Verbal morphology in Mawayana

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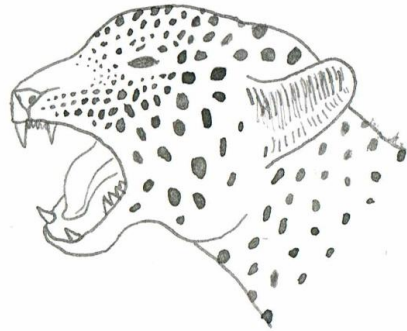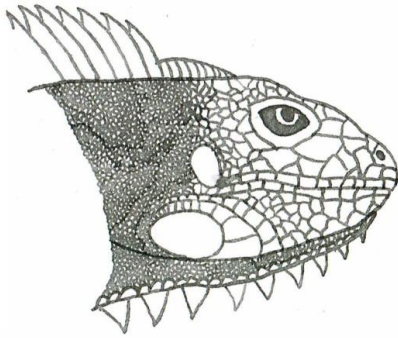
Abstract

This research attempts to give a description of the verbal morphology of the moribund Mawayana language from the Arawakan language family. Little has been written about Mawayana, but there is a corpus of stories and elicited texts. That corpus has been used for this research. Several suffixes have been found, including valency marking suffixes and TAME-markers. Also quite a few clitics may occur on verbs, including the typical Arawakan pronominal elements. Other clitics do not have clear cognates in related languages and may or may not be innovations of Mawayana. In general, quite some restructuring of the verbal morphology has taken place in Mawayana and/or the closest related language Wapishana since the two split apart. The result in Mawayana seems quite chaotic, but this may be due to the limited size of the corpus. Still, there is some clear structure that becomes more clear once the many clitics have been divided on morphosyntactic or semantic grounds.

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List of abbreviations:

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent
AFFECT	affective
AFFIRM	affirmative
AUG	augmentative
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
COREF	coreferential
DAT	dative
DEI	deictic
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
DISC	discourse particle
EMPH	emphatic
EP	epenthetic
F	feminine
FACS	facsimile
FRUST	frustrative
IDEO	ideophone
IM	indicative mode
IMM	immedeate
IMP	imperative
IT	itive
M	masculine
MOM	momentary
NEG	negation
NOM	nominalizer
NPST	non-past
P	patient
PL	plural
PRO	pronoun
PROX	proximate
PST	past
RECIPR	reciprocal
REFL	reflective
REPRT	reportative
REPET	repetitive
SG	singular
Tr	Trio language
TRANS	transitivizer
VV	verbal vowel

1. Introduction

1.1. The Mawayana language

Mawayana is a Northern Arawakan language that used to be spoken by a people of the same name in parts of Guyana and Brazil. These people were first mentioned in written sources in the 1840s, when they were still a distinct ethnicity although they were in close contact with the Taruma (Schomburgk 1841: 170). Both groups shrunk, however, and merged with the larger Waiwai group in the early 20th century. They merged with that group, and have probably fully become Waiwai by the 1960s. But while the Mawayana language is now all but forgotten in Guyana and Brazil, there are still native speakers left elsewhere, in Suriname. These were part of a group of Mawayana who were recruited in the late 1950s by an American missionary to help him convert the Trio people in southern Suriname (Carlin & Mans in press). Of this group, there are now only two elderly women left whose children and grandchildren do not speak Mawayana (Eithne Carlin personal communication).

Not much is known about the Mawayana language, but recently two publications have appeared based on fieldwork conducted by Dr. E. B. Carlin between 2002 and 2006. The first of them describes the influence of Waiwai and Trio on Mawayana verbal morphology (Carlin 2006). The second is a MA thesis analysing the phonology of Mawayana (Coretta 2013). This BA thesis is based on the same data.

The orthography used here is mostly the one proposed by Coretta (2013: 104), with the exception of /ɓ/ and /ɗ/, which are written with their IPA symbols instead of with the letters 'b' and 'd' that Coretta proposed. The rest of his suggestions are followed: *ch* stands for /tʃ/, *j* for /ʃ/, *hp* for /ɸ/, *ï* for /ɨ/, *y* for /j/, *r* for /ɾ/, *sh* for /ʃ/, *z* for /ʂ/ and ' for /ʔ/. The rest of the orthography is the same as in IPA.

1.2. Data

The data that this research is based on are a corpus of the transcripts of nine stories as well as some elicitation data. The stories are partly glossed and translated. The whole corpus totals almost 17.000 words, but that includes glosses, translations and notes. Due to the low level of the knowledge about Mawayana, especially at the time of the fieldwork, neither glossing nor transcription is consistent, which made searching the corpus more difficult.

Of course such a relatively small corpus means that a research based on it cannot hope to fully capture all the aspects of the verbal morphology; probably not all morphemes are attested, let alone all possible combinations. Nor are there always enough examples of a morpheme to be able to determine its function.

