/muïtsa/ → (mu'i)tsa [muïts] ‘type of jar’
/arutama/ → (a'ru)(tama) [arútam] ‘spirit of power’
/himara/ → (hi'ma)ra [himá̱r] ‘two’
/uuiha/ → (u'wi)ha [uwíh] ‘hand’

The next examples show the process of apocope in morphologically complex words.

(20)
takát
taka-ta
work-NMLZ
‘work’

(21)
tʃankínán
tʃankina = na
basket = ACC
‘the basket (ACC)’

(22)
jatstûr
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
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)
kanaui → [kanawi]  ‘branch’

kutʃa-numa-ia → [kutʃanmaja]  lake-LOC-ABL  ‘from the lake’

maataĩ → [maáteɛ̃]  ‘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)(hɨ ki)na
vowel elison: akahkin
output: [akáhkin]

(25)
tutupini-tʃi ‘straight-DIM’

feet: (tuˈtu)(pɨ ni)tʃi
vowel elision: tutupnитʃi
output: [tutупnитʃi]
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)
\textit{taka-sá-tata-ha-i}
\textit{work-ATT-DEF.FUT-1SG.SUBJ-DECL}
‘I am going to work’

feet: (ta'ka)(sá-ta)(ha-i)
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 \textit{ipakuki}
‘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 [ipuk], not *[ipkk].

(27)
\textit{Ipaku=kɨ ‘huito (Genipa americana = restr)}
feet: (i'pa)(ku,kɨ)
vowel elision: 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.

\[
/C/ \rightarrow \emptyset/N_.
\]

or \([ + \text{stop}]\)

The next examples illustrate the above rule in word final position.

(28)

\[
/\text{uunta}/ \rightarrow [\text{úun}] \quad \text{‘big’}
\]

\[
/\text{nauantu}/ \rightarrow [\text{nawán}] \quad \text{‘daughter’}
\]

\[
/\text{paapanku}/ \rightarrow [\text{paápan}] \quad \text{‘raft’}
\]

\[
/\text{kunampi}/ \rightarrow [\text{kunám}] \quad \text{‘red squirrel’}
\]

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
syllabifications [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,ma)
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)(ta,ma)na
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
(31) and (32).

(31)
nauantu ‘daughter’

feet: (na wan)tu

vowel elision: nawant (/t/ is impossible in coda margin, gets deleted)

recheck: nawan

output: [nawán]

(32)

nauantu-ru = hā ‘daughter-1SG = COM’ (‘with my daughter’)

feet: (na wan)(tu ru)(ha ǐ)

vowel elision: nawantruhaǐ

output: [nawantruhɛɛ̃]

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)

/auntșu/ → [aúnts] ‘Spix’s guan’
/marunțji/ → [marúntʃ] ‘prawn’
/tintiša/ → [tintiš] ‘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).
Table 6.2. Bound morphemes that allow internal vowel elision

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphemes</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-mau</td>
<td>Set II nominalizer “non-subject” nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tʃau</td>
<td>Negative nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nai</td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nau</td>
<td>Benefactive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)
usahaani-ta ‘inform-RECP-NMLZ’ (‘to communicate among several’)
feet: (uˈha)(nai)ta
vowel elision: uhanit
output: [uhánit]

(35)
kahira-nai-ta ‘hate-RECP-NMLZ’ (‘to become enemies’)
feet: (kaˈhi)(ra,na)i,ta
vowel elision: kahirnait
output: [kahirˈnait]

Other examples are given in (36).


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)

usúmakhei
usuma-ka-ha-i
paint.face-INTENS-1SG.SUBJ.DECL
‘I painted my face’
A possible feet formation for this word would be (u'su)(ˌma)(ka,ha)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]
usahaan-tá
inform-INTENS-IMP
‘inform (her/him)!’

[uhát]
usahaan-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=ka</td>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>Immune to A (always final)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ki</td>
<td>Restrictive</td>
<td>Immune to S, not to A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ni</td>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>Immune to S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=tí</td>
<td>Plural Speech Act participant</td>
<td>Immune to A and S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tá</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>Immune to A and S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʃa</td>
<td>Additive¹²⁰</td>
<td>Immune to A (always final)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>Hortative</td>
<td>Immune to A (always final)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>Jussive</td>
<td>Immune to A (always final)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=api</td>
<td>Tag question</td>
<td>Immune to A and S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tasa</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Last vowel immune to A and S, first vowel not immune</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Selected examples with some of these morphemes are given in (39).

(39)
Focus =ka
Juara =ka → [juárka] (‘person =FOC’)

Plural Speech Act participant =tí
Uampisa =tí → [wampisí] (Wampis =SAP ‘We the Wampis’)

Imperative -tá
Uha-ka-tá → [uhaktá] (inform-INTENS-IMP ‘Tell him!’)

Additive =ʃa
Tšunki =ʃa → [tšúŋkįʃa] (‘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 \textit{arutama} = \textit{na} = \textit{ka},

the vowel of \textit{=ka} ‘focus’ is marked for non-elision; after elision does not apply, syncope

applies in the word as expected, deleting the third mora:

(40)
\textit{arutama} = \textit{na} = \textit{ka}

\textit{spirit.power} = \textit{ACC} = \textit{FOC}

‘to Arutam’

feet: (aˈru)\textit{(tə,ma)na,ka)}

vowel elision: \textit{arutmanka}

output: [\textit{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 \textit{=fə} ‘additive’ is “immune” to elision, it is not deleted.

When it is not deleted, syncope applies and it would be expected that the vowel /i/ of

\textit{=ki} ‘restrictive’ is deleted. However, the vowel of this morpheme is also immune to

vowel elision, so deletion does not happen at all.

(41)
\textit{hapākīfə}

\textit{hapa} = \textit{ki} = \textit{fə}

\textit{deer} = \textit{RESTR} = \textit{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 established 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/ [hû́] ‘type of moss’ vs /hû/ [hû́] ‘Proximal’

121. Speakers vary the pronunciation of this word between a nasal and an oral vowel.
The spectrograms in Figure 6.5 and Figure 6.6 show the pitch track of the words [túki] ‘whole’ and [tukí] ‘always’. This indicates that, in effect, high tone is contrastive in Wampis.

Figure 6.5. Spectrogram showing the pitch track for [túki] ‘whole’
I have established 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 *kankaʃi* ‘little boquichico (*Prochilodus* sp.) in the nominative and accusative form with the realizations
of /aúhu/ and /pínkira/ 'good' in identical cases:

(43)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kankaṭ̣i</td>
<td>[kaŋkaṭ̣i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aúhu</td>
<td>[aúhu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pínkira</td>
<td>[píŋkira]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aúhu=na →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[aúhu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pínkira=na →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[píŋkira]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above examples, aúhu and pínkira 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 ́ 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.
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 =ja only affects two mora words.

Table 6.4. Morphemes that induce high tone shift in two and three mora words in Wampis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= haĩ</td>
<td>Commitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= na</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= nVma</td>
<td>Locative(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nau</td>
<td>Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>1sg Possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>2sg Possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rĩ</td>
<td>1pl/2pl/3 Possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ki</td>
<td>Restrictive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= tsu</td>
<td>Inferential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ja</td>
<td>Additive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Triggers tone shift one mora to the next in bimoraic words. With three and four moraic words it can attract the high tone to itself.
The examples in (44) demonstrate the change in the placement of tone when these suffixes are added.

(44)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Stem + Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nú.ku [núku] ‘mother’</td>
<td>nuku-ru [nukúr]</td>
<td>‘mother-1SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>há.pa [hápa] ‘deer’</td>
<td>hapá = ŋa [hapáŋ]</td>
<td>‘deer = ADD’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi.ä [hiä] ‘house’</td>
<td>hiä = ki [hiuák]</td>
<td>‘house = RESTR’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sú.a [súwa] ‘female name’</td>
<td>sua = haí [suwáhãí]</td>
<td>‘Sua = COM’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>íntsa [íntsa] ‘river’</td>
<td>intsa = nama [intšánam]</td>
<td>‘intsa = LOC’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Stem + =ka ‘focus’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nú.ku [núku] ‘mother’</td>
<td>nuku = ka [nukúka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u.un.ta [úun] ‘old’</td>
<td>uunta = ka [uúnka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha.pa [hápa] ‘deer’</td>
<td>hapa = ka [hápaka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi.ä [hiä] ‘house’</td>
<td>hia = ka [hiäka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sú.a [súwa] ‘female name’</td>
<td>sua = haí [súwaka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intsa [íntsa] ‘river’</td>
<td>intsa = nama [intšánam]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.6.2. Special tone effect with -tʃi ‘diminutive’ and = nVmá ‘locative’

In words with two moras, the diminutive -tʃi 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-ʃi/ ‘little manioc’ → [mamaáʃi]

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 -ʃi does not occur when the underlying mora immediately preceding the diminutive is toneless. In this case, -ʃi does not change the placement of the high tone.

(47)
/uampisa/ ‘Wampis’ → [wampíš] vs /uampisaʃi/ → [wampíšaʃ] ‘little manoc’

The locative =nVma induces tone shift rightward in two-mora words, but in
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 \textit{wampisa-numa} = \textit{ka} [wampísnumka] '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 [wampísnumka] 'in Wampis'

274
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 =na 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)(tɑ,ma)na

vowel elision: arutman

output: [arútman]

paantama = na ‘manioc = ACC’

feet: (paˈan)(tɑ,ma)na

vowel elision: paantam

output: [paaントm]

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 ūtiʃiʃa ‘we the young too’. The root ūti has two moras, so it receives a high tone in the first mora [ūtʃi] (cf. §6.4.1). The Plural Speech Act participant =tʃ (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 =tʃ. 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

¹²² Measured at approximately 3/4 of vowel periodicity.
In the next example, the morpheme $=\dot{a}$ ‘First’ is added to $=t\dot{i}$ $=\dot{a}$ also bears a lexical high tone. The noun stem to which both $=t\dot{i}$ and $=\dot{a}$ are added is $[\text{hint\textphoneharbogkartin}]$ ‘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 $[\text{hint\textphoneharbogkartin}\dot{t}\text{-j}]$ with the most phonetically prominent high tone being the right most (the lexical high tone of $=\dot{a}$ ‘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.

![Spectrogram with pitch track for [hitinkartintija] 'we the teachers first'](image)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V#</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v#</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shifts tone one mora rightward</td>
<td>Vocative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
jatsúr      jatsúrú
iatsú-ru    iatsú-ru
‘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 aharí
Juara      ʃuará aha-ri
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:
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-á(u)</td>
<td>High affectedness aktionsart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tá</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hkamá</td>
<td>Terminative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tahkamá</td>
<td>Frustrative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>Attenuative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>Hortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>Jussive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 uɨ ‘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 uɨ ‘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)

\[ \text{wísata} \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{uhaktá} \]

\[ \text{uf-sa-tá} \quad \text{uha-ka-tá} \]

\[ \text{go-ATT-IMP} \quad \text{tell-INTENS-IMP} \]

‘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)

\[ \text{uhakamaji} \quad \text{‘she/he told’} \]

feet: (u‘ha)(kə, ma)ji

vowel elision: uhakmaji

output: uhákmaji

c. Certain suffixes have lexically specified high tone: e.g. -tá ‘Imperative’:

(54)

\[ \text{jeintá} \]

\[ \text{jaina-tá} \]

\[ \text{help-IMP} \]

‘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.
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 juár anú*

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{nú} & \text{juara} \quad a = \text{nu} \\
\text{NON. VIS} & \text{person} \quad \text{COP} = \text{NON. VIS} \\
\text{‘that who is a person’}
\end{array}
\]

(56) *núu juáranú*

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{nú} & \text{juara} = a = \text{nu} \\
\text{NON. VIS} & \text{person} = \text{COP} = \text{NON. VIS} \\
\text{‘that who is a person’}
\end{array}
\]
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 óuhmatteŋka aúhu tuteŋeiti] ‘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 [óuhmatteŋka] and [aúhu]. Whether creaky voice is a regular phenomenon in the prosody of words or not remains to be examined more carefully.
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 necessarily end with a high
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 puhúmeinkit] ‘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?’](image)

- **Time (s)**
- **Frequency (Hz)**
- íi 
- urúk 
- puhúmeinkit
6.9.3. Prosody of the \textit{anemamu}, the protocolar salutation ceremony of the Wampis

The \textit{anemamu} (anima-mau ‘salute-NMLZ’) 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 rhythmically, 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 \textit{animamu} 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'ajámi ámink'así táham] ‘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 sii ‘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)

\begin{align*}
\text{nui} & \rightarrow [\text{núwi}] \quad \text{‘clay’} \\
\text{nūi} & \rightarrow [\text{núwī}] \quad \text{‘his wife’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{ūha} & \rightarrow [\text{́uha}] \quad \text{‘open’} \\
\text{uha} & \rightarrow [\text{́uha}] \quad \text{‘tell’}
\end{align*}

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-gliding, non-nasal).

Examples (58) and (59) illustrate this point with close phonetic representations.

(58)

\begin{align*}
[nūǐnā]
\text{nu-į-ia} \\
\text{NON. VIS} = \text{LOC} = \text{ABL}
\end{align*}

‘from there’
In (58), the locus of nasality is the locative =ī. 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 ũ and VN and between ũ 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)
[jóũntʃuk]
iáũntʃuki
‘long ago’

(61)
[ɲó̞o]
iáũ ‘yesterday’

In (60) we have the word íáũntʃuki ‘long ago’ which is historically related to íaũ
‘yesterday’. Notice that in íáũntʃuki nasality does not spread over contiguous vowels and
glides, as occurs with íaũ in (61): the surface glide of íaũntʃuki never becomes [n].

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:

\[(62) \text{[naŋkí hu-ki]}\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{nankí} & \text{hu-ki} \\
\text{spear\(1\text{PL}/2\text{PL}/3\text{POSS}\)} & \text{carry-while.moving + 3SG.SS} \\
\text{‘he having carried his spear […]’}
\end{array}
\]

The underlying nasal of this suffix surfaces when other morphemes are added. For instance, the focus = \textit{ka} triggers the surface realization of the nasal as [ŋ] with \textit{nanki ‘spear’} (the relevant part is underlined): [naŋkíŋkí] ‘his spear’; and the conditional = \textit{ka} likewise triggers the surface realization of a nasal consonant with the verb stem \textit{huki}: [hukíŋkí] ‘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.\footnote{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).} Adverbs are mostly isolating in Wampis, though a small subclass of manner adverbs receives person
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) ʃitʃamrumεintʃouweith’ei
ʃitʃa-ma-ru-mai-inu-ʃau = 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.
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, except when they occur in auxiliary constructions, whereas noun roots do not necessarily need some type of affixation to be pronounceable words.

(2)

\begin{verbatim}
 uaina  'see'
 ui     'go'
 taka   'work'
 kanu   'sleep'
\end{verbatim}

(3)

\begin{verbatim}
 ʃuara 'person'
kinki  'wild potato'
himpi  'hummingbird'
panki  'boa constrictor'
\end{verbatim}

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

---

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 and the person marker -hami ‘1SG > 2SG’ (where the declarative -i is reduced and “fused” to the preceding vowel i of -hami).

(5) iwɛínkattahmi
i-uaina-ka-tata-hami
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, fuara ‘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.
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) eîmk’amah
aima-ka-ma-ha-∅
fill-INTENS-REC,PT-1SG.SBJ-EXCLAM
‘I filled [the basket]!’ (exclamative)

(8) eîmk’amhec
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*

ıatsu-ru

brother-1sg

‘my brother’ (nominative)

(10) *jatsurú*

ıatsurú

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

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 predicking 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 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Modification</th>
<th>Predication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>nua ‘woman’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property</td>
<td></td>
<td>pínkira ‘good’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ui ‘go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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” pínkira has a modifying function (it modifies ‘woman’), and the “action-root” ui has a predicating function (note it has to be inflected to be used):

(11) óu núwa pínkir wíawee
    au nua pínkiraui-a-ua-i
    DIST woman good go-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

‘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) őu núweiti
au nua = iti
\textit{DIST woman = COP.3 + DECL.}
‘That is a woman.’

(13) őu pɨŋkɪreiti
au pɨŋkɪra = aiti
\textit{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,
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, natśa ‘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 natśa-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Predication</th>
<th>Attribute</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uunta</td>
<td>✓ ‘adult’</td>
<td>✓ ‘big’, ‘old’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanki</td>
<td>✓ ‘spear’</td>
<td>✓ ‘fish with hook’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wii</td>
<td>✓ ‘salt’</td>
<td>✓ ‘add salt’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanku</td>
<td>✓ ‘domestic animal’</td>
<td>✓ ‘tamed’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munĩsu</td>
<td>✓ ‘breast’</td>
<td>✓ ‘be breastfed’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinĩji*</td>
<td>✓ ‘brave one’</td>
<td>✓ ‘strong’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hĩa</td>
<td>✓ ‘house’</td>
<td>✓ ‘arrive’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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)
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 *pünkira* in (15),
which can be considered a “true” adjective.

(14) ūtʃi umín wiarefa

*ūtʃi* umi-inu ui-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) ūtʃi pünkir wiarefa

*ūtʃi* pinkira ui-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, *sintʃi* can
be used either attributively as in (16) or as an adverb modifying a predicate as in (17).
The only way to know when *sintʃi* works attributively or adverbially, in this case, is by
looking at the syntactic context where *sintʃi* occurs.

(16) tsamaréen mānin sintʃik’a áhaku

*tsamarainta* mā-nai-inu *sintʃi* = ka a = hak-u
Tsamarainta kill-RECP-NMLZ strong = FOC COP = HAB,PT-NMLZ
‘Tsamarain used to be a strong warrior.’

310
(17) sinṭũ ḗuwa:wec
sinṭũ iu-a-ua-i
a.lot eat-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
‘He eats a lot.’

In (16), sinṭũ 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 sinṭũ is inside the NP ‘a strong warrior’, modifying the noun head). On the other hand, in (17) sinṭũ functions adverbially, modifying the predicate—this is clear in the example, as there is no overt NP in which sinṭũ 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.

311
Table 7.3. Morphosyntactic properties of major word categories in Wampis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Take copula clitics when functioning as predicate</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of NP</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replaced by pro-forms</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modify by uiantu ‘Group’</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be possessor</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take Tense, Person and Mood morphology</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take aspectual and aktionsart morphology&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take morphological plural marking</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take switch-reference marking</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be verbalized with -ma ‘verbalizer’</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Some&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be nominalized with Set I or Set II nominalizers</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be adjectivalized with -rama ‘Adjectivalizer'&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is gradable (occurs in comparative constructions, superlative, etc)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> 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).

<sup>b</sup> Mostly restricted to temporal adverbs.

<sup>c</sup> Some adjectives derive their antonyms using the negative nominalizer -ʧau.

<sup>d</sup> The adjectivalizer -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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-á(u)</td>
<td>‘High affectedness (of Patient or Location)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>‘Low affectedness (of Patient or Agent of intransitive verb)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>‘Intensive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ki(ni)</td>
<td>‘Do while moving’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>‘Distributed action’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>‘Attenuative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>‘Do in proximity/while coming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u</td>
<td>‘Do in another location’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wi ‘go’} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{wi-ka ‘walk, travel’ (with intensive -ka)} \\
\text{tifija ‘speak’} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{tifija-ra ‘advise’ (with distributed action -ra)} \\
\text{ihu ‘stab’} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ihu-ra ‘grind, squeeze’ (with distributed action -ra)} \\
\text{hapi ‘pull, drag’} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{hapi-ra ‘pull up’} \rightarrow \text{hapi-ra-ki ‘pull up to carry’ (with dis-} \\
& \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{tributed action -ra + do while moving -ki)} \\
\text{ahū ‘throw in the water’} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ahū-ā ‘knock down’ (with high affectedness)}
\end{align*}
\]

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 kanki 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 added in these cases: the

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 kanki, the meaning of the
action was explained to me as being a gentle or slow rolling.

315
aktionsart suffix is filling an morphosyntactic requisite for the verb to be used in perfective sense):

(19) kaŋkĩkei
kanki-ka-i
roll-INTENS-3.PFV
‘It just rolled.’
cf *kanki-i ‘roll-3.PFV’

But in imperfective environments, the aktionsart suffixes cannot occur:

(20) kaŋkĩawei
kanki-a-ua-i
roll-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
‘It is rolling’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canonical Inflection</th>
<th>Canonical Derivational</th>
<th>Comments related to aktionsart suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Correlates with something elsewhere in the syntactic structure</td>
<td>Does not correlate with something elsewhere in the syntactic structure</td>
<td>Do not correlate with something elsewhere in the syntactic structure (e.g. not agreement markers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligatory</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Obligatory in certain morphosyntactic contexts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yield same concept as base</td>
<td>Yield new concept</td>
<td>Both (sometimes subtle new concept)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatively abstract meaning</td>
<td>Have non-predictable, more concrete meaning</td>
<td>“Obscure”, abstract meaning in some cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participate in paradigm of oppositions</td>
<td>Do not participate in a paradigm of oppositions</td>
<td>In complementary distribution with imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not change category of word</td>
<td>May change category of word</td>
<td>Do not change category of the word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Result in new lexical terms</td>
<td>Result in new lexical terms</td>
<td>They can derive new stems (with new meaning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occur towards root</td>
<td>Occur towards word edge</td>
<td>Occurs towards root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-recursive</td>
<td>Recursive</td>
<td>Can be recursive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) nikóu
nika-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) wampísheé awarúnheé māánihakaru
uampísa = haį̍ auaruni = haį̍ māá-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.
Table 7.6. List of clitics found in Wampis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case clitics</th>
<th>Cross-reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= na</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postpositional clitics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= nVma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= (n)ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= haī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= tí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= á</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood and discourse-related clitics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ĵa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ĵa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ŭsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= api</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= hama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copula clitics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= aita~ = ita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= aiti~ = iti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

\(^{128}\) Some forms show that reduplicated words form one prosodic word; for instance \textit{tipititu} ‘decline’ clearly is a reduplication from the root \textit{tipi} ‘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) ąŋkán ąŋkán
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: tikítı̱ki
Output: tikí tikítı̱ki
tiki tikítı̱ki
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 awátkawá
aua auatu-kauá
REDUP hit-REDUP\3SG.SS
‘hitting and hitting. . .’

(26) miju mijuñaňakuá
mini mini-ina-kauá
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) ifá ifámak
iʃa iʃama-kù
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) ím'eë ím'eë
ímai ímai
far.there far.there
‘very far away’

(29) tshiút tshiút
̃tshiút ̃tshiút
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 \textit{aintukV aintukV}. The original meaning of this root is not know although the word looks like a complex word,\textsuperscript{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)

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{tsikitsktu} ‘agile’ \textless{} cf. tsiki ‘run, jump’\textsuperscript{130}
  \item \textit{tsiti} ‘dust’ (also ‘garbage’, a modern sense?)
  \item \textit{tsitsika} ‘cold’
  \item \textit{piripiri} ‘species of plants said to have magical powers’
  \item \textit{pintsipints} ‘monkey sp.’
\end{itemize}

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

\textsuperscript{129} The last -\textit{kV} portion is probably the suffix -\textit{ki} ‘Restrictive’.

\textsuperscript{130} Notice that an internal vowel has been deleted but was there historically: \textit{tsikitsktu} (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 *mīna* ‘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) *mīnāt mīnātʃ tʃitʃā*

*mīna-tʃi  mīna-tʃi  tʃitʃa-ā*

*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) *nūna sīntʃiʃ fuarān*

*nū = na  sīntʃi = na  fuarā = na*

*NON.VIS = ACC  strong = ACC  person = ACC*

‘to that strong person’

However, in a compound word, like *hapa,iauaā* ‘puma’ (*hapa* ‘deer’ + *iauaā*
'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 niawáän

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 tûra ɲâwãän

nu = na hapa = na tura iawã = na
turu = na 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) tʃɨŋkanás < tʃɨŋkana + intsa

bamboo.sp + river

‘River of bamboo’ (for the community named tʃɨŋkanás, Spanish < Chinganaza >)
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 nawáá
hapá_iauaá
deer_dog
‘puma’

(37) uún nawáá
uunta_iawá
big_dog
‘jaguar’

(38) wákɨ mıšír
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) ima 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: tikitifi ‘other’ and uiantu ‘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 tikitifi ‘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 discusses the word *uiantu* ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person\Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ui [wi]</td>
<td>ii [ii] ~ hutí [huti]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ami [ámi]</td>
<td>atum [átum]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ní [níi]</td>
<td>nita [níta]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When they occur without additional morphology, the 1sg and 3sg 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 1pl 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 (ii) vs exclusive (hutii) 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
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) nūweiti hutí anín tęnįk’a

nu = aiti  

hutí  

aninta-ì = ka

\( \text{NON.\text{VIS} = COP.3 + \text{DECL\text{GEN}} \text{ 1PL thought-1PL/2PL/3.Poss = FOC} } \)

‘That is our way of thinking.’

With that said, in practice \( \text{ii} \) and \( \text{hutí} \) are more or less interchangeable—and \( \text{ii} \) is much more frequent in texts. In (2), for example, \( \text{ii} \) 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) iik’\( \text{ia} \) ímanisrik’\( \text{a} \) ðoktórnumka wíaśhi

\( \text{ii = ka} \)  

\( \text{imani-sa-ri = ka} \)  

\( \text{doktor = numa = ka} \)

\( \text{1PL = FOC} \)  

\( \text{do.much-SUB-1PL.SS = FOC} \)  

\( \text{doctor = LOC = FOC} \)

wi-a-ťsu-hi

go-IPFV-NEG-1PL.SBJ + DECL

‘We, doing so much, do not go to the doctor.’

Example (3) clearly shows that \( \text{ii} \) may exclude the addressee:

(3) iik’\( \text{ia} \) kuntįnan iákmakrin, ámika híámin wakikit’\( \text{á} \)

\( \text{ii = ka} \)  

\( \text{kuntina} \)  

\( \text{iakama-a-ku-ri-nī} \)

\( \text{1PL = FOC} \)  

\( \text{animal} \)  

\( \text{look.for.game-IPFV-1PL.DS} \)
On the other hand, in (4), ii includes the addressee, so it means ‘you + I’.

(4) jatšurú haimito mïna ja dáktá soleđád ľik’a him’ará wísáthi
iatsu-rú haimito mina iaakata Soledad
brother-1SG Jaime (dim) 1SG.gen town Soledad

ii = ka himará wi-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

1sg and 2 personal pronouns have special allomorphs that occur only with the following morphemes: accusative = \textit{na}, benefactive/possessive \textit{-nau}, locative = \textit{(n)i} and comitative = \textit{haĩ}. Table 8.2 shows the combining forms of the personal pronouns in Wampis.

Table 8.2. Combining forms of personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person: Stem:</th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>2pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc = \textit{na}</td>
<td>[míŋa]~[wíŋa]</td>
<td>[ámiŋa]</td>
<td>[atúmin]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc = \textit{(n)i}</td>
<td>[míŋeĩ]~[wíŋeĩ]</td>
<td>[ámiŋi]</td>
<td>[atúmin]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com = \textit{haĩ}</td>
<td>[mih'eẽ]~[wiheẽ]</td>
<td>[ámih'eẽ]</td>
<td>[atúmheẽ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben \textit{-nau}</td>
<td>[míŋöo]~[wíŋa]</td>
<td>[ámíŋu]</td>
<td>[atúmŋoo]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \textit{ui} or as \textit{mi}. The locative form of the 1sg is \textit{minaĩ} and not \textit{minĩ}, as would be expected. A probable explanation is that the base on which the locative marker occurs may be the accusative stem (\textit{minaĩ~uina}).

334
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Genitive Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>mina<del>uina [míña]</del>[wíña]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>amina [ámíña]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>nina [níña]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>iina [ííña]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>hutí [hutí]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>atumí<del>atumina [atumí]</del>[atumín]^{131}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>nitá [nítá]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

131. As can be seen, this form always surfaces as [atúmín] and the final /a/ is dropped following the rule of apocope in Wampis seen in Chapter VI. By contrast, the 2sg genitive form amina [ámíña] 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) ní mikut imatikawa núna imatikan umík . . .
 ní Mikuta imatika-u = a = nu = na imatka-sā
3sg Mikut do.much-NMLZ = COP = NON.VIS = ACC do.much-SUB\3sg.sS

umi-kā
complete\-INTENS\3sg.sS
‘The Mikut that did all that, doing that much, having finished . . .’\textsuperscript{132}

\textsuperscript{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 ní, 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 ní 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) ípatiamuša hĩañka túki nañka taníṣnaka jumpùatu
ípatu-a-mau = ña hĩa = na = ka tuki
shoot-IPFV-NMLZ = ADD house = ACC = FOC INTERJ

\[ naa = na = ka \quad \text{taníṣa} = na = ka \quad \text{iumpu-a-ʃau} \]
\[ \text{HESIT.PRO} = \text{ACC} = \text{FOC} \quad \text{wall} = \text{ACC} = \text{FOC} \quad \text{break-IPFV-NEG.NMLZ} \]

‘The shots at the house did not break umm... the wall.’

337
In the next example, *naa* stands in place of ‘relative’; both *naa* and its referent agree in the marking of the comitative.

(7) naáheé patáíheé wiáruka

naa = ḥaii  pataí = ḥaii  wi-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) awaru nɛ́ɲa píkamar naánmaka jeíkmínmaka

auaruna  a-ina = ḥa  pikama-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tʃi</td>
<td>Diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nau</td>
<td>Benefactive/Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= na</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= nVma</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= (n)į</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ia</td>
<td>Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ni</td>
<td>Allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= haï</td>
<td>Comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ki</td>
<td>Restrictive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ģa</td>
<td>Additive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ka</td>
<td>Focus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.3. Demonstratives

Wampis has four demonstratives: proximal *hu*,¹³⁵ medial *aanu*,¹³⁶ distal *au*, and genitive and the accusative is explained in §10.4.6.3.1.

¹³⁵ Some speakers pronounce the proximal *hu* as a nasal *hū*.

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.

![Distance-oriented scheme of Wampis demonstratives](image_url)

**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 arútama kámi jóuníjuk nankamás*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nu} &= \text{ka} \\
\text{arutama} &= \text{ka} \\
\text{kami} &= \text{iauníjuki} \\
\text{nankama-sâ} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{NON.VIS} = \text{FOC} \quad \text{power.vision} = \text{FOC} \quad \text{INTERJ} \quad \text{long.ago} \quad \text{begin-sub/3sg.ss}
\]

‘That [belief in] Arutam starting long ago . . .’

(10) *húna uháktathami*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hu} &= \text{na} \\
\text{uha-ka-tata-hami} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{PROX} = \text{ACC} \quad \text{inform-appl-def.fut-1sg} > \text{2sg} + \text{DECL}
\]

‘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 nuiĩ, serve as locative adverbs too.

Table 8.5. Demonstratives with case, post-positional and discourse-related clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Visible</th>
<th></th>
<th>Non-visible</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>Medial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>hu</td>
<td>aanu</td>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>hu = na</td>
<td>aanu = na</td>
<td>au = na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>hu = ĭ</td>
<td>aanĩ</td>
<td>a = ĭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>hu = ĭ = ia</td>
<td>aanu = ia</td>
<td>au = ì = ia (E)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[huĩña]</td>
<td>[aania]</td>
<td>[áwĩña]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>hu = ni</td>
<td>aanu = ni</td>
<td>au = ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>hu = haĩ</td>
<td>(?)* aanu = haĩ (E)</td>
<td>au = haĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restrictive</td>
<td>hu = ki</td>
<td>aanu = ki</td>
<td>au = ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>hu = ka</td>
<td>aanu = ka</td>
<td>au = ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additive</td>
<td>hu = ūa</td>
<td>aan = ūa</td>
<td>au = ūa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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 \((n)i\), as shown in the locative forms in Table 8.5 above. However, demonstratives do not receive other locative forms such as \(=nVma\) or \(V\)' 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.

\(^{137}\). The only other words where the similative \(mamtin\) appear in the data are not nominal: \(mitika-mamtin\) ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>= na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>= nVma, = (n)i, Ṽa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>= ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additive</td>
<td>= ʃa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The demonstratives only bear the locative form = (n)i; 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) šuara pínkira weíŋk'amheč

[šuara pínkira] = na uaina-ka-ma-ha-i

person good = ACC see-INTENS-REC,PT-1.SG.SBJ-DECL

‘I saw a good person.’

(12) šuara sîr máánin ánuna weíŋk'amheč

[šuara [sîra máa-nai-inu a = nu]] = na uaina-ka-ma-ha-i

person very kill-RECP-NMLZ COP = NON.VIS = ACC see-INTENS-REC,PT-1.SG.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 juarán píŋkiran weíŋk'amheč

nu = na juara = na pinkira = na uaina-ka-ma-ha-i

NON.VIS = ACC person = ACC good = ACC see-INTENS-REC,PT-1.SG.SBJ-DECL

‘I saw that good person.’

(14) núna juarán sîra máánin ánuna weíŋk'amheč

nu = na juara = na sîra máa-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 

\[ nu = na, [juara pinkira] = na \] ‘that, a good person’; but not \[ nu = na juara = na pinkira = na \] ‘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 = fa. 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) huĩ[a apatĩ] puhútnum[a unuimaru
hu =ĩ = fa apatĩ puhu-ta = numa = fa 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 fuárka wínají
au = ka śuara = ka ui-ma-ji
dist = foc person = foc go,pfv-rec,pt-3,pt + decl
‘That person went away.’

(17) núfa ėísmaníṣiṣa kanáruí
nu = fa áísimanku-í = fa 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) núkáp arútama irúniawe núnaka ímanisnaka aníakiašee
nukapi arutama = ka iruni-a-ua-i
several power.vision = foc be.together.ipfv-ipfv-3,sbj-decl

nu = na = ka ímanis = na = ka aniaki-a-tsu-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 simulative 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 simulative -mamtin occurs. The first
construction has the following structure:

*Similative construction 1*: \([NP = ABL \text{ DEM-}mamtim]\)

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) *tintîsaja numámtin*

Tintîtsa = ia nu-mamtin

‘similar to Tintits’

(20) *nawâaja numámtin*

iauâa = 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*: \([NP = \text{ COP DEM-}mamtin]\)

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 ṉg̱ṉu̱ḵa⁷⁷ po̱ḏe̱ra aánmamtin_ . . .

\[\begin{align*}
\text{nú} = & \text{ka} \quad \text{nunkui} = & \text{ka} \\
\text{NON.VIS} = & \text{FOC} \quad \text{Nunkui} = & \text{FOC} \\
\text{power} = & \text{COP} \quad \text{MED-SIMIL}
\end{align*}\]

‘that Nunkui, [she has] like a power.’

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 míña nukúʃruka túʃaji tuɾaʃʃa för aníaʃhée_

\[\begin{align*}
aanu-mamtin = & \text{mina} \quad \text{nukúʃʃi-ru} = & \text{ka} \\
\text{MED-SIMIL} = & \text{1SG.GEN grandmother-1SG} = \text{FOC} \\
\text{say-REM-PT-3.PT}
\end{align*}\]

\[\text{tuɾaʃʃa jiiɾa anía-tʃu-ha-i} \]

\[\text{but well remember-IPFV-NEG-1SG.SBJ-DECL} \]

‘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,

138. Literally translated by my teachers into Spanish as: _como poder algo así_ ‘like power, 
something like that . . .’.
possibly having the form -\textit{mamVtinV}. This assumption is based on the odd phonological structure of -\textit{mamtin}, which possesses the sequence /\textit{mt}/, when we would expect /\textit{nt}/. Hence, the sequence /\textit{mt}/ must have been obtained after vowel elision from an old sequence *\textit{mVt}. In addition, underlyingly, morphemes in Wampis never end in a consonant, so it is more than likely that the suffix -\textit{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, /\textit{tin}/, may be related to the suffix -\textit{tinu} ‘Attributive’. The attributive likely is also part of an old unproductive adjectivilizer suffix -\textit{patinu} (see §9.8.4), that carries a similar meaning to -\textit{mamtin}: ‘propensity to’ or ‘similar to’, e.g. \textit{jakarpatin} ‘loose’ < *\textit{faka} ‘watery’, ‘watered-down’, *-\textit{rī} ‘1\text{PL}/2\text{PL}/3\text{POSS}', *-\textit{pa} (?), *-\textit{tinu} ‘Attributive’.

\textbf{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) óohumatsatahee wíña puhúrúnanuna
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) nújá núá tiküš júár ánu utíširí huki
ní = ña [nu [tiküší jůara a = nu]] 
3SG = ADD NON.VIS other person COP = NON.VIS
utíší-rí hu-kí
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) wíí ñúñújama kámi húu puhútahúi ánís oo asámteč
ui ñúñúñújama kami [hu puhuta = a = hu = í]
1SG problem INTERJ PROX life = COP = PROX = LOC

aani-sá a-u a-sa-matai
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) ūna uṯiri ħuarar wèsarei núu

‘Our children having stayed, “may they not suffer!” , that.’

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 utjita ‘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 túsam ampáman ünkan kukúasan óona uññeía attúmsa huí tátaka
nakit'armí aŋkán aŋkán jaákat nahánarum attúmsa núŋka ajamuktárum

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

uññeíta atumí = ýa huí
child\VOC 2PL = ADD here

ta-ta = ka nakita-rumi
arrive-NMLZ = FOC not.want + IPFV-2PL.SBJ + DECL

ankan ankanta iaakata nahana-rumi
REDUP free town make.PFV-2PL.SS

atumí = ýa nunká aiamaru-ka-tá-rumi
2PL = ADD land\ACC defend-INTENS-IMP-2PL.SBJ

‘[I] saying “Let’s work” to Ampama, Onanga, Kukuasa, to those: “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:
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. *Tikitĩ* ‘other’

The word *tikitĩ* ‘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) *tikitĩ* númi pĩŋkīr ātīnun arākmakmi̱jĩ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tikitĩ</th>
<th>numi</th>
<th>pinkira-a-tinu = na</th>
<th>araka-ma-ka-mia-ji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>COP-FUT.NMLZ = ACC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘She planted other trees that will be good.’

(30) *tikitĩ* in ţouhumatsatheé

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tikitĩ</th>
<th>= na</th>
<th>auhumatu-sa-ta-ha-i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>= ACC</td>
<td>tell-ATT-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 ūara agree in the marking of accusative, but not tikitʃi.

(31) núna tikitʃi ūaraŋ atakʃa wimajī
nu = na tikitʃi ūara = na atakʃa ui-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) huına tikitʃiŋ ōohmatsathee
nu = ka tikitʃi = 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 tʃikiʃi (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

354
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 -tf (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 =isu 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:

139. In only one example in the data uruku occurs with the past habitual = huk, which occurs with verbs.
(33) ṭūwa wakímam
 tua uakira-mi
 which want + IPFV-2SG.SBJ
 ‘Which one do you want?’

(34) jēˈtam
 ia = ita = mi
 who = COP = 2SG.SBJ
 ‘Who are you?’

(35) arútma=ja warímpeˈta
 arutama = Ja warĩ = pa = ita
 power.vision = ADD what = Q = COP
 ‘What is Arutam?’

(36) tuˈjuːʃa
 tu = ɪ iuui = ḟa
 where = LOC squash = ADD
 ‘Where is the squash?’

(37) tuˈɲa wínam
 tu = ɪ = ia uina-mi
 where = LOC = ABL come-2SG.SBJ
 ‘Where do you come from?’

(38) nihámˈʃiŐa urúk noʊweˈtam
 nihámˈʃi = ḟa uruka nau-u = aita-mi
 manioc.beer = ADD how chew-NMLZ = COP-2.SBJ
 ‘How do you prepare manioc beer?’
(39) kăqiña it’úrsarik măa jûtaññeiti

kăqi = ƙa itura-sa-ri = ka măa 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?’)

(40) urütian īpatiarat

urütian īpatu-ara-ta

when shoot.PFV-PL-IMM.FUT

‘When are they going to shoot?’

(41) urútmar humēñeiti

urutima = ka hu-mai-na = iti

how many = Q take-POT-NMLZ = COP.3

‘How many can be taken?’