It is also questionable how representative the data are for the language that was once spoken by the Mawayana people. The whole corpus is obtained from a handful elderly people who have been living in another speech community for most of their lives, and whose language was probably heavily influenced by Waiwai and Taruma to begin with. All the stories come from a single speaker. This means that, even though this language has been recorded before it will die out, the variation that was once in the language is forever lost, as well as any aspects of the language that may have been forgotten or simplified by the last speakers.

Those are the main problems with the data that has been used for this research. Still, the material is quite rich for a language that was already thought dead, and I am confident that quite a lot can still be learned from it.

2. The Mawayana verb

In order to delimit the scope of this thesis, it is necessary to define what constitutes a verb in Mawayana. According to Dixon (2010: 38) verbs can cross-linguistically be said to be the class whose members are always able to be the head of a predicate, and which always includes words for actions. However, he also states that word classes can only be defined by language internal criteria.

In Mawayana the verb is most clearly defined by a suffix that I have called 'verbal vowel', which can be either *-a* or *e*. This morpheme, the function of which will be more clearly explained in section 2.3.6., is obligatorily present on any verb form. Because it is the only affix[1] that is obligatory, the minimal verb consists of the verb root and a verbal vowel.

Furthermore, the verb may carry any of the suffixes that are described in this chapter: the reflexive, the causative, the itive, the transitivizer, *-(a)t* and *-(a)m*. These suffixes do not occur in other word classes except when they are derived from verb stems.

Apart from the affixes, the Mawayana verb is often accompanied by a number of clitics. The most frequent clitics are the person markers, which mark person for both subject and object if these are not overtly expressed in the sentence. Other frequent clitics include the reportative, frustrative and affective. However, none of these clitics attaches exclusively to verbs.

There is no overt marking of the valency of a verb. Transitive and intransitive verbs behave the same except for the number of person marking clitics they may carry; transitive verbs may have both a person marking pro- and an enclitic at the same time while intransitive verbs always have to choose either a pronominal proclitic or a pronominal enclitic, see also section 3.1. A more detailed description of the clitics that may occur on verbs will be provided in the next chapter.

2.1. The verb root

The verb root consists minimally of a single consonant. Examples of such minimal verb roots are *m-* 'say', *ch-* 'do'. For longer verb roots it is possible to begin with a vowel, but it always has to end in a consonant. Examples of longer verb roots are *nak-* 'take', *och-* 'cut', *marïch-* 'deceive'. Because these root forms are required to take at least a verbal vowel as suffix, the resulting form will still have the phonologically desired (C)V syllable structure.

2.2. The problem of the [a]s

The most problematic part of analysing the morphological makeup of Mawayana verbs is without doubt the abundance of [a]s present. They occur after every root and verbal affix, with the only exception being word-finally if there is a non-past marker. They can be explained by a number of analyses, but each of them has its problems. In examples (1) and (2) the problem is illustrated:

(1) *njakara*   *ï=m-e*   *ï=keiya*   *ï=rïk-**a**-kij-**a**-si*
     how   2SG.A=say-NPST   2SG.A=game   2SG.A=die?-**?**-CAUS-**?**-NOM
     'How do you say you kill your game?'

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[1] Throughout this chapter I use the word 'affix', even though I have been only been able to determine suffixes, and no prefixes. The reason for this choice is that I cannot exclude the possibility of prefixes occurring in Mawayana verbs.

(2)   *karahpaɗa-sima*   *jimaɗa*   *chik-**a**-k-**a**-ɗ-**a**-se-ɓa*

     karahpaɗa-COM   jaguar   see-**?**-REFL-**?**-IT-**?**-NOM-PST

     'the former meeting of the karahpaɗa bird and the jaguar'

A possible analysis would be to consider all the [a]s part of the root or of an affix in front of it. However, this is not a very economical solution, because it assumes that by pure accident all roots and affixes except for the non-past marker *-e* end in [a]. Moreover, it would have to be assumed that the last [a] of the verb (not counting clitics) phonologically disappears before the /e/ of the non-past marker. While that would not be a very strange sound law, I have not found any other evidence for it either.

Instead, the [a]s might be analysed as part of the suffix behind it. This is a slightly more economical analysis, because it does not assume all roots end in [a], but it still assumes that all suffixes coincidentally start with [a]. And although it does not assume any phonological process, neither does it assume either a morpheme *-a* (in paradigmatic relation with *-e*) with several seemingly unrelated meanings, such as past tense and imperative, or several homonymous suffixes *-a* (once again in a paradigm with *-e*).

A third solution would be to assume that all [a]s that are not at the end of the verb are not part of anything, but epenthetic vowels that are inserted to avoid consonant clusters. This hypothesis avoids several problems of the other two analyses and is supported by evidence from Wapishana.
Wapishana uses epenthetic [a]s as well (Gomes Dos Santos 2006: 76). More specifically, Wapishana uses a causative marker *-kiɗ* (ibid.: 171), which resembles the Mawayana suffix *-(a)kij* with the same function. If these two are indeed cognates, it seems likely that the [a] in front of the Mawayana suffix is not part of it.

Despite this evidence, the hypothesis cannot be proven unless verb roots or suffixes that end in a vowel are found, something that I have not found in this corpus. Neither can it be determined if there are suffixes that start with an /a/. And the problem of the final *-a*'s still stands. For these reasons the non-final [a]s have been glossed as part of the following suffix throughout the rest of this thesis, and whenever the suffixes have been mentioned, an [a] ('a' between brackets) has been added in front of it. The final [a]s have been glossed as 'verbal vowel'. More discussion on what their actual meaning might be can be found in section 2.2.6.

2.3. Affixes

The affixes that I have been able to find evidence for can be summarized as follows:

form	meaning	category
-(a)k	reflexive/reciprocal	valency changing
-(a)kij	causative	valency changing
-(a)d²	transitivizer	valency changing
-(a)dˡ	itive	aspectual
-(a)t	unknown	aspectual?
-(a)m	really	modal
-e	non-past	tense

   Table 1. Verbal suffixes and their meaning.

As can be seen from Table 1, there are valency changing affixes and affixes which mark for TAME. Intuitively, the valency changing affixes seem to be derivational, and the TAME markers inflectional. Anderson (1992) convincingly argues that it is probably useful to distinguish between derivational and inflectional morphemes, but he also shows that it is quite difficult to give a practical definition of the distinction.

However, if we stick with the intuitive designation of valency changing affixes as derivational and TAME markers as inflectional, the occurrences of verb forms with more than one affix confirm what would be expected of the order of the morpheme slots: the probably derivational reflexive/reciprocal marker *-(a)k* comes before the supposedly inflectional itive *-(a)d^d* ,and the most clearly inflectional morpheme, the non-past marker *-e*, always comes last. Except for *-e*, none of these suffixes is very frequent, and therefore it is not currently possible to determine whether some of these affixes are in a paradigmatic relationship based on their lack of co-occurrence.

From this list the final *-a* has been omitted because of its unclear status; questions remain about what its meaning is, whether it fills the same slot as the non-past marker *-e* or not, and even whether it is a morpheme at all. For a discussion on its status, see section 2.3.6.

The next sections will give a short overview of each of the suffixes mentioned above, with examples to illustrate their usage.

2.3.1. *-(a)k*

The suffix *-(a)k* functions as a reflexive or reciprocal suffix. In example (3) it can be seen how this suffix together with the verb 'to see' acquires the meaning of 'to meet', that is, 'to see each other'. Note also that while *chik-* usually is a transitive verb, with the reflexive it becomes detransitive and a postposition, here the comitative *sima*, has to be used to insert a second argument into the clause.

(3) *kïmïnïka=koso   karahpadɗa chik-ak-a   jimadɗa-sima*
  long_ago=REPRT karahpadɗa see-REFL-VV jaguar-COM
  'Long ago, a karahpada bird met with a jaguar.'

The analysis of *-(a)k* as a reflexive/reciprocal is corroborated by the existence of a similar suffix *-aːk* in Wapishana, which also has the meaning of reciprocal. (Gomes Dos Santos 2006: 175), (Tracy 1974: 124). Example (4) illustrates its usage in Wapishana. Like the Mawayana suffix, it occurs after the verb root and before any inflectional suffixes. The main difference is that in Wapishana, the suffix *-aːk* is only used for the reciprocal. The reflexive is marked with another suffix, *-iɲ,* as can be seen in example (5).

(4) *i-saʔi-aːk-a-n*
  3PL-cut-RECIPR-EP-IM
  'They cut one another.'
(Gomes Dos Santos 2006: 175, my translation)

(5) *i-ɽiː aɓat-iɲ-a-n*
  3M-M hear-REFL-EP-IM
  'He heard himself.'
(ibid.: 174, my translation)

2.3.2. *-(a)kij*

The causative suffix *-(a)kij* derives transitive verbs from both transitive and intransitive roots, introducing a causer as subject and using either the intransitive subject or the transitive object as its object. In example 6, the transitive verb *ch-* remains transitive, but the original subject is deleted and

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replaced by a the causer of the action. In example (7), the intransitive verb *taurech-* becomes transitive, with the original subject demoted to object and the causer becoming the new subject.

(6)   *saruka*   *n=ch-akij-a*
      fish_trap   1SG.A=do-CAUS-VV
      'I had a fish trap made.'

(7)   *rï=taurech-akij-a=sï*   *a=ïrsa-ni*   *uwi-ya*   *de-ɓa-ˈisi*
      3SG.A-grow-CAUS-VV=3SG.P   3COREF=pet-FACS   snake-AUG   child-PST-DIM
      'She raised an anaconda's child as her pet. (She raised him as her pet, an anaconda's child.)'