(42) urukunmak wahās

uruuku = nVma = ka waha-sā

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

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 grammatical 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 wakírahee
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)
\[
A \quad P \quad \text{Verb} \\
yá míña awáirmam \\
i a \quad ami \quad auati-rama-ma \\
\text{who} \quad 2\text{SG} \quad \text{hit + LOAF-2.OBJ-IMM.PT} \\
\text{‘Who hit you?’}
\]

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)
\[
S \quad \text{Verb} \\
\text{ipák suwáhe} \text{úk nahanaruwait} \\
\text{Ipaku} \quad \text{Sua} = \text{haï} \quad \text{uruka} \quad \text{nahana-ara-u} = \text{aita} \\
\text{Achiote} \quad \text{Huito} = \text{COM} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{make,PFV-PL-NMLZ = COP.3} \\
\text{‘How did Ipak and Sua transform?’}
\]

In (47) we have an example with all arguments of the verb ‘give’. Wampis has a symmetrical object system in terms 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
ámi tawasán jánafa susáttam
ami tauasa = na ia = na = ja su-sa-tata-mi
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
nit'a jaáktanam urúk puhuíñawa
nita iaakata = nama uruka puhu-ina-ua
3PL town = LOC how live-PL.IPFW-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

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) \textit{arúmaʃa warímpeʃ} \\
\text{arutama} = ʃa \quad \text{uarí} = \text{pa} = \text{ita} \\
\text{power.vision} = \text{ADD} \quad \text{what} = \text{qe} = \text{COP} \\
‘What is Arutam?’

(50) \textit{puerʃa warí tutémpeʃ} \\
\text{puerta} = ʃa \quad \text{uarí} \quad \text{tu-taï} = \text{pa} = \text{ita} \\
\text{door} = \text{ADD} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{say-NMLZ} = \text{qe} = \text{COP} \\
‘How do you say door (i.e. how do you say door in Wampis?)?’

(51) \textit{ajánkəʃa aʃōo jàki ajamrukaʃ} \\
\text{aiamaka} = ʃa \quad \text{a-tsa-u} \quad \text{ia} = \text{ki} \quad \text{aiamaru-ka-ta} \\
\text{right} = \text{ADD} \quad \text{exist-NEG + IPFV-NMLZ} \quad \text{who} = \text{RHET} \quad \text{defend-INTENS-IMM,FUT} \\
‘[In the old times] There was no rights either, who was going to defend them?’

(52) \textit{ii urúk puhuʃeʃoʃit} \\
\text{ii} \quad \text{uruka} \quad \text{puhu-mai-inu} = \text{ki} = \text{ita} \\
\text{1PL} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{live-POT-NMLZ} = \text{RHET} = \text{COP} \\
‘How can we live?’

• \textit{Ability to take case, postpositions and other morphology related to the noun}

Interrogative words receive case and postpositional clitics, as well as

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 -ṣi, benefactive -nau, accusative = na, locative = (n)i, ablative = ia, and comitative = hai, respectively).

(53) jatʃi̱mi
   ia-ʃi̱-ita-mi
   who-DIM = COP-2SG.SBJ
   ‘Who are you?’

(54) húʃa janówɛiti
   hu = ʃa     ia-nau = aiti
   PROX = ADD    who-BEN-COP.3
   ‘For whom/whose is this?’

(55) warin weinkjajam
   uarĩ = na     uaina-ka-ia-mi
   what = ACC    see-INTENS-REM.PT-2SG.SBJ
   ‘What did you see?’

(56) tuʃ̃aʃ̃itmi
   tu = i̱ = ia = ita = mi
   where = LOC = ABL = COP = 2SG.SBJ
   ‘Where are you from?’

143. The diminutive is used to be polite.
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’.

(57) wiʃa kuʃi war̈hɛɛ sʉmɑrmakaheɛ
ui =ʃa kuʃi uarĩ = haĩ suma-ru-ma-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?’
Table 8.8. Person markers that occur on question words uruka and itura

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Interrogative person markers(a)</th>
<th>Declarative person markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interrogative word ~ Subordinate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-na ~ -nu</td>
<td>-ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-mia ~ -mi</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-nia ~ -ni</td>
<td>-ua (non-past), -ji (past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>-ria ~ -ri</td>
<td>-hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>-rumia ~ -rumi</td>
<td>-rumi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>-ara (with -sa) ~ ∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(a\) 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) urūkakrumia afāmarmi
    uruka-ku-rumia      aṣama-rumi
    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) urūkak nikāpiamia
    uruka = ku    nikapi-a-mia
    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\textsuperscript{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-mi ‘how cop-sub-2sg > uruka Ø-sa-mi > uruka-sa-mi a ‘how-sub-2sg cop’ > uruka-sa-mia ‘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 aání
au uruka a-sa-ni nui-mi aani-a
\textit{DIST how cop-sub-3sg wife\textbackslash{poss-2sg} do.that-IPFV}

‘Why is your wife like that?’

As stated in the preceding discussion, the interrogative words derived from \textit{uru} and \textit{itura} can also carry some subordinating morphology, as well as the switch-reference -\textit{matai}. The subordinating and switch-reference morphemes found on interrogatives are indicated in Table 8.9.

\footnote{144. Except the 3sg -\textit{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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>Non-temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>Simultaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tasa</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mataĩ*</td>
<td>1sg/3 Different subject</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* -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) kâʃ'[a i'tursariak mâa jutaĩciti
kâʃ = ]a  itura-sa-ria = ka  mâa  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 *uru*ka ‘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), *uru*ka ‘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 urukákrumia
hu=ʃa uruka-ku-rumia
PROX=ADD how+IPFV-SIM-2PL
‘How is this?’ (i.e. ‘Why is this happening to you?’)

(63) húʃa urúkakrik íʃa 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 wíkáhi urúksakít túsar
ii-a-ku-ri         wika-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) urúkamteĩnia nuhinʃa atsá ámi weỹkamam
uruka-mataĩ nuhinta =ja a-tsa ami uaina-ka-ma-mi
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 uruka, to the point where the word urukamataĩ has come to be
considered an unanalyzable word meaning ‘why’. Thus, it is not unusual to hear expressions like the one in (66), where mataĩ is not marking 1SG/3 person or different subject.

(66) urukamataĩ wìam āmi juwāʃfu
urukamataĩ ui-a-mi āmi iu-á-ʃau
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 morphosyntactic 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.

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 [urámteʃ].

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) í urúk puhúmeinkit urúkmeinkit
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 jaméjìa ūŋk’a aʃi amúmaktathiaipi
uruka-ta-hi = ka iamaî = Jã 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, ìa ‘who’, tuì ‘where’ and warì ‘what’ can occur in “headless” relatives clauses. All examples of relative clauses involving the interrogative ìa ‘who’ show it in a fossilized form ìaki < ìa=ki ‘who-RHET’.


373
Let’s do (the challenge with) the yaa!, [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) tuĩn kũntin ʧitʃ̄a ʔnũ wikátusar íkir
     [tuĩ  kũntina  ʧitʃ̄a a = nu] wika-tu-sa-ri
where animal speak COP = NON. VIS walk-APPL-ATT1 PL SS

ia-ki-ri
look.for-WHILE.MOVING-1 PL 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) ūuar māánin urukuweit nũnis hĩnawee
    ūuar māa-nai-inu uruku = aita nuni-sa hina-wa-i
person kill-RECP-NMLZ how = COP.3 do.that-SUB3SG SS die.PL + IPFV-3 SBJ-DECL
‘They died like warriors.’ (Lit.: ‘Like is a person warrior, doing that, they died.’)

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. 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

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. 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 áiatiki 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, 

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Gloss (Possible analysis, if available)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aantara*</td>
<td>‘in vain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nankamasa*</td>
<td>‘just in any way’, ‘disorderly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikasa*,a</td>
<td>‘truly’ ( &lt;nika ‘know’ + -sa ‘SUB’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasuntata</td>
<td>‘patiently’ ( &lt;kasunta ‘be patient’ + ta ‘NMLZ’?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paanta b</td>
<td>‘clearly’, ‘evidently’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arantusa</td>
<td>‘with respect’ ( &lt;arantu ‘respect’ + -sa ‘SUB’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative Manner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anis~anin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imani~imanisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tihu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antisana*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mi ‘intensifier’
ʃiira ‘very’
sinhjíb ‘strongly’, ‘too (INTS)’ ( < Quechua < sinchi > ‘strong, valorous’
iurata ‘too much’, ‘excessively’, ‘extremely’
hiipata ‘too much’, ‘excessively’, ‘extremely’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iaitasa*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uari b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uaamaki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atakʃa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arumaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arurumin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃikín</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʃiira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaimas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Also an interjection with the lightly reduced form nikas ‘truly’.

b These items are polysemous and function also as adjectives: paanta ‘transparent’, uari ‘fast, agile, skillful’, sinhjí ‘strong’.

Modality manner adverbs express a speaker’s attitude with respect to a predicated situation.

(72) nínaka paán iweʃnák ʃiʃʃáreí
nu = na = ka paanta i-uaina-a-kü ʃiʃʃa-ra-i
NON. VIS = ACC = FOC clearly CAUS-see-IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS speak-DISTR-3.PVF + 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. 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) jikiit'an masir namaká ih'úr júu núka tímaji nàa fhuúr kámi núna nuní unuímatrou
jikiita = na  masi-rā  namaká  ihu-rā  ju-u
fishing.lance = ACC  edge-DIST\3.SS  fish\ACC  stab-DIST\3.SS  eat-NMLZ
nu = ka  timaji  naa  ñuar  kami
NON.VIS = FOC  NARR  HESIT.PRO  person  INTERJ

nu = na  nuní  unuima-tu-ra-u
NON.VIS = ACC  like.that  learn-APPL-DIST-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

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.\footnote{\textcircled{151}}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{(74) huní wi-ami kusuii} & \\
huní & wi-a-mi & kusuii
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
like.this & go-IPFV-2SG.SBJ + DECL IDEO
\end{tabular}

‘You go like this, kusuii!’ (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 \textit{iurata} and \textit{hiipata} (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:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{(75) jurá́t uutìatsui} & \\
iurata & uuti-a-tsu-u-i
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
too.much & cry.IPFO-IPFV-NEG.3.SBJ-DECL
\end{tabular}

‘He is crying too much.’

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{(76) hiipat júwatsui} & \\
hiipata & iu-a-tsu-u-i
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
too.much & eat-IPFV-NEG.3.SBJ-DECL
\end{tabular}

‘He is eating too much.’

Speed adverbs are associated to the ideas of ‘slow’ or ‘fast’ motion \textit{(77)}.

Aspectual adverbs provide information about the internal structure of an event, i.e.

\footnote{\textcircled{151} Note that this is a partially accurate characterization for (74), as in this particular instance the speaker also utters an ideophone \textit{kusuii} which conveys the idea of spitting.}
whether it is construed as repeated (78), continuous, and so on.

(77) matšitá atʃìaku ásâ nî waamak takásmaji
matšitá atʃìa-ka-u asâ
machete\ACC  grab\INTENS-NMLZ COP-SUB\3.SS

nî uaamaki 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) pujátaq atáka ahána wakitkí
puia-ta-ká atakʃa aha = na uakitu-kî
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 fíra ‘well’ (which also works as an intensifier, sometimes translated as ‘very’) and káimas ‘squatting’ are giving in (79)–(80).

(79) fír puhústasar
fíra puhu-sa-tasa-ri
well live\ATT-PURP-1PL.SS
‘[We] in order to live well. . .’

(80) kaímas kaímas kaimas wína tímaji
kaimas kaimas kaimas wína tímaji
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbs</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aantara</td>
<td>‘in vain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antšana</td>
<td>‘thus’, ‘in the same way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iaitasa</td>
<td>‘slowly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nankamasa</td>
<td>‘disorderly’, ‘just in any way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikasa</td>
<td>‘truly’ (cf. nika ‘know’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *nikasa* ‘truly’ is provided.

Table 8.12. Suffixes used by person-marking manner adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th><em>nikasa</em> ‘truly’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>nikasa-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>nikasa-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-Ṽ (nasalization of last vowel)</td>
<td>nikāsā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>nikasa-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>-rumi</td>
<td>nikasa-rumi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>-ara</td>
<td>nikasa-ara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples illustrate the person marking on adverbs, as well as the co-reference with the grammatical person of the verb.

(81) *nikāsan tāhami*

nikasa-nu ta-hami

truly-1sg.ss say + ipfv-1sg > 2sg + decl

‘I am telling you truly.’

(82) *ańtrarumi wikāsmarmi*

aantara-rumi wika-sa-ma-rumi

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 nakí’t’ahee

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{aantara} & \text{uaha-ta} & \text{nakita-ha-i} \\
\text{in.vain} & \text{stand-\text{NMLZ}} & \text{not.want} + \text{IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL}
\end{array}
\]

‘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\textsuperscript{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.

\[\]

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) mīña papáru úhatin ája ji nuik újī asámtaī
mina  papa-ru   uha-tu-inu     a-ia-ji
1SGGEN father-1SG inform-APPL-NMLZ COP-REM-PT-3.SBJ + DECL

nuiki          utʃi            a-sa-mataī
timeago        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 tšawánta nuúŋka muuká sukuámuka ašúsuiti
nu       [tšauanta = a nuĩ = ka muuká suku-á-mau = ka
NONVIS   day = COP there = FOC muuká\ACC shrink.head-HIAF-NMLZ = FOC
a-tšu-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

385
‘later’), and *-i and *-nī (e.g. aruma-i, iama-i, kaʃi-nī) probably somehow related to the
locative = (n)i.\(^{153}\) In addition, it is probable that there is an old formative *pi in the
word ahampiki ‘at midnight’ (< ahama-pi-ki ‘darken-*RESTR’). As in some manner
adverbs, the restrictive = ki also occurs as a formative in some time adverbs\(^{154}\) (e.g. kaʃi-
ki ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>(Possible) root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ahampiki</td>
<td>‘at midnight’</td>
<td>cf. ahama ‘darken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aruma</td>
<td>‘later’</td>
<td>*aru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arumai</td>
<td>‘in the future’, ‘someday’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iki</td>
<td>‘not yet’</td>
<td>*iki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iamá</td>
<td>‘just now’, ‘newly’</td>
<td>*ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iamai</td>
<td>‘today’, ‘presently’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iaũ</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iauntʃuki</td>
<td>‘long ago’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʃi</td>
<td>‘night’, ‘at night’</td>
<td>*kaʃi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

153. While the possible presence of the locative = (n)i 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 = ki undergoes vowel harmony with a previous vowel /i/
(§5.5.1).
kaʃiki ‘early morning’
kaʃikimasa ‘very early in the morning’, ‘at sunrise’
kaʃini ‘tomorrow’
kaʃi kaʃinĩŋki ‘every day’, ‘all the time’

kaʔaĩ ‘in the afternoon’ *kia (?)
kiaraĩ ‘afternoon’, ‘at sunset’
nįkaʔaĩ ‘first’ Unidentified
nuiki ‘time ago’ *nuiki (?)
tukĩ ‘always’ *tuki (?)

Time adverbs can carry only these morphemes: =ki ‘restrictive’, =ka ‘focus’ and =fa ‘additive’. When time adverbs receive =ki, and in few occasions when they receive =ka, different meanings can be derived:

(86) iamünk
iamai = ki
now = RESTR
‘right now’

(87) jamëkika
iamai = ki = ka
now = RESTR = FOC
‘at the begining’ or ‘in a little bit’ (as in “wait a little bit”)

(88) kaʃinkifa
kaʃini = ki = fa
tomorrow = RESTR = ADD
‘the next morning’
8.6.2.1. Suffix -\textit{tin} ‘time’

The suffix -\textit{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 -\textit{tin}, as in (89). -\textit{Tin} is sometimes reduced to the form -\textit{tí}, as seen in (90).

(89) \textit{en el año mil no\textsuperscript{besientos} sesentatín galiléaŋka nahánaruiti}
in the year 1960-\textit{tin} Galilea = na = ka nahana-ra-u = iti
in the year 1960-\textit{TIME} Galilea = \textit{ACC} = \textit{FOC} make-distr-nmlz = \textit{COP.3 + DECL}.
‘In the year 1960, he created [the village of] Galilea.’

(90) \textit{t\textsuperscript{samatí} hiámtaį}
\textit{t\textsuperscript{samatí}tí} h\textsuperscript{h}a\textsuperscript{á}-mataį
ripen-\textit{TIME} arrive-\textit{HIAF-1SG/3.DS}.
‘When the time of harvest comes . . .’

The terms of the traditional Wampis season calendar used to be derived with -\textit{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)
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{iuranki} ‘fruit’ \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{iurantin} ‘season of fruits’
\item \textit{uui} ‘pijuayo (\textit{Bactris gasipaes})’ \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{uuitin} ‘season of pijuays’
\item \textit{kuntu} ‘fat’ \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{kuntutin} ‘hunting season (time of fat animals)’
\item \textit{uampuaʃi} ‘ceiba sp.’ \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{uampuaf\textit{tin}} ‘season of ceibas’
\item \textit{isa} ‘burn’ \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{isatin} ‘dry season’
\item \textit{uaua} ‘topa (type of palm tree)’ \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{uauat\textit{in}} ‘season of topa flowers’
\end{itemize}
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) jōuntʃukka ɪi puhutain'kɑ im'ee murá matsamahakarunuink'ɑ
iauntʃuki = ka ɪi  puhu-taĩ = ka
long.ago = FOC 1PL live-NMLZ = FOC

imai murá matsama = hak-ara-u nūĩ = 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) utʃʃ nam ajadas wahasmaji
uʃʃi = nama  aiaamas waha-sa-ma-ji
child = LOC close stand-ATT-REC.3.PT + DECL
‘She stood close by the children.’

All words in Table 8.14 are location adverbs. The words imai and ímau seem related to the intensifier ima. The word ihus may be somehow metaphorically related to the verb ihu ‘stab’ (ihu-sà ‘stab-sub3SG.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.
Table 8.14. Location adverbs in Wampis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aiaamas</td>
<td>‘close’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amaini</td>
<td>‘other side of the river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atu</td>
<td>‘on the river bank’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihus</td>
<td>‘close’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ímai</td>
<td>‘far over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ímau</td>
<td>‘far over there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nouns in Table 8.15 are apparently grammaticalizing as locational adverbs.

Table 8.15. Nouns grammaticalizing as location adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atuni</td>
<td>‘far off’ (&lt; atu = ni ‘on the river bank = ALL?’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iaki</td>
<td>‘above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inita</td>
<td>‘inside’, ‘at the bottom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunka</td>
<td>‘below’, ‘under’ (&lt; nunka ‘land, earth’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) *iɲīnnum ahápata*

inita = numa ahápa-tá

`inside = LOC throw.away + HIAF-IMP`

‘Throw it inside!’

(95) *wàå iɲitr̥i*

uàá inita-rí
cave\gen inside-1\pl/2\pl/3\poss

‘The inside of the cave’

(96) *tʃinkánnum iɲút iŋkiáwar*

tʃinkana = numa inita inki-áu-ara

`bamboo = LOC inside put.inside-HIAF-3\pl.ss`

‘In the bamboo, [they] having put it inside . . .’

Demonstrative bearing the locative = (*n)*i also function as location adverbs, e.g.

*nu*̘ ‘there’ ( < *nu* = *i* ‘NON.VIS = LOC’), *hù* ‘here’ ( < ‘PROX-LOC’). See §8.3 for more details.

8.6.4. *áía* and *áiatiki* ‘only’

The words *áía* and *áiatiki* both mean ‘only’ and can modify nouns, predicates or the entire clause. Like most adverbs, *áía* and *áiatiki* have bare to no morphological possibilities: only one single example in the database shows the additive clitic = *ʃa*

being received by *áiatiki*; in all other examples *áía* and *áiatiki* appear with no morphology. In textual data, the difference between *áía* and *áiatiki* seems to be contextual and morphosyntactic. First, *áía* shows a strong preference for modifying
nouns (I have found only two examples where it modifies a verb), whereas áiatiki 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 =ki on the noun (in a circumfix-like fashion).\textsuperscript{155}

(97) ája naŋkînak hukî
áia nankî = na = ki hu-kî
only spear = acc = restr take-while.moving\textbackslash 3.ss
‘Having taken only the spear . . .’

(98) ája nêik hás
áia nai = ki has
only eye = restr become
‘[The skinned head] had become only eyes.’

On the other hand, áiatiki can modify nouns, verbs and clauses. When modifying nouns, the scope of áiatiki varies according to its position (this is a property shared with áia); compare (99) and (100). Note that when áiatiki is present, most of the time the restrictive =ki does not occur on the noun (see for instance (100)).

(99) ájatik êʃманкуk wîna timaji
áiatiki álîjimanku = ki uîna timaji
only man = restr go + PL.IPfv NARR
‘Only men went.’

\textsuperscript{155} However, note that =ki by itself can restrict the reference of a noun, so it does not form a true circumfix with áia.
(100) nîŋk’a ájatik jutântîja anînteimtaʃu
ni = ka áiatiki iu-ta = na = ja anintaima-tu-à-ʃjau
3SG = FOC only eat-NMLZ = ACC = ADD think-APPL-HIAF-NEG.NMLZ
‘He thought not even in the food.’

When modifying verbs, sometimes áiatiki acquires an extended meaning of ‘simply’, ‘merely’:

(101) ájatik untsuuaheʃe
áiatiki untsu-a-ha-i
only call-IPFV-1SG-DECL
‘I am just calling.’

In (102), the scope of áiatiki extends over the clause:

(102) ájatik puhut aniあ ásar
áiatiki 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.

\(^{156}\) With the exception of mai ‘both’.

393
Table 8.16. Non-numeral quantifiers in Wampis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aʃi</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ímatʃiki</td>
<td>‘a little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>íiʃʃiki</td>
<td>‘a little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuaʃata</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai</td>
<td>‘both’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mash</td>
<td>‘all’, ‘complete’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miti</td>
<td>‘full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nukapi</td>
<td>‘many’, ‘several’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinki</td>
<td>‘no (thing), ‘no (one)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uarumi</td>
<td>‘a few’, ‘some’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that ímatʃiki has the diminutive -ʃì and restrictive =ki as fosilized formatives: ímatʃiki < *ima-ʃi-ki ‘INTS-DIM-RESTR’. It is more than likely that íiʃʃiki ‘a little’ also involves the same combination of the diminutive plus the restrictive, though the historical root is semantically opaque. Synchronically, the quantifier uarumi ‘a few’, ‘some’ can also take the restrictive =ki and the additive =ja, nukapi ‘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 =ki undergoes vowel harmony with a preceding vowel /i/, see §5.5.1.

394
= 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 arútnaka irúniawee
nukapi arutama=ka iruni-a-ua-i
several power.vision=FOC be.together.IPFV-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
‘There are several Arutam.’

(104) arútnaka núkap irúniawee
arutama=ka nukapi iruni-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 fuárka arútman weíŋkaruiti
nukapi ʃuara=ka arutama=na uaina-ka-ara-uti=iti
several person=FOC arutama=ACC see-INTENS-PL-NMLZ=COP.3+DECL
‘Several people saw the Arutam (singular).’
nukap juärka nukap arutama weĩŋkaruiti
nukapi juara = ka    nukapi 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 nukapi ‘several’, can be intensified:

(107) fír nukap juwí ukáru
Jíra nukapi 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) wíka nukáp takášhe huí
ui = ka    nukapi taka-sa-ha-i    huí
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), nukapi ‘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) nukap arákmakuiti
nukapi 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 (uumi [uwii] ‘hand’). Speakers add the foot (nau [náwi]) 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

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. tikiti sol ‘one sol’\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{160} Table 8.17 on next page lists Wampis numerals.

I was also told that, for tens, expressions such as uuihana himarana amua ‘twenty’ (compare with ‘ten’ in Table 8.17), uuihana kampatuma amua ‘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)

\textsuperscript{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)’.

\textsuperscript{160} However, beyond ten they almost always turn to Spanish.
multiplication of a base, and 3) body parts.

Table 8.17. Wampis numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral Expressiona</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tikiti / tikitikiti</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himara</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kampatuma ~ minaintu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipak usumak ~ aintukaintuk</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uuihana aji amuá</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>‘all hand finished’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uuihana tikiti kinaki iraku</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>‘to the hand adding one only’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uuihana himarana iraku</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>‘to the hand adding two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uuihana kampatuma iraku</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>‘to the hand adding three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uuihana aintuk aintuk iraku ~ uuihana ipak usumak iraku</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>‘to the hand adding four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uuihana mai amuá</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>‘both hands finished’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uuihana mai amuá tikiti kiniaki (uuiha) iraku</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>‘adding one (hand) to both hands finished’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uuihana mai amuá nauina mai amuá</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>‘both hands finished, both feet finished’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a A short free translation of some words to help understand complex expressions in numerals 5 to 20: uuiha ‘hand’, aji ‘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/: tikiti / tikitiki ‘one’.

Here are some interesting notes that help explain the form and meaning of some Wampis numerals:
• The numeral *tikit*ˈṭiki* ‘one’, is historically decomposable into the formatives *tikit̪i* ‘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’, *ai* ‘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: uuíhána
< uuíha = na [uwíhán]. 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) uuíhána tikítíjikí *iraku
uuíha = na     tikítí = na = ki  ira-ku
hand = ACC     tikítí = 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 aři ‘all’ is omitted by some speakers, or an alternative expression tikitiiki uuihan amud [tikitʃik uwi̍n amuˈ] ‘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 iuiha [iwiˈ] that varies freely with uuiha [uwɨh].

• There are no ordinal numbers and cardinal numbers do not function as ordinal numbers (except for very rare examples with tikitiiki ‘one’) in Wampis. Speakers use tura ‘and’, nuia = 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 kampatum ihímu tímai
nantu kampatuma ihí-mau tímai
moon three make.finish-NMLZ NARR
‘Three months passed.’

(112) iwijáŋ méi amuá tsawáŋ puhusáŋ nuí fíir hásmiajei
iuiha mai amu-á tsauanta puhu-sa-nu
hand both finish-HIAF day live/be-SUB-1SG,SS
nuí jiira 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. The first process is partial reduplication, by which a distributive meaning is imparted. Examples (113)–(114) illustrate this process.

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) nūna nukīn tikī tikūjīk tiṣipahī

nu = na  nukī = na  tiki  tikūjīki  tiṣipi-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) himˈá himˈár namankín susámiahrumí

hima himara  namanki = na  su-sa-mia-ha-rumi
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) hintínˈtaweiti aŋkán aŋkán ʊtʃi mašatu áhakaru ánuna

hintina-tu-a-u = aiti  ankanta  ankanta  ʊtʃi
teach-APPL-IPFV-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL  free  free  child

mašatu  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.

\(^{162}\) ‘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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Distributive reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tikítʃiki</td>
<td>tiki tikítʃiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himara</td>
<td>hima himara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kampatum</td>
<td>kampa kampatuma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) hintá tikíʃkiá kanáraru
    hintá    tikíʃki-á    kana-ra-ra-u
    trail\LOC    one-ITER    sleep-DISTR-PL-NMLZ

‘They slept on the road for one [day].’

(117) wií núna himará išírkamhami
    ui   nu = na    himará    itsi-ru-ka-hami
    1SG  NON.VIS = ACC  two + ITER    inform-APP-INTENS-1SG > 2SG

‘I just informed you that two times.’

8.9. Noun modifier úíantu ‘group’

The word úíantu 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 \textit{tihai} are tall human-like beings that live in the jungle.

(118) \textit{tihéé wiántuʃa áwée}

\textit{tihai} uɨ́antu = jə a\textit{ awai}

\textit{tihai} group = \textit{ADD} exist-3.SBJ-DECL

‘There are the Tijai (i.e. as a group) also.’

The next example was translated into Spanish as \textit{<sachamango y sus variedades>} ‘\textit{sachamango} (\textit{Gustavia subperba}) and its varieties’:

(119) \textit{apéi wiántun arákmakuiti}

\textit{apai} uɨ́antu = na arakama-ka-u = iti

\textit{sachamango} group = \textit{ACC} plant-\textit{INTENS-NMLZ} = \textit{COP.3 + DECL}

‘She planted \textit{sachamango} and its varieties.’

In a way, the word \textit{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, \textit{uɨ́antu} is not an affix. Semantically, \textit{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, *uɨantu*
always comes after the noun it modifies. In addition, *uɨantu* 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 *uɨá*. The word *uɨa* 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>` (/uɨa/) means
‘relative’ (Fast et al. 1996: 322), in Shuar the form `<weat>` (/uiatu/?) means ‘ancestor’
(Pellizaro & Náwech 2005: 489) and in Awajun `<wīgā>` (/uɨā/) 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 *uɨá* ‘ancestor’. In the Wampis vocabulary by Jakway et al.
the entry `<nu weantu>` is given with the meaning ‘descendant’ (but there is no single

### 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Connects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tura</td>
<td>‘and’, ‘then’ (occasionally also ‘but’)</td>
<td>phrases, independent clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuĩia [nuĩná]</td>
<td>‘moreover’, ‘also’, ‘apart from that’</td>
<td>independent clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antša ~ antšu</td>
<td>‘but’, ‘rather’, ‘on the other hand’</td>
<td>independent clauses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tura 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
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) wik'a júakun puháhee túra ní'ka kandk tipáwee
ui = ka iu-a-ku-nu puha-ha-i tura
1SG = FOC eat-IPFV-1SG.SS live/be + IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL and

nī = ka kana-kū tipa-ua-i
3SG = FOC sleep + IPFV = SIM\3SG.SS lie.down-3.SBJ-DECL

‘I am eating and you are sleeping.’

(122) arántusa iitei tūra nāwāa arútmaʃa dhaku tímaji
arantusa ii-tañ tura
with.respect see-NMLZ and

iauaa 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) iik'a kuntín ájahì turàʃa ìi jameik'a fuáreithi
ii = ka kuntina a-ia-hi tura =ʃa
1PL = FOC animal COP-REM.PT-1PL.SBJ + DECL and = CONCESS

ii iamai = ka juara = ita-hi
1PL now = FOC person = COP-1PL.SBJ + DECL
‘We were animals, but now we are people.’

164. This utterance may be a little confusing. The speaker is referring to the idea, within the
The derived form *turaʃkuʃα* (\(<^* turaʃa-ku? = ñα? 'then-CONCESS-SIM? = ADD?\)) means ‘or’, ‘or if not’.

(124) ūuárkiña māánin turáʃkuʃα umítəmakəʃα hámein
Juara = ki = ña mā-nai-inu  turaʃkuʃa
enemy = RESTR = ADD  kill-RECP-NMLZ or.if.not

umitVma-kā = ña 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 -*matai* ‘1SG/3.ds’:

(125) nuwāntʃa tʃitʃa
Juara = ki = ña mā-nai-inu  turaʃkuʃa
enemy = RESTR = ADD  kill-RECP-NMLZ or.if.not

‘[he] used to give advice to the women, he gave them advice, and doing that to the other (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) túrakeē nántu jualahkamá tühín

tura-ka-ī 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 Iwântʃ wíu tímaji

tura-mau iuantzí ui-u tímaji
and-NMLZ Iwanch go-NMLZ NARR

‘Afterward, Iwanch went away.’

The word *nuĩa* is derived from the non-visible demonstrative *nu* plus the
postpositions =ī = 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, *nuĩa* works at the inter-
clausal level.

(128) síamu tímaji nüßu nüßa mamá kuntu-ɾí ona nuĩná paãnmanšiníʃa siámu tímaji

[pia-mau timaji nu nua
plead + IPFV-NMLZ NARR NON. VIS woman

mamá kuntu-ɾí = a au = na] nu = i = ia
manioc\GEN arm-1PL/2PL/3.POSS = COP DIST = ACC NON. VIS = LOC = ABL

[paantama-ʃʃi = na = ja sia-mau tímaji]
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.’

411
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 ántsù wík’a maátahjamán ñír tuhìñneíthee
tura antšu ui = ka má-á-tahkamá-nu
and but 1SG = FOC kill-HIAF-FRUST-1SG,SS

ʃìira 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.
Table 8.20. Common interjections in Wampis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker attitude or emotion</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aiu</td>
<td>‘okay’, speakers agrees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haʔhai</td>
<td>expression of laughter when something is funny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(frequent in female register)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mah</td>
<td>speaker is surprised, admiration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjai</td>
<td>‘boo!’ (expression to scare someone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjúa</td>
<td>‘that’s bad!’, ‘dang!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>síí</td>
<td>‘what a shame’, ‘what a pity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kufúí kurún</td>
<td>‘found you!’ (children playing hide-and-seek)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phatic expression</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>íí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>síí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjíi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers to polar questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atsá, ísá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haʔá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>íí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃaʔá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idea of command</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hastá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iamaikika</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 *atį* ‘grab’.

(130) *winína tapít atį̧k jú júám háma*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wini} & = \text{na} & \text{tapít} & = \text{atį̧-kā} \\
\text{mouth} & = \text{ACC} & \text{ide} & = \text{IDEO} & \text{grab-intens} & = \text{3SG.SS} \\
\text{huį́ jú-á-mi} & \text{hama} & \text{here} & = \text{HIAF-2SG.SBJ} & \text{mir} & \text{‘[He] having grabbed suddenly (*tapít!*) her mouth, [he said] “Here you ate!” . . .’}
\end{align*}
\]

In (131), the ideophone used is *tsakít*, which conveys the idea of thrusting or
driving an object into the soil.

(131) *nanki hu̇ki-ara hii = numa kami*

\[
\begin{align*}
nanki & = \text{spear\ ACC} & \text{hu̇ki-ara} & = \text{take-while.\ moving-3PL.SS} \\
hii = numa & = \text{fire = LOC} & kami & = \text{INTERJ} \\
\text{tsakít} & = \text{IDEO} & \text{tsakít} & = \text{IDEO} & \text{akuná-ara} & = \text{IDEO embed + HIAF-3PL.SS} \\
\text{‘[They] Having taken spears, around the firewood *tsakít!* [they] having embedded [the spears]’}
\end{align*}
\]

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
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). 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) naŋći atʃík huní píh huní píh
\[\text{nankí atʃi-kā hu = ni píh hu = ni píh}\]
\[\text{spear}_{\text{ACC}} \text{grab-INTENS}_{\text{3SG.SS}} \text{PROX = ALL IDEO PROX = ALL IDEO}\]
‘Having grabbed the spear, he jumped over here, over there.’ (Lit: ‘Having grabbed the spear, over here, \text{*píh*!}, over here, \text{*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 hiŋum parát hiŋum parát
\[\text{ampuʃ hii = numa parat hii = numa parat}\]
\[\text{owl fire = LOC IDEO fire = LOC IDEO}\]
‘The owl fell into the fire!’ (Lit.: ‘The owl into the fire \text{*parat*}!’)

When used in discourse, ideophones that imitate or are associated to the sounds

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) ı́mm kámi ı́tíiʃɛ́ɨnak

ı́mm  kámi  ı́tíiʃa-ina-kü

ideo      interj      speak-pl.ipfv-sim\3.ss

“ı́mm!” [the jaguar] was saying. . .’

(135) páki tás tákü awákou tímaʃi uțiʃin

paki      tás      tás      ta-kü

peccary   ideo     ideo     say + ipfv-sim\3sg.ss

awaka-u   timaji    uțiʃi = 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actions/Movements</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haáhat</td>
<td>with no breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāát</td>
<td>pulling off a leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutʃákt</td>
<td>hit suddenly (in just one blow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusuí</td>
<td>spitting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuír</td>
<td>animal or human pack running</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutʃík</td>
<td>moving without stopping in a reduced area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakít</td>
<td>sound of applauding or breaking (ceramics, hard-shell fruits, etc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>píh</td>
<td>throwing a stone or a small projectile quickly, jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>píih</td>
<td>making something disappear quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takít</td>
<td>cutting with machete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapít</td>
<td>grabbing forcefully or suddenly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turít</td>
<td>tearing a piece of cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñsakít</td>
<td>driving something (e.g. a spear) into the soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñsiùt</td>
<td>pulling off a palm leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjákiát tjákiát</td>
<td>swimming (also applies to fish and other animals like river otter, capybara, etc.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sensorial (not including sound)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>híra híra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sírsír</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsápísáp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| kúntua kúntua                  | pain in some body part (arm, leg, etc.) or bone (may related to kuntu ‘arm’?)
### Human or body sounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hatʃʃa</td>
<td>sneezing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>țsaarît</td>
<td>farting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuniʃʃiá</td>
<td>noise of women or children talking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taɪ́t taɪ́t</td>
<td>noise of adult man yelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taɪ́tit taɪ́tit</td>
<td>noise of adult men talking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Animal and nature actions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ámpin</td>
<td>butterflies flying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakiá</td>
<td>sound of peccaries eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tánki tánki</td>
<td>sound of river waves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tákia tánkia</td>
<td>sound of snake slithering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titrírir</td>
<td>rocks falling from a cliff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>úu úu</td>
<td>sound/breeze preceding a rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wirí</td>
<td>buzzing (bee, wasp, hummingbird)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Sounds of objects being manipulated, breaking, colliding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pakít</td>
<td>solid object colliding with another solid object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parát</td>
<td>object falling into the fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃakáu ʃakáu</td>
<td>sound of water dripping, rocks, snails or rattle being moved,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>also sound of muzzle-loader rifle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatártau</td>
<td>different objects crashing on each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃʃíút ʃʃíút</td>
<td>sound of palm leaves being pulled out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wáa</td>
<td>poking the fire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Animal voices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haii haii</td>
<td>dog howling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hau hau</td>
<td>dog barking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŵmm</td>
<td>jaguar's voice (growling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hurur</td>
<td>jaguar roaring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>píí</td>
<td>tapir's voice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 uu:n háš
ui uuunta has
1SG big become
‘I have become an adult (already).’

(137) húna urük tuku:n 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
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*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source form</th>
<th>&gt; Posture Verb</th>
<th>&gt; Existential/copula</th>
<th>&gt; Change of state</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>uaha</em>-sa ‘stand-att’</td>
<td>‘be standing’</td>
<td>‘exist’, ‘be’</td>
<td><em>has</em> ‘become’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uaha</em>-ka ‘stand-intens’</td>
<td>‘stand up’</td>
<td>‘exist’</td>
<td><em>hak</em> ‘become’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 followed 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 is 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Relationality</th>
<th>Stativity</th>
<th>Transitoriness</th>
<th>Gradability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Objects</td>
<td>nonrelational</td>
<td>state</td>
<td>permanent</td>
<td>nongradable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property</td>
<td>relational</td>
<td>state</td>
<td>permanent</td>
<td>gradable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actions</td>
<td>relational</td>
<td>process</td>
<td>transitory</td>
<td>nongradable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For instance, a prototypical adjective in Wampis is *pînkira* ‘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). *Pînkira* ‘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, *pînkira* can be intensified (§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, while the unmarked function of nouns is referential. The following sections will elaborate on the morphological, syntactic, semantic and discoursive distribution of adjectives.

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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head of NP</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modify head of NP</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be possessor</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be possessed</td>
<td>Some&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receive case and Adposition</td>
<td>Only as phonological host</td>
<td>Property of NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradability</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective-derivation with -rama and =hakinu</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective-derivation with -taku</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> But notice that when adjectives are possessed, they are interpreted as nouns; e.g. *fiirma-ri* ‘his/her beauty’ (*fiirma* ‘pretty, good’ + *-ri* 1<sub>PL</sub>/2<sub>PL</sub>/3<sub>Poss</sub>).