2.3.3. *-(a)ɗ*

There are at least two homonymous suffixes *-(a)ɗ*. The one that is most frequently used, *-(a)ɗ^1*, is an itive; it expresses a distance in time and space between the action and the utterance. It can be translated to English with the verb 'to go', as can be seen from the following examples. In example (8), *kaw-* 'to bathe' becomes 'to go bathe' when the suffix is added. In example (9), *kiwich-* 'to fish' and *m-* 'to say' become 'to go fish' and 'to go say'.

(8)   *na*   *kaw-aɗ-ẽ=yã=na*   *rï-m-a=koso*   *a-josï-ˈi*
      DISC   bathe-IT-NPST=MOM=1SG.P   3SG.A=say-VV=REPRT   3COREF-brother-DAT
      ' "I'm going to bathe." he said to his brother.'

(9)   *chak-a*   *n=kiwich-aɗ-e*   *ï=m-aɗ-a*
      go-VV   1SG.A=fish-IT-NPST   2SG.A=say-IT-VV
      'Go say "I'm going to fish".'

The homonymous suffix, *-(a)ɗ^2*, has the effect of making an intransitive verb transitive, as can be seen in example (10). Here, the verb for 'to bathe oneself' obtains the meaning of 'to bathe someone'. From this example alone it is not possible to determine whether the suffix is an applicative or another causative, therefore it has been glossed simply as a transitivizer.

(10)   *n=misï*   *k-aɗ-e=na^2*
       1SG.A=husband   bathe-TRANS-NPST=1SG.P
       'My husband is washing me.'

2.3.4. *-(a)t*

The suffix *-(a)t* occurs only twice in the corpus. These are the examples (11) and (12). In example (11) it attaches to the verb *wach-* 'look' and in example (12) to the verb *kikij-* 'return'. It is difficult to obtain the meaning of this suffix from these examples alone, but it might have something to do with emphasising the direction of the action.

(11)   *rïraˈa=koso*   *rï=wach-at-a=muku=sï*   *suwanaɗa*
       so=REPRT   3SG.A=look-?-VV=FRUST=3SG.P   iguana
       'So he had misjudged him, the iguana.'

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^{2} Because in this example the verb root is *k-* instead of the normal *kaw-*, it might also point to the existence of a derivational suffix *-(a)w*, but I have not found further evidence for this.

(12) *titititi   kikij-at-a*
IDEO.go   return-?-VV
'He returned home.'

2.3.5. *-(a)m*

The suffix *-(a)m* also occurs only twice in the corpus, these occurrences can be seen in examples (13) and (14). This suffix can best be translated by 'really'. The exact meaning, however, is still not clear. Both examples are questions that are asking to confirm something. It is therefore possible that it is an expression of doubt or surprise. This would explain why there is also a clitic *=ikïrë* which is also translated as 'really'; while the affix expresses doubt about the truth of a statement, the clitic asserts it.

(13) *ï=keij-am-a=sï*
2SG.A=want-really-VV=3SG.P
'Do you really want it?'

(14) *yaɗ-am-a=i*
come-really-VV=2SG.P
'Have you really come?'

2.3.6. *-e* and *-a*

Every verb ends in either the morpheme *-e* or in an [a]. The *-e* is a non-past marker, it is used whenever an action is either happening at the moment of speaking, as in example (15), or in the future, as illustrated in example (16).

(15) *ãh n=ɗe   rikina   n=kweɗ-e*
oh 1SG-child container 1SG.A=dig-NPST
'Oh, I'm digging a nest for my children.'

(16) *n=kataɓ-e=kïra=i   n=wïnï-ni*
1SG.A=catch-NPST=AFFIRM=2SG.P 1SG.A=meat-FACS
'I'm going to catch you as my meat for sure!'

Things are more complicated when the last part is an [a]. As discussed in section 2.2., it is not entirely clear whether the final [a] is a morpheme or not. It is tempting to regard it as a separate morpheme, in a paradigm with *-e*. The problem with this analysis is that it is not clear what the meaning of this morpheme would have to be; it can be past tense, as in example (17), but also an imperative, for example in (18). Furthermore, it apparently has a potential meaning in example (19). This meaning is not marked consistently though, compare for example (19) with the similar sentence in example (20) which ends in *-e* instead.

(17) *ɓich-a=koso   jimaɗa*
run-VV=REPRT jaguar
'The jaguar ran away.'

(18) *ï=m-ã=yã   n=kïmïɗ-a=i*
2SG.A-say-VV=MOM   1SG.A=listen-VV=2SG.P
'Say it for a minute, let me listen to you!'

(19) na   rï=kataɓ-ã=yã=na   ma=na   metesuɓ-e
      DISC 3SG.A=catch-VV=MOM=1SG.P   NEG=1SG.P   afraid-NPST
      'It might catch me, I'm not afraid.'

(20) ɓïche   tiya   jimaɗa   kataɓ-e=na
      however here   jaguar   catch-NPST=1SG.P
      'However, the jaguar might catch me here.'