<sup>b</sup> Nominalizations in modifying function can be modified with *fiira* ‘very’, but not with the intensifiers *ima*, *ti* or *mi* (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) *nīŋka muúntan ōnū*

*nī-ka* [muunta-na] ōn-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) fikapíʃia ʃu ̀ na amástahmi
[jikapatʃı = a  hu = na] ama-sa-ta-hami
[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) nuu ʃu ̀ ra pakí ěhaku timaji
nu ʃuara pakí 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 pirúʃʃ juarán máhakuŋ**

*uunta* Pirúʃʃ *juara* = na mā = hak-u = iti
elder Pirúʃʃ 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 Limánmajakeiti**

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) **óu šuar úun hiaji**

au *šuar* *uunta* hiaji
MED person big arrive + HIAF-3.PL + 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, *uun_iuaaŋ* is a compoun noun derived from *iauaŋ* ‘dog’ and *uunta* ‘big’. So, *uun_iuaaŋ* [uún nyaawaŋ] ‘jaguar’ is never interpreted as ‘big dog’; the only way to say ‘big dog’ is by using the canonical Noun-Adjective order:
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 uunța ‘big’ is possessed, it acquires the meaning of ‘elder one’, ‘ancestor’ and can head NPs:

(9) íɨna uunṭrika papáŋhěę́ jáha hakár̲u
iina uunța-ři = ka papánku = haï
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:
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 ‘PROPERTY-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tʃi</td>
<td>‘Diminutive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tʃau</td>
<td>‘Negative nominalizer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessed noun markers (see §9.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.5.1. Diminutive -tʃi with adjectives

The diminutive -tʃi can occur with adjectives as well as nouns. As it is typical of diminutives, -tʃi 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) nuɩˈ ḷikápíʃə-tʃi jahásmoomʃ iŋkitúŋ wɛŋk’aru timajĩ

there little-DIM insignificant.thing-DIM put.inside-NMLZ = ACC

uainakaarau timajĩ
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)
afantatʃi ‘very old’ cf. afanta ‘elderly person’
jikapafʃi ‘little’, (jikapa is no longer found as a separate root or word)
uhumafʃiki ‘brief’ cf. uhumaki ‘a little’ (uhuma ‘a little’ + -ki ‘restr’)
uuntatʃi ‘old’ cf. uunta ‘big’
utʃiʃi ‘young’ cf. utʃi ‘child’

9.5.2. The negative nominalizer -tʃau and adjectives

Some adjectives can be derived from adjectives, nouns and verbs using the negative nominalizer -tʃau. One of the functions of verbal nominalization is to modify
nouns (i.e. via relative clauses), so it seems that through this function -ʃau can derive items that become primarily modificational in function. Specifically, -ʃau derives opposites of certain adjectives, as many do not have a lexical antonym pair. -ʃau 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)

pînkira ‘good’ — — pînkira-ʃau ‘bad’
ʃîʃîrama ‘strong (of current)’ — — ʃîʃîrama-ʃau ‘weak’
iman ‘superior (of quality or skill)’ —  iman-ʃau ‘unskilled’
iûmîntV167 ‘sweet’ —  iûmin-ʃau ‘salty, sour’
iupia ‘be wild’ —  iupi-ʃau ‘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

167. This word almost always occurs as [jumîn], but it occurs as [jumîntrî] when it receives the 1pl./2pl./3 possessed marker -rî. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= na</td>
<td>‘Accusative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= nVma</td>
<td>‘Locative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= haï</td>
<td>‘Comitative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ni</td>
<td>‘Allative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ia</td>
<td>‘Ablative’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) \( \text{útʃi ūkáptʃʃin súsar}u \)
\[ \text{[utʃi ūkáptʃʃi-tʃi]} = \text{na sú-sa-ara-u} \]
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) \( \text{númi púy̱ḵir átiʃn arákmaku}i}t \)
\[ \text{[numi púnkira a-tinu]} = \text{na araka-ma-ka-u = iti} \]
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) \( \text{púy̱ḵir puhútnasha hukíŋeithv̱e}c \)
\[ \text{[púnkira puhu-ta]} = \text{na = řa hu-ki-inu = aita-ha-i} \]
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) \( \text{núna fuar}án \text{ kakárma}n \text{ wé}̱ńk\text{ar} \)
\[ \text{nu = na fuara = na kakarama = na waina-ka-ara} \]
NON.VIS = ACC enemy = ACC valiant = ACC see-INTENS-3PL.SS
‘[they] having seen that strong enemy . . .’
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

\[\text{168. Notice that the plural -ara refers to the object. Third person objects are generally not marked on the verb, however a few examples of plural marking referring to a 3 person object occur in the data. It seems like the plural may be undergoing re-analysis to mark not only plurality associated with a 3 person subject, but also with a 3 person object.}\]
positions.

Table 9.5. Syntactic positions in an AdjP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modifier</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>+ Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ima</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Intensifier’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiira</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘very’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fini k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘too, strongly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Intensifier’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Intensifier’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apparently, the intensifiers *ima*, *ti* and *mi* are semantically equivalent, the meaning does not change when one or the other is used:

(20) *au fiar mii isarmaitei*

`au fiuara mi isarama = aiti`

DIST person INTS tall = COP.3 + DECL

‘That person is very tall.’

(21) *nuu fiar ima sintfi kakaram dhakaruiti*

`nu fiuara ima sintfi kakaramama 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) *nuu fiar ti sintfi kakaram dhakaruiti*

`nu fiuara ima sintfi kakaramama 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 ūara *ti *ima *si ḳakárama áhakaruiti
*nu ūara *imá *ti *si ḳakárama áhakaruiti

Adverbs *fiira ‘very’ and *fiinti ‘strongly’ can occur together, in which case the order is *fiira *si *ti (the reverse order is prohibited):

(24) hūka *fiir *si *ti *uuntaiti
hu = ka *fiira *si *ti *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) ſuăr năki ſuķa takás juatfu
[ʂuara naki] nu=ka taka-sā iu-a-tʃau
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) nuwa ajkán ʂakaka matsáti a anú
[nua ankanta] ʂaka-ka-u
woman free grow-INTENS-NMLZ
matsati-a a = nu
be.together.IPV-IPV 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) nɪŋka jatʃeiti
nĩ = ka iatʃa = iti
3SG = FOC wise = COP.3 + DECL
‘He is wise.’
Adjectives can also occur in non-verbal predicates without a copula:

(29) wík’a 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.

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-ı̂ntsä, ‘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) *nįŋka ámia óo jafjeiti*

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{nį} & = & \text{ka} & \text{ami} = \text{ia} & \text{au} & \text{ia} \text{tʃa} = \text{iti} \\
3\text{SG} & = & \text{FOC} & 2\text{SG} & = & \text{ABL} & \text{DIST} & \text{wise} = \text{COP.3 + DECL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He is wiser than you.’

(31) *ámika wįja óo isármeitmi*

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{ami} & = & \text{ka} & \text{ui} = \text{ia} & \text{au} & \text{isarama} = \text{ita-mi} \\
2\text{SG} & = & \text{FOC} & 1\text{SG} & = & \text{ABL} & \text{DIST} & \text{tall} = \text{COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘You are taller than me.’

b. The second construction follows a subordinating strategy and involves the
verb *apatu* ‘put together’. In this construction, the standard of comparison appears with the comitative = *hai* 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 = *hai*) 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.

\[(32) \text{nî āmīh'ê} \text{ apâtkamka namâk màatnumka nî imá ja'fëiti} \]
\[\text{nî amî = hai apatu-ka-ma-ka} \]
\[3SG \quad 2SG = \text{COM put.together-INTENS-NON.SBJ > SBJ-COND} \]

170. Also ‘copulate’.

171. Actually, it is better to consider that there is an Coordinate NP (coordinated with the instrumental = *hai*).
‘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) ámi̱heć apátkamka namák máatnumka ní imá jažíčití
ami = haí apatu-ka-ma-ka
2SG = COM put.together-INTENS-NON.SBJ > SBJ-COND

‘If compared with you, he is better at fishing.’

The verb íí ‘see’ usually occurs with apatu ‘put together’, in which case ‘see’ takes the subordinating morphology:

(34) wíí ámi̱heć apátki íjámka namák máatnumka imá jažíčíth/heće
ui ami = haí apatu-ka íi-a-ma-ka
1SG 2SG = COM put.together-INTENS see-IPFV-NON.SBJ > SBJ-COND

‘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 mítika ‘equal’ (cf. mítí ‘full’). The following
examples illustrate a comparison of equality.

(35) *wâheê mitîkeitmi*
ui = haî    mitika = ita-mî
1SG = COM    equal = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL

‘You are equal to me.’

(36) *nî juâra tikîfî mikûta núu núu mikutheê mèi mitîka*

nî    juâra tikîfî Mikuta = a    nu    nu    Mikuta = haî
3SG    person other    Mikut = COP    NON.VIS    NON.VIS    Mikut = COM

mai    mitika = ña
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 -*t*au and with the verb *imatika* (derived from the intensifier *ima*).

(37) *amîk’a wîja namâk māâtumka imātik’am jatîfîuitmi*

ami = ka    ui = ia    namaka    māa-ta = numa = ka
2SG = FOC    1SG = ABL    fish    kill-NMLZ = LOC = FOC

imatika-mî    jatî-t*au = ita-mî
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’:
íman húu jamèi unúimamu tuína ímaníjou
iman   hu   jamai unuima-a-mau   tu-inà   imantíjau
superior  PROX  now   study-IPPV-NMLZ  say-PLIPPV  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 imá or tì, or fiíra ‘very’ and the adjective in an copular construction. There is apparently no difference in meaning when using either imá, tì or fiíra, however fiíra occupies a different syntactic position than imá and tì (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) nújk’a imá isármajeiti
nì = ka   imá  isarama = aiti
3SG = FOC   INTS  tall = COP.3 + DECL
‘He is very tall’

(40) nújk’a imá isármá
nì = ka  imá  isarama
3SG = FOC  INTS  tall
‘He is tall’

On the other hand, in the superlative construction, it is the adjective which
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) nįjéiti jíír isármaka
nį = aiti       jííra   isarama = ka
3SG = COP.3 + DECL  very  tall = FOC
‘He is very, very tall.’ or ‘He is the tallest.’

(42) nįjéiti imá isarmaka
nį = aiti       imá   isarama = 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 ‘strength’ (N) (< From Quechua sintʃi ‘strong, valorous’) suata ‘dirty’, cf. suata ‘tangled forest’ (N) afama ‘cowardly’, cf. afama ‘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) puhútaka iman iiʧu ἑŋa
puhu-ta = na = ka iman iiʧau a-inya
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 -ʧau, 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 imantʃu
ʃuara iman-ʧau
person INTS-NEG,NMLZ
‘unskilled person’

9.8.2. Derivation with -taku

The suffix -taku is an adjectivealizer 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

172. There is one form where apparently -taku is lexicalized: maakitaku [maاةcakes] ‘more or less’ (Lit.: ‘partly sufficient’) that is used adverbially or attributively. The root maaki ‘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’
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, the derived color term iankutaku ‘yellowish’ is used for many light orange things but I was told that there is no term for very bright orange. 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.”

448
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derived Adjective</th>
<th>Probable Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>asarama~isarama</td>
<td>‘long, tall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no clear source found, perhaps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>somewhat related to isa~asa ‘burn’?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakarama</td>
<td>‘strong, valiant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaka ‘give strength’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kampūrama</td>
<td>‘thick, wide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kampūa ‘type of tree (with thick buttress roots)’, ‘thick trunk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaṭsurama</td>
<td>‘hard, solid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaṭsu ‘harden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunturama</td>
<td>‘fat, fatty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuntu ‘be.fat’, cf. kuntu ‘arm’(^{178})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuirama</td>
<td>‘fat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nui ‘get fat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{177}\) 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’
unka ‘be ample’, cf. unka ‘type of big pot’
iama ‘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)
\[tʃtʃarpatinu \text{ ‘chatty, gossipy’ } < tʃtʃa-rí-patin \text{ ‘speak-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ADJZ’} \]
\[jakarpatinu \text{ ‘loose’ } < jaka-rí-patin \text{ ‘water.down-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ADJZ’} \]
\[pakirpatinu \text{ ‘fragile’ } < \text{pakir-patinu} \text{ ‘sound of object breaking-ADJZ’} \]

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)
tantani ‘belly’ → tantani =hakin ‘pot-bellied’
ui nu ‘mouth’ → uinu =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
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>natīsa ‘young’, uuntafī ‘old’, iamarama ‘new’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimension</strong></td>
<td>uunta ‘big’, fikapařī ‘small, little’, asarama ‘long, tall’, sutara ‘short’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Value</strong></td>
<td>pīnkira ‘good’, mitika ‘equal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Color</strong></td>
<td>mukusa ‘black’, kapantu ‘red’, puhu ‘white’, iankū ‘yellow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Physical Property</strong></td>
<td>haki ‘warm’, samika ‘fresh’, karia ‘bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shape</strong></td>
<td>tutupini ‘straight’, tīnti ‘round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Human Propensity</strong></td>
<td>kakarama ‘strong, valiant’, iupirama ‘wild’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.10. Discoursive functions of adjectives

Thompson (1988) identifies two main discoursive functions of property concept words: a) to predicate a property of some established discourse referent, and b) to introduce a new discourse referent. Both functions are found in Wampis; however, predicking a property of some established 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. In addition, relative clauses play also similar roles of introducing a new referent in the discourse and indicating a property of an established 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 *taïu* ‘oilbird’ is used metonymically 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:

---

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 patíisán óuhmtsattahe . . .
taiu = na patíjí-sa-nu ahumatu-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’a tajünka píŋki nikátjimahe . . .
ui = ka taiu = na = ka pinki nika-tʃa-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 taju úunteiti
nu = kataiu 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) jouŋʃuŋk núwa him’ar ajkán puhú hakú tímaji
iantʃuki nuá himara ankanta puhu hak-u tímaji
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 noun 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\textsuperscript{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. hintá nukurú úmaĩ madk wahôu
hintá nuku-ru umaĩ
trail\textsc{\textit{loc}} mother-1\textsc{sg}\textsc{\textit{gen}} sibling\textsc{\textit{1pl}/\textit{2pl}/3\text.sc{poss}}

maa-kũ waha-u
bathe+\textsc{ipfv-sim}\textsc{\textit{3sg}\textsc{ss}} stand+\textsc{ipfv-nmlr}
‘In the beach my mother’s brother was bathing’

\textsuperscript{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 miñóon wéjna*
Akum númpa hakin wina-u = na waina
Akum blood AUG come + IPFV-NM LR = ACC see + IPFV
‘having seen Akum, who was coming all bloodstained’

1c. *íís húnaka*
ii-sā 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 two 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 objects or names of animals: *Nantu* ‘Moon’ (male), *Tirinkasa* ‘decorative ribbon’ (female), *Himpi* ‘hummingbird’ (male), *Yacuma* ‘howler monkey’ (male), *Ipaku* ‘achiote’ (female), *Nusi* ‘peanut’ (female). Other names seem to be nominalizations of verbs: *Nuninku* ‘one who walks on wooden planks’
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexeme</th>
<th>Male ego</th>
<th>Female ego</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iatsu (1 and 2 person)</td>
<td>same-sex sibling or parallel cousin</td>
<td>____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iatʃi (3 person)</td>
<td>cousin</td>
<td>____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uma [uma]</td>
<td>different-sex sibling or parallel cousin</td>
<td>different-sex sibling or parallel cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai [kei]</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>same-sex sibling or parallel cousin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.2. Kinship terms for siblings-in-law and cousin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexeme</th>
<th>Male ego</th>
<th>Female ego</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sai [sei]</td>
<td>same-sex sibling-in-law or parallel cousin</td>
<td>____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iua [jua]</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>same-sex sibling-in-law or parallel cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uahi [wahi]</td>
<td>different-sex sibling-in-law</td>
<td>different-sex sibling-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unɨsu [unɨsu]</td>
<td>different-sex cross-cousin</td>
<td>different-sex cross-cousin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other gendered kinship terms are presented in Table 10.3. The term *inkatʃi* denotes either ‘mother’ or ‘grandmother’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grandparent</td>
<td>apatʃi</td>
<td>nukutʃi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>inkatʃi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent or parent’s same-sex sibling</td>
<td>apa</td>
<td>nuku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>inka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent of different-sex sibling</td>
<td>iitʃi</td>
<td>ʃaʃsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent-in-law</td>
<td>uiar</td>
<td>ʃaʃsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>uʃʃi</td>
<td>nauanta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{a}\) The term ʃaʃsa 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, *utʃi* means ‘child’ in general. The word *tiranki* is not based on gender, it means ‘grandchild’. The Spanish words <cunado> ‘brother-in-law’, <papá> ‘father’, <mamá> ‘mama’ 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 \( \text{\textdegree} \) on the last vowel, cf. \( \text{i\text{n}s\text{\textdegree}a} \) ‘river’ vs. \( \text{i\text{n}s\text{\textdegree}d} \) ‘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. \textit{pank\textit{i}} ‘white-lipped peccary’ > \textit{i\textit{unk\textit{i}} p\textit{aki}} ‘collared peccary’, \textit{i\textit{au\textit{a}}} ‘predatory carnivore’\textsuperscript{181} > \textit{su\textit{a}t\textit{\textdegree}i\textit{a\textit{au\textit{a}}}} ‘species of black jaguar’ (cf. \textit{s\textit{u\textit{a-t\textit{\textdegree}}}h\textit{uito\textit{t\textdegree}}} ‘huito\textsuperscript{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, \textit{i\textit{ak\textit{u\textit{m}} s\textit{amp\textit{i}}} [jak\textit{\u{u}}m samp\textit{i}] ‘type of fruit’ is composed of \textit{i\textit{ak\textit{u\textit{m}}} [jak\textit{\u{u}}m] ‘howler monkey’ and \textit{s\textit{amp\textit{i}}} [s\textit{\u{a}mpi}] ‘shimbillo fruit (\textit{Inga

\textit{Gen\textit{\i{p}a americana}}, from which a black dye is obtained.

\textsuperscript{181} Used for ‘jaguar’ and ‘dog’.

\textsuperscript{182} \textit{Gen\textit{\i{p}a americana}, from which a black dye is obtained.
In the compound *iakum_sampi*, 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. *naientša* ‘sea, ocean’ (*naia* ‘big, immense’ + *intša* ‘river’).

Table 10.4 provides examples for the type of combination of roots or stems that are found in compound nouns in Wampis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hapa iauā [hápa ŋawāā]</td>
<td>‘type of puma’</td>
<td>deer + dog</td>
<td>N+N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uun uuih [úun uu dishonest]</td>
<td>‘thumb finger’</td>
<td>big + finger</td>
<td>Adj+N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsama mama [tsamá mamá]</td>
<td>‘manioc sp.’</td>
<td>become.brownish + manioc</td>
<td>V+N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ima napi [imá nápi]</td>
<td>‘boa sp.’</td>
<td>intensifier + boa</td>
<td>Adv+N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Root</td>
<td>Diminutive</td>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>Attributive Benefactive Plural.SAP (Diminutive)</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Case</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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,\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{183} This corresponds to Overall’s 2007 “suffixing class” in Awajun.
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 -mi. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person\Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>ĕ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>V-mi (OR) V-mi</td>
<td>ĕ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ĕ̃</td>
<td>ĕ̃</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As just noted, in Type II possessed nouns, the quality of the last vowel of the possessed noun stem changes between i and ĕ. 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 ĕ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preceding vowel</th>
<th>Last vowel of Noun (Nominative form)</th>
<th>Last vowel of Noun (Possessed form)</th>
<th>Nominative form</th>
<th>Possessed form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[-front, -low]</td>
<td>a, u</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>nuwa ‘woman’</td>
<td>nuwĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>numpa ‘blood’</td>
<td>numpĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>muuka ‘head’</td>
<td>muukĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>uwiha ‘hand’</td>
<td>uwihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>winu ‘mouth’</td>
<td>winĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elsewhere</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>jawa’a ‘dog’</td>
<td>jawaĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hinta ‘trail’</td>
<td>hintĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kata ‘penis’</td>
<td>katĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>i, i</td>
<td>i, i</td>
<td>suwi ‘throat’</td>
<td>suwĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>japi ‘face’</td>
<td>japiĩ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.9. Paradigms of Type I and Type II person/possessive marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type I Example: nauantu ‘daughter’</th>
<th>Type II Example: muuka ‘head’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg mina nauantu-ru</td>
<td>mina muuka-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg amina nauantu-rumi</td>
<td>amina muuki-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg nina nauantu-rĩ</td>
<td>nina muukĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl iina nauantu-rĩ</td>
<td>iina muukĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl atumí nauatu-rĩ</td>
<td>atumí muukĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl nitá nauantu-rĩ</td>
<td>nitá muukĩ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 *iauaā* ‘dog’, *nanki* ‘spear’, and *uinu* ‘mouth’, which in their underived form all receive Type II possessive marking. When suffixed with the diminutive -tıʃi, they switch to Type I. Table 10.10 illustrates this with a paradigm.

Table 10.10. Possessive marking with nouns derived with the diminutive -tıʃi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Type II marking (1pl/2pl/3)</th>
<th>Diminutive stem: Type I marking (1pl/2pl/3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>iauaā</em> ‘dog’</td>
<td><em>iauaī</em></td>
<td><em>iawā-a-tıʃi-rī</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nanki</em> ‘spear’</td>
<td><em>nankī</em></td>
<td><em>nanki-tıʃi-rī</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uinu</em> ‘mouth’</td>
<td><em>uinī</em></td>
<td><em>uinu-tıʃi-rī ~ uini-tıʃi-rī</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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 iatsu ‘brother of male’ occurs as iatʃi [jatʃi] with the 3 person possessor. This is surely a phonological reduction of iatsu-ʃi (brother-DIM\1PL/2PL/3.Poss). As an aside note, this word occurs often times with the Spanish diminutive -ito: [jaʃʃito].)

• ʃiʃama ‘speech’ has the possessed form ʃiʃami even though by the rules given in Table 10.8 it would be expected to have the possessed form ʃiʃami. The word aninta ‘magical song’ also has a special possessed form aninti (not aninti, 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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type I</th>
<th>Type II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aifu ‘husband’</td>
<td>aui ‘child of uma’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apa ‘father’</td>
<td>kai ‘sister (of female)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iatsu ‘brother’</td>
<td>pataa ‘relative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii̊fi ‘uncle’</td>
<td>sai ‘brother in law (of male)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuku ‘mother’</td>
<td>uma ‘sibling of opposite sex’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui̊fi ‘uncle’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amiku/kumpa ‘friend’ (from Spanish)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type I</th>
<th>Type II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ampu</em> ‘guts’</td>
<td><em>hii</em> ‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kuntu</em> ‘arm’</td>
<td><em>iapı</em> ‘face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>munıtśu</em> ‘nipple’</td>
<td><em>kanauı</em> ‘branch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mii</em> ‘kidney’</td>
<td><em>kata</em> ‘penis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>titi</em> ‘Adam’s apple’</td>
<td><em>muuka</em> ‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ukunifū</em> ‘bone’</td>
<td><em>sui</em> ‘neck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>uinu</em> ‘mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>uıha</em> ‘hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>suafifī</em> ‘lung’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type I</th>
<th>Type II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kanu</em> ‘boat/canoe’</td>
<td><em>nunka</em> ‘land’, ‘territory’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pininka</em> ‘pot’</td>
<td><em>hinta</em> ‘trail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tauasa</em> ‘feathered crown’</td>
<td><em>iauaañ</em> ‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>aninta</em> ‘magical song’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>nanki</em> ‘spear’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haantʃi ‘cloth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiā ‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iauaā ‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃimpui ‘stool’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.4.2. Diminutive -ʃi

As seen in Table 10.5, the diminutive -ʃi 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 utʃi ‘child’. As a suffix -ʃi clearly corresponds to the canonical [N Adj] word order in Jivaroan languages. Here are some examples of the diminutive in Wampis:

(2)
numi         numi-ʃi
‘tree’       ‘little tree’

tʃinki       tʃinki-ʃi
‘bird’       ‘little bird’

munʃtu       munʃtu-ʃi
‘breast’     ‘little breast’
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)
\[
\text{iaki} \quad \text{iaki-ʃi}
\]

'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:
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)

\[ nih\text{ʃ}\text{-}a \text{ʃ} \text{ʃ} \text{ʃ} \text{a} \text{ umarmí } \]
\[ nih\text{ʃ}\text{-}a \text{ʃ} \text{ʃ} \text{ʃ} \text{a} = j\text{a} \quad \text{uma-ra-mí} \]
\[ \text{manioc.beer-DIM = ADD} \quad \text{drink-DISTR-HORT} \]

‘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)

\[ \text{uʃi-tʃi-tʃi-tʃi}^{185} \]
\[ \text{child-DIM-DIM-DIM} \]

‘very very young’

185. This is an elicited example.
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-tʃi* does not mean ‘a little straight’ but ‘quite straight’; and its use on *pɨnkira* ‘good’, interestingly, yields a more adverbial sense of ‘very’.

(8) *tutupini-tʃi pɨnkira-tʃi ə-ina nu = na hu-kí*

’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 -tɪnu

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 -tɪnu occurs with a Type I possessed stem are:
(9) tʃitʃamrintin
 tʃitʃama-ri-tinu\(^{186}\)
speech-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRIB
‘with authority’ (Lit.: ‘owner of his speech’)

(10) ɛɛ̃rintin
 aiju-ri-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 ṭ in the possessed form of ‘woman’ (the non-possessed root is nua).

(11) nuwɛntin
 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.

\(^{186}\) Notice that the possessed form of tʃitʃama ‘speech’ can also occur with Type II morphology,
as we saw in §10.4.1.5.
(12) Oskar náartín
Oscar  naa-ru-tinu
Oscar  name-1SG-ATTRIB
‘My name is Oscar.’

(13) wik’a 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 polysemantic 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 only occurs preceding the possessum; whereas -nau attaches to a possessor noun that occurs after the possessum, as in (14)–(15).
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 apárna wéiti

húka = ka apa-ru-nau = aiti

PROX = FOC father-1SG-BEN = COP.3 + DECL.

‘This is for my father.’

(17) súwa aáwei tikířìk nampitán edémoun

Sua aa-ua-i tikířìkíí nampita = na Eder- na = na
Huito write + IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL. one song = ACC Eder-BEN = ACC

‘Huito is writing a song for Eder.’

(18) wíi namakán inkařír̥nau iťáje

ui namaka = na inkaří-ru- na = na ita-ha-i
1SG fish = ACC mother-1SG-BEN = ACC bring-1SG.SBJ-DECL.

‘I bring fish for my mother.’
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 dínanuiti
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.
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 -tʃau

The negative -tʃau is historically composed of the verbal negative morpheme -tʃa and the Set II nominalizer -u (§15.4.5). As the name indicates, -tʃau negates or inverts

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-tʃau ‘not a man’
(24) ikama ‘forest’ ikama-rí-tʃau ‘unforested’  
forest-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-NEG.NMLZ
(25) aifu-rí-tinu ‘with husband’ aifu-rí-tʃau ‘without husband’ (i.e. bachelor female)  
husband-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-NEG.NMLZ

The negative nominalizer -tʃau can also attach to verbs and adjectives, as seen in §15.4.7. The examples in (26) show -tʃau with verbs, and examples in (27) illustrate it with adjectives.

(26)
iu ‘eat’ iu-á-tʃau ‘one who did not eat’ (‘eat-HIAF-NEG.NMLZ’)
ʧiʧa ‘speak’ ʧiʧa-tʃau ‘one who does not speak’ (=‘quiet’) (speak+IPFV-NEG.NMLZ)

(27)
pinkira ‘good’ pinkira-tʃau ‘bad’
uunta ‘big’ uunta-tʃau ‘not big’

Similarly to -nau, -tʃau can surface as [tʃu] if the vowel /a/ is in a position to be deleted. For instance, the surface realization of ʧiʧa-tʃau ‘quiet’, in (26) above, is [ʧiʧatʃu].

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) ɨ́ ti wîawee
[ɨti] uí-a-ua-i
yellow.wasp go-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'The yellow wasp is going.'

(29) íkam ìskuŋkán tukúmaji
[Ikama] ìskuŋká = 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 karámrumhec
[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 ʧikaptʃiʃin súšaru
[utʃi ʧikapiʃi-ʧi] = na su-sa-ara-u
child little-DIM = ACC give-ATT-PL-NMLZ
‘They gave [him] the little child.’

(32) útʃi kakáram atjnuw weinkamiaji
[utʃi 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 [naŋki]\(^{188}\) when it is the object NP, with the placement of high tone as the only evidence of accusative marking:

(33) **naŋkí húkí**

nankí  hu-kí  

spear\(\text{ACC}\)  take-\(\text{WHILE.MOVING}\)\(\text{\textbackslash 3SG.SS}\)

‘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 underlingly 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 [ŋk] in the coda is prohibited. Thus, consider:

(34) **naŋkínja húkí**

nanki = na = ŋa  hu-kí  

spear = \(\text{ACC} = \text{ADD}\)  take-\(\text{WHILE.MOVING}\)\(\text{\textbackslash 3SG.SS}\)

‘Having taken the spear too…’

\(^{188}\) But notice that this varies with [naŋkín], where the nasal consonant occurs at the end.
In terms of its distribution, the accusative can attach to demonstratives and personal pronouns. In this respect, an interesting distributional feature of =\textit{na} is that when a demonstrative occurs in the noun phrase, the accusative =\textit{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 =\textit{na} on both elements of the phrase. This contrast with the distribution (37), where =\textit{na} is on the last element only.

(35) *nankįnak hú-ki*

\[nanki = na = ki \quad hu-ki\]

\[\text{spear} = \text{ACC} = \text{RESTR} \quad \text{take-while.moving} \backslash \text{3SG.SS}\]

‘Having taking the spear only…’

(36) *núna fuarán weĩmiaji*

\[nu = na \quad ŋuara = na \quad \text{waina-ma-ji}\]

\[\text{ana} = \text{ACC} \quad \text{person} = \text{ACC} \quad \text{look-rec.pt-3.pt + decl}\]

‘He saw that person.’

(37) *fuár sutarán weĩmiaji*

\[ŋuara \quad \text{sutara} = na \quad \text{waina-mia-ji}\]

\[\text{person short} = \text{ACC} \quad \text{look-dist.pt-3.pt + decl}\]

‘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 ‘Tsiktijiku’, both receive = na. Likewise, in (39), the objects of ‘inform’, ‘that’ and ‘you’, also receive the accusative = na.

(38) nāsi t̥siktisiku juakán susámaji
Nāsi [Tsiktijiku] = na [Juaka] = na su-sa-ma-jī
Nāsi T̥sikstsiku = ACC beaded.necklace = ACC give-ATT-REC-PT-3,PT
‘Nase gave T̥sektseku a beaded necklace.’

(39) núna ámína uháktatham
nu = na ami = na uha-ka-tata-hami
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 Ī. 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 Ī or Ín. 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) *utʃiri nûŋka*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>utʃi-rí</th>
<th>nunka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child-1PL/2PL/3.POSS\GEN</td>
<td>land</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Our children’s land’

(41) *utʃiɾ*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>utʃi-rí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child-1PL/2PL/3.POSS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 *[jûmi]*.

(42) *jumí tʃɨntʃak naŋkimaáta*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jumí</th>
<th>tʃɨntʃaka</th>
<th>nankima-á-tá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rain\GEN</td>
<td>dart</td>
<td>throw-HIAF-IMP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Throw a rain’s dart!’

The next example shows the Genitive form *ñ* word-finally; in the Nominative
form, the high pitch would be located in the second /a/: matáu.

(43) matoún kátĩ
mataún kátĩ
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.
Table 10.15. Nominative and Genitive forms of personal pronouns in Wampis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ui</td>
<td>mina ~ uina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ami</td>
<td>amina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>nĩ</td>
<td>nina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>iina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>atumi</td>
<td>atumí~atumina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>nita</td>
<td>nitá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [nǐtʰa] 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 Ŷn, 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, accusative and genitive forms of numi 'tree' and naiapi
'swallow-tailed kite'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>numi [númi]</td>
<td>numi = na [numín]</td>
<td>numí [numí]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naiapi [najáp]</td>
<td>naiapi = na [najapín]</td>
<td>naiapí [najapí]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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 -V (Overall 2007).

¹⁹¹ The first three examples in Table 10.15 are of words that were found in the database with
the Ŷn genitive form, however notice that they can also occur simply as Ŷ# in the genitive.
Table 10.17. Sample of nominative, accusative and genitive forms of nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative (=na)</th>
<th>Genitive (ÜN or Ê)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʰtsünki ‘water spirit’</td>
<td>ʰtsunkína</td>
<td>ʰtsunkín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matáu ‘palm’</td>
<td>mataúna</td>
<td>mataún</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰjuára ‘person’</td>
<td>ʰjuarána</td>
<td>ʰjuarán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰʃáí ‘bear’</td>
<td>ʰʃaína</td>
<td>ʰʃaí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>núá ‘woman’</td>
<td>nuána</td>
<td>nuá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 diminutive -ʃʃi and the possessor person markers. Table 10.18 shows nominative and vocative forms of nouns with possessor person markers and the diminutive.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jatsúr</td>
<td>jatsurú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jatsu-ru</td>
<td>jatsu-rú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother-1SG</td>
<td>brother-1SG\VOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuwarú</td>
<td>nuwarú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nua-ru</td>
<td>nua-rú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife-1SG</td>
<td>wife-1SG\VOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utʃitʃi</td>
<td>utʃitʃi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utʃi-tʃi</td>
<td>utʃi-tʃi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child-DIM</td>
<td>child-DIM\VOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nukutʃi</td>
<td>nukutʃi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuku-tʃi</td>
<td>nuku-tʃi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother-DIM</td>
<td>mother-DIM\VOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nukutʃi-ru</td>
<td>nukutʃi-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuku-tʃi-ru</td>
<td>nuku-tʃi-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother-DIM-1SG</td>
<td>mother-DIM-1SG\VOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apa ‘father’</td>
<td>apa-uá [apawá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuku ‘sister’</td>
<td>nuku-uá [nuwuá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nauatu ‘daughter’</td>
<td>nauantá [nawantá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uti ‘child’</td>
<td>utítá [utítá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nua ‘woman/wife’</td>
<td>nuatá [nuwatá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iatsu ‘brother of male’</td>
<td>iatsutá [jatsutá]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These forms alternate with a “regular” vocative form that is formed by the root plus a person/possession marker; e.g. iatsurú ‘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
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 matʃu ‘boy’ (from Spanish < macho > ‘male’) or suki ‘testicle’ to address their sons in a familiar way. The term juni ‘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 iitʃi [iɪtʃ] ‘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’ + possessor
marker, or nukuti ‘grandmother’; also the Spanish <mamá> ‘mother’ is used.

• Close friends or relatives also use the form iatíto [iatíto] (iatí ‘brother + 3’ plus the
Spanish diminutive -ito) to address each other in informal contexts—this form is
specially common among young male speakers. Otherwise, the more traditional
forms iatsu-rú ‘brother-1sg\voc, or iatsutá (brother-voc), which are still very common,
are used.

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) pu̱hupät kutajkán nahánarmaji
[puhupata]  [kutanka] = na nahana-ra-ja-mi
Puhupat bench = ACC make-DISTR-REC-PT-3.PT + DECL
‘Puhupat made a bench.’

The NP can be determined by a demonstrative, by tikiti ‘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 aiatiki (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, tikitʃ ‘other’, personal pronoun acting as articles, quantifiers, aia and aiatki ‘only’) do not co-occur. Modification with uiantu ‘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.

Figure 11.1. Structure of Noun Phrase

The structure provided in Figure 11.1 serves to introduce the NP constructions in the next sections.

194. A demonstrative and tikitʃ ‘other’ co-occur only when tikitʃ 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, tikiti ‘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. 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) nūna juarán weïnkamheec
nu =na juara = na pînkira = 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

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) *miña patār*

\[
\text{mina} \quad \text{pataa-ru} \\
1\text{SG.GEN} \quad \text{relative-1SG}
\]

‘My relatives’

Apparently, the marking of possession is not obligatory when the possessor is not animate. Compare:

(4) *miña nūŋkar*

\[
\text{mina} \quad \text{nunka-ru} \\
1\text{SG.GEN} \quad \text{land-1SG}
\]

‘my land’

(5) *miṯā nūŋka*

\[
\text{miṯā} \quad \text{nunka} \\
\text{cold/GEN} \quad \text{land}
\]

‘the land of cold’

There are cases of nesting with possessive NPs, as the following example shows.

(6) *miña nukūṭru nukurī*

\[
\text{mina} \quad \text{nukūṭru} \quad \text{nuku-rī} \\
1\text{SG.GEN} \quad \text{grandmother-1SG} \quad \text{mother-1PL/2PL/3.POSS}
\]

‘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) fuáù sutáù wiáweś
[ʃuara sutara] ui-a-ua-i
person short go-ipfv-3.sbj-DECL
‘The short person is going.’

(8) núwa píŋkìr taámajjì
nua píŋkìra ta-á-ma-jì
woman good arriv-hiaf-rec,pt-3,pt + decl
‘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 wìní aparú
[nua [uinì apa-ra-u]]
womanmouth\1pl/2pl/3.poss put.together-distr-nmlz
‘the woman that sew her mouth’

(10) píntʃu nayáp tamóò
[píntʃu [naiapi ta-mau]]
raptor.bird swallow-tailed.kite say-nmlz
‘The bird called Nayap’.

500
The other strategy of relativization is done by relativizing a copula verb with a demonstrative, as shown in (11) and (12).

(11) *nuu juą́r mikút anú*

[nu juara [Mikut a = nu]]

non.vis person Mikut cop = non.vis

‘that Person who was Mikut’

(12) *utʃiří ʃakéjna ánuna*

[utʃi-ri [tsaka-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) ɨfai ɨfjamí antira presentations ɨna nů
ɨfai ɨfjamí antu-ra-kā [iauaa a-ina nů]
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) juar pinjirjau ɨna nuka
[juar pinkira-ɨfau a-ina nů] = 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) waruʃiri ɨna huu
[waru-ʃiri a-ina] = na huu-kā
thing-DIM-1PL/2PL/2.POSS COP-PL.IPfv = ACC gather-INTENS\3SG.SS
‘having gathered her little things’
(16) nûna uﬁ̱n unúimarû ējnan iákmiahecc
[nu = na uﬁ̱i = 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) kuntûn ējnanam
[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 ējna
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 uiantu ‘group’

The word uiantu can modify a noun to provide the idea of ‘group’ or ‘class of N’.

The minimal structure in which this construction occurs is:

[N wiantu]
In this construction, the noun has to be an overt expression in the NP and must precede the modifier *uiantu*. Interestingly, the copula plus plural marker (*a-ina*) never occurs when *uiantu* occurs (i.e. they are in a complementary distribution). Semantically, the *uiantu*-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 *uiantu* ‘group’. The following phrase was translated as ‘sachamango and its varieties’:

(19) *apéi wíantu*

    apai   uiantu
    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 *uiantu*] 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 *uiantu* 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
that meaning, in Wampis the more literal meaning is ‘a group who are crippled.’

(20)

a. *nuí kuntúnam muûnkaru wîantu*

\[\text{nuí } \text{kuntu} = \text{nama } \muûn\text{-ka-ara-u } \text{uiantu} \]

there arm = LOC cripple-INTENS-PL-NMLZ group

‘they [became] crippled,’ (Lit.: ‘They became cripplers in their arms’)

b. *tânkîrîn kuî'aru wîantu hasârmiâji*

\[\text{tanki-rî } \text{kui-ka-ara-u } \text{uiantu has-ara-mia-ji} \]

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: \(=n\text{Vma}, =\text{(n)}\text{t}i\), and high tone on the last surface vowel (symbolized here as \(\text{\^{V}}\)), as indicated in Table 11.1. The first two are used for spatial and temporal location, whereas \(\text{\^{V}}\) 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postpositional morphemes</th>
<th>Spatial</th>
<th>Temporal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(=n\text{Vma})</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(=\text{(n)}\text{t}i)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{^{V}})</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main distinction between \(=n\text{Vma}\) and \(=\text{(n)}\text{t}i\) is just morphological conditioning: \(=\text{(n)}\text{t}i\) only occurs with possessed noun stems and bare demonstratives, whereas \(=\text{numa}\) 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) híá puha\(\text{\`a}\)we

híá puha-ua-i

house\(\text{\textit{\textsc{loc}}\text{-}\text{live}}\) + IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

‘He is in the house.’

(22) híá\(\text{\`a}=\text{numa}\) puha\(\text{\`a}\)we

híá = numa puha-ua-i

house = Loc live + IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

‘He is in the house.’

In the next examples, the locative \textit{=numa} marks direction with motion verbs:

(23) húqán\(\text{\`a}=\text{numa}\) ta\(\text{\`a}\)ji

híá = numa taa-\(\text{\`a}\)-ji

house = Loc arrive-HIAF-3.PT + DECL

‘He arrived at the house.’

(24) húqán\(\text{\`a}=\text{numa}\) wí-ma-ji

híá = numa wi-\(\text{\`a}\)-ma-ji

house = Loc go-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL

‘He went to the house.’

In the above examples, \textit{=numa} is used; following are some examples with the other locatives with approximately the same propositional content as in (23)–(24) above:
(25) *hiáru ñtaáji*
hiá-ru =í ta-á-ji
house-1SG =LOC arrive-HIAF-3.PT +DECL
‘He arrived at my house.’