Thus, if the [a] is regarded as a morpheme, it is either one morpheme with two seemingly unrelated meanings, or two homophonous morphemes with different meanings. Another analysis is possible here as well; maintaining the epenthetic vowel-hypothesis explained in section 2.2, it could be argued that since clearly Mawayana prefers CV-syllables, the epenthesis is also at work at the end of the word, trying to prevent a verb ending in a consonant. This would make unmarked categories of both past tense and imperative. Such an explanation would solve the problem of the meaning of the final [a]. It is nonetheless very problematic because final [a]s also occur after roots ending in a nasal or glide, which are allowed in the coda (Coretta 2013: 38) and before clitics starting with a vowel, as can be seen in example (18).

Unfortunately, none of these theories allows for an explanation of examples (19) and (20); in example (19) a final [a] occurs even though there is no imperative or past meaning involved. The only explanation would be if the [a] could somehow also express a kind of potentialis, but this is contradicted by example (20), where in a similar sentence -e is used instead.

Whatever the right explanation might be, the final [a]s have in this thesis been analysed as separate morphemes and are glossed as VV 'verbal vowel'.

2.4 Summary

The Mawayana verb consists of a root and suffixes. Several suffixes have been identified in this chapter. They can be divided into valency changing suffixes and suffixes denoting meanings of TAME. The many occurrences of the sound [a] between and after the roots and suffixes poses a challenge for any analysis of the morpheme boundaries, as well as the way tense is marked. A more practical problem is the scarcity of examples for many of the identified suffixes. This means that more material is needed in order to further analyse the meanings of the suffixes and the relations they hold to each other.

3. Clitics

A description of the Mawayana verb would not be complete without a list of the many clitics that occur on verbs in this language. While most affixes occur only sporadically throughout the corpus, clitics are a feature of almost every verb form, and some specific clitics are found very frequently. The most prominent amongst these are the clitics that mark person for both subject and object.

Clitics are morphemes which are phonologically but not grammatically part of a host word. Aikhenvald (2002: 43) considers them part of a "multidimensional continuum, from a fully bound to a fully independent morpheme". Because of this, it is sometimes difficult to see whether a particular morpheme is an affix or a clitic. To make the distinction in Mawayana, I have relied on the list of 15 parameters provided by Aikhenvald (2002: 43), replicated below:

    A. the direction in which a morpheme attaches to a host
    B. the selectivity, whether a morpheme is 'floating' or desires a specific kind of host
    C. what kind of host a morpheme attaches to
    D. whether a morpheme is a phonological word
    E. segmental and phonotactic properties
    F. phonological cohesion between a morpheme and its host
    G. relations between clitics and pauses
    H. whether a morpheme can be combined with clitics
    I. relative position to clitics
    J. relative position to affixes
    K. possible correlation with grammatical words
    L. the syntactic scope
    M. possibilities of lexicalisation
    N. clitic-specific syntactic rules
    O. correlations with other word classes

With these parameters morphemes can be placed on the scale from affix to root. In Mawayana, the difference between clitics and affixes, and the differences between the different kinds of clitics, become visible mainly with regard to points A, B, C and J. When these are taken into consideration, the differences can be illustrated as follows:

	proclitics	2nd place enclitics	predicate enclitics	floating enclitics	verbal suffixes
A. Direction	before host	after host			
B. Selectivity	low				high
C. Type of host	verbs, nouns, postpositions	1st word of clause	1st word of predicate	floating	verbs
J. Position to affixes	-	follow suffixes			-

Table 2. Differences between suffixes and the different kinds of clitics in the parameters A, B, C and J from Aikhenvald (2002: 43).

As can be seen from Table 2, verbal suffixes are distinguished from clitics by their selectivity, that is, verbal suffixes only occur on verbs, while clitics can all occur with several different parts of speech. The two are also differentiated by their position; enclitics follow suffixes. Proclitics are separated from both enclitics and suffixes by their direction, they come before the root rather than after it. The

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difference between the three kinds of enclitics is in the type of host they attach to. The second-place enclitics follow the first word of a clause, excluding ideophones and interjections. Predicate enclitics attach to the first word of the predicate. In verbal predicates this means an adverb or negation particle if there is one, or else the verb itself. Finally there are 'floating' enclitics, which are free in their choice of host. They attach to whichever word may be appropriate to add their meaning to.

With these differences established, I will turn to describing the clitics themselves. Below follows a list of all the non-person marking clitics that have been found on verbs:

form	meaning	sem. category	morph. category
=ke	only	modal	floating
=kïra	certainty	modal	floating
=yã	momentary	aspectual	predicate
=koso	reportative	evidential	2nd place
=muku	frustrative	modal	2nd place
=ku	repetitive	aspectual	predicate
=ja	?	?	predicate
=sa	irrealis/future?	tense/modal?	predicate
=kwe	affective	modal	floating
=ko	emphatic?	emphasis	floating?

Table 3. The different non-person marking clitics found on Mawayana verbs.