(26) *hiá ñtaáji*
hiá 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) *afí útankín wúnnum úfimpiawee*
afí útankina uunta = numa úfimpi-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.
‘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) wampisñum nük apútam ówei
wampisa = nVma nukapi 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) urútʃ kutámramu áunam
[urutʃi kutama-ra-mau a-u = nama]
cotton thread-DISTR-NMLZ exist-NMLZ = LOC
‘Where there is a [ladder made of] threaded cotton’

(31) iauãa matsãmounam
[iauãa matsa-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) matsámsami támounam
matsama-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) intsáียน nam utúk wišamunam šuàr pampa tímaji nuhišam
intsá = ṭsi = nama utu-ku wi-inu-mau = nama
river = DIM = LOC collect-SIM go-PL-IPFV-NMLZ = LOC
šuara pampa tímaji nuhi = nama
person make.noise + IPFV NARR nose = LOC
‘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) nūu juwi ukámðramunam nuiñá núwǐka waínkamuiti naháanruiti tíņu ármaji
nu iuui ukama-ra-mau = nama nuĩ = ia
NON-VIS squash spill-DIST-NMLZ = LOC there = ABL
‘Because that squash had been spilled, ever since then,

nuĩ = ka uaina-ka-mau = iti nahana-ra-u = iti
clay = FOC look-INTENS-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL make-DIST-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).
‘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 hu'nk'a awarúnka aïsúhakuìti
   iauntʃuki = ka huï = ka auaruni = ka a-tsú-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 jaméé tʃítʃám nákánjìkamunam
   hu = ka jamài tʃítʃama nankana-ka-mau = nama
   NON,VIS = FOC now problem197 finish-INTENS-NMLZ = LOC
   ‘Now when the problems have ended’

c. tʃítʃámì iwáramunam
   tʃítʃámì iuara-mau = nama
   problems fix-NMLZ = LOC
   ‘Because the problems were fixed’

d. awarúnkà kámi hu'nk'a ušáñàwëíti
   awarunka kami huï-ni = ka ušásána-u = aiti
   Awajun INTERJ here-ALL = FOC enter-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL.
   ‘The Awajun have entered over here’

197. The word tʃítʃámì means ‘speech, language, word’, and also ‘problem’.

511
e.  
\textit{huín/a kámi kahíra
ajamu atsú túsa}

\begin{align*}
\text{huí} & = \text{ka} \quad \text{kahi-ra-nai-a-mau} \\
\text{here} & = \text{FOC} \quad \text{be.angry-IPFV-NMLZ}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{a-tsu-tí} & \quad \text{tu-sâ} \\
\text{exist-NEG-JUSS} & \quad \text{say-SUB\3SG,SS}
\end{align*}

‘having said, “Let it not exist hatred here,”’

f.  
\textit{maa túk ÿíkumumum ñíkemunam ñị́sínunam}

\begin{align*}
\text{maa} & \quad \text{tuki} \quad \text{ị́tʃama} \quad \text{umi-ka-mau} = \text{náma}^{198} \\
\text{INTERJ} & \quad \text{INTERJ} \quad \text{problem} \quad \text{finish-INTENS-NMLZ} = \text{LOC} \\
\text{inai-sa-mau} & = \text{náma} \\
\text{stop.doing-ATT-NMLZ} & = \text{LOC}
\end{align*}

‘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’).

\textbf{11.5.1.2. Locative = (n)í}

The locative = (n)í occurs on demonstratives and nouns. The allomorph = ní occurs following another vowel i or u. Unlike = nVma, = (n)í only attaches to possessed noun stems. Thus notice the following different locative markings:

\begin{align*}
\text{(36)} & \quad \text{hiá = nam} \quad \sim \quad \text{hiá} \quad \sim \quad \text{hia-ru = í} \\
& \quad \text{house\loc} \quad \text{house = loc} \quad \text{house-1sg = loc}
\end{align*}

‘in the house’ ‘in the house’ ‘in my house’

---

198. The phrase \textit{ị́tʃama umikama}u has a conventionalized meaning of ‘agree’, ‘pact’ (‘finish the problem’).
(37) míña piníŋruĩ
mina   pininka = ru-ĩ
1sg.gen   pot = 1sg-loc
‘in my pot’

The locative = (n)i 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 ņ

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 Ź

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ikama</td>
<td>[ík'am]</td>
<td>[ík'am]</td>
<td>‘forest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intša</td>
<td>[íntša]</td>
<td>[intšá]</td>
<td>‘river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hīa</td>
<td>[hīa] ~ [hīːa]</td>
<td>[hīá] ~ [hīːá]</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numi</td>
<td>[númi]</td>
<td>[numí]</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aha</td>
<td>[áha]</td>
<td>[ahá]</td>
<td>‘farm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunka</td>
<td>[núŋka]</td>
<td>[nuŋká]</td>
<td>‘land, earth, below (with loc)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pininka</td>
<td>[piɲŋ]</td>
<td>[piɲŋ]</td>
<td>‘pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iaki</td>
<td>[jáki]</td>
<td>[jakí]</td>
<td>‘high place, above (with loc)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuhi</td>
<td>[núhi]</td>
<td>[nuhí]</td>
<td>‘upstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinta</td>
<td>[hínta]</td>
<td>[hintá]</td>
<td>‘trail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inita</td>
<td>[iɲ́t]</td>
<td>[iɲ́t]</td>
<td>‘inside, bottom’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [iɲ́t] in the nominative and in the locative if there is no other morpheme following. However, when the restrictive =*ki* is added and the underlying last vowel surfaces, the high tone moves to the last vowel if it is marked for the locative.

(38) *aʃi aʃi aʃi initá ƞ źiniták iʃintukar*
aʃi aʃi aʃi inita = ki inita = ki i-ʈina-tu-ka-ara
all all all bottom = RESTR bottom = RESTR CAUS-dig-APPL-INTENS-3PL-SS
‘They dug all around underneath.’
The following elicited examples further clarify the importance of distinguishing high tone placement for the locative. The verb ui ‘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) ík’ám wiáhee
íkama wi-a-ha-i
Ikam go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
‘I am becoming Ikam.’

(40) ík’ám wiáhee
ikám wi-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 Ñ 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 fuareïtmi?
kuamaka = ia = ka füara = ita-mi
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) *wabálijaítée*
Huabal = ia = aita-ha-i
Huabal = ABL = COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL
‘I am from Huabal.’

(46) *wabálnumiaítée*
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intṣa</td>
<td>‘river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hīa</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uaã</td>
<td>‘hole, cave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numi</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuĩja</td>
<td>‘puddle, lake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuhi</td>
<td>‘up stream, above stream’ (cf. nuhi ‘nose’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amai</td>
<td>‘other side of the river’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With verbs of motion, the ablative marks the starting point or source of the
movement:

(47) *iquitusianʃa it'ármiaji*
Iquitus = ia = na = ŋa ita-ara-mia-ji
Iquitos = ABL = ACC = ADD bring-PL-DIST-PT-3.PT + DECL
‘They brought the one from Iquitos too.’

(48) *puértormiɲia wikáttahëe nantʃaheé*
puerto-rumi-ni = ia wika-tata-ha-ɪ nanʃa = haɪ
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 *nuĩ* ‘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), *nuĩ=ia* establishes the starting point of a period:

(49) *nuĩná für unuímaru ásar takáki wíñawei*
nuĩ = ia ʃiira unuima-ra-ɯ a-sa-ri
there = ABL well learn-DIST-NMLZ COP-SUB-1PL.SS

taka-ki wi-ina-ua-ɪ
work-WHILE.MOVING go-PL.IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
‘Ever since then, having learnt well, they continue to work.’

And in (50), *nuĩ = ia* (which appears in line b) means ‘also’:

(50)
a. *nuĩna ʦanĩŋk'an mamá kuntúriŋa әona nuĩna paáŋmaʃʃinfa siámu tímayi*
u = na tsaninka = na
NON.VIS = ACC manioc.stem = ACC
mamá kuntu-rī = 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. nuīña paánmaťin̄a siámu tímaji
nuī = ia paantama-t̄ī = na = ĵa sia-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) ámika wīja óu jatía̓̃mī
ami = ka ui = ia au iat̄ja = ita-mi
2SG = FOC 1SG = ABL DIST wise = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL.

‘You are wiser than me.’

(52) nījk’a wīja óu sutā̊ṛi̊jmī
nī = ka ui = ia au sutara-t̄ī = ita-mi
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 hɨánmajan juámaji
paantama = na hia = 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) ecuáðormianitʃa iťármaji
Ecuador = numa = ia = na = ŋa 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) nantuńʃa ſuárka wakítu hakú tímaji
nantu = ni = ŋa ſuara = ka wakítu hak-u ti-ma-ji
moon = ALL = ADD person = FOC return HAB,PT-NMLZ say + LOAF-REC,PT-3,PT + DECL
‘To the Moon199 the people used to return, she said.’

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) *amáïɲŋi katíŋ̱ kan wíakuń áńju ámaunam ímaní jahá wir̃ai*

\[\text{amai} = ní = ni \quad \text{katína-ka-nu} \quad \text{wí-a-ku-nu} \quad \text{áńju} \quad \text{a-mau} = \text{nama} \]

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) *ańman nápi áwai*

\[\text{aa} = \text{numa} = \text{ni} \quad \text{nápi} \quad \text{a-ua-i} \]

outside = LOC = ALL nápi exist-3.SBJ-DECL

‘There is a snake (somewhere) outside.’

(58) *ikámnunum puhawée*

\[\text{ikama} = \text{numa} = \text{ni} \quad \text{puh-a-ua-i} \]

forest = LOC = ALL live + IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL

‘he is (somewhere) in the forest.’

Notice that the ‘be somewhere 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 = *haĩ*

The comitative = *haĩ* indicates company or instrumental use of an object. In the next examples, the NP that receives = *haĩ* identifies the one with whom the Agent is
carrying out the action; i.e. these are comitative uses of = hai.

(59) mankártuaka niŋik’a ihámiatʃu nuwíyeɛ ihámu
má-karata-u = a = ka ní = ki = ka ihamu-a-tʃau
kill-1PL,OBJ-NMLZ = COP = FOC 3SG = REST = FOC jump-IPFV-NEG,NMLZ
‘The murderer, he did not jump alone,’

nuí = hai iha-mau
wife\1PL/2PL/3.POSS = COM jump-NMLZ
‘he jumped with his wife.’

(60) nantú núwí ́sá kámi matšátu tímaji nantújei
Nantú nuí a-sá kámi
Moon\GEN wife\1PL/2PL/3.POSS COP-SUB\3,SS INTERJ
‘Because she was Nantu’s wife,’

matšátu-u tímaji Nantu = hai
be.together-NMLZ NARR Moon = COM
‘She lived with Nantu.’

The next examples illustrate the instrumental use of = hai:

(61) ní weittiń numíheɛ awáʔtiawee
ní uaiti = na numí = hai auatu-a-ua-i
3SG door = ACC tree = COM hit-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
‘He hits that door with a stick.’

(62) númi naikhei hiŋk’áamuiti
numi naika = hai 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, = hai normally entails a
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) limanam papĩn akũpkarmiaji āmiŋa ūʃimheẽ
lima = nama  papi = na  akupi-ka-araj-mia-ji  amina  utʃi-mi-haĩ
‘They sent the document to Lima with your son.’

(64) kutʃirheẽ wĩaheẽ
kutʃi-ru = haĩ  wĩ-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) jãmãpĩ paântam hiámuheĩnsa yuãʃarmaʃi
[jiampi = na  [paantama  hia-mau = haĩ]] = na = Ja  iu-ã-ʃa-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) inkũniakuiti tikiti̱χik tsawântai nũ mikut jáma nãjãkâmtʃak mikut nahãnanaru anũheẽ
inkunia-ka-u = iti  tikiti̱ʃi ki savantiai  nu Mikut
meet.face.to.face-INTENS-NMLZ = COP.3SG + DECL  one  day  ana Mikut
‘One day that Mikut met’
The next examples are also reciprocal; notice the use of the reciprocal suffix on

the verb:

(67) **wampiska awarínhe mađinhakaruiti**

uampis\=ka\ auaruni=\#haí\ mäa-naí-hak-ara-\=iti

Wampis=FOC\ Awajun=COM\ fight-RECP-HAB.PT-PL-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

‘The Wampis and Awajun used to fight.’

(68) **Ekuadorheşi aşi arántusar úniamu awei**

Ecuador=haí=\#a\ aşi\ arantu-sa-ri\ ii-naí-a-mau\ a-ua-i

Ecuador=COM = ADD\ all\ respect-SUB-1PLSS\ 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 ḫitā\200 speak’ is

marked with the comitative. Examples (69)–(70) illustrate this point.

(69) **polisíaheşi ḫitāsmiaji**

polisía=haí=\#a\ ḫitā-sa-mia-ji

police=COM = ADD\ speak-ATT-REM.PT-1PL.SBJ + DECL

‘We had talked with the police.’

---

200. When bearing the attenuative -sa, ḫitāa acquires the sense of ‘talk, converse’.

524
(70) wíi miñahese amiheé tʃíʃádstasan
wi wina-ha-i ami = haí  tʃíʃa-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) míña papár uháti juaju oujmátmoon patʃíš tsírin iwáheč
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 patʃíš-sã [Tsiri = na Iwa] = haí
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’a awarunheink’a för juár dhaküti
[uampisa = ka auaruni] = haí = 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 ki
‘restrictive’. It always involves the idea of comitative, but unlike = haí, it appears that
= tuk does not have an instrumental use.
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) *fuar tí*

*Juara = tí*

*Person = SAP*

‘we the people’

(75) *wampis tí*

*Uampisa = tí*

*Wampis = SAP*

‘we the Wampis’

(76) *tíniati*

*ií = ní = ía = tí*

*1 PL = 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 tura 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 ethnonyms. An extended meaning of “among us” is also possible in this case:

(78) perunmajatík
Peru=nVma=ia=tí=kí
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) ūartírmika
ūara=tí-rumi=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) ūár énapitram
[ūara a-ina]=tí-rami
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) ífiʃa uuntʃa uʃʃiʃʃa nakúnaku hákur šír maʃámin éʃnahi
ii = ʃa uunTa = tí = ʃa utʃi = 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,’
jiira matsama-inu a-ina-hi
well inhabit.PL-NMLZ COP-PL.IP+FV-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) intsanamá wími
intsa = nama = á wi-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) níjá wakóo ásá. .
ní = á ua-ka-u a-sá
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) wijd huní wikátneitha
ui = á huni wika-tinu = ita-ha
1SG-AFF like.this walk-FUT.NMLZ = COP-1SG.SBJ + EXCL
‘Poor me, I’ll wander thus!’

(87) jātsuruá níŋki límanam wíahei
iatsu-ru = á ní = ki Lima = nama uf-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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Transitivity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanu 'sleep', iukuma 'swim', ha 'be sick'</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mā ‘kill’, uaina ‘see’, isai ‘bite’, antu ‘hear’</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su ‘give’, uha ‘tell, inform’, ini ‘ask’, nanki ‘throw’</td>
<td>Ditransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amu ‘flood’ or ‘plunge’, isa ‘burn up/oneself’ or ‘bite’</td>
<td>Labile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) *witatman hiyáttak wítatman ípati mááwaru timaji*

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{wi-tatamana} & \quad \text{hia-á-tata-kú} \\
go-\text{SBJ} & > \text{OBJ} \\
\text{arrive-HIAF-DEF.FUT-SIM} & > 3\text{SG.SS} \\
go-\text{SBJ} & > \text{OBJ} \\
\end{aligned}
\]

ípatí 	 mā-áu-ara-u 	 timaji

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{shoot+LOAF} & \quad \text{kill-HIAF-PL-NMLZ} \\
\text{NARR} & \\
\end{aligned}
\]

‘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 *mā* ‘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*

\[
\begin{aligned}
huan & = \text{ka} \\
\text{Juan} = \text{FOC} \\
\end{aligned}
\]

‘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 a-valent 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) nási ampúa tímaji
nasi ampu-a tímaji
wind blow-IPFV.NARR
‘The wind was blowing . . .’

(4) júmi fíir jútúkti
iumi fíira 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 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

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) *nuhánka fiír sínțî amútmastatak*

nuhanki = ka ʃiira sínțî amu-tama-sa-tata-kū

river.rise = FOC very strong flood-1.PL.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 ʃuarʃa inʃa amúawee*

au = ʃa ʃuaɾa = ʃa intśa amu-a-ua-i

DIST = ADD person = ADD rive\LOC plunge-IPFV-3-DECL

‘That person is also plunging into the river.’

(7) *óuʃa ʃuarʃa amúawee*

au = ʃa ʃuaɾa = 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Original Meaning</th>
<th>Auxiliary meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>copula</td>
<td>copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhu</td>
<td>live (grammaticalized as ‘be’)</td>
<td>continuous/habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maisatu</td>
<td>inhabit, live together (plural)</td>
<td>continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>‘gonna’/ ‘progressive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waha</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td>stative/body posture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipi</td>
<td>lie down</td>
<td>stative/body posture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikima</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>stative/body posture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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' and *kaninma* ‘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)

*aipa* ‘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’
*atisnu* ‘put on a garment for the head’

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*. 539
ikína ‘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’
pataki ‘put bracelet to someone else’ (from patak ‘bracelet’)‘
puku ‘plant manioc stems’
sipita ‘close a hole (in a wall)’
tia ‘pull out several (usually applied to plants)’
t̄sukapi ‘carry a light object in shoulder’ (from t̄sukapi ‘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)

h̄a ‘house’ → h̄a ‘arrive’
iumi ‘water, rain (N)’ → iumi ‘rain’
n̄sitsipi ‘chest’ → n̄sitsipi ‘lie down with chest on ground’
nupa ‘weed’ → nupa ‘increase weed (in a farm plot)’
pataki ‘bracelet’ → pataki ‘put beaded bracelet to someone else’
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal Root</th>
<th>Derived Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aaka ‘shack’</td>
<td>aaka-ma ‘build shack’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aha ‘farm’</td>
<td>aha-ma ‘make a farm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amiku ‘friend’ (&lt;Spanish &lt;amigo&gt;)</td>
<td>amiku-ma ‘make friend(s)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anintaï ‘heart’</td>
<td>anintaï-ma ‘think, remember’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hïa ‘house’</td>
<td>hïa-ma ‘build house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nantïiki ‘fingernail’</td>
<td>nantïiki-ma ‘scratch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuku ‘cover roof with palm leaves’</td>
<td>nuku-ma ‘put leaves on (to protect oneself from rain)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uasi ‘yarina palm leaves’</td>
<td>uasi-ma ‘put yarina threaded leaves on the roof’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ufi-ři ‘his/her child’ (child-3)</td>
<td>ufi-ři-ma ‘give birth (to his/her child)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uhaa ‘song of victory(^{205})’</td>
<td>uhaa-ma ‘sing uhaa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uku ‘behind’</td>
<td>uku-ma ‘leave behind, depopulate’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbalizer -ma is used to render native forms of verbs that are borrowed from Spanish:

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.
kanta-ma ‘sing’ (< Spanish < cantar >)
kuita-ma ‘take care’ (< Spanish < cuidar >)
kusina-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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>Get noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tu~ta</td>
<td>Meteorological</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tu ~ -ta</td>
<td>Action involve a sound</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’.

aijú-rí-na    husband-1PL/2PL/3.POSS  ‘get married (of a woman)’
nuí-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.
A suffix -tu~ta is used to create verbal stems that indicate the action of a meteorological event:

(13)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{išā} & \quad \text{‘sun’} \rightarrow \text{išāntu} \sim \text{išānta} \quad \text{‘shine’ (usually of sun)} \\
\text{piima} & \quad \text{‘lightning’} \rightarrow \text{piit}u \quad \text{‘flash lightning’ (no form piita was given for this form)} \\
\text{nasī} & \quad \text{‘wind’} \rightarrow \text{nasīntu} \sim \text{nasīnta} \quad \text{‘blow (of wind’)}
\end{align*}
\]

Though not meteorological verbs, the following derived verbs may be somehow related to the above examples:

(14)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maiai} & \quad \text{‘air, breath’} \rightarrow \text{maia-ta} \quad \text{‘breathe’} \\
\text{miśa} & \quad \text{‘cold’} \rightarrow \text{miśa-ta} \quad \text{‘refresh, calm fever’}
\end{align*}
\]

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)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kuarVtu} & \quad \text{‘snore’} \\
\text{uutu} & \quad \text{‘cry’} \\
\text{haat}u \sim \text{haafta} & \quad \text{‘sneeze’} \\
\text{ūhutu} \sim \text{ūhuta} & \quad \text{‘cough’}
\end{align*}
\]

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 -\textit{tika} and -\textit{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 -\textit{ni} and -\textit{tika}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived form with -\textit{ni}</th>
<th>Derived form with -\textit{tika}</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>Non-visible</td>
<td>nuni</td>
<td>nutika</td>
<td>‘do that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu</td>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>huni</td>
<td>hutika</td>
<td>‘do this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aanu</td>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>aani(^a)</td>
<td>aantika</td>
<td>‘do that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aa</td>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td>aini</td>
<td>aitika–aatika</td>
<td>‘do like that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ima</td>
<td>Intensifier</td>
<td>imani</td>
<td>imatika</td>
<td>‘do much’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Speakers vary their pronunciation between [aanni] and [aani].

The difference between -\textit{ni}/-\textit{tika} derived verb forms is based on the following principles:

- Forms derived with -\textit{ni} always occur to indicate actions of a subject, typically agentive, that occurs in the next clause.

- Forms derived with -\textit{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. \[...] *nih'amáñíʃ umík'ar*
   nihamáñíʃ  umi-ka-ri
   manioc.beer   prepare-INTENS-1.PL(SS)
   ‘... having prepared manioc beer,’

b. *ímanisar aʃi umík'ar*
   [imani-sa-ri]  aʃi  umi-ka-ri
   do.much-SUB-1.PL(SS)  all  prepare-INTENS-1.PL(SS)
   ‘doing that much, having prepared all’

c. *ii juáŋritʃa aʃi hukír wí mia-hti*
   ii  iú-á-tiu-ri = ja  aʃi  hu-ki-ri
   1.PL  eat-HIAF-FUT.NMLZ-1.PL(SS) = ADD  all  TAKE-WHILE.MOVING-1.PL(SS)
   wí-mia-hí
   go-DIST.PT-1.PL.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. [...] *mína núwar juarhe ṭwimatei*

\text{mina} nua-ru jua-ra-hai wi-matai

1SG,GEN woman-1SG person-COM go-1SG/3.DS

‘... when my wife went away with another man,’

b. *nutika-an kahikan*

[nutika-á-nu] kahi-ka-nu
do.that-HIAF-1SG,SS be.angry-INTENS-1SG,SS

‘having done that, having become angry,’

c. *natimá umármiahcei*

natimá uma-ra-miaha-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 َ-َا-َ-ْ

in line (c):

(23)

a. *taákmú ikihmartá*

ta-a-ku-mi ikihV-ma-ru-tá

come-IPFV-SIM-2SG,SS wash.hand-refl-APPL-imp

‘Coming (back from urinating), wash your hands!’

b. *uwíhim ísuárití tů hákuítí*

uihi-mi ísuata = 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 eñmankun títʃaük na wántʃa títʃaük

[aatika-sã] aʃumanku = na títʃa-ru-kã

do.like.that-SUB\3SG.SS man = ACC speak-APPL-INTENS\3SG.SS

nu = na = ʃa títʃa-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Derivational</th>
<th>.................................</th>
<th>+ Inflectional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)’ 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hapi-ka-ha-i</td>
<td>hapi-ka-tá, hapi-ma-tá</td>
<td>drag-INTENS-1SG.SBJ-DECL, drag-INTENS-IMP, drag-DUR-IMP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I just dragged it.’ ‘Drag it!’ ‘Drag it for a little while!’


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

206. The relation between perfective and aktionsart suffixes is examined in the next Chapter; cf. §13.3.
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 -fà 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-á(u)</td>
<td>‘High affectedness (change of state of Patient or of location of Agent)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>‘Low affectedness (no salient change of state of Patient or Agent)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>‘Intensive (action of Agent)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ki(ni)</td>
<td>‘Do while moving (away)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>‘Distributed action’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>‘Attenuative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>‘Do in proximity/while coming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u</td>
<td>‘Do in another location’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a / -ina</td>
<td>‘Imperfective’/‘Plural imperfective’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>‘Durative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>‘Present habitual’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mai</td>
<td>‘Potential’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 i (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)

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{Stem final a} & \\
Stem & Imperfective -a \\
\hline
ha ‘die’ & haa \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{Stem final i or i} & \\
Stem & Imperfective -a \\
\hline
hapi ‘drag, pull’ & hapia \\
i ‘see’ & iia \\
atʃi ‘grab’ & atʃia \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{Stem final i or i} & \\
Stem & Imperfective -a \\
\hline
hati ‘cut with axe’ & hatia \\
huri ‘lay eggs’ & huria \\
ki ‘burn’ & kiia \\
\end{tabular}
**Stem final u or uu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Imperfective -a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ihu ‘pierce, stab’</td>
<td>ihua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iku ‘move away’</td>
<td>ikua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasu ‘be/put inside in untidy way’</td>
<td>pasua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uu ‘hide’</td>
<td>uu²⁰⁷</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.8.1.2. Imperfective Conjugation II

Imperfective Conjugation II is defined by replacement of the last vowel /a, u, i/ 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.

556
examples illustrate the changes in the Imperfective Conjugation II.

(22)

**Stem final a and aa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akiina ‘give birth’</td>
<td>akiina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haa ‘tear’</td>
<td>haa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipaa ‘invite’</td>
<td>ipaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taka ‘work’</td>
<td>taka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Stem final ii**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hintii ‘find out’</td>
<td>hintia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hii ‘take out’</td>
<td>hia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inii ‘ask’</td>
<td>inia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Stem final i and ii**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tipi ‘lie down’</td>
<td>tipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anii ‘feel, be happy’</td>
<td>ania</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Stem final u and uu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tu ‘say’</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antu ‘listen’</td>
<td>anta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huu ‘gather, harvest’</td>
<td>hua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ɨ is inserted before the imperfective -a. If the verb stem ends in /i/ or /i/, the stem is unaffected (i.e., no inserted vowel ɨ 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem a</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uaura ‘despair, act in/become frenzy’</td>
<td>uauria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nankana ‘end’</td>
<td>nankania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihaka ‘break, open hard-shelled fruits’</td>
<td>ihakia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apiha ‘fold’</td>
<td>apihia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tu ~ ru</td>
<td>Applicative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| -tu ~ ru                 | First singular object
| -ra                      | Distributed Action |
| -tura~tama ~ rama        | 1pl/2 Object |
| -ma                      | Reflexive      |
| -ma                      | Verbalizer     |

* 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
when the aktionsart suffix is added. The examples in (26) illustrate the Perfective Conjugation I.

(26)

**Stem final a (and aa)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Imperfective -a</th>
<th>Perfective + Aktionsart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naka ‘wait’</td>
<td>naka</td>
<td>naka-ka (‘intensive’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aa ‘write’</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>aa-ra (‘distributed action’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Stem final i (and ii)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Perfective + Aktionsart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aki ‘pay’</td>
<td>akia</td>
<td>aki-ka (‘intensive’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hii ‘take out’</td>
<td>hia</td>
<td>hii-ra (‘Distributed action’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Stem final i (and ii)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Perfective + Aktionsart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḳtsikii ‘run’</td>
<td>ḳtsikia</td>
<td>ḳtsiki-i (low affectednes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hati ‘cut with axe’</td>
<td>hatia</td>
<td>hati-á (‘high affectedness’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kii ‘burn’</td>
<td>kiiia</td>
<td>kii-ka (‘intensive’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Stem final u (and uu)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Perfective + Aktionsart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>puhu ‘live’</td>
<td>puha</td>
<td>puhu-sa (‘attenuative’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umpu ‘blow’</td>
<td>umpua</td>
<td>umpu-i (‘low affectedness’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuarVtu</td>
<td>kUARTA</td>
<td>kuartu-ka (‘intensive’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Perfective + aktionsart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inii ‘ask’</td>
<td>inia</td>
<td>inia-sa (‘attenuative’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asaki ‘lock with bar’</td>
<td>asakia</td>
<td>asaka-á (‘high affectedness’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanu ‘sleep’</td>
<td>kana</td>
<td>kana-ra (‘distributed action’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umu ‘drink’</td>
<td>uma</td>
<td>uma-ra (‘distributed action’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)).
(28) kanármiaji
kana-ra-mia-ji
sleep.PFV-DISTR-DIST.PT-3.PT + DECL
‘He slept.’

(29) kanáwei
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. káti ‘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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anti ‘touch’</td>
<td>antia</td>
<td>antin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inku ‘find’</td>
<td>inkua</td>
<td>inkun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

563
katii ‘cross to other side of a river’  katia  katin
kau ‘get together (many)’  kauia  kauin
mui ‘vomit, have nausea’  muia  muin
tsiki ‘run, jump’  tsikia  tsikin

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 $\tilde{t}\!s\!k\!i$ ‘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 than a different/separate suffix.

\(^{208}\) 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)  tšikiŋkį iŋhömá tuntarín kahīŋmatkįn […]

\[
tsíkin-kī iia-hkamá
\]
\[
run\_PFV\_WHILE\_MOVING\_3SG\_SS fall\_TERM
\]

\[
tunta-rī = na kahinama-tu-kī
\]
\[
quiver\_1PL\_2PL\_3PL\_POSS = ACC forget\_APPL\_WHILE\_MOVING\_3SG\_SS
\]

‘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).


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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-na, -pa</td>
<td>Detransitivizers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nai</td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive root</th>
<th>Detransitive -na</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eme ‘ruin’</td>
<td>eme-na ‘decrease’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hii ‘take out’</td>
<td>hii-na ‘exit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kupi ‘break’</td>
<td>kupi-na ‘break one’s bones’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nankima ‘throw’</td>
<td>nankima-na ‘jump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uka ‘spill’</td>
<td>uka-na ‘be spilt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uššaa ‘throw away several objects’</td>
<td>uššaa-na ‘enter house (several people), fall in trap (several people/animals)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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) *nampík asámće húrmakmiaji*

nampiku  a-sa-matai  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 ámi hüinkitá*

Maiʃiantá amí 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atʃina</td>
<td>‘capture’ (from atʃi ‘grab’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukuna</td>
<td>‘suck, smoke’ (from muku ‘nipple’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikina</td>
<td>‘put on (e.g. floor, fire (to grill), bed, etc.) ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imitana</td>
<td>‘affirm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipina209</td>
<td>‘fence in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uaina</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) weinfeldt
uai-na-ka-ma-mi
see-na-intens-rec.pt-2sg.sbj + decl
‘You saw him.’

In (4), the placeholder morpheme -na is replaced by the reciprocal -nai.

(4) kafinkifa weinfeldt
kajini = ki = fa uai-nai-ka-mi
tomorrow = restr = add see-recp-intens-hort
‘Tomorrow we’ll see each other.’

209. This example is particularly interesting. The root iki 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 iki plus the reflexive -ma, i.e. ikima, means ‘sit’. In that case, -na ‘placeholder’ is “replaced” by the reflexive -ma: ikima ‘sit’.
And, in (5), it can be seen that the 1sg object marker -tu occurs in the position of the placeholder -na.

(5) nuwa waïk'area tusa
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 fiki ‘urine’, fiki-ki ‘take out liquids’ (with -ki ‘transitivizer’), fikitpa < *fiki-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): fikitma < *fiki-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’), tsapa-tu-ma ‘sprout’ (from tsapa ‘grow (of a plant)’), probably related to tsapa ‘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 use of the reflexive can be illustrated with the verb *timafí ‘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 2*sg* subject marker and a 1*sg* object on the verb.

(6) *intafín timafímatami*

*intaʃi = na timafí-ma-tu-a-mi*

*hair = ACC comb-REFL-APPL-IPFV-2SG.SBJ + DECL*

‘You comb your hair yourself.’

(7) *timafímati*

*timafí-tu-a-mi*

*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.

210. Notice the likely relation of this verb to the noun *tima* ‘louse’.
semantically. For example, though ‘sit’ can perhaps be interpreted as a hyponym of the
reflexive concept ‘put oneself down’, ɨki-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, ɨʃita ‘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’ |
| is | ‘burn’ | → | isa-ma | ‘burn oneself’ |
| intsa | ‘carry on the back’ | → | intsa-ma | ‘ride’ (‘put oneself on the back’) |
| iki | ‘put down’ | → | iki-ma | ‘sit’ |
| niha | ‘wash’ | → | niha-ma | ‘wash oneself’ |
| ɨʃʃitʃamaru | ‘defend’ | → | ɨʃʃitʃamaru-ma | ‘defend oneself’ |

Sometimes, the reflexive appears with the long form -mama. This is illustrated in

(9) and (10). Note that the surface form with the i [jumámiñahai] 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).
(9) jumámiäheë
iú-mama-a-ha-i
eat-REFL-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
‘I eat myself.’

(10) wií-wímiäheë konseho awaruna wamβisa tamáu aátamammo aímaunam nuí
ui = ja  ui-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 nuí
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.

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]’.
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.

(11) tunáamaru ásä muúfrintin nükä . . . naänja tsunäŋja
tunaa-ma-ru-u a-sä
get.damaged-REFL-APPL-NMLZ COP-SUB\3.ss
muúfíi-rí-tinu nu = ka naa = na = ka tsuna = na = ka
conjunctivities-1PL/2PL/3-ATTRIB NON.VIS = FOC HESIT.PRO = ACC = FOC Tsuna = ACC = FOC
‘because he got damaged, with conjunctivitis, umm, that Tsuna [they saw].’

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

(12) nantíkmamramheε
nantíka-ma-ma-ra-ma-ha-i
fingernail-VBZ-REFL-DISTR-REC,PT-1SG,SBJ-DECL
‘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) muukrun nantʃikmaamatá  
muuka-ru = na nantʃika-ma-ma-tá  
head-1SG = ACC fingernail-VBZ-DUR-IMP  
‘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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reciprocal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anii ‘think about’</td>
<td>ani-nai ‘love’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahiru ‘hate’</td>
<td>kahiru-nai ‘be enemies/hate each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumpa-ma ‘make friends’</td>
<td>kumpama-nai ‘make friends (with each other)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend-VBZ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māá ‘kill’</td>
<td>māá-nai ‘fight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanki ‘throw (something)’</td>
<td>nanki-nai ‘throw (something) to each other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next examples illustrate the use of reciprocal constructions. In (15), the comitative = haĩ 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).
(15) 
awarúnhe̊ jəunʃúkka kahírnei hakú ēepawee
awaruni = haï iaunʃjuki kahiru-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) ūʃa atúnǐkmi nikás ūʃa nǔŋki tʃiʃʃámruka puhústĩŋa nú
ii = Já atu-nai-ka-mi nikas iina nunkĩ
1PL = ADD help-RECP-INTENS-HORT truly 1PL.GEN land\1PL/2PL/3.Poss

ʃʃímaru-u = ka phu-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) tikiʃʃ ēpaka tukúmrumak iŋániarmiaji
tikiʃʃu a-ina = ka tukuma-ru-ma-a-ku i'nai-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) [iŋániarmiaji].

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
carer (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 akupi-ka-ma-ji ikama = numa Sua = na
Puhupata order-INTENS-REC,PT-3,PT + DECL forest = LOC Sua = ACC
wi-tá tu-sā
go-IMP say-SUB\3SG.SS

‘Puhupat ordered Suwa to go to the forest.’ (Lit.: ‘Puhupat sent Suwa to the forest, saying: “go!”’.)

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 wi-tí tí-san tsákámiahei
aiu wi-tí tu-sa-nu tsaka-tu-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, i, 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.

212. Notice that the verb akupi also means ‘send’.
Table 13.4. Some verbs prefixed with the causative V-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>V- + Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uaina ‘see’</td>
<td>i-uaina ‘show (cause to see)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kari ‘ferment’</td>
<td>i-kari ‘make ferment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsiki ‘jump, run’</td>
<td>i-tsiki ‘make jump, make run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uika ‘walk’</td>
<td>i-uika ‘guide (Lit.: ‘make walk’)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iú ‘eat’</td>
<td>a-iú ‘feed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui ‘go’</td>
<td>a-ui ‘send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isa ‘bite’</td>
<td>a-isá ‘cause to bite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nui ‘gain weight’</td>
<td>u-nui ‘fatten up (animals)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) tʃinkí amb’i mína iweʃtʊrʊkatmi

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) ámi tʃinkín weinkatmi
ami  tʃink = na  uaina-ka-ta-mi
2SG  bird = ACC  see-INTENS-IMM.FUT-2SG.SBJ + DECL
‘You are going to see the bird.’

(22) wíi namakán  it’áhée
tui  namaka = na  i-ta-ha-i
1SG  fish = ACC  CAUS-arrive + IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
‘I am bringing fish.’

(23) wíi táhée
tui  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, tʃsai is a species of tree whose wood is used to make houses and canoes. There is a verb u-tʃsai that has what appears to be the prefixed causative and which means ‘build floor’. To the best of my knowledge, there is no verb tʃsai from which the causativized u-tʃsai form may have been derived. And the verb u-muntsu ‘breast-feed/suckle’ is more transparently related to muntsu ‘nipple, breast’.

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 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) nunkáṉʃa níŋdak toómtik/ar [...]  
nunka = na = Ja     nì = na = ki       tau-mitika-rā  
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) tikíʃ hintánam ñmtik’as  
tikíʃi hinta=nama ii-mitika-sā  
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

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 uwísfnuka puháwei húna uʃʃi hútiika woúrmamtikouka tísar tíarmiayi
ʃuara uuísinu puha-ua-i
person shaman live + IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
hu = na  uʃʃi  hutika-á  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)
uaïtu ‘suffer’  uaïtu-ka ‘annoy’
hiï ‘exit’  ii-ka ‘make exit/take out’
hiï ‘arrive’  hiï-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)

\begin{align*}
\text{uiʃi ‘laugh’} & \rightarrow \text{uiʃi-ki ‘make fun of (i.e. ‘laugh at’)} \\
iha ‘defecate’ & \rightarrow iha-ki ‘defecate on someone/some place’ \\
natuma ‘move oneself away’ & \rightarrow natuma-ki ‘dodge, avoid’
\end{align*}

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“-rV” Verbs</th>
<th>“-tV” Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uaki ‘want’</td>
<td>auima ‘send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñifita ‘speak’</td>
<td>uha ‘tell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui ‘go’</td>
<td>mā ‘kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su ‘give’</td>
<td>apa ‘put together, copulate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñsuper’cortar’</td>
<td>inkima ‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuhanke ‘flood, drown’</td>
<td>ahika ‘throw in water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta ‘come’</td>
<td>anuha ‘patch, glue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu ‘take’</td>
<td>pata ‘follow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antu ‘hear’</td>
<td>hintina ‘teach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipi ‘lie down’</td>
<td>isa ‘bite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanta ‘burp’</td>
<td>pii ‘be stuck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naku ‘play’</td>
<td>mañsa ‘inhabit, congregate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taka ‘work’</td>
<td>ñtsira ‘announce’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasa ‘steal’</td>
<td>timañi ‘comb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahapi ‘throw away’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) wahásaunak tihéika nikáprin ásá nikápár warukú tímaji
[uaha-sa-u] = na = ki  tihai = ka  nikapi-ra-inu  a-sá
stand-ATT-NMLZ = ACC = RESTR  Tijai = FOC  feel-DISTR-NMLZ  COP-SUB\3.SS

nikapi-rā  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) hĩaŋña ikũmatkattahruri
hia = na = fa ikima-tu-ka-tata-harumi
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     uika-sa-ma-ji
woman-1SG  walk-ATT-IMM.PT-3.PT + DECL

‘My wife took a walk’

(33) **nuwár wikástrusmaji**
nua-ru     uika-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) *fuarán karámraheɛ*

juara = na  karama-ra-ha-i  
person = ACC  karama-DIST-1SG.SBJ-DECL

‘I dreamed of a person.’

(35) *napín karámru asán fiū礁oo nikápiæheɛ*

napi = na  karama-ru-u  a-sa-nu  
boa = ACC  dream-APPL-NMLZ  COP-SUB-1SG.SS

jiira-tʃau  nikapi-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 *aï*

‘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) *eïktatui*

aï-ka-tata-u-i  
hand.cloth-INTENS-DEF.FUT-3.SBJ-DECL

‘He is going to hang the cloths’

(37) *eïrụkti*

aï-tu-ru-ka-ti  
hand.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 wijáun hiůñaji*
[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 *maša* ‘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 (‘harmoniously’).