As can be seen from Table 3, the clitics can not only be categorized according to their morphosyntactic behaviour, but also according to their meaning: most of the enclitics in the table above express meanings relating to TAME, similar to many of the suffixes treated in the previous chapter. The second major category is formed by the person marking clitics, which is described in section 3.1. Finally there is the emphatic marker =ko, which does not belong in either category. There is apparently no correlation between the morphosyntactic and the semantic categories in which the verbal morphemes can be divided.

The clitics generally occur in the order in which they have been presented in Table 3, although there might be some minor variation due to certain combinations not occurring in the corpus. However, =koso and =muku form an exception because there are instances of them occurring in reversed order. Person marking enclitics occur somewhere between the slots for =muku and =ku, but their exact position remains to be determined.

3.1. Person marking

Both the subject and the object of a verb may be expressed through clitics on the verb. They are only used when the argument is not otherwise expressed in the clause, which indicates that these clitics are pronominal clitics and not merely agreement markers.

The person marking clitics can occur both as proclitics and enclitics. The two sets differ in the form of the clitics, but they still resemble each other and the free pronouns as can be seen in Table 4.

Morphosyntactically, the person marking enclitics fall into the category of predicate enclitics, while the proclitics form their own category by virtue of being the only proclitics in the language.

	proclitic	enclitic	free pronoun
1SG	n=	=na	nnu
2SG	ï=	=i	i
3SG	rï=	=sï	rï
1PL	wa=	=wi	amna[3]
2PL	rï'u=	?[4]	rï'u
3PL	na=	=nu	na

Table 4. Proclitical, enclitical and free pronouns in Mawayana.

On transitive verbs, the subject is expressed through a proclitic and the object through an enclitic, as can be seen in example (21).

(21) *n=ink-e=i*
    1SG.A=eat-NPST=2SG.P
    'I'm going to eat you!'

On intransitive verbs, only one clitic is needed. Sometimes a proclitic is used, and sometimes an enclitic. For example, the subject in example (22) is expressed by a proclitic, but in example (23) by an enclitic. It is tempting to interpret this as a split intransitive system, in which more agent-like arguments are marked by a proclitic and more patient-like arguments by an enclitic. I have consistently glossed the proclitics as A 'agent' and the enclitics as P 'patient' to express the semantic roles, even when it is not really applicable such as when the clitic is on a noun rather than a verb.

(22) *rïra'a=koso rï=ɓich-a*
    so=REPRT   3SG.A=run-VV
    'So he ran away.'

(23) *maud̵-e=muku=na=kwe*
    die-NPST=FRUST=1SG.P=AFFECT
    'I'm almost dying, oh dear!'

However, there might be more to the choice of pro- or enclitics than just semantic roles. Some elicited data show that the distinction between proclitics and enclitics might be used to make a distinction between recent and non-recent past; in example (24), where an enclitic is used, the sentence is translated as a recent past. In example (25) the enclitic is replaced by a proclitic, and apparently this changes the meaning of the sentence to non-recent past.

(24) *kaw-a=na*
    bathe-VV=1SG.P
    'I bathed just now.'

(25) *n=kaw-a*
    1SG.A=bathe-VV
    'I bathed long ago.'

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[3] *Amna* is a loan from Waiwai that is used as a first person exclusive plural pronoun. See also Carlin (2006). No pronoun has been found in the corpus for first person inclusive plural or first person inclusive/exclusive plural.
[4] No free pronoun has been found for the second person plural.

As with all predicate enclitics, the person marking enclitics attach to the adverb or negation marker whenever it is present, rather than to the verb itself. Proclitics also show this movement, but become enclitics in the process. Compare for example (26) with the sentence in example (22); the subject of *ɓich-* 'run' is normally expressed by a proclitic, but in example (26) it is marked by an enclitic on the negation.

(26)　*wasi*　　*ma=na*　　　*ɓich-a*
　　　　you_see　NEG=1SG.P　run-VV
　　　　'You see, I wasn't running.'

The negation marker - like adverbs - can only take one person marking enclitic; from a transitive verb, only the object marking enclitic moves to the negation, while the proclitic remains on the verb. This can be seen in example (27), where the third person object *=sï* is attached to the negation particle while the third person subject marker *rï=* remains on the verb.

(27)　*ma=sï=koso*　　　　*rï=kïwad-ã=yã=kwe*
　　　　NEG=3SG.P=REPRT　　3SG.A=tell-VV=MOM=AFFECT
　　　　'He didn't tell her yet, oh dear!'

3.2. Other clitics

3.2.1. *=ke*
The morpheme *=ke* singles out the word it is attached to, and can best be translated as 'only'. Its use is illustrated in example (28), where it emphasises that there is nothing else said, and in example (29), where the speaker uses it to say that he is only going to try something, but cannot promise it will work.

(28)　*mɓa'i*　　*n=m-a=ke=ko*
　　　　let's_go　1SG.A=say-VV=only=EMPH
　　　　' "Let's go!" is all I'm saying.'