(39) *túmašínak fúr mašášinawai húnaka afí tíi ukúññiti iýna uíntri ajakú = a = nu ûša
naántin*

tu-mai-na = ki  jìira  maša-tu-ina-ua-i
say-POT-NMLZ = RESTR  good  inhabit-APPL-PL.IPFV-3.PT-DECL

hu = na = ka  afí  ti  uku-kini-u = íti
PROX = ACC = FOC  all  INTENS  leave-WHILE.MOVING-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

iína  uunta-rí  a-haku = a = nu
1PL.GEN  elder-1PL/2PL/3.POSS  COP-HAB.PT = COP = NON.VIS

itsá  naá-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.’

591
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original verb</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>itsira 'announce, inform'</td>
<td>itsiratu 'accuse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uka 'pour liquid, spill'</td>
<td>ukatu 'paint'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inki 'put in'</td>
<td>inkitu 'save (something for oneself or for another person)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inisama 'ride'</td>
<td>inisamaru 'climb on top of (animal or person')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aninta 'magical song'</td>
<td>anintaru 'sing aninta (i.e. for self or someone’s benefit)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13.2.3.1. Homophony between the applicative forms and the 1sg object markers

The applicative forms -tu/-ru coincide in form with the 1sg 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.

217. Synchronically also used for ‘save money’, including ‘save money in bank’.

592
Table 13.6. Combination of applicative and 1SG object suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Applicative</th>
<th>1SG Object</th>
<th>Applicative + 1SG Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>-ru-tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>-tu-ru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 1SG objects markers, but also the forms of 1PL and 2 object markers.

13.2.3.2. Double marking of applicative?

Sometimes, the applicative appears to be repeated after a 1SG object marker, as in the next example.

(41) míñaka jatsūrnaka manturtuwarei titāhkamā uútu
mina = ka iatsu-ru = na = ka mā-tu-ru-tu-āu-ara-i
1SG.GEN = FOC brother-1SG = ACC kill-APPL-1SG.OBJ-APPL?-HIAF-PL-3.PFV + DECL

ti-tahkamá uu-tu-u
say + LOAF-FRUST\3SG.SS cry-APPL-NMLZ
‘Trying to say “they just killed me my brother”, he cried.’

The repetition of the applicative form is not very well understood, but it might

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 1sg 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-1</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ROOT</td>
<td>Applicative (Valence)</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1SG.OBJ</th>
<th>1PL.OBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>-rama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>-tama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-karata~karatu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, the same distinction of \(rV\sim tV\) 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) őo uhátikamaji
au  uha-tu-ka-ma-ji
\textit{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
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 uhátmakahi
au uha-tama-ka-ara-ma-hi
DIST inform-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-PL-REC.PL-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 ahapruatsa taá túsá paŋkás
uru-ka-u = numa-ki ahapi-ru-á-tasā ta tu-sā
how-Q-NMLZ = LOC-RHET throw.away-1SG.OBJ-HIAF-PURP\3.SS say-IPFV say-SUB\3.SS

panka-sā
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) ūsupīrmakhi tusā
ūsupi-rama-ka-hi tu-sā
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) āmīka āsanūrkartami
ami = ka āsanu-ru-karatu-a-mi
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 committed). 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) Pirufja ājamēika mankartuāwaipa
Pirufjā iamai = ka mā-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) hintîŋkartin  
hintina-karatu-inu  
teach-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ  
‘teacher’ (‘one who teaches us’).

(b) tîtiŋkartin  
tîtiŋka-karatu-inu  
speak-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ  
‘adviser’ (‘one who speaks to us’)

(c) sukârtin  
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) āmîja atupkratkata  
ami = ja atupa-karatu-ka-tá  
2SG = add support-1PL.OBJ-INTENS-IMP  
‘You too support us!’

(50) ami mantamámami  
ami mā-tama-á-ma-mi  
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 1\(PL\) 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 \(^*rV \sim ^*tV\) as another formative in the \(-rama/-tama\) forms (probably related to the source of the applicative/1\(SG\) object forms?).\(^{219}\)

\(^{219}\) Notice also that the plural form of the second subject marker is \(-rumi\) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2 object suffixes with a 3 person subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-rama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -rumi, which normally marks the 2pl subject).

(51) nitá čina ōniŋa 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) nitá čina untsúrmakarmi
nita a-ina untsu-rama-ka-ma-rumi
3pl COP-PL.IPFV call-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-REC.PT-2PL + DECL
‘They called you (pl).’

and 1sg object) and -mi (mi is directly related to the 2sg pronoun ami).
The next examples show instances of the form -tama with the “tV” verb ‘see’.

(53) ńi weitmakmaj
nì uai-tama-ka-ma-ji
3SG see-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-REC-PT-3.PT + DECL
‘He saw you (sg).’

(54) ńi weitmakmarmi
nì uai-tama-ka-ma-rumi
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A → P arguments</th>
<th>2SG P</th>
<th>2PL P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG A</td>
<td>hami</td>
<td>himi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL A</td>
<td>harumi</td>
<td>hirumi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Marker</th>
<th>Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ha</td>
<td>1 \text{SG}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hi</td>
<td>1 \text{PL}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>2 \text{SG}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rumi</td>
<td>2 \text{PL}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (55)–(58) show the use of the 1 > 2 person markers.

(55) \textit{táhami}

\text{ta-hami}

\text{say + IPFV-1SG} > \text{2SG + DECL}

‘I am telling you.’

(56) \textit{táharmi}

\text{ta-harumi}

\text{say + IPFV-1SG} > \text{2PL + DECL}

‘I am telling you (PL).’

(57) \textit{táhimi}

\text{ta-himi}

\text{say + IPFV-1PL} > \text{2SG + DECL}

‘We are telling you.’
(58) tāhirmi
    ta-hi-rumi
    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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1SG → 2SG</th>
<th>uaina-ka-hami</th>
<th>see-INTENS-1SG &gt; 2SG + DECL</th>
<th>2PL → 1SG</th>
<th>uaina-ta-ka-mi</th>
<th>see-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-2SG + DECL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG → 2PL</td>
<td>uaina-ka-harumi</td>
<td>see-INTENS-1SG &gt; 2PL + DECL</td>
<td>1PL → 2PL</td>
<td>uaina-ta-ka-mi</td>
<td>see-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-2SG + DECL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG → 3</td>
<td>uaina-ka-ha-i</td>
<td>see-INTENS-1SG.SBJ-DECL</td>
<td>1PL → 3</td>
<td>uaina-ta-ka-mi</td>
<td>see-INTENS-2SG.SBJ + DECL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG → 2SG</td>
<td>uaina-ta-ka-rumi</td>
<td>see-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-2PL + DECL</td>
<td>2PL → 2SG</td>
<td>uaina-ta-ka-rumi</td>
<td>see-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-2PL.SBJ + DECL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG → 3</td>
<td>uaina-ta-ka-rumi</td>
<td>see-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-3.PFV + DECL</td>
<td>3 → 1SG</td>
<td>uaina-ta-ka-ĩ</td>
<td>see-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-3.PFV + DECL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 → 1PL</td>
<td>uaina-ta-ka-hi</td>
<td>see-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-1PL + DECL</td>
<td>3 → 2SG</td>
<td>uaina-ta-ka-ĩ</td>
<td>see-1PL/2SG.OBJ-INTENS-3.PFV + DECL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 → 2PL</td>
<td>uaina-ta-ka-rumi</td>
<td>see-1PL/2PL.OBJ-INTENS-2PL + DECL</td>
<td>3 → 3</td>
<td>uaina-ta-ka-ĩ</td>
<td>see-INTENS-3.PFV + DECL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type\Suffixes</th>
<th>Applicative</th>
<th>1SG Object</th>
<th>1PL Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“tV” verbs</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>-rama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-karatu~karata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“rV” verbs</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>-tama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-tuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-turama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-karatu~karata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 miña uhátka ma
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) uhatrukata
uha-tu-ru-ka-tá
inform-APPL-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-IMP
‘Saying “tell her for me!”...’

Another example with a ‘rV’ verb, ñíțja ‘speak’, is shown in (61).

(61) miña umár ñíțja-tak kakartá ñíjsmankuitmi
mina  uma-ru  ñíțja-ru-tu-a-kü
1SG,GEN sister-1SG  speak-APPL-1SG.OBJ-IPFV-SIM/3SG.SS
kaka-ra-tá    aíjumanku = ita-mi
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) puhupátwátrut mamhi
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
<th>Applicative</th>
<th>2 Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“tV” verbs</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>-rama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ruma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“rV” verbs</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>-tama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-turama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-tuma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) junírrahaæ
iu-nin-ra-ha-i
eat-ALMOST-DISTR-1SG.SBJ-DECL
‘I almost ate.’
(65) nahānaninsarji
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”)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix(s)</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-á(u)</td>
<td>‘High affectedness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>‘Low affectedness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>‘Intensive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ki(ni)</td>
<td>‘Do while going’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>‘Distributed action’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>‘Attenuative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>‘Do in proximity/while coming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u</td>
<td>‘Do away from location’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>‘Imperfective’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ina</td>
<td>‘plural imperfective’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>‘Durative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>‘Present habitual’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mai</td>
<td>‘Potential’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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 ḫifafa
‘speak’, for instance, can assume different meanings according to which aktionsart it
carries:

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{With attenuative -sa: } & \text{ḫifafa-sa ‘converse’ (as in a quotidian, uneventful action)} \\
\text{nuni-} & \text{ḫifafa-sa-ma-ji} \\
\text{nuni-COM} & \text{speaker-ATT.REC.3.BT+DECL} \\
\end{array} \]

‘He spoke (tranquilly) with Nuse.’
With intensive -ka: \( \text{ʃitʃa-ka} \) ‘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 \( \text{ʃitʃa-ka-ma-ji} \)
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)\(^\text{220}\)

With distributed action -ra: \( \text{ʃitʃa-ra} \) ‘speak to several people’ or ‘speak several

times’.

(68)
puhupat \( \text{ʃitʃa-ra-ma-ji} \)
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


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: \(<\text{uun Alfonso Graña chichak}>\) (\( \text{ʃitʃa-ka} \) ‘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.

612
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).

\[(69) \text{nuwár wikáursesaji} \]
\[\text{nua-ru } \text{uika-tu-ru-sa-ji} \]
\[\text{woman-1SG } \text{walk-APPL-1SG.OBJ-ATT-3.PT + DECL} \]

‘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: 613)
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 use an aktionsart (typically their “preferred” aktionsart suffixes, which are largely lexically determined) to yield the sense of a “just-completed” action:

(70)  
kaŋkɨkei
kanki-ka-ɨ
roll-intens-3.pfv + decl
'It just rolled.'
cf *kanki-i ‘roll-3.pfv’

The aktionsart is incompatible with an imperfective-marked verb:

(71)  
kaŋkɨawei
kanki-a-ua-i
roll-ipfv-3.sbj-decl
'It is rolling'

• 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)  
kanki-ka-ɨ
roll-intens-3.pfv + decl
'It just rolled.'

kanki-a-ua-i
roll-ipfv-3.sbj-decl
'It is rolling’

kanki-ma-tá
roll-dur-imp
‘roll it a little while’
kanki-na-ua-i
roll-PRES.HAB-3.SBJ-DECL
‘It usually rolls’

kanki-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 nina ‘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)
̃tsukanká nina-ka-mataĩ íkama tuku-ma-ji
toucan fly-intens-1SG/3.DS Ikam shoot.PPV-REC.3.SG 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)
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 tʃiʃa ‘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”:

- tʃiʃa ‘speak’ -ka (Intensive)
- tu ‘say’ -i (Low affectedness of the Patient)
- inii ‘ask’ -sa (Attenuative)
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Preferred Aktionsart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tu ‘say’, ma ‘bathe’, ipanka ‘raise with hand’, ura ‘open’ (door, a book)</td>
<td>-i ‘Low affectedness’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 *tipi* ‘lie down’ frequently appears with the attenuative -sa, where it conveys a more stative-like action:

(75) nu'i tipísmaji
nu/i  tipi-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) limanam tipiáwarmatei
lima = nama  tipi-áu-ara-matai
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) niŋa nuwĩŋka mantuãwaru
nina nuĩ = na = ka  mā-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) jatʃín mantuáwaruiti uun Piruchi jatʃín
iaʃʃi = na mā-tu-áu-ara-u = iti
brother\1 PL/2 PL/3 POSS = ACC kill-APPL-HIAF-PL-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

uunta Pirutʃí jatʃi = na
ever Pirutʃí\GEN brother.1 PL/2 PL/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) jaaktanam urúk puhuíñawa núña weíñk’an taáhece huí
iaakata = nama uruka puhu-ina-u = a nu = na
town = LOC how live-PL.IPFLV-NMLZ = COP NON. VIS = ACC

uaina-ka-nu ta-á-ha-i huí
see-INTENS-1 SG.SS arrive-HIAF-1 SG.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 umpuí
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 -ά(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) puputje่น umpuíramahɛ
pupuṭje = 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 umpuí 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) pupūʃen umpuимheе
pupuʃe = 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) háki íšísa imeiʃárum
haki     íší-sa    i-ma-i-tá-rumi
warm.water  heat-ATT  CAUS-bathe-LOAF-IMP-2PL.SBJ
‘[With] warm water, cozy, give her a bath.’

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 mā ‘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.)

221. The original Spanish translation of the verb ‘heat’ plus the attenuative is calientito, which I translate in the example as ‘cozy’.
(84) *túra wiį núnaka aį̨ka meįsjuahće wiį warį̨pač má wakirah núna*

*tura* ui  nu = na ka  aį̨ = ka  má-i-ʃu-a-ha-i
and 1SG NON.VIS = ACC = FOC all = FOC kill-LOAF-NEG.NMLZ-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

*ui  wari = na = ki  ma  wakiru-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) *puhupátąn tukúmsamji*

*puhupata = na tukuma-sa-ma-jí*

Pujupat = ACC kick-ATT-REC,PT-3,PT + DECL

‘She gave Pujupat a little kick (i.e. joking or playing)’
The verb ‘look for’ (also ‘look for game’, i.e. ‘hunt’) has the intensive -ka as its preferred aktionsart suffix:

(87) waâmak takás nunkánʃa iðk nuï kánamunmasha
uaamaki taka-så nunka = na = ŋa ia-kâ
quickly work-ATT\3.ss land = ACC = ADD look.for-INTENS\3.ss

nuï kâna-mau = numa = ŋa
there sleep-NMLZ = LOC = ADD

‘He worked quickly, looking around for land, there, where to sleep.’

The verb root kahi ‘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” kahira ‘hate’ can further take the intensive too:

(88) utʃį kuit'amkatá kahirkeip'arum
utʃį kuitama-ka-tá kahira-ka-ai-pa-rumi
child\ACC look.after-INTENS-IMP hate-INTENS-APPRH-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
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) *tikitįfa aipsamu jutūamu*

*tikitįfa* = fa aipa-sa-mau iutu-a-mau
other = ADD put-ATT-NMLZ bury-IPFV-NMLZ

‘The other too, [he] put on the ground, buried.’

(90) *aíramoun ukúahai*

aipa-ra-mau = na uku-a-ha-i
put-DISTR-NMLZ = ACC leave-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

‘I am leaving [the children] 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) *ūtí ṭunuimararti turāfa nikās kāmí unuimarar kāmí uńtrin ʧitimruxtix*

*ūtí* unoima-ra-ara-ti turaʃa nikas kami unoima-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.
‘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 to the command. Consider the difference between (92) and (93). In (93), the attenuative makes the command more subtle.

(92) juató
iu-á-tá
eat-HIAF-IMP
‘eat!’

(93) jusató
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:

223. Commonly translated as a command said ‘con cariño’ ‘with affection’, by my Wampis teachers.
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’, aipi-sa ‘place on ground’ ‘place on bed sideways’, ikina-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: ini-sa ‘ask’, see also the periphrasis auaki inintaima-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.

\(^{224}\) The verb auaki means ‘return’ literally.
13.3.2.6. Do action while moving \textit{-ki(ni)}

The suffix \textit{-ki(ni)} belongs to a semantic domain known as ‘associated motion’ (Koch 1984; Guillaume 2006). \textit{-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 \textit{hu} ‘take’.

(95) \textit{naŋki hukí wímiáji maátsá}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textit{spear} & \textit{take-WHILE.MOVING} & \textit{go-DIST.3.PT+DECL} & \textit{kill-HIAF-purp3.SS} \\
\end{tabular}

‘Taking the spear, he went to kill.’

Notice the metaphorical use of the verb bearing \textit{-ki} in the next example:

(96) \textit{uuntí nikátainkai núnia asán nunkágka imatikan jukítímiáhee}

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\textit{elder} & = & \textit{SAP} & \textit{know-NMLZ} & = & \textit{FOC} & \textit{do.that-IPFV} & \textit{COP-SUB-1SG.SS} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\textit{nunka} & = & \textit{ka} & \textit{imatika-nu} & \textit{hu-ki-t̂a-mia-ha-i} & \textit{land} & = & \textit{FOC} & \textit{do.much-1SG.SS} & \textit{take-WHILE.MOVING-NEG-DIST.1SG.SBJ-DECL} \\
\end{tabular}

‘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 \textit{-kini} surfaces before the 3 person perfective \textit{-i} (§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)
(98) *hukítá*

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) *wikóuthei*

wika-u-ta-ha-i

hunt-DO.AWAY-IMM.FUT-1.SG.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) *âmîn̥ jaâktarmîn̥in puháwei iwîfnuka*

amina jaakata-rumi = nî puha-ua-i iuišînu = 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.
‘You are eating.’

There is a suppletive plural imperfective suffix *-ina*, illustrated in (102).

(102) *núka arútan ūk'a tuīnahi*

\[
\text{nu}=\text{ka} \quad \text{arutama}=\text{na} \quad \text{ii}=\text{ka} \quad \text{tu}-\text{ina}-\text{hi}
\]

\[
\text{NON.VIS} = \text{FOC} \quad \text{Arutama} = \text{ACC} \quad 1\text{PL} = \text{FOC} \quad \text{say-PL-IPFV-1PL.SBJ + DECL}
\]

‘That, we call Arutam.’

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 nówaka hīa matsatawai*

\[
\text{nu}=\text{ka} \quad \text{nua}=\text{ka} \quad \text{hīa}-\ā \quad \text{matsatu-a-ua-i}
\]

\[
\text{NON.VIS} = \text{FOC} \quad \text{woman} = \text{FOC} \quad \text{house-HIAF\3SS live.together-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL}
\]

‘That woman arrived and was living there.’

226. The pronunciation *[arútan]* is a haplology from *arutama = na* which is otherwise pronounced *[arútman]*.

632
13.3.4. The durative -\textit{ma}

The durative suffix -\textit{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:

\begin{equation}
(104) \text{puhuúmata}
\end{equation}
puhu-ma-tá
live-DUR-IMP
‘Good-bye’ (Lit.: ‘Keep on living/being’.)

Another example is given in (95):

\begin{equation}
(105) \text{muúkrun nantʃikmaamata}
\end{equation}
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:

\begin{equation}
(106) \text{wǐ júmahei}
\end{equation}
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 -\textit{ma} has a verb-to-verb derivational property. Some examples that show this, for instance
consider: *hapi* ‘drag, pull’ → *hapi-ma* ‘sweep’, *mišuma* ‘close one’s eyes’, *mišuma-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) *wii juámhei*
*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 íñahaei*
*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. The speaker’s farm plot is in an island in the middle of the Santiago river.
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) nūka amēitsuhi

nu = ka a-mai-tsu-hi
that = FOC COP-POT-NEG-1PL.SBJ + DECL

‘We cannot be that.’

(111) turāja nuí núwa nahaānara tūahu arūmmeitsuwi

but there woman make-DISTR-NMLZ

tīi = a = hu a-ru-ma-mai-ī
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 tuméinsukeit
warí tu-mai-na = tṣu-ka = iti
what say-POT-NMLZ-INFER-Q = COP.3
‘How can it be said?’

(113) indihenas timoutíja tʃįʃamrumakur wíakur arántukmoo améŋaithi
indihena ti-mau = tí = ŋa tʃįʃamaru-ma-a-ku-ri
indigenous say+ LOAF-NMLZ = SAP = ADD defend-REFL-IPFV-SIM-1 PL. SS
wi-a-ku-ri arantu-ka-mau a-mai-na = ita-hi
go-IPFV-SIM-1 PL. SS respect-INTENS-NMLZ COP-POT-NMLZ = COP-1 PL. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Aspectual” Stem</th>
<th>Verb marked with</th>
<th>Stem used with</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aktionsart (Perfective)</td>
<td>Aktionsart suffixes (most verbs—a few verbs do not select a “default” aktionsart suffix)</td>
<td>Most past tenses and future tenses, imperative, jussive, hortative, apprehensive, prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>Imperfective, present tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durative</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>Durative, imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Habitual</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>Present habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>-mai</td>
<td>Potential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13.4. Negation

There are two negative suffixes on the verb in Wampis: -ʈʃa and -ʈsu. They are in complementary distribution:

a) -ʈsu occurs in the following morphosyntactically conditioned contexts:

• with the imperfective stem

• with the existential verb a (§17.5)

b) -ʈʃa 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 -ʈsu
occurs. Examples (114)–(115) are instances of -ṣu with the imperfective\textsuperscript{228} and with the existential (116).

(114) amika jukúmat nikášmi
ami = ka iukuma-ta nika-ṣu-mi
2SG = FOC swim-NMLZ know + IPFV-NEG-2SG.SBJ + DECL
‘You don’t know how to swim.’

(115) haántʃin nihátsuai
haánʃi = na niha-ṣu-u = ai
cloth = ACC wash + IPFV-NEG-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL
‘She/he doesn’t wash the clothes.’

(116) jaúntʃukka núwika atsú hakú
iántʃuki = ka nuika a-ṣu 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 -tʃa are given with non-imperfective stem

(117) and the copula a (118).

(117) awarún hatʃámijadi
Auaruna ha-ʃa-mia-ji
Awajun die-NEG-DIST,PT-3,PT + DECL
‘The Awajun did not die.’

\textsuperscript{228} The present tense is zero-marked.
`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 jawáän wetýkarmaji
nita iauá = na uaina-ka-ara-ma-ji
3pl dog = ACC see-intens-pl-rec.pt-3.pt + decl
‘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’.

642
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tata</td>
<td>Definite future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>Immediate future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>Recent past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-imia</td>
<td>Intermediate past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mia</td>
<td>Distant past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ia</td>
<td>Remote past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aktionsart stem + person + mood</td>
<td>Just-done actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= hak-u</td>
<td>Habitual past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) wik’a jūahe

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) nît’a wînawee

nita    uî-ina-ua-i
3PL     go-PL,IPFV-3.PL-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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Temporal interpretation with regard to moment of speech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aktionsart stem + person + mood</td>
<td>Just-done actions</td>
<td>Immediately before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>Recent past</td>
<td>Hours to days/weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-imia</td>
<td>Intermediate past</td>
<td>Days to weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mia</td>
<td>Distant past</td>
<td>Months to years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ia</td>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= hak</td>
<td>Habitual past</td>
<td>(Typically) years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
Table 14.3. Combinatorial properties of past tense suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Received by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>Just-done actions</td>
<td>aktionsart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>Recent past</td>
<td>aktionsart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-imia</td>
<td>Intermediate past</td>
<td>varies a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mia</td>
<td>Distant past</td>
<td>aktionsart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ia</td>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=hak</td>
<td>Habitual past</td>
<td>root</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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) *tadhee*
   ta-á-ha-i
   arrive-HIAF-1SG,SBJ-DECL
   ‘I just arrived.’

(4) *juáwarái*
   iu-áu-ara-i
   eat-HIAF-PL-3.PFV + DECL
   ‘They just ate.’
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) kafík ɛʃur mɪna uʃír iuʃákmaji
kaʃi = ki aiʃi-ru mina uʃírún
night = restr husband-1SG 1SG.GEN child-1SG = acc

ia-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) aũhuʃa ɛʃur wímaji jũwi kámì 珺amákmaji tímaji núna
a. Aũhu = fa aiʃi-ru wi-ma-ji
great.potoo = add husband-1SG go-rec.pt-3.pt + decl

b. iuui kami ḳšama-ka-ma-ji
squash interj mature-intens-rec.pt-3.pt + decl
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’a At. wakámteē wítaheē
    ui=ka At. ua-ka-matai  ui-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. míŋa untsůrnayi haʔá
nu = ka At. mi = na untsu-ru-na-ji haʔá
NON. VIS = FOC At. 1 SG = ACC call-1 SG. OB-PRES.HAB-3. PT + DECL yes
‘That At., he always calls me, yes.’

A: áju áju
okay, okay

B: (laughs) At. nampíku, M. weínaimají nampíku
A. nampíku M. uaina-imia-ji nampíku
A. drunk M. see-INTERM.PT-3. PT + DECL drunk
‘(laughs) At. was drunk, M. saw him.’

A: (laughs) waksaméech warí míŋa uhaktá
wa-ka-mataí warí mi = na uha-ka-tá
come-INTENS-1 SG/3. DS quick 1 SG = ACC inform-INTENS-IMP
‘(laughs) When he comes, tell me quickly.’

The suffix -imia is actually decomposable into -i and -mia, 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) nítéa hapónam wikáirmiaji
nita hapau = nama wika-i-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 -imia. Overall (2007: 342)

229. And, in turn, -mia is historically analyzable as -ma (from the recent past) and -ia (from the remote past).
has hypothesized that the Awajun distant past -\textit{amia} may be a grammaticalization of a complex construction involving the copula ‘be’ a marked with the past tense -\textit{mia}. For Wampis, however, it is difficult to relate the form \textit{i} to the copula \textit{a}.

\subsection*{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:

\begin{verbatim}
(9) ʃuara karama-ina-ku nuni-a-ku

person\textit{ACC} dream-\textit{PL}\textit{IPFV-SIM} do.\textit{that}\textit{-IPFV-SIM}\textit{3SG.SS}

uaura-ka-ara-u a-ina-ua-i tuma-a-kü

become.crazy-\textit{INTENS-PL-\textit{NMLZ}} COP-\textit{IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL} do.\textit{thus}\textit{-IPFV-SIM}\textit{3SG.SS}

iurumaka = na = ŋa iu wi-ŋa-ara-\textit{mia}-ji

food = \textit{ACC} = \textit{ADD} eat go-\textit{NEG-PL-\textit{DIST-PT-3.PT} + DECL}

‘They dreamed of the person, doing that, they became crazy, doing thus, they didn’t eat the food.’
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{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 -\textit{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) \textit{aanmamin \textit{mina} nukutʃruka \textit{tuja}j\textit{a} \textit{ʃiir aniaʃhe}e}
anun-mamtim mina nukutʃi-ru=ka tu-ia-ji
\textit{MED-SIMIL 1SG.GEN grandmother-1SG = FOC say-REM.PT-3.PT}

turaʃa \textit{ʃiira ani-a-tsu-ha-i}
but well \textit{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 -\textit{ia}, but rather with a form whose apparent source is the recent past -\textit{ma} plus the 3 person past marker -\textit{ji} (§14.3.2): \textit{ma-ji}. A paradigm with the remote past is given in Table 14.4 with the copula \textit{a}.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & SG & PL \\
\hline
1 & a-ia-ha-i & a-ia-hi \\
 & COP-REM.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL & COP-REM.PT-1PL.SBJ-DECL \\
2 & a-ia-mi & a-ia-rumi \\
 & 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 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Table 14.4. Paradigm of conjugation with the remote past tense}
\end{table}

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) jóumʃʃukka núwika atsú hakú tímaji hu őohmatteink/a áúhu tütañeiti jóumʃʃukka áúhu fuár ahakú tímaji
    a. iaunʃʃuki = ka nui = ka a-tsu 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-taï = ka auhu tu-taï = aiti
       PROX tell-NMLZ = FOC Common.Potoo say-NMLZ = COP.3+DECL
       ‘This story is called Auju (Common Potoo)’

    c. iaunʃʃuki = 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) mĩna nukúʃruka tũhakuıtì arútmaka tikifjifjuitì tũhakuıtì arútmaka nũkap
mina nukuʃi-ru = ka tu-hak-土耳 = iti
1SG.GEN grandmother-1SG = FOC say-HAB.PT-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

arutama = ka tikifjifjiki-tʃau = iti tu-hak土耳 = iti
vision.power = FOC one-NEG.NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL say-HAB.PT-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

arutama = ka nukapi
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 [standverb-

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

653
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) wίʃa surúktahaél
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) warî tit'âmik?
warî ti-ta-mi-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) paàtan huûkan utíth'ei
paata = na huû-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) āju hûu? òsawântahuî ôohmatsattahei itsân paṭîsan
aju hu ñsauanta = a = huî auhumatu-sa-tata-ha-i
okay PROX day = COP = here tell-ATT-DEF. FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL

itsā = na paṭî-ja-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.’)
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) ámika uútampa uútámika iłmakáttami jatsúmi mantútramawaranuka
ami = ka uuta-i-pa uuti-a-mi-ka
2SG = FOC cry-APPR-PROH cry.IPFV-IPFV-2SG.SBJ-COND

íika-ma-ka-tʃa-tata-mi
avenge-REFL-INTENS-NEG-DEF.FUT-2SG.SBJ + DECL

iatsu-mi má-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) kasínkisa wii ʃʃʃama umítahe
kaʃini = ki = fa ui ʃʃʃama = 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 acting onto a 3 P argument.

Table 14.5. Marking of SAP S and SAP A acting on 3 person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ha</td>
<td>-hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>-rumi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>2pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>hami</td>
<td>harumi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>himi</td>
<td>hirumi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)  wí tsanúahai
ui tsanu-a-ha-i
1SG lie-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am lying to her/him.'

(20)  ámi tsanúami
ami tsanu-a-mi
2SG lie-IPFV-2SG.SBJ + DECL
'You are lying to her/him.'

(21)  ámi tsanúriami
ami tsanu-ru-a-mi
2SG lie-1SG.OBJ-IPFV-2SG.SBJ + DECL
'You are lying to me.'

(22)  táhami
ta-hami
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
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Occurs in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ī ~ -ɨ  ‘3 perfective’</td>
<td>Just-done actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u(a) ‘3 (non-past)’</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u(a) ‘3 (non-past)’</td>
<td>Imperfective &amp; Present tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ji ‘3 past’</td>
<td>Past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ti ‘Jussive’</td>
<td>Jussive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -ɨ~-ɨ whose use seems to be
declining used for just-done actions (the 3 past suffix -ji can also occur in those instances). The actual pronunciation of -ɨ̃-ɨ 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 -ɨ (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 the semi-copula ‘become’ in (24).

(23) mña eifru ukúriawee
mina aifj-ru uku-ru-a-ua-i
1SG. GEN husband-1SG leave-1SG.OBJ.FUT-3,PT-DECL
‘My husband is leaving me.’

(24) huu umtsuktattui ãmi warì wakìram núnaka
hu umtsu-ka-tat-u-i
DIST call-INTENS-DEF.FUT-3,PT-DECL
Contrast the previous examples with (25), in which the suffix -i ‘3.PFV’ is used for a perfective action in combination with the aktionsart stem (with the high affectedness suffix -á(u)).

(25) juáwarāi
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) inštā wímaji
inštā wi-ma-ji
river\LOC go-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL
‘She went to the river (not long ago).’

(28) ajámrumaka pujūst Dadjam amiyi lei de las natīnas indihenas tamóo
aiamaru-ma-ka puhu-sā-tinu Dājam a-ma-ji
defend-REFL-INTENS live-ATT-FUT.NMLZ law exist-DIST.PT-3.PT + DECL
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

231. The speaker is making reference to a Peruvian legislation commonly known as Ley de Comunidades 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). 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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A\P</th>
<th>1sg P</th>
<th>1pl P</th>
<th>2sg P</th>
<th>2pl P</th>
<th>3 P</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg A</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>- . . . -hami</td>
<td>- . . . -harumi</td>
<td>- . . . -ha</td>
<td>1sg -ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl A</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>- . . . -himi</td>
<td>- . . . -hirumi</td>
<td>- . . . -hi</td>
<td>1pl -hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg A</td>
<td>-tu/-ru . . . -mi</td>
<td>-rama/-tama . . . -mi</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>- . . . -mi</td>
<td>2sg -mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl A</td>
<td>-tu/-ru . . . -rumi</td>
<td>-rama/-tama . . . -rumi</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>- . . . -rumi</td>
<td>2pl -rumi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3A</td>
<td>-tu/-ru . . . -ua, -ji or -ĩ</td>
<td>-rama/-tama . . . -hi</td>
<td>-rama/-tama . . . -ua, -ji or -ĩ</td>
<td>-rama/-tama . . . -rumi</td>
<td>- . . . -ua, -ji or -ĩ</td>
<td>3 -ua, -ji or -ĩ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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) wíáheɛ S: 1sg
ui-a-ha-i
go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
‘I am going.’

(30) wíahi S:1pl
ui-a-hi
go-IPFV-1PL.SBJ + DECL
‘We are going.’

(31) ámi wikásmi S: 2sg
ami wika-sa-mi
2SG walk-ATT-2SG.SBJ + DECL
‘You just went hunting.’

(32) átum wikásmumi S: 2pl
atumi wika-sa-rumi
2PL walk-ATT-2PL.SBJ + DECL
‘You (pl) just walked.’

(33) Puhupáti wífirmáji S: 3 (third person does not distinguish number)
Puhupata uifi-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) wíí tsanúahex 1SG → 3
ui tsanu-a-ha-i
1SG lie-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
‘I am lying to her/him.’

(35) āmí tsanúami 2SG → 3
ami tsanu-a-mi
2SG lie-IPFV-2SG.SBJ + DECL
‘You are lying to her/him.’

(36) āmí tsanúriami 2SG → 1SG
ami tsanu-ru-a-mi
2SG lie-1SG.OBJ-IPFV-2SG.SBJ + DECL
‘You are lying to me.’

(37) táhami 1SG → 2SG
ta-hami
say + IPFV-1SG > 2SG + DECL
‘I am telling you.’
(38) tāharmi \[1\text{SG} \rightarrow 2\text{PL}\]
ta-harumi
\text{say} + \text{IPFV-1SG} > 2\text{PL} + \text{DECL}
'I am telling you (pl).'

From the examples above, it can be said that coding in the local domain (\text{SAP} \rightarrow \text{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; whereas 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 (\text{SAP} \rightarrow 3), only the A argument is marked in the “subject” position. Now, let us consider the “inverse” domain (3 \rightarrow \text{SAP}).

(39) iseitimiaji \[3 \rightarrow 1\]
isa-i-tu-mia-ji
\text{bite-LOAF-1SG.OBJ-DIST-PT-3.PT} + \text{DECL}
'She/he bit me.'

(40) isatmawei \[3 \rightarrow 2\]
isa-tama-a-ua-i
\text{bite-2SG.OBJ-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL}
'She/he isbitting you.'

(41) amútmaktathi \[3 \rightarrow 1\text{PL}\]
amu-tama-ka-tata-hi
\text{finish-1PL.OBJ-INTENS-DEF.FUT-1PL} + \text{DECL}
'He/they are going to kill us.'
(42) amútmaktatrumi 3 → 2\textsubscript{PL}
amu-tama-ka-tata-rumi
\textit{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 \textit{role}.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{Position 2} & \textit{Position 7} \\
1SG P & 3 A \\
2SG P & 3 A \\
1PL P & 1PL P (A form) \\
2PL P & 2PL P (A form) \\
\end{tabular}

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
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Desiderative, Imperative, Jussive, Apprehensive, Hortative</td>
<td>Position 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declarative, Exclamative</td>
<td>Position 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>Marked with <em>timaji</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) wi· wi·a·hee
ui  ui-a-ha-i
1SG  go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am going.'
(44) tres ̃sawán puhústtahee
tres ̃tsauanta phuha-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) hukitá táha
hu-ki-tá ta-ha-∅
take−WHILE.MOVING−IMP say + IPFV−1SG.SBJ−EXCLAM
‘Take it!, I say!’

(46) urutmá ūuntaita
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 ̃nawānʃuʃeit
au = ja iawa-tʃau = 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 -rumi. The imperative is likely related to the the future marker -ta. Table 14.9 summarizes the imperative constructions with singular and plural forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>2pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb-Aktionsart-tá</td>
<td>Verb-Aktionsart-tá-rumi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

672
The next examples illustrate the imperative. Examples (48)–(49) are instance of commands where the addressee is singular.

(48) nūu ūun mántfu juháwaji tūsā uhaktá
nu uunta manʧu 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 mosquitoes 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) juátarmi
iu-á-tá-rumi
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 1-plural 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 typically use of the attenuative is to diminish the force of a command:

(52) *jusāta*
    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) *iʃìfìk ásam wíkia*
    iʃìfìği a-sa-mi u-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 /ui/) is [wi] and not [wi]. So, apparently -kia can establish backward harmony with a vowel /i/ of the stem. Unfortunately, I have very few examples of -kia with a verb stem ending in /i/, so for the moment I cannot make a more general statement on this.
mother becomes upset at the child’s behavior:

(54) juá́kia
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 wíarí
ii-sa-kia       hu = ni       wi-ara-i
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 nominalizer –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) juá́kia-rua
iu-á-kia-rua
eat-HIAF-FAM.IMP–PL:FAM.IMP
‘[You (PL)] eat!’
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 -i, although there is no trace of nasalization in the jussive (but recall that -i surfaces very often as an oral vowel (cf. §14.3.2)).

(57) jawaän hukí wíaka níntroo kámi núkui surustí túsá
iauaa hu-kí ui-a-kū = ūa aninta-tu-ra-u
dog take-while.moving\3.ss go-ppfv-sim\3.ss = add sing.magical.song-appl-distr-nmlz
kami nunkui su-ru-sa-ti tu-sā
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) káfí miŋtí túsa turáminawee wilsonheí
káfí  uini-ti  tu-sa  tu-rama-ina-ua-i  wilson-haí

‘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) umármì
uma-ra-mì
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) umármì
tum-ra-ara-mì
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).
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 -rumi. There is no difference between using -rupa or -pa-rumi. The next examples illustrate the use of the prohibitive.

(63) náki ēip’a
naki a-ai-pa
lazy COP-APPR-PROH
‘Don’t be lazy!’
(64) \(\text{iʃa}m\text{ruk} \text{ɛi}p\text{a}\)
be.afraid-APPL-INTENS-APPR-PROH
‘Don’t be afraid!’

(65) \(\text{tii sîntʃi tʃik} \text{imɛi}p\text{a}\)
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 -\(\text{ai}\)

The Wampis apprehensive modality is morphologically codified via the use of the suffix -\(\text{ai}\). 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person\Number</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ai-ha</td>
<td>ai-hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ai-pa</td>
<td>ai-ripa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ai+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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) ɪsawára éé kanákmun tipísaip’a misínakeim
  ṭsaua-ra  aï  kana-ku-mi  tipi-sa-ai-pa  dawn-
  DISTR  MED.LOC  sleep + IPFV-SIM-2SG.SS lie.down-ATT-APPR-PLOH

misi-ma-ka-ai-mi
ruin-REFL-INTENS-APPR-2SG.SBJ

‘When it dawns, there, don’t keep sleeping, lest you dream your death!’234

234. The verb misi ‘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 ṭsanṭa ‘head trophy’; the ritual leader gives them directions as the ritual was supposed to be very strict:

\( \text{ Lotto } \) -\( \text{nta } \) -\( \text{ inta } \) -\( \text{ aśawai } \)
\( \text{ji } \) -\( \text{ inta } \) -\( \text{ aśawai } \)
\( \text{tus } \) -\( \text{ i } \) -\( \text{ sa } \)
\( \text{ tu } \) -\( \text{ s } \)
\( \text{ i-m } \) -\( \text{ sa } \) -\( \text{ a } \) -\( \text{ hi } \)
\( \text{ tu } \) -\( \text{ s } \)

Well make hole -HIAF -APPR say -SUB \( \text{ 3SG } . \) SS -CAUS -ruin -DISTR -APPR -1 PL say -SUB \( \text{ 3SG } . \) SS

\( \text{ inta } \) -\( \text{ aśawai } \)
\( \text{ hair } \) -\( \text{ ACC } \) CAUS -burn -HIAF -APPR -1 PL

‘[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:

\( \text{ tur } \) -\( \text{ sa } \) -\( \text{ w } \) -\( \text{ k } \) -\( \text{ s } \) -\( \text{ w } \) -\( \text{ m } \) -\( \text{ ha } \) -\( \text{ i } \)
\( \text{ its } \) -\( \text{ ra } \) -\( \text{ in } \) -\( \text{ u } \) -\( \text{ sa } \) -\( \text{ a } \) -\( \text{ i } \)
\( \text{ but } \) 1 SG walk -ATT go . PFV -DIST -PT -1 SG . SBJ -DECL inform -APPL -NMLZ COP -APPR

‘But I left because I was afraid that they accuse me [of the killing].’