(29)　*nda'a*　*n=wĩj-e=ke=sï*　　　　　*n=wĩj-e=ke=sï*
　　　　well　1SG.A-try-NPST=only=3SG.P　1SG.A-try-NPST=only=3SG.P
　　　　'I'll just try it, I'm only going to try it.'

In a way this meaning could be regarded as modal, since the reality is contrasted with other possible worlds where there is more than just the action mentioned.

3.2.2. *=kïra*
The clitic *=kïra* is used to assert that the speaker is intending to do something, and that he is certain that it will happen. Because it is dealing with the speaker's intention, it can categorized as modal. It is best translated with expressions as 'definitely', 'really' or 'for sure'. In example (30), the speaker uses is to announce that he is about to leave, in example (31) it is to inform his prey of its imminent demise.

(30)   *na*   *chak-e=kïra=na*   *etana*   *rï=m-a=koso=ja*
       DISC   go-NPST=CERT=1SG.P   now   3SG.A=say-VV=REPRT=?
       'Well, I am definitely going now, he said.'

(31)   *n=kataɓ-e=kïra=i*   *n=wïnï-ni*
       1SG.A=catch-NPST=CERT=2SG.P   1SG.A=meat-FACS
       I'm certainly going to catch you as my meat.

3.2.3. *=yã*

The clitic *=yã* is another predicate clitic. It is used to denote that a situation is only momentary. It can be translated as 'a bit' or 'a little while'. In examples 32 and 33 it can be seen how the clitic is used to emphasise the temporary duration of the action. Notice also how the nasalisation on the vowel spreads regressively past the [j].

(32)   *na*   *kawa-ɗ-ẽ=yã=na*   *rï=m-a=koso*   *a=josï-'i*
       DISC   bathe-IT-NPST=MOM=1SG.P   3SG.P=say-VV=REPRT   3COREF=brother-DAT
       ' "I'm going to go bathe for a while" he said to his brother.'

(33)   *ï-kauch-ã-yã-na*
       2SG.A=wait-VV=MOM=1SG.P
       'Wait for me a minute!'

3.2.4. *=koso*

The reportative marker *=koso* is a very frequent clitic; it is an evidential that is an obligatory second-place enclitic for any sentence which contains second-hand information. The most frequent formula using this morpheme is the word *rï=m-a=koso* 'he said', used after quotations. See also example (34) where *=koso* has to be used because the sentence is part of a story which the narrator did not witness personally. It is attached to the word *suwanaɗa*, because second-place clitics do not count interjections when selecting the first word of the clause as their host.

(34)   *na*   *suwanaɗa=koso*   *chak-e*   *kachï-ɓiki*
       DISC   iguana=REPRT   go-NPST   sand-DIR
       'The iguana goes to the sand.'

3.2.5. *=muku*

The frustrative clitic *=muku* has already been described by Carlin (2006), who claims it to be influenced by the Cariban frustrative clitics *=re(pe)* in Trio and *=re* in Waiwai. This second-place enclitic indicates that an action did not succeed, either in a situated where it was tried but did not lead to the desired result, as in example (35), or in a situation where it almost happened but not quite (without there necessarily being any volition behind the action), as in example (23), repeated below as example (36).

 (35) *na=wach-aɗ-a=koso=muku*   *si*
       3PL.A=see-IT-VV=REPRT=FRUST   IDEO.go
       'They went to look, but she wasn't there.'

(36)   *mauɗ-e=muku=na=kwe*
  die-NPST=FRUST=1SG.P=AFFECT
  'I'm almost dying, oh dear!'

3.2.6. *=ku*

The repetitive marker *=ku* is used to indicate that something is repeated that has happened before. For example, in example (37) the night falls again as it does every day, and in example (38) someone who once was healthy but fell ill goes back to his former healthy state.

(37)   *na*   *yaɗ-a=koso=ku-'a*   *tïboko*
  DISC   come-VV=REPRT=REPET-?   night
  'Well, night fell again.'

(38)   *na*   *wĩya-chĩy-a=ku=sï*
  DISC   good-become-VV=REPET=3SG.P
  'He got well again.'

In many cases, *=ku* is followed by a morpheme *-'a* or *='a*, which does not occur on other verbal clitics. It is not clear what its meaning might be. More information might be gathered from postpositions, because some of them end in *'a* as well.

3.2.7. *=ja*

The morpheme *=ja* is not infrequent, but its meaning is still elusive. It occurs mostly on verbs, but sometimes on other words as well, including the negation particle. The translations of the sentences in which it is present do not have a component which clearly comes from the *=ja*. One possible theory is that *=ja* has a deictic meaning, expressing that something is far away, such as the moon in example (39) or the place the jaguar runs off to in example (40). There are nonetheless also sentences that do not clearly have such a meaning, for example (41).

(39)   *ene*   *tïh*   *kïrsï-ni=koso=ja=kwe*   *rï=kura=koso*
  look(Tr)   IDEO   moon-FACS=REPRT=?=AFFECT   3SG.A=like=REPRT
  'Look, he was like the moon, that's how he was.'