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 ṭsira ‘inform, give news’ plus the applicative acquires a sense of ‘accuse’.

681
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. aīsā nūwaka tēynatsui  
atsa nua = ka ta-in Tsu-u-i  
no woman = FOC arrive-PL.IPPV-NEG-3.SBJ-DECL  
‘[His mother:] “No, the women do not arrive”,

b. tsī nuīŋk’a saīr tsunāhe hintínəsuk jiakaratə  
tji nuī= ka sai-ru Tsu-ha hintina = Tsu = ki  
okay there = FOC brother.in.law-1SG Tsuna = COM trail = INFER = RESTR  

[jia-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, fighting 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 wéinkouskeiti núnikoo asántšuk haátsutec nunáʃa tíŋu ármaji

kaia waina-ka-u=tšu=ka=iti nuni-ka-u

stone see-INTENS-NMLZ = INFER = FOC = COP.3 + DECL. do.that-INTENS-NMLZ

a-sâ = tšu = ki ha-a-tšu-tai

COP-SUB\3,SS = INFER = RESTR die-IPFV-NEG-INFER

nu = na = ja 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-jí ‘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
complement (this construction is still very frequent in narratives too).

(71) īstahee wīu tīmaji
   iisataha wiutīmaji
   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 tīmaji can also occur with verb forms that are not nominalized and are
not marked for mood. This is evidence that tīmaji has been grammaticalized as a marker
of narrative modality

(72) hijá tīmaji aūhun
   hia timaji auhu=na
   reprimand+IPFV NARR Auju=ACC
   ‘He was reprimanding Auju.’

(73) nuní wāa tīmaji nantuka
   nu=ni uaa timaji Moon=ka
   NON VIS ALL climb+IPFV NARR Moon=FOC
   ‘Over there Nantu climbed.’

(74) wī tīmaji
   ui tīmaji
   go.PFV NARR
   ‘He went away.’
(75) *tú untuá tímaji*

tú untu-á tímaji
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,
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).\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-á(u)</td>
<td>‘High affectedness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>‘Low affectedness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>‘Intensive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ki(ni)</td>
<td>‘Do while going’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>‘Distributed action’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>‘Attenuative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>‘Do in proximity/while coming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u</td>
<td>‘Do away from location’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>‘Imperfective’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>‘Durative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>‘Present habitual’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mai</td>
<td>‘Potential’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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) jūhee
iu-á-ha-i
eat-HIAF-1SG.SBJ-DECL
‘I just ate.’

(2) júwahée
iu-a-ha-i
eat-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
‘I am eating.’

(3) mamán jùnami
mama = na ju-na-mi
manioc = ACC eat-PRES.HAB.2SG.SBJ + DECL
‘You usually eat manioc.’

(4) jumeín
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 -ʃʃau (§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.

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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Underived Nouns</th>
<th>Set I Nominalization</th>
<th>Set II Nominalization</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Receive case and oblique clitics</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be possessor</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes(^b)</td>
<td>Yes(^b)</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be possessed</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Some(^c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can head an NP</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be pluralized with a-ina (\text{COP-PL.IPfv})</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -\text{inu} and Set II -\text{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. \text{fu\text{-}rama} ‘beautiful’ when possessed with -\text{r}\(i\) ‘1\text{pl}/2\text{pl}/3\text{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 -\text{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 -\text{u}, and Set I future nominalizer -\text{tinu} and patient/location
nominalizer -\textit{taï} can combine with the verbal negative suffix -\textit{tfa}. The distributional properties of Set I and Set II nominalizers are listed in Table 15.4. I also add information about the nominalizer -\textit{na}, which combines with the potential stem marked by -\textit{mai} ‘potential’, as well as the negative nominalizer -\textit{tfa}.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Distributional features of Wampis nominalizers}
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Properties \to Suffixes & Can occur on root & Can occur on aspectual stem & Can occur on potential stem \textit{V-mai} & Can occur on negative stem \textit{V-tfa} \\
\hline
\textit{-inu} & Yes & No & Yes & No \\
\textit{-tinu} & Yes & Yes & No & Yes \\
\textit{-taï} & Yes & No & No & Yes \\
\textit{-ta} & Yes & No & No & No \\
\textit{-u} & No & Yes & No & Yes \\
\textit{-mau} & No & Yes & No & Yes \\
\textit{-\textit{t}jau} & Yes & Yes & No & No \\
\textit{-na} & Yes & No & Yes & No \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

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 -\textit{INU}, ‘agentive nominalizer’

The agentive nominalizer -\textit{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 -\textit{INU}.

(5)
\begin{align*}
arantu ‘respect’ & \rightarrow \text{arantu-inu [arántin]} \quad \text{‘a respectful one’} \\
áuha ‘read, study’ & \rightarrow \text{áuha-inu [óuñin]} \quad \text{‘student’} \\
iuíji ‘heal’ & \rightarrow \text{iuíji-inu [iuíjíin]} \quad \text{‘shaman’} \\
kutama ‘spin’ & \rightarrow \text{kutama-inu [kútañín]} \quad \text{‘spinner (of cotton or chambira thread)’} \\
iuara ‘make joke’ & \rightarrow \text{iuara-inu [iwarín]} \quad \text{‘joker’} \\
umu ‘drink’ & \rightarrow \text{umu-inu [úmin]} \quad \text{‘drinker’} \\
má ‘kill’ & \rightarrow \text{má-inu [méin]} \quad \text{‘hunter$^{238}$} \\
nakuma ‘draw’ & \rightarrow \text{nakuma-inu [nakúmin]} \quad \text{‘drawer’}
\end{align*}

The agentive nominalizer -\textit{INU} is very productive with the 1pl object marker -\textit{KARATU}. With -\textit{KARATU}, the nominalizer -\textit{INU} creates generic nouns.

(6) \textit{hintíñkar}tín
\text{hintina-karatu-inu}
\text{teach-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ}
\text{‘teacher’ (‘someone who teaches us’)}

---

238. The form \textit{má-inu} ‘hunter’ is used in the conventionalized sense of ‘killer of animals’ and denotes a human. Animals that hunt are referred to as \textit{mántinu} [mántin] (see example (10)). The form for ‘killer’ in the sense of ‘assassin’ is \textit{mánkartin} (see example (8)).
(7) *mānkārtin*
mā-karatu-inu
kill-1PL.OBJ=NMLZ
‘assassin’ (‘someone who kills us’)

(8) *nakūmkartin*
nakuma-karatu-inu
draw-1PL.OBJ=INU
‘photographer’ (‘someone who draws us’)

(9) *amuīkartin*
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) *nawāāmāntin*
iauaā_mā-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
nominalizer -\textit{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 -\textit{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 -\textit{inu}:

(11) \textit{uwिमकरिन} \\
\text{u-ui-ma-tu-i-karatu-inu} \\
\text{CAUS-go-REFL-APPL-LOAF-1PL.OBJ -NMLZ} \\
'savior' ('someone who let us go for our benefit')\textsuperscript{239} \\

(12) \textit{सिंकिरिन} \\
\text{सिंकिरिन-ra-inu} \\
\text{branch.off-branch.off-DISTR-INU} \\
'tree that has many branches'

15.4.2. Set I -\textit{tinu}, ‘future nominalizer’

The suffix -\textit{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.

\hline

\textsuperscript{239} The verb \textit{uuima} (< \textit{u-ui-ma} as analyzed above) means ‘scape’ in current Wampis.
(13) óuhamatsatin
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 [akínatin] ‘one who is going to be born’
iakama’hunt’ → iakama-tinu [iákmatin] ‘one who will hunt’
kaka ‘be.strong’ → kaka-ra-tinu [kakáratin] ‘one who will be strong’

(13) óuhamatsatin
auhumatu-sa-tinu
tell-ATT-FUT.NMLZ
‘one who is going to tell’ or ‘what is going to be told’

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/statative noun that sometimes serves as a citation form of the verb. However, -tinu is not as commonly used

699
as a citation form suffix as the action nominalizer -ta (§15.4.3). The use of -tinu for citation forms probably derives from an eventive reading of patient nominalizations achieved with this morpheme.

(15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Nominalizer</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iia</td>
<td>iia-tinu</td>
<td>‘to fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui</td>
<td>ui-tinu</td>
<td>‘to go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Nominalizer</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akina</td>
<td>akina-ta</td>
<td>‘birth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>ha-ta</td>
<td>‘sickness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misi</td>
<td>misi-ta</td>
<td>‘death, war’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhu</td>
<td>puhu-ta</td>
<td>‘life’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taka</td>
<td>taka-ta</td>
<td>‘work (n)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umu</td>
<td>umu-ta</td>
<td>‘to drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māá241</td>
<td>māánaita</td>
<td>‘to fight’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned in the previous section, -ta nominalizations are commonly given

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’: mā and māá. The second form is analyzable as mā-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 -taï, ‘non-agentive nominalizer’

The suffix -taï 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-taï or ikina-taï 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Nominalizer</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aki</td>
<td>akï-taï</td>
<td>earring (what is put on the ear’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanki</td>
<td>kanki-taï</td>
<td>wheel (‘what is rolled’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umu</td>
<td>umu-taï</td>
<td>drink (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iu</td>
<td>iu-taï</td>
<td>food (‘what is eaten’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iu</td>
<td>iu-tʃa-taï</td>
<td>inedible (‘what is not eaten’) (eat-NEG-NMLZ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māa</td>
<td>māa-tʃa-taï</td>
<td>what is not killed (242) (kill-NEG-NMLZ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áuhumatu ‘tell’</td>
<td>áuhumatu-taï</td>
<td>what is told or ‘place where something is told’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of nominalized verbs that possess the suffix -taï and have a

242. Specially to refer to animals that must not be killed for cultural reasons, such as dolphins or buzzards.
conventionalized meaning of location:

(18)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{anuma} & \quad \text{‘dock (V)’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{anuma-ta} [\text{anumte}] & \quad \text{‘dock (N)’ (‘where a canoe is docked’)} \\
\text{aiama} & \quad \text{‘rest’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{aiama-ta} [\text{ajamte}] & \quad \text{‘resting place’}^{243} \\
\text{ihatuma}’& \quad \text{‘defecate’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ihatuma-ta} [\text{ihatmate}] & \quad \text{‘latrine’} \\
\text{ikima} & \quad \text{‘sit’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ikima-ta} [\text{ikimte}] & \quad \text{‘chair’} \\
\text{ikina} & \quad \text{‘put on fire’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ikina-ta} [\text{ikinte}] & \quad \text{‘grill (N)’} \\
\text{inkima} & \quad \text{‘enter’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{inkima-ta} [\text{inkimte}] & \quad \text{‘entrance’}
\end{align*}
\]

There are some examples of words with -ta which denote an instrument, rather than patient or location:

(19)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{asaki} & \quad \text{‘lock (V)’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{asaki-ta} [\text{asaktete}] & \quad \text{‘key, lock (N)’ (‘what is used to lock’)} \\
\text{isika} & \quad \text{‘wrap up warm’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{isika-ma-ta} [\text{isikmate}] & \quad \text{‘blanket’ (wrap.up.warm-REFL-NMLZ)} \\
\text{måá} & \quad \text{‘kill’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{måá-nai-ta} [\text{måántete}] & \quad \text{‘weapon’ (kill-RECP-NMLZ)} \\
\text{niki} & \quad \text{‘grind’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{niki-ta} [\text{nike}] & \quad \text{‘grinder’}^{244}
\end{align*}
\]

The non-agentive nominalizer -ta may have come from the combination of -ta ‘action nominalizer’ plus = (n)j ‘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 -ta requires a locative marker:

---

243. Traditionally, aiamatais 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.
Example (20) suggests that if there is a historical connection between the nominalizer -\textit{taǐ} and the locative -(\textit{n})\textit{i}, the time of development since the hypothesized grammaticalization of -\textit{taǐ} 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 -\textit{taǐ} 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 -\textit{taǐ} may after all be related to the locative. Corbera (1994: 149) has hypothesized that the Awajun cognate form -\textit{taǐ} is decomposable between the nominalizer -\textit{ta} and an instrumental suffix -\textit{i} which is found in Awajun, 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 -\textit{taǐ} in Wampis. In the (yet not proven) case that there be a formative *-\textit{i} in -\textit{taǐ}, perhaps this is the only place

\footnote{245. Overall (2007) lists this morpheme as -(\textit{a})\textit{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 a 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 [háo] ‘sick person’
nika ‘know’  →  nika-a-u [nikóo] ‘wise’
üĩjña ‘speak’  →  üĩjña-a-u [ũjı̃jo] ‘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 [unuímaru] ‘educated’ (‘one who
learned’)
ũiĩma ‘go forward’ → ũiĩma-ka-u [ũiĩmko] ‘one who went forward’
isa ‘burn’ → isa-ka-u [ísaku] ‘what/who burned’
manka ‘get fat’ → manka-ra-u [maŋkáru] ‘one who got fat’
mina ‘soften, melt’ → mina-ra-u [móíaru] ‘what became softened or melted’
kau ‘rot’ → kau-ra-u [kouro] ‘rotten meat’

From the above examples, it can be seen that while there is some overlap between Set II -u and Set I -ini (§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
derivation with -mau are presented in (23).

(23)
nakuma ‘draw’ → nakumi-a-mau ‘drawing (something that is being drawn)’
(draw-IPFV-IPFV-NMLZ)

̃tsua ‘heal’ → ̃tsua-a-mau [̃tsuwámu] ‘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)’
imima ‘be proud’ → imima-mau [imimamu] ‘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 [akíijnamu] ‘birth’ or ‘place where
one is born’; arakama ‘plant (V)’ → arakama-a-mau [ărākmamu] (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’

The use of *mau* in locative relativizations is described more in detail in §20.2.2 and §20.4

### 15.4.7. Negative nominalizer -تاح

The nominalizer -تاح can occurred attached to a root or aspectual stem. It negates the element to which it attaches.

(26)
\[\text{ta}^{j} \text{itja} \quad \text{‘speak’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ta}^{j} \text{itja-تاح} [\text{ta}^{j} \text{itja}^{t} \text{u}] \quad \text{‘quiet person’, ‘mute’}\]
\[\text{kaka} \quad \text{‘be strong’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{kaka}^{j} \text{itja} [\text{kak} \text{e}^{t} \text{itja}^{t} \text{u}] \quad \text{‘weak one’, ‘lazy one’}\]
\[\text{nika} \quad \text{‘know’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{nika}^{j} \text{itja} [\text{nika}^{j} \text{itjau}] \quad \text{‘ignorant’ (‘one who does not know’)}\]
\[\text{surima} \quad \text{‘be stingy’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{surima-تاح} [\text{sur} \text{m} \text{a}^{t} \text{oo}] \quad \text{‘generous person’}\]

The nominalizer -تاح have developed from the negative verbal suffix -تاح and Set II -u ‘agent nominalizer’. The nominalizer -تاح can also combine with adjectives, other nouns and some adverbs, which indicates that formative -تاح in the nominalizer -تاح is no longer analyzed by speakers as a verbal-only morpheme, hence -تاح is analyzed as a synchronically unanalyzable morpheme.

### 15.4.8. Nominalizer -נה

The nominalizer -נה 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) tuméjna
   tu-mai-na
   say-POT-NMLZ
   ‘what can be said’

(28) ti puháňna húu kanús apájka río santiayó tuñawee
   ii puha-hi-na hu kanusa
   1PL live-1PL,SBJ-NMZL PROX Kanus
   apatjá = ka río santiago tu-ina-ua-i
   mestizo = FOC río 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 constituent 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  ui-a-ha-i
1SG  go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
'I am going'

(3)
S
ami  uika-sa-mi
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-jı
Puhupat  laugh-DISTR-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL
'Puhupat laughed.'
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 -\textit{inu} and Set II -\textit{u}).

- Robust same and different subject marking in subordinate clauses.

- Controller of switch-reference -\textit{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 =\textit{na}.

- Third person NP objects receive the accusative marker =\textit{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”. =\textit{na} means that the object is marked with the accusative.
Table 16.1. Summary of object NP marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>1sg P</th>
<th>1pl P</th>
<th>2sg P</th>
<th>2pl P</th>
<th>3 P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg A</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>= na</td>
<td>= na</td>
<td>= na</td>
<td>= na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl A</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>= na</td>
<td>= na</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg A</td>
<td>= na</td>
<td>= na</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl A</td>
<td>= na</td>
<td>= na</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 A</td>
<td>= na</td>
<td>= na</td>
<td>= na</td>
<td>= na</td>
<td>= na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
nī 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
nī ami = na uaina-tama-ka-ma-ji
3SG 2SG = ACC see-1PL/2.OBJ-INTENS-REC.PT-3PT + DECL
‘He saw you.’
(12) $A = 1\text{sg}, P = 2\text{sg}$

$A$  $P$

ui ami = na uaina-ka-ma-hami

1SG  2SG = ACC see-INTENS-REC.PT-1SG > 2SG + DECL

‘I saw you.’

(13) $A = 1\text{pl}, P = 2\text{pl}$

$A$  $P$

ii atumi = na uaina-ka-ma-hirumi

1PL  2PL = ACC see-INTENS-REC.PT-1PL > 2PL + DECL

‘We saw you (pl).’

(14) $A = 2\text{sg}, P = 1\text{sg}$

$A$  $P$

ami mi = na uaina-tu-ka-ma-mi

2SG  1SG = ACC see-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-REC.PT-2SG + DECL

‘You saw me.’

(15) $A = 2\text{pl}, P = 1\text{pl}$

atumi ii = na uaina-tama-ka-ma-rumi

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
iauāa = na  mā-á-ma-ji
jaguar = ACC  kill-hiaf-rec.pt-3.pt + DECL
‘He killed the jaguar.’

(17) A = 1sg, P = 3
P  A
iauāa = na  mā-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
ami  iauāa  mā-á-ma-mi
2sg  jaguar  kill-hiaf-rec.pt-2sg.sbj + decl
‘You killed a jaguar.’

(19) A = 1pl, P = 3
P  A
iauāa  mā-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 1<sub>SG</sub> and 1<sub>PL</sub> 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:

\[ 1_{PL}/2 > 1_{SG} > 3 \]
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 = tї (§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) *atliu wímaji*
Atilio ɨi-ma-jí
Atilio go-rec,pt-3,pt + decl
‘Atilio went.’

(21) *ðína úutiawec*
Dina ɨi-ti-a-u-i
Dina cry,ipfv-ippv-3,sbj-decl
‘Dina is crying.’

(22) *ìntšānam jukúmaji*
ìntša = nama jukuma-jí
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) $nāsī$ $ampūawai$ [...]  
\[\text{nasi} \ \text{ampu-a-ua-i}\]  
wind blow-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL  
‘The wind is blowing…’

(24) $jūmi ğir jutūkti$  
\[\text{iumi} \ \text{ğiira} \ \text{iutu-ka-ti}\]  
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 kafeén máámiái*  
Puhupata  kaʃai = na  mā-á-mia-ji  
Pujupat  paca = _ACC_  kill- _HIAF-DIST-PT-3,PT_ + _DECL_  
‘Pujupat killed a a paca’
In text data, quotative constructions seem to favor post-verbal positioning of arguments. When there are two overt arguments in a quotative construction, the preferred 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.

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)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
A & T & R \\
[Puhupat] & [\text{ukunti] = na} & \text{su-sa-ji} & [\text{iauaa} = na} \\
\text{Puhupata} & \text{bone = ACC} & \text{give-ATT-3.PFV + DECL} & \text{dog = ACC}
\end{array}
\]

‘Puhupat 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)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{A} & \text{T} & \text{R} \\
\text{Pujupat} & \text{ukuntʃi} = \text{na} & \text{iauaā} = \text{na} & \text{su-sa-ji} \\
\text{Pujupata} & \text{bone} = \text{ACC} & \text{dog} = \text{ACC} & \text{give-ATT-3.PFV + DECL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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 marked 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)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
P \\
\text{ami = na} & \text{sii} & \text{ta-hami} \\
2\text{SG} = \text{ACC} & \text{thanks say-1SG > 2SG + DECL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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 *natsatu* ‘live together’. Other full lexical verbs that are used in locative constructions are posture verbs such as *tipi* ‘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 *ui* ‘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 -tînu (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 míña papár
    [nu úunta] [mina papa-ru]
NON VIS elder 1SG GEN father-1SG POSS
‘That elder is my father.’

(2) hūū míña kumpár
    [hū] [mi-na kumpa-ru]
PROX 1SG GEN friend-1SG POSS
‘This is my friend.’
(3) nîŋk’a mîña kumpâr
[nî = ka] [mî-na kump-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 iákmou
[Nantu = ka] [iakama-u]
Moon = FOC look.for.game-NMLZ
‘Nantu [was] a killer of animals.’ (i.e. ‘Moon hunted animals’)

(5) wîk’a juár wampîs
[ui = ka] [juara 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 tiś sintʃi
[Wampuka] [ti ʃ sintʃi]
Wampuka INTS strong
‘The Wampuka246 [are] very strong.’

(8) núu úun umín
[nu ʃ unta] [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

246. Native people of the forest who appear in folktales. The Wampis considered them to be uncontacted 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 -ʃau (as explained in §9.5.2); e.g.

kuitaritunu ‘rich’ vs. kuitar-i-ʃau ‘poor’; pinkira ‘good’ vs pinkira-ʃau ‘bad’.

In any case, the main strategy of negation in juxtaposition constructions is the use of

the negative nominalizer -ʃau 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 pünkiriʃoo

i-misa-tu-ma-mau  pinkira-ʃau

CAUS-ruin-APPL-REFL-NMLZ  good-NEG.NMLZ

‘Ruining (your own future) [is] bad.’

(10) núka ainitsuka kakákiʃoo

nu=ka  ainitsu=ka  kaka-ka-ʃau

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.

247. The term kuitaritunu [kuitrintrin] ‘wealthy’ (lit. ‘owner of his money’) is composed of kuita ‘money’ + rī 1PL/2PL.1PL/2PL/3.POSS + tinu ‘attributive’. The opposite term for ‘poor’ replaces the attributive -tinu with the negative -ʃau.

734
(11)  tih'ée juárítouweit'i
    tihai juara-tšau = ait-mi
tijai  person-NEG.NMLZ = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL
‘[…] you are not a Tijai248 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)  uufirtin
    utjí-ri-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)  kunaú Andrés ahárt’in
    kunaú249  Andrés  aha-ri-tinu
brother-in-law Andres  farm-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRIB
‘Cuñado Andrés has a farm.’250

248. In the Wampis folklore, human-like beings that inhabit the forests.

249. The term kunaú is borrowed from Spanish <cuñado> (colloquially pronounced [kuŋao] 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 nuwístin
au = ka nui-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) íntís naártin
Intísu naa-rí-tinu
Intísu name-1PL/2PL.3.POSS-ATTRIB
‘Her name [was] Inchis,’

As mentioned earlier, a copula can occur after -tinu:

(16) aťurtînaithei
aťju-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

__________________________________________

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 átawee
[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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Copula a</th>
<th>Copula Clitics</th>
<th>Existential a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>proper inclusion, equation, attribution, possession/benefactive (with possessive -nau)</td>
<td>proper inclusion, equation, attribution</td>
<td>location, existential, possession (with the applicative form -ru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Takes plural -ina or -ara</td>
<td>Does not take plural marking</td>
<td>Takes plural -ia (except in 3rd person plural, which takes -ina)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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...
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) ïña ñuntri ka tii sinʃʃi ármia yi
ina uunta-ri = ka tii sinʃʃi a-ara-mia-ji
1PL,GEN elder-1PL/2PL/3.POSS = FOCS INTENS strong COP-PL-DIST-PT-3.PT + DECL
‘Our ancestors were very strong.’

(19) ip’ákka átíqka […] nunká puhusú
ipaku = ka a-tinu= ka nunká puhu-sa-u
annatto = FOCS 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.’
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) ɛ́ɛʃ məŋ kuitmɨ́ aíʃ manku = ita-mi
man = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL
‘You are a man.’

(23) jɛtˈam
ia = ita-mi
who = COP-2SG.SBJ
‘Who are you?’

(24) mijá pɨŋkiri=itʰa!
mia pɨnkira = 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 -σα.\textsuperscript{251}

(25) Himpija urúka ásan naŋkámatašmia?

himpí = ja uru-ka a-sá 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) wabálnumiajeithi
Huabal = numa = ia = aita-hi
Huabal = LOC = ABL = COP = 1PL.SBJ + DECL
‘We are from Huabal.’

(27) wabálnumia ʃeŋahi
Huabal = numa = ia a-ina-hi
Huabal = LOC = ABL COP-PL.IPFSV-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

\begin{quote}
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 himpi ‘hummingbird’ is regarded as a bad sign.
\end{quote}
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 todo a sido así alimento hospedaje a sí pagado
tu = ka todo ha sido así alimento hospedaje = a sí pagado

‘That, everything has been thus, food and lodge, everything is paid.’

(29) núka una reunión previa de coordinación

úna reunión previa de coordinación = ka = iti

‘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 áwee
ti�키 햅н mi exist-3SG.SBJ-DECL

‘There is one tree.’

(31) núkap kaáp ámați

nukapi kaapi a-ма-ji

‘There were many tamshi vines.’

Additional examples of the existential a are given with the jussive (32) and
interrogative moods (33)–(34).

(32) huînk’a kahrnajamu atsuti
hu-ɨ = ka  kahi-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) awāk
a-ua-ka
exist-3.SBJ-Q
‘Does it exist?’

(34) narāŋʃa  arútramiaka?
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) póŋkir ąjahi
pînkira-a-ia-hi
good  COP-REM.PT-1PL.SBJ + DECL
‘We were good’

(36) póŋkireithi
pînkira = ɨta-hi
good = COP-1PL.SBJ + DECL
‘We are good.’
As we saw previously in examples (26)–(27), there can be some overlap between the copula and copula clitics in the marking of plurality.\textsuperscript{252} Those examples are repeated below for ease of comparison.

(37) \textit{wabálnumiajci}thi
\begin{align*}
\text{Huabal} & = \text{numa} = \text{ia} = \text{aita-hi} \\
\text{Huabal} & = \text{LOC} = \text{ABL} = \text{COP} = 1\text{PL}.\text{SBJ} + \text{DECL} \\
\text{‘We are from Huabal.’}
\end{align*}

(38) \textit{wabálnumia ɛ́ɲ}ahi
\begin{align*}
\text{Huabal} & = \text{numa} = \text{ia} \quad \text{a-ina-hi} \\
\text{Huabal} & = \text{LOC} = \text{ABL} \quad \text{COP-PL/IPFV-1PL.SBJ} \\
\text{‘We are from Huabal.’}
\end{align*}

For third person plurals, the situation becomes more irregular. The following points are to be noticed:

• First, the copula \textit{a} can take the plural -\textit{ina}, which elsewhere in the grammar of Wampis occurs with plural imperfective stems (cf. §13.3.3), and -\textit{ara}, which occurs with non-imperfective perfective stems (cf. §13.5).

• Secondly, unlike the copula verb \textit{a}, the copula clitics do not receive plural markers.

\begin{itemize}
\item In addition, any verb that occurs with the distant past -\textit{mia} takes the plural -\textit{ara} regardless of whether there is an indication of plurality in the person marker attached to the verb:
\begin{align*}
\text{ii uika-inu a-ara-mia-hi} \\
1\text{PL} \quad \text{walk-NMLZ} \quad \text{COP-PL-DIST,PT-1PL.SBJ} + \text{DECL} \\
\text{‘We were travelers.’}
\end{align*}
\end{itemize}
• Thirdly, the existential *a* has a suppletive plural form *aia*, which has the same cognate form in Awajun (Overall 2007).  

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)  
\[
\text{ampúʃ numí=nama aia-ua-i} \\
\text{owl tree=LOC exist.PL-3.SBJ-DECL}
\]

‘There are owls in the tree.’

(40)  
\[
\text{ampúʃ éɲawee} \\
\text{ampuʃa a-ina-ua-i} \\
\text{owl COP-PL.IPfv-3.SBJ-DECL}
\]

‘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:

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).
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 -ʃʃau marks the copula complement (42), or, b) the negative verbal morpheme -ʃʃa is attached to the copula itself254 (43).

(42) fuártʃou ʃajji
juara-ʃʃau á-ia-ji
enemy-NEG.NMLZ COP-REM.PT-3.PT + DECL
‘They were not enemies’

(43) wijíkramu āʃami tipírkamu āʃami
uiʃi-ki-ra-mau a-ʃʃa-mi
laugh-TR-DISTR-NMLZ COP-NEG-HORT

On the other hand, unlike the copula verb a, copula clitics do not receive the

254. The suffix -ʃʃa is a non-present negative marker. For present tense, the suffix -tsu is used.
verbal negative suffix -\( \tilde{t}a \). Instead, negation is marked in the clause by attaching the negative nominalizer -\( \tilde{t}a\) to the nominal or adjectival complement. The copula clitics function basically as verbalizers, and thus follow the negative nominalizer -\( \tilde{t}a\).

\begin{align*}
(44) \text{ju\( \tilde{t}\)auweiti'}\text{i} \\
\text{juara-} \tilde{t}\text{au} = \text{aiti} \\
\text{person-NEG. NMLZ} = \text{COP.3 + DECL} \\
\text{‘It is not a person.’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(45) \text{\( \ddot{a} \)mika p\( \tilde{t} \)kira-} \tilde{t}\text{au} = \text{aita-mi} \\
\text{ami = ka \quad p\( \tilde{t} \)kira-} \tilde{t}\text{au} = \text{aita-mi} \\
\text{2SG = FOC \quad good-NEG. NMLZ} = \text{COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL} \\
\text{‘You are bad.’}
\end{align*}

Finally, the existential receives the negative suffix -\( \tilde{su} \), which is only used in present tense (see §13.4 for details), as the following examples illustrate.

\begin{align*}
(46) \text{n\( \ddot{i} \)lam\( \tilde{a} \)ni} \text{at\( \tilde{a} \)wei} \\
\text{n\( \ddot{i} \)lam\( \tilde{a} \)ni} \text{a-} \text{tsu-a-ua-i} \\
\text{manioc.beer exist-NEG-IPFV-3SG-DECL} \\
\text{‘There is not manioc beer.’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(47) \text{n\( \ddot{u} \)n\( \ddot{a} \) n\( \ddot{a} \)nkam\( \ddot{a} \)s ja\( \ddot{m} \)\( \ddot{e} \)k\( \ddot{l} \)a n\( \ddot{u} \) \text{n\( \ddot{a} \)t\( \ddot{a} \) a\( \ddot{t} \)\( \ddot{a} \)\( \ddot{w} \)\( \ddot{e} \)i} \\
\text{n\( \ddot{u} \)-ia n\( \ddot{a} \)nkama-s\( \ddot{a} \) i\( \ddot{a} \)mai = ka nu ja-ta a-} \text{tsu-a-ua-i} \\
\text{there-ABL happen-SUB\( \ddot{3} \)SG.SS now = FOC \quad NON. VIS \quad be.sick-NMLZ exist-NEG-IPFV-3SG-DECL} \\
\text{‘Ever since it (i.e. the disease) happened, now that disease doesn’t exist.’}
\end{align*}

Importantly, the existential verb a never receives the non-present negative marker -\( \tilde{t}a \). Thus, if the temporal reference is not present declarative, the existential
still occurs with -ṣu 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 -ṣu. Example (48) illustrate a construction with an existential negated with -ṣu followed by a copula in auxiliary function, marked for past tense.

(48) huĩka awarũŋka aĩũ áajī jóunũ juũka
huĩ = ka  auarũni = ka  a-ṣu  a-ia-ji  iauũ jũki = 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) nĩt’aža arãtsou ãzãr kukiĩ čiŋãt’a aži sumẽĩna asãmẽĩ wiʃa suriktaheec
49.a
nita = ſa  ara-tʃau  a-sa-ara
3PL = ADD  sow-NEG.NMLZ COP-SUB-3PL.SS
‘Being that they did not grow [plants],

49.b
kukuĩ’a  a-ìnã = na = ſa  ažî  suma-inã  a-sa-maṭaĩ
cocona  COP-PL = ACC = ADD  all  buy-PL.IPFV COP-SUB-1SG/3.DS
‘being that they buy the cocona fruits (*Solanum sessiliflorum*), everything,
‘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) *(pinKira-tʃau = aiti a-sa-mataï)
good-NEG.NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL COP-SUB-1SG/3.DS

(51) pɨŋkɪɾɪjau ɑsámtɛ . . .
pinKira-tʃau a-sa-mataï
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) anɨnta jáʃaka nuŋkuin paʃis anɨntruə, nuŋkuı̂ poderi őu asámtɛ, nũna anɨntruə ɨŋɛ́ŋawai
52.a
aninta  jatʃa = ka  Nunkui = na  patʃi - sâ  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 - rî  a - u  a - sa - matai]
Nunkuí\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 - â  inai - 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 əjaji
[úunta Tukup = [a] [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) míña nukútʃuka Miik ámiaji
[mina nukutʃi-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) nū apāṭʃi nāki āhaku tīm’aji
[nu apāṭʃi] [nāki] a-hak-u tim’aji
NON.VIS mestizo lazi COP-HAB,PT-NMLZ NARR
‘That mestizo was lazy.’

(56) nūka juárka sūtar ájaji
[nu=ka jūarda=ka] [sūtara] 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>Non-SAP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>= aita ~</td>
<td>= aiti ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>= aita ~</td>
<td>= aita ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclamative</td>
<td>= aita ~</td>
<td>= aita ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterit</td>
<td>= ia</td>
<td>= ia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) najóowesthi
    naiau = aita-hi
tall = cop-1pl.sbj + decl
    ‘We are tall.’

(58) éɛ́ʃmankuiti
    áiʃmaŋku = iti
man = cop.3 + decl
    ‘He is a man.’

(59) ámi jaʦurūtmí
    ami iatsu-ru = ita-mi
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 tuméintsu=keit?

uarí tu-mai-in- 查询 = 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 nawantʃukkeit!

au = *ʃa iau-ʃau = 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
Awajun.

(62) jéja óufa
ia = ia          au = ña
who = COP       DIST = ADD
‘Who was that?’

(63) jéit óufa
ia = ita          au = ña
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 awárunjka aśūjaji jóuntʃukka
huī = ka  auaruni = ka   a-tsu = ia-ji   jauntʃuki = ka
here = FOC Awajun = FOC exist-NEG = COP.PT-3.PT   long.ago = FOC
‘Long ago, there was no Awajun here.’

(65) huínk'a awarunjka aśū ájaji jóuntʃukka
huī = ka awaruni = ka a-tsu a-ia-ji iauntʃuki = 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 ájawɛ
ampuʃa numi = nama aia-ua-i
owl tree = LOC exist.pl-ua-i
‘There are owls in the tree.’

(67) namák junkúnamu áwei
namaka junkuna-mau a-ua-i
fish grill-NMLZ exist-3.SBJ-DECL
‘There is fish patarashca (= food grilled in leaves).’

(68) naik apíhmou pinínum áweɛ
naika 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 -\(\tilde{su}\), 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 arūtiawee
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) utʃir aráwee
utʃi-ri 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 míŋa arūtiawee
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 $3 \rightarrow \text{PL.SAP}$ 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) $\text{arútam ū}na \text{arútram}iahi$

\begin{align*}
\text{Arutam} & \quad \text{ii} = \text{na} & \quad \text{a-ru-turama-a-hi} \\
\text{power.vision} & \quad 1\text{PL} = \text{ACC} & \quad \text{exist-APPL-1PL/OBJ-IPFV-1PL.SBJ + DECL} \\
\end{align*}

‘We have an Arutam power.’

(73) $\text{arútam â}mi\text{n}a \text{arútram}iarmi$

\begin{align*}
\text{Arutam} & \quad \text{ami} = \text{na} & \quad \text{a-ru-turama-a-rumi} \\
\text{power.vision} & \quad 2\text{SG} = \text{ACC} & \quad \text{exist-APPL-1PL/OBJ-IPFV-2PL.SBJ + DECL} \\
\end{align*}

‘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 (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.ippv-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

255. Grinevald (2006), working on a varied sample of Amerindian languages, has proposed “intermediate” systems that allow for continuos, non-discrete, categories.

761
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Classificatory Semantics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mat̓sa</td>
<td>‘inhabit, be/get together (pl)’</td>
<td>+/- Animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat̓sa-tu (mat̓sa-APPL)</td>
<td>‘be/get (pl.) together’^256</td>
<td>+ Animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irunu</td>
<td>‘reunite, crowd together, pile up’</td>
<td>+/- Animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhu</td>
<td>‘live’</td>
<td>+ Animate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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^256. Also translated as ‘live in community’ by one of my teachers.
is plural and inanimate, either *irunu* ‘crowd together, reunite, pile up’ or *maäsa* ‘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, *maäsa* typically refers to human beings living/being together (thus notice the difference in the use of the applicative between (77) and (78)).

(76) **hiyü puha-wee**
hiya puhu-a-ua-i
house√LOC live-IPFV-3-DECL
‘She is in the house.’

(77) **miük nuŋkâ maitsa-smau**
miika nunkâ matsa-sa-mau
bean gound√LOC get.together-ATT-3-NMLZ
‘The beans are on the floor.’

(78) **nük wa-waka huyu maitsa-tina**
nu = ka nua = ka hiya maïsa-tu-ina
that = FOC woman = FOC house√LOC inhabit-APPL-PL.IPFV
‘Those women were in that house.’

257. But notice that *irunu* and *maäsa* are also used with animate plural referents.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uaha</td>
<td>'stand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-uaha (cau-stand)</td>
<td>'be in a vertical position'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipi</td>
<td>'lie down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iki</td>
<td>'sit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auanki</td>
<td>'be hanging'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiã</td>
<td>'be reclined'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarima</td>
<td>'be standing firm on two feet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atikVna</td>
<td>'be upside down'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentences (80)–(84) provide examples of the use of different verbs from Table 17.4 in locational constructions:
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inki-tu (usually with applicative -tu)</td>
<td>'be inside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auanta</td>
<td>'cover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nina</td>
<td>'hang with rope'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinti</td>
<td>'be around, circle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nana</td>
<td>'be floating/float'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tfimpi</td>
<td>'put (plural) in recipient'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atsi</td>
<td>'put on the head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atu</td>
<td>'be leaning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aipi</td>
<td>'be/put horizontal sideways'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasu</td>
<td>'be/put in an untidy way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikina (from iki 'sit')</td>
<td>'be on [place]'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aipa</td>
<td>'be/put on ground or bed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pii-tu (usually with applicative -tu)</td>
<td>'be stuck'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (85)–(87) illustrate the use of these verbs.

(85)
jurankitsapa = nama inki-tu-a-ua-i
fruit bowl = LOC be.inside-APPL-IPFV-3.SBJ-DECL
'The fruit is inside the bowl.'

(86)
nuĩ  suara aepe-sa-ma-ji
there person put.horizontal.sideways-ATT-IMM,PT-3,PT + DECL
'There he had that person lying sideways.'
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 wi ‘go’ can be used in copular clauses (i.e. “linking” two nominative NPs) with the meaning of ‘become’.

Puhupata ampúja nahana-ra-ma-ji
Puhupata owl make-DISTR-REC,PT-3,DECL
'Puhupat turned into an owl.'

ami =ka šiira iakama-u ui-a-mi
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 attenuative 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:
numi uaha-ina-ua-i
tree stand-PL.IPV-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)

\[ui = ka \quad uunta \quad has-ha-i\]
\[1SG = FOC \quad big \quad become-1SG.SBJ-DECL\]

'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)

\[\text{tjirjama} = ka \quad uunta \quad has\]

\[\text{problem} = FOC \quad big \quad become\]

'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 =ki, additive =fa 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 =fa, inferential =tsu, sudden realization and tag question =api and interrogative =ka can occur marking verbs and nouns. The restrictive =ki can co-occur with other clitics, and it is very productive co-
occurring with =fa. The additive =fa and the focus =ka cannot co-occur in the same word.

Table 18.1. Mood and discourse-oriented clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=ki</td>
<td>‘Restrictive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=fa</td>
<td>‘Additive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ka</td>
<td>‘Focus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=fa</td>
<td>‘Speculative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=tsu</td>
<td>‘Inferential’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ka</td>
<td>‘Interrogative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=api</td>
<td>‘Sudden realization’, ‘Tag question’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=hama</td>
<td>‘Mirative’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18.3. Restrictive =ki

The clitic =ki 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) *nawādāk*
iauāa =ki
dog =RESTR
‘The dog only’ or ‘The dog alone’
(2) níŋki
nì = ki
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 = ki with a pronoun (3) and a numeral (4). Example (5) shows = ki with the adverb ‘now’ and derives a word meaning ‘right now’. Example (8) shows = ki fossilized on number ‘one’.

(3)
nì = ki [nìŋki]
3SG = RESTR
‘He only’ or ‘He alone’

(4)
himara = ki [himárak]
two = RESTR
‘Two only’ or ‘Two alone’

(5)
iamai = ki [jaméik]
now = RESTR
‘right now’
In discourse, the restrictive \( =ki \) 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 \( =ki \) (in the line (c)):

(7)

7.a

\[
\text{nita}=ka \quad \text{ii-sa-mau}=aiti \quad \text{Juara}
\]

\begin{align*}
3\text{PL} &= \text{FOC} \\
\text{see-ATT-NMLZ} &= \text{COP.3 + DECL} \\
\text{person} &
\end{align*}

‘They have chosen the persons,‘

7.b

\[
\text{am}i \quad \text{nu}=i=ia \quad \text{Andrés}
\]

\begin{align*}
2\text{SG} &= \text{NON.VIS} = \text{LOC} = \text{ABL} \\
\text{Andres} &
\end{align*}

‘You and Andrés […]’
7.c
juara=tʃi=ki=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 táwei un díakiti
un día = ki ta-ua-i un día = ki = 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 =ki=ʃa structure provides a sense of geographic immediacy (being close in this case) and in (10) =ki=ʃa yields a sense of temporal immediacy (‘next morning’).

(9) ikámkifǝ wikák aànkifǝ wikǝk
ikama = ki = ʃa wika-kü
forest = RESTR = ADD walk + IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS

773
In the next example, the meaning of \(=ki\) plus \(=\text{ja}\) ‘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’a apáškíja patʃíma-raʃmaiwa=ití kíř wík’a fiír wampí=a=ití

11.a
ui = ka a pətʃi = kĩ = ʃá
1SG = FOC mestizo = RESTR = ADD
‘I am not even a mestizo’²⁵⁸

11.b
paʃjíma-ra-tʃa-mau = aita-ha-i
mix-DISTR-NEG-NMLZ = COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL
‘I am not mixed’

11.c
ui = ka ʃíira 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 =kĩ is received by the last element in the enumerative noun phrase. It also occurs with the additive =ʃá, but in this occasion, the meaning is restrictive:

²⁵⁸. The Spanish translation given for this clause was: ‘Yo ni siquiera soy mestiza.’
(12) *nuí maáteiñeiti tréškiŋa jufuĩ káʃɛ hapaːkiŋa*

nuí mä-á-taï = aiti trés = ki = ʃa

there kill-HIAF-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL three = RESTR = ADD

‘[At night] there, we (normally)\(^{259}\) hunt three [animals] only’

jufuĩ káʃɛ hapa = ki = ʃa

armadillo paca deer = RESTR = ADD

‘only armadillo, paca, deer.’

In terms of its distribution, = ki may actually vary its position: it can occur

before (13) or after (14) the position occupied by the accusative = na:

(13) *ájatek aítkiníʃa wéŋah*

aiatiki aita = ki = na = ʃa waina-a-ha

only green = RESTR = ACC = ADD look-IPFV-1SG.SBJ + EXCL

‘I find only the green (non-ripe) ones!’

(14) *haŋkíŋkíŋa misimain*

hanki = na = ki = ʃa misi-maï

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

\(^{259}\) The construction of the non-agentive nominalizer -taï 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 \( N\text{ayap} \), 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) \( n\text{úka } ú\text{un } ĵu\text{árka } t\text{úki } n\text{aj\acute{\i}}p \ t\text{ímaji } k\text{ámi } n\text{úna } n\text{a\acute{a}\text{r\acute{\i}}nk}a \)
\[ \text{nu} = ka \quad \text{uunta } ŵuara = ka \quad tuki \quad naiapi \ t\text{imaji } \text{kami} \]
\[ \text{NON.VIS} = \text{FOC} \quad \text{adult } \text{person} = \text{FOC} \quad \text{INTERJ } \text{Nayap} \quad \text{NARR} \quad \text{INTERJ} \]
\[ \text{nu} = n\text{a } \quad \text{naa-ri} = ka \]
\[ \text{NON.VIS} = \text{ACC} \quad \text{name-1PL/2PL/3.POSS} = \text{FOC} \]

‘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.a

ístahee tíí 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

aáhuka fíír jurumín asá

auhu = ka jiira iurumin a-sá

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.a

óuhmatsattahee wíí jaméí hatán paftisan háta diaßetes tamónun

auhumatu-sa-tata-ha-i ui iamai ha-ta = na

tell-ATT-DEF.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL 1SG now be.sick-NMLZ = ACC

patfí-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

turasá ik/a níka watsámät háta táji

turasá ii = ka nu = ka uatsa-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) wíkła kanáruithɛɛ
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
ínñís naártin
ínñísu naa-rī-tinu
Inchis name-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRIB
‘her name [was] Inchis’

19.b
naárĩŋka nūka nūwaka ínñís
naa-rī = ka nu = ka nua = ka ínñísu
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
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 \(=\text{ka}:\)

\[(20)\ \text{nu ūnawei jatsür haimito ṭūk'ā imanisrik'ā doktorumma wiashi}\]

\(\text{nu a-inu-ua-i iatsu-ru haimito}\)

\(\text{NON.VIS COP-PL.IPFV brother-1SG Jaime}\)

\(\text{ii = ka imanis-ri = ka doctor = numa = ka wi-atsu-hi}\)

\(1\text{PL} = \text{FOC INTS-ADV-1PL.SS = FOC doctor = LOC = FOC go-IPFV-NEG-1PL.SBJ-DECL}\)

"Those are [the plants we use for healing], brother Jaimito—we don’t go much to the doctor."

Finally, I have found that \(=\text{ka}\) 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 \(\text{nu}\)):

\[(21)\ \text{wīka nekāati tūsan wakiráh nūka jūweiti}\]

\([\text{wi = ka nika-a-ti tu-sa-nu uakira-ha nu = ka}]\)

\(1\text{SG} = \text{FOC know-IPFV-JUSS say-SUB-1SG.SS want + IFPV-1SG.SBJ NON.VIS = FOC}\)

\(\text{hū = aiti}\)

\(\text{PROX = COP.3 + DECL}\)

"What I want you to know is this." (Lit.: ‘[What I want, saying: ‘let him know’], is this.’)

The focus marker \(=\text{ka}\) and the conditional -\(\text{ka}\) (§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 \(=\text{ka}\) 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 pínkira ‘good’, which is an adjective.

(22) tikíjík plánta árak harkíntin . . . pínkirka waruríja áwai
one plant araka hanki-rí-tinu pínkira =ka
one plant plant = FOC thorn-1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRIB good = FOC

waru-rí =ja 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 =ja

The additive =ja has a variety of functions. Its basic function is to serve to mark additive focus, i.e. =ja 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) nawáá arútma=ja dhaku tímaji
jaguar arutama =ja a = hak-u tímaji
jaguar power.vision = ADD exist = PT.HAB-NMLZ NARR
‘There used to be also Arutam jaguar.’

The additive =ja is also used to mark the topic of a question:

(24) nih'amátíja áwak
nihamá̃tíji =ja a-ua-ka
manioc.beer = ADD exist-3.SBJ-Q
‘Is there manioc beer?’

The additive =ja has also other extended uses when it is used with the
restrictive = \textit{ki} (cf. §18.3).

18.6. Speculative = \textit{fa}

The speculative = \textit{fa} 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” (\textit{tal vez}) by Wampis speakers.

(25) \textit{ʃiajmpín paántam hiámuheĩnʃa juáwarmaʃi}
\textit{ʃiampi} = na \textit{paatama hia-mau} = haĩ = \textit{fa} \textit{iu-áu-ara-ma-ji}
\textit{hen} = \textit{ACC} \textit{plantain cook} \textit{manioc-NMLZ} = \textit{COM} = \textit{SPEC} \textit{eat-HIAF-PL-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL}

‘Maybe they ate hen with cooked plantain.’

18.7. Inferential = \textit{tʃu}

The clitic = \textit{tʃu} 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) \textit{atákʃa úʃi wakíki minínan ū is nilàísuk kasámturkaruiti túsa tú inínteim'ar ipëisouweiti}
\textit{atákʃa úʃi} \textit{waki-tu-ki} \textit{uini-ina-na} \textit{ii-sà}
\textit{again child walk-APPL-WHILE.MOVING come-PL.IPfv-NMLZ} \textit{see-SUB\textbackslash 3.SS}
Again, seeing that the children were walking, saying “They [the children] must have robbed me’.

The clitic =tsu can occur with a verbal suffix -tai that also marks inference

§14.4.5. The difference between =tsu 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, =tsu 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) mína nukúfru nukurí tuúríŋk’a númpa númpa sûr sûr mihia tímaji núnit’ë pámuk wahóo ñúfrak ámika kámi awarún númpa takákiwa [...] tuki patémitisuk áïñatec

27.a
mina nukúfríru nuku-rí tuimpi-rí =ka
1SG. GEN grandmother-1SG mother-PL.SAP/3.Poss type.food-PL.SAP/3.Poss = FOC
‘My grandmother’s mother’s tuim’
‘[smelled like] blood, “it stinks like blood”, then,’

‘the pamuk stood and said’

“you have Awajun blood”

“it must be your [dead] relatives (i.e. it must be your dead relatives who are causing the fod to smell bad)”.

The inferential = \( \tilde{tsu} \) might be related to the homophonous negative imperfective verbal suffix \( \tilde{tsu} \) (cf. §13.4).

18.8. Interrogative = \( ka \)

The interrogative is marked with the question marker = \( ka \), as in (28).

(28) \( \acute{d}jatik \ aw\acute{a}kiamik \)
\begin{align*}
\text{aiatiki} & \quad \text{auaki-a-mi} = \text{ka} \\
\text{only} & \quad \text{return-IPFV-2SG.SBJ} = Q
\end{align*}

‘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) ámi warí arútmak weínk'atam
ami wari arutama=ka waina-ka-ta-mi
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) píŋkirkėita
pinkira=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 ampíratʃapi*
aiʃ-ru = na = ka ampi-ra-ʃa-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) *tʃhuniakur puhuʃuapiʃi warína huʃʃa warín háʃka da*
ii = ka huni-a-ku-ri pahu-ʃu-ʃi = api = iti-hi
1PL = FOC do.this-IPFV-SIM-1PL.SS live-NEG.NMLZ = sud.realz = cop-1PL.SBJ + DECL

warí a huʃʃa warí 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.

\[(33) \text{tiʃi eitkas aán uháktahex ámikiapi minítami} \]
\[\text{tiʃi aitika-sa aanu uha-ka-ta-ha-i} \]
\[\text{yes do.like.that-SUB MED inform-INTENS-IMM.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL} \]
\[\text{ami-ki =api uini-tata-mi} \]
\[\text{2SG-RESTR = TAG come-DEF.FUT-2SG.SBJ} \]

‘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

\(^{261}\) In some cases, while transcribing, speakers would correct me if I did not write hama as a separate word.
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 wʃeithee wʃeithee

\> huanka-utʃi 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

\> uratritʰá weítin tóó tímaji tútai

\> ura-tu-ru-i-tá \> waiti = na ta-u timaji tu-taï

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 fuártʃowahama

\> ia-ki nu = ʃa nu = ka fuara-ʃau = 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!”’

262. This is the only example that I have where the diminutive surfaces identical as its lexical source utʃi ‘child’.

788
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) *nú áma háma*

`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 míŋa híårka kámi ikám húwa háma tikíʃ júr maitšąiamunmaka nuŋk'a ihús húwatsui
Wabal = ka mina hí-a-ru = ka kami ikám hua-a hama
Huabal = FOC 1SG.GEN house-1SG = FOC INTERJ forest LOC be.located-IPFV MIR

tikíʃi júra maitšatu-a-mau = nVma = ka nuí = ka ihusa
other person live-IPFV-NMLZ = LOC = FOC there = FOC near

hua-a-tsu-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:  bìdeo atʃiánk diʃidi
video atʃi-á-u = k dvd
video grab-HIAF-NMLZ = Q dvd
‘Did you grab the DVD?’
B:  

dibiši misirmahama matju

dvd  misi-ra-ma = hama  matju

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 distinguish 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).

\(^{264}\) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM Verb type</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Subordinate Canonical</th>
<th>Subordinate Non-Canonical</th>
<th>Nominalized Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspectual stem</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Some(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓(^b)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Very marginal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---(^c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mood</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Set II nominalizers and Set I -\textit{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 -\textit{tinu} is historically composed of the future marker -\textit{ta} and the Set I agent nominalizer -\textit{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\(^\text{265}\) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb type</th>
<th>Clause type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Finite main verb</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Main clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent</td>
<td>&quot;Coordinated&quot; clauses, quotatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subordinate</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person-marking</td>
<td>Canonical SS and DS subordinate clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non person-marking</td>
<td>Non-canonical switch-reference subordinate clauses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{265}\) An exception seems to confirm the norm: a few examples in the database show that a verb marked with the definite future -\textit{tata} can receive the simultaneous -\textit{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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Subordinator</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Switch-reference</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
<th>Concessive</th>
<th>Some Mood$^a$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$ The only mood categories that can be marked in a subordinate verb are $=ka$ 'Interrogative', $=ʃa$ 'Speculative' and $=ʃsu$ 'Inferential'.

Table 19.4. Morphological structure of the non-canonical switch-reference verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Switch-reference</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
<th>Concessive$^a$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$ 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)ği which is historically related to the homophonous locative $(n)ği$. 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’, $=\bar{t}u$ ‘Inferential’ and $=fa$ ‘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 suffixes 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) ôuhmatsattahe wii míña jaáktarun patiisan Kanđøyosan
   auhumatu-sa-tata-ha-i       ui       mina       iakta-ru = na   patği-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subordinator</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>SS marking</th>
<th>DS marking</th>
<th>Type of switch-reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-sa/-taĩ</td>
<td>Non-temporal</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>canonical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ku (~ -ka)</td>
<td>Simultaneous</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>Sequential</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tahkama</td>
<td>Frustrative</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hkama</td>
<td>Terminative</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tasa</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kaua</td>
<td>Reduplicative</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>conditional</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>canonical and non-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʃa</td>
<td>concessive</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>canonical</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of stem</th>
<th>Subordinator</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>non-temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aktionsart/perfective</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aktionsart/perfective</td>
<td>-tahkamá</td>
<td>frustrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aktionsart/perfective</td>
<td>-tasa</td>
<td>purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>-hkamá</td>
<td>terminative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>-kaua</td>
<td>reduplicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective or aktionsart/perfective</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>non-subject to subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>-tatamana</td>
<td>subject to object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective or aktionsart/perfective</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective or aktionsart/perfective</td>
<td>-ʃa</td>
<td>concessive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -fa 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) pakink’a ahápan ikúkmiahec huméinīfu nikápiakun

\[\text{paki} = \text{na} = \text{ka} \quad \text{ahapa-a-nu} \quad \text{iku-ki-mia-ha-i} \]
\[\text{peccary} = \text{ACC} = \text{FOC} \quad \text{abandon-IPFV-1.SS} \quad \text{leave-WHILE.MOVING-DIST.PT-1SG.SBJ-DECL} \]
\[\text{hu-mai-na-tʃu} \quad \text{nikapi-a-ku-nu} \]
\[\text{take-POT-NMLZ-NEG.NMLZ} \quad \text{feel-IPFV-SM-1SG.SS} \]

’tI 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
imperfectiveness).

19.4. Person marking

As defined in §19.1, canonical switch reference in Wampis is related 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 -ī (which is the short form of the DS marker -(n)ī—see §19.4.2) and -mataī, respectively, neutralize 1SG and 3 person.267

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Non-temporal</th>
<th>Simultaneous</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Sequential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>DS</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>DS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>-taĩ</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>-ĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>ŭ</td>
<td>-taĩ</td>
<td>ŭ</td>
<td>-ĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>-taĩ</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>-rumi</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-rumi</td>
<td>rumi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>-ara</td>
<td>-taĩ</td>
<td>-ĩ</td>
<td>-ĩ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1sg 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 1SG, 1PL 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 1PL 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 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, 1SG/3 and 2/1PL, is made: if a 1SG or 3 Agent-like participant acts upon a 3 Patient-like participant, the object noun phrase receives accusative marking. If a 2 or 1PL 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, nasalization 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) íña puhúntaʃa jatʃamaɾu ákuŋka núu juár núweiti pĩŋkír

iina puhu-ta = na = ʃa jatʃa-ma-ra-u a-kú-ka

1PL-GEN live-NMLZ = ACC = ADD wise-VBZ-DISTR-NMLZ COP-SIM\3.ss-COND

nu ʃuara nu = aiti pinkira

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 nasalization, as shown in Table 19.7. Contrast with (4),
where the simultaneous -ku is followed by the 2pl -rumi. As can be seen, no nasal surfaces in this case, as 2pl marking does not involve nasalization of its last vowel.

(4) ʃuár pýkɪ́r đkurmika tarímat puhárum ʃuara pinkiraa-ku-rumi-ka tarimata puha-rumi
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)i

The suffix -(n)i 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)i 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)i co-occurs with all grammatical persons. In sequential clauses, -(n)i 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)i 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 -\textit{ina} and the non-imperfective -\textit{ara} are used in the verbal stem for 3\textit{pl} persons.

Table 19.8. Paradigm of -(n)i

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Simultaneous DS clause\textsuperscript{a}</th>
<th>Sequential DS clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>puha-ku-\textsubscript{i}</td>
<td>puhu-sa-mata\textsubscript{i}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>puha-ku-mi-\textsubscript{n}</td>
<td>puhu-sa-mi-n\textsubscript{i}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>puha-ku-\textsubscript{i}</td>
<td>puhu-sa-mata\textsubscript{i}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>puha-ku-ri-\textsubscript{n}</td>
<td>puhu-sa-ri-n\textsubscript{i}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>puha-ku-rumi-\textsubscript{n}</td>
<td>puhu-sa-rumi-n\textsubscript{i}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>puhu-ina-ku-\textsubscript{i}</td>
<td>puhu-sa-ara-mata\textsubscript{i}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a} Imperfective DS clauses used the same paradigm of person and DS markers as Simultaneous, but do not include the simultaneous suffix -\textit{ku}. See §19.8.

The suffix -(n)i has two forms. The form -\textsubscript{i} occurs when the preceding vowel is not /i/ and the form -\textsubscript{n}i occurs when there is a preceding /-i/. The marking of 1\textit{sg} and 3 persons is neutralized in simultaneous DS clauses. Notice from Table 19.8 that the 2 person markers -\textit{mi} change their usual last vowel /\textsubscript{i}/ when they precede -(n)i.\textsuperscript{268}

However, before -(n)i they occur as -\textit{mi} and -\textit{rumi} respectively. An alternative analysis would be that underlyingly the second person ends in /\textsubscript{i}/ and this vowel undergoes

\textsuperscript{268} In other paradigms, including the person markers of finite verbs, 2\textit{sg} is -\textit{mi} and 2\textit{pl} is -\textit{rumi}, both ending in vowel /\textsubscript{i}/.
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 whereas the main verb was interpreted as past with the intensive aktionsart suffix -ka giving the stem a perfective sense.

(5) kuntínan táŋku taŋkumátsã wakíra ásã naáníja aráknejá arakmástã wákírij ásã níŋka ñ- sukin huákuiti

[kuntina = na tanku tanku-má-â-tasã wakíra a-sã]
animal = ACC REDUP animal-VBZ-HIAF-PURP\,3,SGSS want + IPFV COP-SUB\,3SG.SS

[naa = na = ŋa araka = na = ŋa araka-ma-â-tasã]
HESIT.PRO = ACC = ADD plant = ACC = ADD plant-VBZ-HIAF-PURP\,3SG.SS

wakíru-inu a-sã]
want-NMLZ COP-SUB\,3SG.SS

nĩ = ka ñ-suksínta hua-ka-ũ = 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.’

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) míña nuwárheinka maásan júsan puháhe

mina núru-haí=ka máas-ia-nu iu-nu puha-i

1SG.GEN woman-REFL-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’. Interestingly, the main verb ‘say’ is not inflected for declarative, so it must analyzed as being inside the interrogative clause.

(7) wii urúk tsuámaru titláh núna pañisan

ui uruka tsa-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.
\text{nu = na} \quad \text{pata\text{-}ja\text{-}sa\text{-}nu}

\text{NON.VIS = ACC} \quad \text{mention\text{-}SUB\text{-}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 -\text{taï}

In non-temporal DS clauses, -\text{sa} is not used. Instead, the suffix -\text{taï} occurs. -\text{Taï} 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, -\text{taï} 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.\textsuperscript{272}

(8) na\text{ŋkí} at\text{ʃík} i\text{ɪmki} wite\text{ɛ} nit\text{a}a\text{fa} pat\text{a}at\text{ukaru}

nankí \quad at\text{ʃi}-ká \quad iima-ki \quad wi\text{-}taï

\text{spear\text{-}ACC} \quad \text{grab\text{-}INTENS\text{-}3.SS} \quad \text{move\text{-}forward\text{-}WHILE.MOVING} \quad \text{go\text{-}1/3.DS}

nita = \text{ʃa} \quad \text{pataa-tu-ka\text{-}ara\text{-}u}

3\text{PL = ACC} \quad \text{follow\text{-}APPL\text{-}INTENS\text{-}PL\text{-}NMLZ}

‘[He] having grabbed the spear, [he] going forward, they too followed [him].’

\textsuperscript{272} Notice that there is no overt 3n. subject inflection on the verb (because it is nominalized), but there is a plural marking -\text{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.

812
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 t̃s̃intsak naŋkimaáta ūúár jahá wiarei tuía na t̃maju tūteē maʃiàntǐ̂₃ aju t̃ákuŋ t̃saʕŋ anármoo h̃uakǔ . . . jumí umpúa t̃maju

9.a
iūmí t̃s̃intsaka naŋkima-á-tá ūúara iahá wi-ara-i
rain\GEN dart throw-HIAF-IMP enemy far\LOC go.PFV-PL-APPR
tu-iṅa t̃maju
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
maʃiànta=₃ aiu ta-kǔ t̃saanku ana-ra-mau h̃u-a-kǔ
Maʃiànta=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 t̃maju
rain\ACC blow-HIAF NARR
‘. . . he blew (i.e. to invoke) the rain.’
In the next example, -taï 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) wâa tîmajî nàntu piêakrî hûkî túramunam nûni'teë nàa aûhu'ë mîyà ëefru ukûriawees
    tusâ . . . nûsëa wâa tîmajî

10.a
ua-a timaji Nantu pitaka-rî hu-kî
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-taï] naa
then-NMLZ = LOC do.that-1/3.ds HESIT
‘then, [when he did that], umm,’

10.c
Auhu=ja mina âiîjî-ru
Common.potoo = ADD 1sg.gen husband-1sg

uku-ru-a-ua-i tu-sâ . . . nî=ja 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 -\textsc{ku} usually has in an imperfective stem.\footnote{There are occasional examples of -\textsc{ku} attaching to a stem unmarked for aspect.} In simultaneous DS clauses, the DS suffix -(\textsc{n})\textsc{i} is added, as described in §19.4.2. Thus, the simultaneous subordinate verb has the following general structure:

\textsc{imperfective stem-\textsc{ku-person-}(\textsc{n})\textsc{i}}

There are a few examples of the simultaneous -\textsc{ku} attaching to a verb marked with future. So perhaps the relation between the imperfective and the simultaneous -\textsc{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 + -\textsc{ku} has the semantics of ‘\textsc{about to \textsc{verb}}’. An example of the occurrence of -\textsc{ku} with a future-marked verb is given in (11).

\begin{verbatim}
(11) ińártatak ińártatak wakóo
iia-ra-ta-ta-kū iia-ra-ta-ta-kū ua-ka-u
fall-DISTR-DEF.FUT-SIM\textsc{3.ss} fall-DISTR-DEF.FUT-SIM\textsc{3.ss} climb-INTENS-NMLZ
‘\textsc{about to fall, he climb up [the tree].}’
\end{verbatim}

\textbf{19.6.1. Same-subject simultaneous subordinate clauses}

\textsc{ss} simultaneous clauses are marked by -\textsc{ku} plus the respective person marker as indicated in Table 19.7. Example (12) shows the use of -\textsc{ku} in a simultaneous \textsc{ss} clause.
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 aninta ‘magical song’ pleaded with Nunkui, a being related to earth, agriculture and good hunting.

(13) uitsümkaʃ puhústiŋa núnə kámi arutti tüsəɾ sıuŋxak nún únə jàtiʃa ēŋa nūka sıuŋa hakáruiʃ
uitsuma-ka-ʃə puhu-sa-tinu=a nu=na kami
lack-INTENS-NEG live-ATT.FUT.NMLZ = COP NON.VIS = ACC INTERJ

a-ru-tu-ti tu-sa-rà sia-ina-kū
exist-APPL.1SG.OBJ-JUSS say-SUB-3PL.SS plead-PL.IPFV-SIM\3.ss

nu uunτa iatʃə a-ina nu=ka sia 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 that274 saying “to have (Lit.: ‘let it exist to my benefit’)”, [the elders] while pleading, the wise elders used to plead.’

274. The speaker is referring to Nunkui.
19.6.2. Different subject in simultaneous clauses

DS simultaneous subordinate clauses add the suffix -(n)i, 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) paki nahaanartasan wakirahee tūsā tōo timaji tāku apāriŋk/a aántrantsuk tātee tūsā.

paki nahaana-ra-tasa-nu wakira-ha-i tu-sā
peccary make-DISTR-PURP-1SG.SS want + IPFV-1SG.DECL say-SUB\3.SS

SAY + IPFV-NMLZ NARR say + IPFV-SIM-DS father-1PL/2PL/3.POSS = FOC

aanturā = tṣu = ki ta-tai tusā
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

\(^275\) 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\(^\text{276}\) of the form -\(ka\) attested in SS clauses).\(^\text{277}\) For instance, in (15), the simultaneous + DS marker sequence is pronounced [\(k\varepsilon\varepsilon\)] and not [\(ku\varepsilon\)]. Thus, the underlying representation must be /\(k\varepsilon\varepsilon\)/—recall that the sequence /\(ai\)/ in Wampis is pronounced either [\(\varepsilon\varepsilon\)] or [\(\varepsilon\i\)] (cf. §3.7.1).\(^\text{278}\)

(15) ki\(\varepsilon\varepsilon\) wika\(\varepsilon\varepsilon\) mia \(k\varepsilon\varepsilon\) kmiahi \(k\varepsilon\varepsilon\) ke\(\varepsilon\)

kiara\(\varepsilon\) wika-i-mia-hi \(k\varepsilon\varepsilon\)

at.sunset walk-LOAF-DIST.PT-1PL.SBJ + DECL INTERJ

\(\varepsilon\varepsilon\) ka-mia-hi \(k\varepsilon\varepsilon\) a-ka-\(\varepsilon\)

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 \(\varnothing\)

Sequential subordinate clauses present the events of two or more clauses in

\(^{276}\) 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 \(\text{nuni} ‘\text{do that}’\). 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 \(\varepsilon\varepsilon\)\(\varepsilon\) 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) 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)i 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 aktionsart stem is the attenuative -sa.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Sequential SS clause</th>
<th>Sequential DS clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>pahu-sa-nu</td>
<td>pahu-sa-matai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>pahu-sa-mi</td>
<td>pahu-sa-mi-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>pahu-sa</td>
<td>pahu-sa-matai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>pahu-sa-ri</td>
<td>pahu-sa-ri-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>pahu-sa-rumi</td>
<td>pahu-sa-rumi-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>pahu-sa-ara</td>
<td>pahu-sa-ara-matai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 1<sub>PL</sub> person form in the set of subordinate person markers (in this case -rì (cf. Table 19.9)). Notice that the reference clause contains a normative construction with a copula plus a nominalization. One of the predicative functions of the patient/location nominalizer -taì 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 1<sub>PL</sub>, thus the SS person marking in the subordinated verb ‘make’ is 1<sub>PL</sub>. The verb ‘fix’ in the context of the example assumes
the meaning of ‘prepare’.

(16) nih’ámúfik’a tú iw’arteínti tú nahanár umutéínti wampistik’a
nihamáttí = ka tu iuara-taí = aiti
manioc.beer = FOCS thus fix = NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

[tu nahana-á-ri] umu-taí = aiti wampisa = tí = ka
thus make-HIAF-1PL.SS drink-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL Wampís = PL.SAP = FOCS
‘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) hiijnúm ikáykan ijarúkan nui iníkan apúhsan ihúahéc
[iii = numa ikina-ka-nu] [inar-ka-nu]
fire = LOC set.fire-INTENS-1SG.SS cook-INTENS-1SG.SS

nuí [ini-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

821
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 taámiya nútik’a taá eskuéla uréimi túša úuíjás huíná túki átíña nú
na uufín hukíñeiti Alfonso Graña . . . Pukálpá hukíñeiti

18.a
irinku D. B. naa-tinu ta-á-mia-ji
white.person D. B. name\1PL/2PL/3.POSS-ATTRB arrive-HIAF-DIST.PT-3.PT + DECL
‘One white man whose name was D. B. arrived,’

18.b
[nutika-á] [ta-á] [[eskuela ura-i-mi
do.that-HIAF\3.SS arrive-HIAF/3SG.SS school open-LOAF-HORT

tu-sâ] úuíj[a-sâ]
say-SUB\3SG.SS speak-ATT/3SG.SS
‘having done that, having arrived, having said: “Let’s build a school”,’

18.c
huuí = ia tuki a-tinu = a nu = na
here = ABL INTERJ COP-FUT.NMLZ = COP NON. VIS = ACC

uûtji = na hu-ki-inu = aiti Alfonso Graña
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 -mataí for 1sg and 3 persons, and with person + -(n)i 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 -mataí is used on the subordinate verb.

(19)  ṭsukankaŋ naĩkmatai ɪk'am tukumají
[ʈsukanká  nin-ka-mataí]  ᴛkama  tuku-ma-ji
toucan  fly-INTENS-1SG/3.SG  Forest  shoot-PFV-REC-PT-3.SG + 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)i, in accordance with the paradigm previously given in Table 19.9.
(20) umaru háime wiʃa ámi hiim ĕmin puhahee ámi unisurka?min taather

umara-rú haime wiʃa ámi hiim ĕmin puhahee ámi unisurka?min taather

brother-1SG\VOC Jaime 1SG = ADD 2SG house/POSS-2SG = LOC

puha-ha-i
live/be + IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL

[ami untsu-ru-ka-mi-ni] ta-aa-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)i. Thus, the structure of the imperfective DS
subordinate verb is similar to the DS simultaneous subordinate verb (§§19.6.2), minus
the subordinator -ku:

**Imperfective stem-person-(n)i**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>DS marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>puha-ĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>puha-mi-nĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>puha-ĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>puha-ri-nĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>puha-rumi-nĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>puha-ina-ĩ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) tikíʃka pakí měʃci nǐʃk’a pakí wìamunam imani úʃʃka patáatukí pakí wíu tîmaji
[tikiʃʃi = ka pakí mə-ina-ĩ]
other = FOC peccary\ACC kill-PL.IPVF-DS

nĩ = ka páki wi-a-mau = nama
3SG = FOC peccary go-IPFV-NMLZ = LOC

imaní utʃʃi = ka pataa-tu-kí pakí wi-u tîmaji
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: -tahkama ‘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:

\[ [V_{FRUST}, V_{MAIN}] \]

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’):

\[
\]

\(^{280}\) Statements equivalent to being ‘unable’ or ‘have difficulty’ to carry out an action are also considered ‘source’ of frustration by this definition.
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) **auhuja nunik uutahkamá wáa éírúa titahkamá waíhu waíhu tóo tímaji**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Potoo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Auhu, having done that, upon crying, she wanted to say “ay, my husband!”, but she said “wauhu wauhu”.’</td>
<td>wa aifí-ru-a ti-tahkamá wauhu wauhu ta-u tímaji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\textsuperscript{a}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shuar</th>
<th>Achuar-Shiwiar</th>
<th>Awajun</th>
<th>Wampis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tah tukamá</td>
<td>-tat kamá</td>
<td>-takama</td>
<td>-tahkamá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{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 -\textit{tah} and was dependent on the verb \textit{tu} ‘say’ marked with an (old?)\textsuperscript{282} terminative \textit{*-kamá} form. This can be more clearly observed with examples from Shuar:\textsuperscript{283}

(24) \texttt{<ijiatma-r-taj tu-kamá iniáje-a-wa-i>}
     \hspace{2cm} defecate-DISTR-DES say-TERM\textsuperscript{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) \texttt{<taka-s-taj tu-kama-n (umi-k-cha-m-ja-i)>}
     \hspace{2cm} work-ATT-DES say-TERM\textsuperscript{1.SG.SS} complete-INTENS-NEG-PT-1.SG.SBJ-DECL

‘Even though I worked, I did not complete it’ (Spanish original: ‘A pesar de haber trabajado, (no cumplí)’ (Turner 1992: 83)

\textsuperscript{282} Notice that the terminative suffix in Wampis is \textit{-hkamá}, whereas the cognate forms in other Jivaroan languages is \textit{-kamá}. See §19.9.2 for a description of the terminative in Wampis.

\textsuperscript{283} The examples are presented as they appear in the original sources. I retain the alphabetic conventions in those sources, thus \texttt{<j>} = /h/ and \texttt{<ch>} = /tʃ/. The glosses are mine—notice that Pellizaro and Náwech do not gloss the example, and Turner glosses \textit{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 -\textit{tah}. The desiderative -\textit{tah} historically contained a future marker *-\textit{ta} (which synchronically in Wampis is the ‘Immediate future’) plus the first singular person marker *-\textit{ha}. This explains the “strange” modern form \textit{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 \textit{tahkamá} does not delete any of its vowels (historically, the expression fossilized with an elided vowel).

\textbf{19.9.2. Terminative -hkamá}

The terminative -\textit{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 \textit{hkamá} plus a perfective-marked verb in the reference clause:

$$[V-\text{TERM}, V_{\text{MAIN}}]$$

Semantically, the event of the subordinate clause marked with -\textit{hkamá} is
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 ijahkamá nawi weínk’ar . . .

\text{pakí pataa-tu-ká \textit{\textit{ii-a-hkamá}}}

\text{peccary_{ACC} follow-APPL-INTENS\textsubscript{3.SS} see-IPFV-FRUST\textsubscript{3SG.SS}}

\text{nawí uaina-ka-ara}

\text{foot\textsubscript{1PL/2PL/3.POSS} see-INTENS\textsubscript{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) mińña tímaji tumahkamá weíy’aru tímaji jakí ikímas kinkúkanam ańímas

\text{uini-ina timají tuma-a-hkamá uaina-ka-ara-u timají}

\text{come-PL.IPFV NARR thus.happen-IPFV-TERM\textsubscript{3SG.SS} see-INTENS-PL-NMLZ NARR}

\text{iakí ikima-sá kinkuka = nama ańí-ma-sá}

\text{above_{LOC} sit-SUB\textsubscript{3.SS} bamboo = LOC grab-REFL-SUB\textsubscript{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 -\textit{kama} (Overall 2007: 384). There is no


certain data from Achuar, Shiwiwar and Shuar, but some examples found in Fast et al.

(1996) and Pellizaro and Náwech (2005) may suggest that there exists a form -\textit{kamá}

(perhaps not very productive anymore?)\(^{284}\) in Achuar-Shiwiwar 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-Shiwiwar and Turner (1992) for Shuar (as summarized previously in Table 19.11)

is different from what can be observed in (28)–(29):

(28) \texttt{<uchi yutá-n yu-kamá kajeem-ra-yi>} (Achuar-Shiwiwar)

\hspace{1cm} 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) \texttt{<Eem-kamá ja-ká-yi>} (Shuar)

\hspace{1cm} 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

\(^{284}\) Saad states that, in Shuar, -\textit{kamá} is only found fossilized in the frustrative (Saad 2014: 137).

But see example (29) below for a possible example of -\textit{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 parallel with the frustrating construction suggests that this was a 1SG -ha) 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

285. Another person marker that contains an /h/ is the 1PL -hí.
illustrate purpose clauses.

(30) **nüna juará weíŋ’ar máa tʃʃʃáśasa ip’ármiáji**

nu = na  júará  uainka-ara  ma  
NON.VIS = ACC  person\ACC  see\INTENS-3PL.SS  INTERJ

tʃʃʃá-sa-tasá  ipa-ara-mia-ji  
speak\ATT-PURP\3.SS  invite\-DIST\PT-3.PT + DECL  
‘Having seen that person, they would invite him to speak.’

(31) **húu tʃʃʃáman uháktasan táhmi**

hu  tʃʃʃama = na  uha-ka-tasa-nu  ta-hami  
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 analyze, 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

The purpose subordinator -tasa is used in complement functions with the desire verb uakiru ‘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 eímkamiaheec őjanam fleťaheč ih'ún máa máakuan tikiti aʃi ʃir ńukap maámiaheec nutikan wia wiakuar ītsa kiakeį atakʃa nuį hintá huwámiahi

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
fleťa = hai īhu-nu maa mā-a-kaua-nu
harpoon = COM stab.PFV-1SG.SS REDUP kill-IPFV-REDUP-1SG.SS
tikitʃi aʃi ʃiira nukapi mā-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
wia wi-a-kaua-ri ītsa kia-a-ka-i
REDUP go-IPFV-REDUP-1PL.SS sun get.dark-IPFV-SIM-DS
atakʃa nuí hintá 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 wakákuá kaʃkí taá tímaji
uaka uaka-a-kauá kafi = kí ta-á tímaji
REDUP walk\-IPFV\-REDUP\3\-SS night = RESTR\LOC arrive\-HIAF NARR
‘Walking and walking, he would arrived at night.’

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 kámi uʃi úutu tímaji úu úutiauka kamí uʃi jakí wáko timaji hũũá nc̱íntin
auati-ma kamí uʃi uu-tu-u tímaji
hit + LOAF\-NON\-SBJ > SBJ INTERJ child cry\-APPL\-NMLZ NARR
uu uu-tu-a-kaua kamí
REDUP cry\-APPL\-IPFV\-REDUP INTERJ

uʃi iaki u-a-ka-u tímaji hiá nainti = 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

286. The verb ‘walk’ is uįka. 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

-\textit{ma} and -\textit{tatamana}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Subordinate clause → Reference clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imperfective or aktionsart</td>
<td>-\textit{ma}</td>
<td>Non-subject → Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unmarked aspect</td>
<td>-\textit{tatamana}</td>
<td>Subject → Object</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 -fa (§19.12) suffixes. Notably, these suffixes are historically related to the focus marker =ka (§18.4) and the additive focus marker =fa (§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
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) kāra māám núfa ēişmanųšia kanårui
kara mā-á-ma nu=ʃa ēişmanku-tʃi=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) tii tsiir ukatram tii tsiir ukatram mināru
tti tsiira uka-tu-ra-ma tii tsiira 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) tura wi wiikám Bâywa hintín kâmi nuí hint’a mîtsánkruka-miaji
then 1SG walk-IPFV-NON.SBJ > SBJ Bagua hintí = nî

kâmi nuí hinta mîtsánkVru-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) wîtatman hîuyattak wîtatman îpati mâáwaru timaji
wi-tatamana hia-á-tata-kû287 wi-tatamana
go-SBJ > OBJ arrive-HIAF-DEF.FUT-SIM\3,SS go-SBJ > OBJ

îpatî mâ-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 achiotè (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) ip’ákun nahaánartasa puhóon kámi nahaánar waháttaman warúku tÍmaji náa kúnam nútíka’warám nůka ip’ákka nahaánarka húu nahaánateík nírtík apíñ’uma wahásu tíma-jí nútíka ímáni kúnam kámi watátman tapít ažík faúkasa jákar akúpkau tÍmaji

39.a
Ipaku = na nahaana-ra-tasa puha-u = na kami
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 Kunampí
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)**
nutíká 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: sbj)

hu nahaana-\text{taï} = kî niri-kâ
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: sbj in this clause > obj in next clause)

nutikâ ímani Kunampi kamî ua-tatamana
do.that + HIAF\.3\.SS INTS Red.squirrel INTERJ climb-sbj > obj
‘Having done that, when Kunam climbed far up...

39.g (Kunam: obj)

tapit ati\-kâ ūouka-sâ iaka-râ
IDEO grab-INTENS\.3SG\.SS ornate-SUB\.3SG\.SS rub-DISTR\.3SG\.SS

akupî-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 \textit{-ka}

Conditional constructions mark the protasis (which is the subordinated verb in Wampis) with \textit{-ka}, whereas the apodosis contains the main finite verb. Unlike all other previously described subordinators, \textit{-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:

\[ \text{STEM-(SUBORD)-PERSON-((n)i))-ka} \]

Person marking follows the Simultaneous SS and DS pattern (see Table 19.7), with one important difference: the 1\text{pl} can be optionally marked by the suffix \(-i\) and not by \(-ri\). This 1\text{pl} 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>DS</th>
<th>+ Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>-mi-nĩ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>ũ</td>
<td>ũ</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>-i / -ri</td>
<td>-i / -ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>-rumi</td>
<td>-rumi-nĩ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>ũ</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -\text{ka} plus the DS -nĩ:

843
(40) káti ŋirik pínk’ir kuír ákeŋk’a matʃítrí húkí 屦upík ahù́r kámi húu ármaji
  kati  jíira  pínk’irakuru  a-ka-i-ka
  shoot (plant)\1\PL/2\PL/3.POSS  very well  baby  exist-SIM-DS-COND

  matʃítra-ri  hu-ki 屦upi-ká
  machete-1\PL/2\PL/3.POSS  take-WHILE.MOVING\3.SS  cut-INTENS\3.SS

  ahù́-râ  kami  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 1\PL 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 1\PL is marked with -ri. Apparently, there is no
difference in marking the 1\PL with -i or -ri.

(41) kaʃík 屦sawânteikfa umákeiika umúmeiŋeiti jumín umártah takûráka
  kaʃíki 屦sauanta-i=ki=ʃa  uma-ka-i-ka
  early.morning day = LOC = REST = ADD  drink + IPFV-SIM-1\PL-COND

  umu-mai-na=iti
  drink-POT-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

  iúmin  uma-ra-tah  ta-ku-ri-ka
  sweet  drink.PPFV-DISTR-DES  say + IPFV-SIM-1\PL-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.’

844
In the next example there is a 2sg participant; the main verb is an imperative form:

(42) ámí útsūmakmika siatá
ami útsúma-a-ka-mi-ka sia-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) māāmkaka juarán wampíšnaʃa kahírák nîʃa má hakáruiti
må-å-ma-ka juara = na wampisa = na = ūa
kill-HIAF-NON.SBJ > SBJ-COND enemy = ACC Wampis = ACC = ADD

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.
kahíraká níi = fa mà 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 -fa

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 -fa. 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) narúkmatèja iǹésar ukuwà puhúteiñiti washúktí tásar
naru-ka-matai-fa inai-sa-ri uku-a
cook-INTENS-1SG/3.DS-CONCESS leave-ATT-1.PL.SS boil-IPFV

puhu-taì = aiti uaʃu-ka-tí tu-sa-ri
live/be-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL become.brown-INTENS-JUSS say-SUB-1.PL.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”.’

846
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:

\[(45) \text{tu-taḯʃa úʃık'a ántiʃarmaji} \]
\[\text{tu-taḯʃa} \quad \text{úʃık'a} \quad \text{anti-ʃa-ara-mia-ji} \]
\[\text{say-1/3.ds-concess} \quad \text{child-FOC} \quad \text{hear+loaf-PL-dist.pt-3.pt + decl.} \]

‘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:

\[(46) \text{waho tɪmají hivité hïʃa ik’ám kasi wɪmataʃ hïatʃee túsà} \]
\[\text{uaha-u} \quad \text{timají} \quad \text{hḯa} \quad \text{hï-ʃa} \]
\[\text{stand+IPFV-nmlz} \quad \text{NARR} \quad \text{house\textbackslash loc} \quad \text{arrive.PFV-concess} \]
\[\text{ikám kasi wi-mataɪ hï-ta-ha-i} \quad \text{tu-sà} \]
\[\text{forest night come-1/3.ds} \quad \text{arrive-IMM.fut.1sg.SBJ-decl} \quad \text{say-sub\textbackslash 3.ss} \]

‘He was standing, although he had arrived, in the forest (i.e. outside of the house), saying “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:

\[(47) \text{Awajun} \]
\[\text{wi-mi dikas kasi-ʃa} \]
\[\text{go:PFV-hort} \quad \text{really} \quad \text{night-ADD} \]

‘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
Wampis is to have the sequence $=ki=ja$ ‘=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) $wîk’a$ $a$pâiskîfa
$ui=ka$ $apatʃî=ki=ja$
$1SG=FOC$ $mestizo=RESTR=ADD$

‘I am not even mestizo.’

Likely through this construction with a restricted focus, $=ja$ 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 ūara = tī wi-mia-hi]
ten person = SAP go-DIST_PT-1PL.SBJ + DECL

‘We ten people went,’

49.b
[taiu wi-ru-a-ku-ri]
oilbird go-APPL-IPFV-SIM-1PL.SS

‘while going to Cueva de los Tayos,’

49.c
[wi-sa-ri]
go-SUB-1PL.SS

‘going,’

49.d
[iamai = ki = ka iurumaka hu-ki-ri]
own = RESTR = FOC food take-WHILE_MOVING-1PL.SS

‘at the beginning [we] having taken food’

49.e
[paantama nihamāʃi 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-rí = [a]]
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,’

wi-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.
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, especially 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 nominalizers -\textit{u} ‘Subject nominalizer’ and -\textit{mau} ‘Non-subject nominalizer’ (see Chapter XV for a description of nominalizers). Both nominalizers can attach to an aspectualized stem.

\textbf{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 \textit{a} does not carry any verbal morphology (1). Relative clauses with encliticized demonstratives can be externally-headed (1) or internally-headed (3).

\begin{enumerate}
\item (1) \textit{fuár púýkír anú taáji}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
\textbf{NHead} & Modifier \textbf{NP.subject} \\
\hline
\textit{juar} & \textit{[pinkira \ a = nu]} \\
\textit{person} & \textit{good} \\
\textit{COP = NON.VIS} & \textit{arrive-HIAF-3.PT + DECL} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{enumerate}

‘The person that is good arrived.’
(2) táwa núna antúkhee
[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) nú puhánů̄̊̃ wíkátahee
[nī̃ puhawa = nu] = i wika-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) tûra tsirîka nuî puhâu hatfân waînkauwaiti

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[ NHead } \\
tura \text{ tsere=ka } \\
\text{and monkey.spec=FOC there live/be + IMPERF-NMLZ}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[N]NP.object } \\
hacha = na \\
\text{axe = ACC see-INTENS-NMLZ = COP-DECL}
\end{array}
\]

‘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) suá̱r ná̱h’ei má̱ániktasa míqóṉfa nekáhakuiti

[rua [nį̊ = haį̊  ma-á-nai-ka-tasā  wina-u] = na = jâ

person 3SG = COM kill-HIAF-RECP-INTENS-PURP\3SG.ss  come + ipfv-nmlz = acc = add

nika-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 (t̃unki ‘water being’ in the example below).

(6) t̃unkín jukumaín intsánam wãninkimíhaí

[t̃unki] = na  [juku-ma-u] = na  ints = 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

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) nūka juárka 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 waínkamiahee
[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) iʃíʃík aníakmaun áuhmatsahai
[NHead NModifier ]NP.object V
[iʃíʃík[∅ ania-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.’
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) *wī arútam aníakiamuka kámi áwai muukán*

\[wi \text{[arutama] [aniaku-a-mau]} = \text{ka kami a-wa-i muuka = na}\]

\[1\text{SG spirit.power remember-IPFV-NMLZ = FOC INTERJ exist-3.SBJ-DECL head = ACC}\]

‘Arutama that I remember...there is head-Arutam’

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 aníakiahee*

\[muuka arutama = na \text{aniaku-a-ha-i}\]

\[head \text{spirit.power = ACC remember-IPFV-1SG-DECL}\]

‘I remember the head-Arutam.’

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 wű akūŋamu
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 hiā-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) mīna hiār puhānumam wīka núna hiāmramhee
[mina hiā-ru], puha-mau = nam
1SG,GEN house-1SG live+IPFV-NMLZ = LOC

wīka [nu = na], 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
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 nankániawai
[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 aníaiku ása
[auhuma-tu = hak-mau] = na ania-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 kámi matsámsaruka kanúsa huínka
nu = aiti kami [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.’
Headless relative clause functioning as oblique argument (location):

(17) waβ̣β̣álkɛ̣iti aḳ̣ịṇarmu
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.

\(^{292}\) 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 uúmaun antúk
[utʃi-ri / uu-tu-mau] = na antu-kā
child-1PL/2PL/POSS/GEN cry-APPL-NMLZ = ACC hear-INTENS\3SG.SS
‘The bear, having heard the cub’s crying.’

(19) miña hintárka jusá uhukí waháawayi tamáun antúk
[mina hinta-ru = ka iusá uhukí wahā-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-kā
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) kašitin ikámnúmia táchmin antúkmahai
kaši-tin ikama = numa = ia ta-a-ku-mi-nĩ 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 -mĩ 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 uain ‘see’ select a participant nominalization
with the subject nominalizer -u in their complement structure, as illustrated in (21).

(21) eskuβi múntsũ umóuŋ waínkamhi
[Scooby muñsu uma-u] = na uainka-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 receive accusative marking, as explained in §16.3).

(22) ámika jukúmat nikámi  
ami = ka iukuma-ta nika-a-mi  
2SG = FOC swim-NMLZ know-IPFV-2SG + DECL  
‘You know how to swim.’

With the same verb, nika ‘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) juár nankí hukí mñaúńña nikáhakuíti  
[juar nankí hu-kí wina-u] = na = ja  
person spear\ACC take-\WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS come + IPFV-NMLZ = ACC = ADD  
nika = 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) nuí títfatán nankámawaru  
uuí [tít[ta-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 *wakiru* ‘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) *wi sī tītasan wakirahai*

\[
\text{wi} \quad \text{sī} \quad \text{ti-tasa-nu} \quad \text{wakiru-a-} \text{ha-i}
\]

\[
1\text{SG} \quad \text{thanks} \quad \text{say + LOAF-PURP-1SG.SS} \quad \text{want-IPFV-1SG-DECL}
\]

‘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) *wi sī titātāhā tāhai*

\[
\text{wi} \quad \text{sī} \quad \text{ti-tah} \quad \text{ta-} \text{ha-i}
\]

\[
1\text{SG} \quad \text{thanks} \quad \text{say + LOAF-DES} \quad \text{say + IPFV-1SG-DECL}
\]

‘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 tūsan wakiruthēi*

\[
\text{ta-ti} \quad \text{tu-sa-nu} \quad \text{wakiru-tu-} \text{ha-i}
\]

\[
\text{arrive-JUSS} \quad \text{say-SUB-1SG.SS} \quad \text{want-APPL-1SG-DECL}
\]

‘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 akúpamajii ikámnum Suwán wítá túsan
Puhupata akupi-ka-ma-ji ikama = numa Sua = na ui-tá tu-sá
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) aínkamapha túsa ijahkámá tikííjík jíankín atsóon weínak
aima-ka-ma-api-ha tu-sá ii-a-hkamá
fill.up-INTENS-REC.PT-SUD.REAL-1SG.SBJ + EXCL say-SUB\3SG.SS see-IPFV-TERM\3SG.SS
tíkííjíki jíankina 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) kāʃi hāsmu nam haŋwā

[kaʃi has-mau = nama] hia-u

night become=NMLZ = LOC arrive-NMLZ

‘When it became night, he was one to arrived.’

(31) jamāi puhūsa wíamunam má jaŋkat úun hasé tūsan tājame

[jamai puhu-sa-nu wí-a-mau = nam] ma

now live-SUB-1SG,SS go-IPFV=NMLZ = LOC INTERJ

jaakatauunta has-i tu-sa-nu ta-hami
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) tʃʃitʃám iwárurnam awárunka kámi huŋīnka utsaanawaiti

[tʃʃitʃama iwára-mau = nam] awaruni = ka kami

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. The verb in initial adverbial clause position, takes the Set I nominalizer -tı (§15.4.4) and then adds the restrictive =ki and the additive =fə morphemes.

\[(33) \text{tukuteikifa tukútmaji}\]
\[
\text{tuku-ta} = \text{ki} = fə \quad \text{tuku-tu-ma-ji} \\
\text{shoot-NMLZ = RESTR = ADD} \quad \text{shoot-APPL-REC-PT-3.PT + DECL}
\]

‘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 =ki=fə 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 common as 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
death 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) fuár túki awarún áiña iyákaru tímaji matsátun núcáwaru nútika nekás naan kaʃ tariar
ipúntaikʃa ipíŋaru hiín

34.a
juara tuki awaruna a-ina ia-ka-ara-u ti-ma-ji
person INTERJ Awajun COP-PL.IPVF look.for-INTENS-PL.PVF-NMLZ say-REC.PT-3.PT + DECL
‘Those persons...the Awajun looked [for him],

34.b
matsa-tu-u = na nika-áu-ara-u nutika-a nikas naa = na
live-APPL-NMLZ = ACC know-HIAF-PL.PVF-NMLZ do.that-HIAF truly HESIT.PRO = ACC
‘they found out that he was one who lived; doing that, truly,’

34.c
ipina-taʃ ki = fa ipina-ara-u hí = ní
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.’

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 kámi māá/ māđaikíja māá [...]  
awa  awata-kawá   kami  mā-á  
redup  hit + IPFV-REDUP\3SG.SS  INTERJ  kill-HIAF\3SG.SS

[mā-á-taĩ = ki = ūa  mā-á]  
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
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 I have difficulties to understand my own language, strange as it may seem, I have hopes of being able to read your work . . . Not long ago I had a meeting with someone who works in DIGEIBIRA at the Ministry of Education\textsuperscript{295} and he recommended that first I must learn Wampis if I want to write. It really left me thinking. I have many doubts that are not resolved . . . 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 they do not have a good argument [to tell me why I should not use accent marks], as for me, now I cannot explain why I put accent marks . . .”

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

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{tʃʃama} ‘word, speech’.\textsuperscript{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:\textsuperscript{297}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{296}. The reader will find several instances of this word written as a stem \textit{<chicham>} in the examples below.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{297}. In the following examples, my focus lies beyond grammatical explanations, so I just provide
\end{quote}
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

*298. The Wampis territory is located in the border region with Ecuador.

877
group, but they really want to be part of a national group while maintaining their own identity:

\[ \text{ii wampisti unuimakrika kame iiña pujuti kajinmatkimuka amaichuwaiti turamtaï} \]
\[ \text{‘we the Wampis, if we learned (i.e. if we receive education), we should not forget our own culture’} \]

\[ \text{apatka mai apatka unuimamaiñaiti apach pujut apach chichama nuu} \]
\[ \text{‘together both we must learn the mestizo culture, the mestizo language [and the Wampis culture/language]’} \]

\[ \text{maa untsu nuniaku tumainaitji maa wiyaitjai wampisan} \]
\[ \text{‘then, doing that, we can say ‘I am Wampis’’} \]

\[ \text{kame unuimarunka tumaiñaitji turamtaï antsuk iiña pujuti nekachu} \]
\[ \text{‘we can call [the person who has been educated] “one who has learned”, and without doing that, then she/he doesn’t know our culture’} \]

\[ \text{kame aya apachi pujutiña nuke nekakrika} \]
\[ \text{‘if we only learn the mestizo culture’} \]

\[ \text{apachnumani yunutkauwa anin wantiniaji nuka kame} \]
\[ \text{‘it seems like we have included ourselves in the mestizo’s society’ (i.e. ‘it seems like we have been assimilated to the national culture’)} \]

\[ \text{nunia nuka ayatek menká} \]
\[ \text{‘having done that, that one is lost’} \]

Juan Luis Nuningo considers access to education, respect and communication at the center of Wampis efforts for future generations:

\[ \text{indigenas timautisha chichamrumakur weakur arantukmau amainatji} \]
\[ \text{‘we the so-called indigenous people, if we go around defending ourselves we can be respected’} \]
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 iinha 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 iinha nunke surimkami iinha nunke ayamrukmi  
‘the word goes around like that, let us take care of our land, let us defend our land’

379  
turamta iinha 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,’

299. The word < ekema > (/ikima/) means ‘sit’, but in this context it means ‘sit as authority’. In Wampsis culture, the respected adults and elders have a seat (/ifimpuii/), which represents their authority, where they sit to discuss different matters with other people.
kame matsamsami nutikakur iisha tuke kishmataiksha kishmakar matsamsami kame
iiña waitkarmaña 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 tusu wakeraj nuka
‘saying, truly, “let the children get educated”, that is what we want’

nuni ayamruniakar nuni chichamruniakar kame ii iruntrar matsamsar kame iiisha
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’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONESS</td>
<td>‘Concessive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>‘Copula’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>‘Definite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>‘Distal/Distant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTR</td>
<td>‘Distributed action aktionsart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS</td>
<td>‘Different subject’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DTR</td>
<td>‘Detransitivizer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCLAM</td>
<td>‘Exclamative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>‘Focus’</td>
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<tr>
<td>FRUST</td>
<td>‘Frustrative’</td>
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<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>‘Genitive’</td>
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<tr>
<td>HESIT</td>
<td>‘Hesitation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIAF</td>
<td>‘High affectedness aktionsart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORT</td>
<td>‘Hortative’</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDEO</td>
<td>'Ideophone'</td>
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<td>‘Immediate’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>‘Inferential’</td>
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<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>‘Interrogative’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>‘Interjection’</td>
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<td>INTENS</td>
<td>‘Intensive aktionsart’</td>
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<td>INTS</td>
<td>‘Intensifier’</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>‘Imperfective’</td>
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<td>‘Low affectedness aktionsart’</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>'Nominalizer'</td>
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<tr>
<td>NON. VIS</td>
<td>'Non-visible'</td>
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<td>'Object'</td>
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<td>PURP</td>
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<td>Q</td>
<td>'Question marker'</td>
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<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>'Recent'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>'Reciprocal'</td>
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<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>'Reduplicative'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>'Reflexive'</td>
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<tr>
<td>RESTR</td>
<td>'Restrictive'</td>
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<tr>
<td>RHET</td>
<td>'Rhetorical question'</td>
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<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>'Singular'</td>
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<tr>
<td>SIM</td>
<td>'Simultaneous'</td>
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<td>SIMIL</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPEC</td>
<td>'Speculative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>'Same subject'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUD. REALZ</td>
<td>'Sudden realization'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAG</td>
<td>'Tag question'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>'Transitivizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VBZ</td>
<td>'Verbalizer'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 nankámás ahúka**

* hu nankama-sa a=hu=ka

PROX happen-ATT PROX =FOC

‘This is what happened’

(2) **tikítjík fuár aharín puhús jurankín ará huwáwei**

* tikítjíki juara aha-rí=ní puhu-sá

one person farm-1PL/2PL/3.POSS =LOC live/be-SUB\3SG.SS

* iuranki=na ará 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 jamétikík’a tikítjík úun kuntúntrí tákakú**

* tumá iamai=ki=ka tikítjíki uunta

happen.thus\3.SS now =RESTR =FOC one elder
kuntina-tu-ri  taka-kü
animal-com-1pl/2pl/3.poss  have + ipfv-sim\3sg.ss
‘Thus, at the beginning one elder that had his animal’

(4) najkamákmateē įjā įjākua įnánkaki
nankama-ka-mataĩ ĩia ĩi-a-kaua  inanka-kí
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 īs najkániak
nu = na  iisā  nankami-a-kü
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-kā
again above\loc  climb.up-appl-intens\3sg.ss
‘again having climbed [on the tree]’

(7) juránkin huůk ʃankíntrin cím'ak puhóon tikíʃík ūʃį tarí
iuranki = na  huu-kā
fruit = acc  gather-intens\3sg.ss

ʃtankina-ri = nĩ  aima-kü  puha-ũ = na
basket-1pl/2pl/3.poss = loc  fill + ipfv-sim\3sg.ss  live/be + ipfv-nmlz = acc

tikiʃjik  utʃį  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) tikíʃík ʃankin ʔɛimk'amuamúna huruknĩ
tikíʃík  ʃtankina  aima-ka-mau = a = nú = na
one  basket  fill.up-intens-nmlz = cop = non.vis = acc

886
hu-ru-kinĩ

*take-APPL-WHILE.MOVING +3.PFV*

‘He (i.e. the child) took one basket that was filled’

(9) *nútik’a núu úűjí huruki wișatahkamá*

nutikă nu úűjí hu-ru-kí
do.that + HIAF\3SG.SS NON.VIS child *take-APPL-WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS*

wi-sa-tahkamá
go-ATT-FRUSR\3SG.SS

‘Having done that, that child when he wanted to go having taken [the basket]’

(10) *tikújí kumpáři mînoón*

tikiṭí kumpa-ří uina-u = na
other friend-1PL/2PL/3.Poss come + IPFV-NMLZ = ACC

‘to his other friend that was coming’

(11) *mînomoheč tukúniawar núu hukí wiąmuanuna ukár*

uina-u-haĩ tukuni-au-ara nu
COME + IPFV-NMLZ-COM collide-HIAF-3PL.SS NON.VIS

hu-kí uľ-a-mau = a = nu = na uka-rā
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]’

(12) *ukármateč kumpáři éena núu jeńk’arēe*

uka-ra-mataï kumpa-ří a-ina nu
spill-DISTR-1SG/3.DS FRIEND-1PL/2PL/3.POSS COP-PL/IPFV NON.VIS

300. The verb ‘collide’ marks its object with the accusative = na, but since the action is reciprocal, the other participant receives the comitative = haĩ.
iai-ka-ara-i
help-INTENS-PL-3.PFV + DECL
‘when he spilled it, his friends helped him’

(13) *huuk ʃjumpiamun nútiká kumparieʃ inkuniar*
| huu-kā | ʃjumpi-a-mau = na | nútikā |
gather-INTENS\3SG.SS | put.in-IPFV-NON.SBJ,NMLZ = ACC | do.that + HIAF\3SG.SS |

kumpa-rī-hāi inkunai-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’

(14) *(nūu uka ʃuʃka ...)*301
| (nu = ka ʃuʃ fī = 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-ra kumpa-ma-náia-áara
take-WHILE.MOVING-3PL.SS eat-HIAF-3PL.SS friend-VBZ-INCHO-RECP-HIAF-3PL.SS

ʃia-ka-ara-i
leave.3PL-INTENS-PL-3.PFV + DECL
‘having taken what that was spilled, having eaten, having become friends, they left.’

(15) *tūma ūun nūu jüránkin huwáwa nuka*
tuma uunta nu iuranki = 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’

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 *nūu ukáñaru*... .
(16) aîmkamapha túsa ijahkamá tikikîkîmyankín atsón weînak
aima-ka-ma-apì-ha  tu-sâ  ii-a-hkamá
fill.up-INTENS-REC.PT-SUD.REAL-1SG.SBJ + EXCL  say-SUB\3SG.SS  see-IPFV-TERM\3SG.SS

tikikîkî  myankîna  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) atâkja útì wakìki minîn ìs
atâkja  útì  waki-tu-ki  uini-ina-na  ii-sâ
again  child  walk-APPL-WHILE.MOVING  come-PL.IPFV-NMLZ  see-SUB\3SG.SS
‘Again, seeing that the children were coming walking’

(19) nitîtsuk kasâmurtaruiti túsa túu inînteim‘ar nañkánkoweit‘i
nîta = tsû = ki  kasama-tu-ru-ka-ara-u = iti  tu-sâ
3PL = INFER = RESTR  steal-APPL-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-PL-NMLR = COP.3 + DECL  say-SUB\3SG.SS

tu  inintaî-ma-râ  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) hûka nañkámasuiti
hû = ka  nankama-sa-u = iti
PROX = FOC  happen-ATT-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL
‘This is what happened’

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) tikituji akahan uun niki pulahumunam
                   tikituji       aha = nama       uunta  nii = ki  puha-mau = nama
        one        farm = LOC        elder    3SG = RESTR      live-NMLZ = LOC
‘in a farm where an elder, he only, lived’

(22) patiinkisa weinaktja
                   patai = na = ki = ja                 uaina-ka-tja-ji
        relative\1PL/2PL/3.POSS = ACC = REST = ADD     see-INTENS-NEG-3.PT + DECL
‘his relative(s) has(have) not been seen’

(23) ajatik uun niki aharin takarmas
                   aiatiki      uunta  nii = ki  aha-ri = nii  taka-ru-ma-sa
        only        elder    3.SG = REST  farm-1PL/2PL/3.POSS = LOC    work-APPL-REFL-SUB\3.SS
‘only one elder, he alone, working in his farm.’

(24) nuna nunikuuti
                   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) *tikúʃiŋ ọuhmatsathē tihē paʃiʃan*

*tikúʃi* = na  áuhumatu-sa-ta-ha-i  tihai  paʃiʃi-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) *miŋa papa ūhākmia nūna uhāktathami haímito jatsurū*

*mina  papa-ru  uha-ka-mia  nu = na*

1SG.GEN father-1SG    inform-INTENS-DIST.PT  NON.Vis = ACC
'My father informed this, I am going to tell you, Jaimito, my brother.'

‘That is [from] now, it is here now, it is not from so much long ago’

‘right now here where we are going on living.’

‘The woman, being a woman, she used the blowgun.’

‘her name [was] Inchis’

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) *naářĩka nũka nũwaka ḋińiśi*
naa-rī = ka
nu = ka
nua = ka
 bacheca ḋińiśu
name = 1PL/2PL/3.POSS = FOC NON.VIS = FOC woman = FOC Inchis

‘The name of that woman [was] Inchis.’

(8) *mĩna papáruka nukūr ḋińiśi tímaji nũnaka*
mina papa-ru = ka
nuku-ru ḋińiśu 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) *ńútikamu nũ nukuchūr305 ḋińiśuānu ṭsiasán peń*
nutika-mau
nu
nukūši-ru ḋińiśu = a = nu
do.that-NMLZ NON.VIS grandmother-1SG Inchis = COP = NON.VIS

ṭsiasa = na
paintā
curare = ACC apply.poison.PVF\3SG,SS
‘Thus, that my grandmother who is Inchis, having applied curare [to darts],’

(10) *mitéaju wiku haku tímaji jòunų́ńjikša*
mitaiu
uika
hak-u
timaji
iaunų́ńjiki = ūa
hunting walk HAB,PT-NMLZ NARR long.ago = ADD
‘she was one to go hunting long ago too.’

(11) *ńútik’a tukí wiké̃n tuku júu*
nutikā
tukí
wika-inu
tuku-u
iu-u
do.that.PVF\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) *pakíńjša tukú aʃi mà unuímaru ampúntın āsa*
paki = na = ūa
tuku-u
aʃi
ma
peccary = ACC = ADD shoot-NMLZ all INTERJ

305. There is a metathesis in the surface form of this word.
unuima-ra-u ampu-tu-inu asā
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) mitáju witasā tšiasá peĩŋk'u ásā
mitaiu ui-tasā tšiasá painta-ka-u a-sā
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) ká sĩ hiŋkí wú tímaji uumí hukí
kajiki hiina-kí ui-u timaji
early.morning go.out-\WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS go-NMLZ NARR

uumí hu-kí
blowgun\ACC take-\WHILE.MOVING\3SG.SS

'early morning, having gone out, she went, having taken the blowgun.'

(15) nú tik’a wí ímek mitaju wiká teŋri hiá
nutiká wí
do.that.PFV\3SG.SS go.PFV\3SG.SS

ímai mitaiu wika-taĩ-rí hiá
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) máfu újí jë màstasy wëĩŋk’u tímaji
mafu újí jë màstasy-u uaina-ka-u timaji
curassow speak + IPFV live.together-NMLZ see-INTENS-NMLZ NARR

'she found curassow that were singing.'
(17) **píʃ píʃ heíɲa tímaʃi mafu nútik'ak**

píʃ píʃ ha-ina tímaʃi mafu nutika-kù
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) **míñaʃa weíʃʃ'atmapi tú puháwa túsa iʃa tímaʃi**

mi = na = ka uai-iʃi-tata-ma-api tu puha-ua
1SG = ACC see-1SG.OBJ-NEG-SUDD.REALZ like.that live/be + IPFV-3.SBJ

tu-sà ii-á tímaʃi
say-SUB 3SG.SS see-HIAF 3SG.SS NARR

‘she thought, saying: “it is not seeing me! It is there like that”.’

(19) **neʃʃunun hás ímëeʃ hapóutanum híarí ímàni iʃa tímaʃi**

nainta = numa has ímaʃi hapauta = numa
hill = LOC become far.over.there slope = LOC

hía-ru-i ímàni ii-a tímaʃi
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) **nuí tihecʃa waháš íi wahátu tímaʃi núna mafu tuʃakëe**

nuí tihai = ja uaha-sà ii uaha-tu-u tímaʃi nu = na
there Tijai = ADD stand-SUB 3SG.SS see stand-APPL-NMLZ NARR NON.VIS = ACC

maʃi tu-ina-ka-i
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) **nútikamteʃ juarapíiʃa túsa**

nutika-matai juara = api = ita tu-sà
do.that-1SG.3.DS person- = SUD.REALZ = COP.3 + DECL say-SUB 3SG.SS

“Having done that, saying: “it is a person!”
(22) nūwaka int’aŋk’a hūtk’ā tintiā iitsima nahāna wīkā āsā
nua = ka     intaŋ = na = ka     hutikā     tintiā
woman = FOC   hair\1 PL/2 PL/3 POSS = ACC = FOC do.this.PFV/3 SG.SS make.circle-HI.AF/3 SG.SS

iitsima nahana wīkā a-sā
tie.up.hair make wīkā + IPFV COP-SUB/3 SG.SS
‘the woman, because she walked having made her hair in a circular form,’

(23) nūnaka kuikī awās
nu = na = ka     kui-kī     aua-sā
NON.VIS = ACC = FOC     unfasten-WHILE.MOVING/3 SG.SS     untie.hair-SUB/3 SG.SS
‘having unfastened it (i.e. her hair) untying it’

(24) nūnā tarāfrīntʃa hunī itipruma wīkā āsā
nuī = ia     taratʃi-rī = ja
there = ABL     dress-1 PL/2 PL/3 POSS = ACC = ADD

hu = ni     itipruma     wīkā asā
PROX = ALL     wear.itipi + IPFV COP-SUB/3 SG.SS
‘in addition, because she went around wearing her dress in this way’

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 [itip]—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 kuikí nunkurú tímaji
nu = na = ja kui-kí nunku-ra-u tímaji
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-sá uaha-sa-u tímaji
woman do.that-sub\3sg.ss stand-att-nmlz NARR
‘The woman, doing that, she [remained] standing.’

(27) túra uúmránj’a atúsu tímaji
tura uumi-rí = na = ka atu-sa-u tímaji
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 čiʃmanʃka tihé wèʃ’ak sapíʃmak
nu = na aʃmanku tihai uaina-kâ sapija-ma-kâ
NON. VIS = ACC man Tijai see-intens\3sg.ss fear-vbz-intens\3sg.ss
‘The Tijai-man having seen her, having become nervous,’

(29) nútik’a wahásunak tiháka nikáprin ásá níkapář warukú tímaji
nutika waha-sa-u = na = ki tihai = ka níkapí-ra-inu a-sâ
thus stand-att-nmlz = acc = restr Tijai = foc feel-distr-nmlz cop-sub\3sg.ss
nikapi-râ ua-ru-ka-u tímaji
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’

309. Notice the metathesized pronunciation on the surface form.
(30) warúk ifá ifámak hiántou timaji
ua-ru-ká ifá ifama-kū
climb-APPL-INTENS\3SG.SS REDUP be.afraid + IPFV-SIM\3SG.SS

hiá-tu-a-u timaji
arrive-APPL-IPFV-NMLZ NARR
‘Having climbed, while being afraid, he was one to approach her.’

(31) tura hiá jéit’am túsá tóu timaji núwa
tura hiá ia = ita-mi tu-sá 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) întísua núu inía timaji
ıntísu = a nu inia timaji
Inchis = COP NON.VIS ask + IPFV NARR
‘The one who was Inchis was asking.’

(33) wík’a kampuignonmaja fuáreith’ee tóu timaji
ui = ka kampuín = numa = ia juara = 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) nútik’an kámi yéit’am túsá tóu timaji
nutikä kami ia = ita-mi tu-sá 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) itšriiąfju wík’a wíjeitheee tóu timaji
ıtširi-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) tura ifámrukei'p'a túsa tóu tímaji tíhe tífámrukei'p'a
    tura ifama-ru-ka-ai-pa    tu-sâ    ta-u    timaji tihai
    and be.afraid-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-APPR-PROH say-SUB\3SG.SS say+IPFV-NMLZ NARR Tijai

ifama-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) wiječ můtikatšiš'łam
    ui = haï         mitika-ți = ita-mi
    1SG = COM       equal-DIM = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL

“you are equal with me”

(38) kuntúram itákia apátkia iístáhmí
    kuntu-rami    ita-kia    apatu-ka    ii-sa-tá-hami
    arm-2SG       ita-FAM.IMP put.together-INTENS see-ATT-IMM.FUT-1SG > 2SG + DECL

“bring your arm, I’ll see you comparing”

(39) tusá tâma
    tu-sâ        ta-ma
    say-SUB\3SG.SS say+IPFV-NON.SBJ > SBJ

‘when he was saying that to her’

(40) nuwâfa kuntúrin húti'kas iweíntus
    nua = ša       kuntu-ři = na       hutika-sâ      i-uana-tu-sâ
    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) išu tímaji
    ii-sa-u    timaji
    see-ATT-NMLZ NARR

‘He saw.’
(42) **nutik'a iweíntus iís**
nutikā i-uaina-tu-sā ii-sā
do.that.IPFV/3SG.SS caus-see-APPL-SUB/3.SS see-ATT/3.SG.SS
‘Having done that, having seen,’

(43) **wiheĩ mitikeitimí**
ui = haĩ mitika = ita-mi
1SG = COM equal = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL
“You are equal to me”

(44) **ámika wiį fuárteitimí**
ami = ka ui ʃuara = ita-mi
2SG = FOC 2SG person = COP-2SG.SBJ + DECL
“You are a person like me.”

(45) **tihée fuárteitimí tůsa tóů tímaji**
tijai ʃuara = ita-mi tu-sā 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 ʃii tůsa ájatik kámi sapíhmak huáku tímaji**
ta-ma nua = fa ʃii tu-sā
say + IPFV-NON-SBJ > SBJ woman = ADD uh-huh say-SUB/3SG.SS
aiatiki kami sapihmak-kū 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) **nutikak wíka húu wiáhee**
nutika-kū ui = ka hū 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”’

900
(48) amĩja wikasa wakitkit'á tóó tímaji
ami = ja uika-să uaki-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 sapihmaku ása aĩñsan hôin wakíti
tura = ki nua = ka sapihama-ka-u a-să
and = Restr woman = FOC be.afraid-INTENS-NMLZ COP-SUB\3SG.SS

aĩñsanâ hôin = nĩ waki-tu-kí
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 ìṣirkou tímaji ụwara kuámkaja shuará weńjahe ńusa
nu = na ìṣira-ka-u timaji
NON.Vis = Acc relate-INTENS-NMLZ NARR

ụwara kuamaka = ia ụwara uaina-ka-ha-i tu-să
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) nükiti
nu = ki = iti
NON.Vis = Restr = COP.3 + DECL
‘That is it.’

901
Text 3: How to prepare banana drink

This is a procedural text about how to make ūsamau, a refreshing drink made by mashing and fermenting ripe banana (the Amazonian Spanish name for this drink is <chapo> ). ūsamau also means 'ripe banana'.

Speaker: Dina Ananco; Age: 29
Community of origin: Huabal
Date: August, 2013; Duration: 1 min 38 sec

(1) ūsamóo ikariár umártasarka
ūsamau 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 uun iisar tikīfik rasīmo hukīr ahākar hukīr
paantama uunta ii-sa-ri tikīfiki 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) kámi fūr ūsamákmateē
kami īira ūsama-ka-mataī
INTERJ very ripen-INTENS-1SG/3.DS
‘when they [the bananas] are very ripe’
(4) \textit{tijirar ója úunnum}
\textsf{tirj-ri oja uunta = numa}
\textsf{peel-distr-1pl.ss pot big = loc}
‘having peeled [the bananas] in a big pot’

(5) \textit{kámi tśamóo pakára ója úunnum}
\textsf{kami tśamau paka-ri oja uunta = numa}
\textsf{interj banana skin-distr-1pl.ss pot big = loc}
‘having peeled the bananas in a big pot’

(6) \textit{tijmpiári hí jumíșa ahúntar}
\textsf{tjmpi-ári hí iumi = ša ahúnta-ri}
\textsf{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) \textit{hiíʃa kámi ikáparoos asámteč nuí ikújkar ukúteínciti}
\textsf{hií = ša kami ikapa-ra-mau a-sa-mataí}
\textsf{fire = add interj set.alight-attrib-nmlz cop-sub-1sg/3.ds}
\textsf{nuí ikina-ka-ri uku-taí = aiti}
\textsf{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) \textit{húka ímanik kámi}
\textsf{hií = ka ímaní = ki kami}
\textsf{fire = foc so.much = restr interj}
‘With a lot of fire,’

(9) \textit{níwa níwaka imdhiʃateínciti}
\textsf{niua niua = ka imaha-tʃa-taí = aiti}
\textsf{flame flame = foc progress-NEG-nmlz = cop.3 + decl}
‘with a lot of flame, we do not do it.’
(10) ájatík ímatka awáhi’tüktsuk
áiatík ímatka auahit’a-šu = ki
only do.much fan + IPFV-NEG = RESTR
‘[We prepare the drink] without fanning the flames too much’

(11) nintiár ámounam ikíŋkar
nintiá-ri a-mau = nama ikina-ka-ri
calm.down.PFV-1PL.SS COP-NMLZ = LOC put.on.fire-INTENS-1PL.NN
‘having put it [the pot with bananas] on the fire when there are embers’

(12) kuaktí tísa ɨnáteŋeiti wafuktí tóo asár
kua-ka-ti tu-sa inai-taï = 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) narúkmatɛ́ja ɨnteʃar ukuwá puhúteŋeiti washuktí túsar
naru-ka-matai-ja inai-sa-ri uku-a pahu-tai = 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) tura núu aʃí wafükmatɛí paántam aʃí wafükmatɛíŋk/a
tura nu aʃí uaʃu-ka-matai
and NON.VIS all become.brown-INTENS-1SG/3.DS

310. Nintiári amaunama was translated as ‘cualdo hay brasas’ ‘when there are embers’; a more literal translation is ‘when [the flames are] calmed down’.
paatanama aʃi uaju-ka-matai = 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) iňkar ukuteiñiti mikirti tusar
ini-ka-ri uku-taî = 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) nihamáʧi ihuaj étikasar ihuteiñiti ñamóqa
nihamaʧi ihu-a-ji aitka-sa-ri ihu-taî = aiti
manioc.beer mash-IPFV-1pl.sbj do.like.that-sub-1pl.ss mash-nmlz = cop.3 + decl
tsamau = ja
banana = add

‘Doing like we mash the manioc beer, we mash the banana too.’

(17) nútik’ar ihúrika aʃí kámi ʃír
nutika-ri ihu-ri = ka aʃí kami ʃíira
do.that.PVF-1pl.ss mash.PVF-1pl.ss = foc all interj well

‘Having done that, having mashed all well,’

(18) ihu ihú imásar
ihu ihu ima-sa-ri
mash mash progress-sub-1pl.ss
‘doing it well mashed’

(19) ukuteiñiti naán
uku-taî = aiti naa = na
leave-nmlz = cop.3 + decl hesit.pro = acc

‘we leave it, umm,’
(20) kámi für kariámtsee umármi túsar
kami ūíra kari-á-matai 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) tūra kafi tsawánteikfa umákrik'a umúmeijñiti jumín umártah takürka tūra
   tura kafíni tsauanta = í = ki = Ja 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 tsawánkíja ukuméjianiti fír kariá umártah takürka
   nukapi tsuanta = ki = Ja uka-mai-na = iti
   several day = RESTR = ADD leave-POT-NMLZ = COP.3 + DECL

   ūíra 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) nukíti
   nu-ki-iti
   NON.VIS-RESTRICT-COP.3 + DECL
   ‘That is it.’

311. Túra usually means ‘and’ or ‘then’, but this instance was translated as ‘or’.
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920