(40)   *keen*   *ɓich-a=koso=ja*   *jimaɗa*
  IDEO.ran_away   run-VV=REPRT-?   jaguar
  'The jaguar had run off.'

(41)   *okwe*   *taurich-a=ja*   *wa=ïrsa*
  AFFECT   grow-VV=?   1PL.A=pet
  'Oh dear, our pet has grown up.'

Another possible meaning is a perfective aspect, as in examples (40) or (41) above. With such a meaning *=ja* should probably appear more consistently throughout the corpus though, and some of the sentences it occurs in barely seem perfective, such as in example (42) below.

(42)   *uhuhu*   *chach-a=nu=koso=ja*   *rï=tare-ɓa-nu*

     IDEO.sob   cry-VV=3PL.P=REPRT=?   3SG.A=mother-PST-PL

     'His mother and his family cried.'

3.2.8. =sa

Another clitic with a more mysterious meaning is *=sa*. In the same way as *=ja*, it is a predicate enclitic. It occurs quite often in sentences with a future meaning, such as example (43), or with another kind of irrealis meaning, such as in example (44). It is nonetheless unlikely that *=sa* simply expresses irrealis, since there are a lot of sentences that are translated with an irrealis meaning in which this enclitic does not appear.

(43)   *mauɗ-e=na=sa*   *rï=m-e=koso*   *jimaɗa*

     die-NPST=1SG.P=?   3SG.A=say-NPST=REPRT   jaguar

     ' "I will die!" says the jaguar.'

(44)   *mauɗ-e=na=sa=kwe*

     die-NPST=1SG.P=?=AFFECT

     'I could have died!'

3.2.9. =kwe

The affective marker *=kwe,* which is the clitic variety of the modal particle *okwe*, has also been described by Carlin (2006) in relation to the Waiwai affective marker *okwe* and the Wapishana affective marker *kowas*. It is used to reflect that the speaker feels emotionally affected by something, or as said by Carlin (2006: 13): "The meanings expressed by the affective enclitic in Mawayana include the notions 'gone', 'pity', 'embarrassment', 'pain', 'dismay', and 'suspicion': [...]". An example of this is given below, where 'gone', 'pity', and 'dismay' are causing the affective marker to be employed.

(45)   *rï=misï-ɓa-kiyamo*   *mauɗ-a=kwe*

     3SG.A=husband-PST-perhaps   die-VV=AFFECT

     'Maybe her husband has died.'

3.2.10. =ko

The clitic *=ko* appears a few times in the corpus, most often as part of the expression *ka cheiko?* 'what are you doing?'. It is difficult to gather the meaning of this morpheme, but most of the clauses it appears with seem to be things which are said with a lot of emphasis. Therefore, it might be hypothesized that *=ko* simply adds emphasis to a statement, as in the examples below, or a question, as in *ka cheiko?*. In example (46) the central point is given to an explanation why incest is unacceptable, so this could be a clause with a lot of emphasis. In example (47), it needs to be explained that someone is not a jaguar, something which arguably is worth stressing.

(46)   *ï=ɗeyu-ru-suku*   *ma=sï=ko*   *ɓorono*

     2SG.A=sister-F-maybe?   NEG=3SG.P=EMPH?   other_one

     'Your sister isn't another one (of another family).'

(47) *ma=sï=ko*   *jimaɗa*
      NEG=3SG.P=EMPH? jaguar
      'He isn't a jaguar!'

3.3. Summary

Even more than affixes, Mawayana uses a wide range of clitics. On verbs these are used for person marking, expressing TAME, and adding emphasis. Morphosyntactically, they can be divided in three groups: the proclitics, the second-place enclitics, and the predicate enclitics. Neither this division, nor the distinction between clitics and affixes seem to be semantically motivated. At least one of the clitics has been influenced by language contact. The meaning of some of the clitics is still uncertain. Further research will need to be done to solve this question, as well as to check if there are perhaps more clitics that have not been described here.

4. A comparison of Mawayana and other Arawakan languages

In the last two chapters an overview has been given of the structure of Mawayana verbs and the morphemes that can be found in the verb. The aim of this chapter is to give a basic comparison between those morphemes and the verbal morphology of other Arawakan languages. It is not my intention here to posit any firm hypotheses on the origins of the Mawayana verbal morphology, but rather to give a rough indication of which parts are shared with related languages, and which parts might be innovations of Mawayana.

In this context, it should be remembered that Mawayana has been structurally influenced by the intense contact with Waiwai and Trio. Carlin (2006) has already shown that under influence of these languages, the Mawayana have created new grammatical categories, some of which have been treated in this work. The frustrative enclitic *=muku* has almost the same properties as the enclitics *=re* and *=re(pe)* in respectively Waiwai and Trio, and other Cariban languages as well (ibid.: 327). The affective marker *=kwe* and its free form *okwe* are clearly related to both the Wapishana form *kowas* and the Waiwai form *okwe* with roughly the same uses. In this case, however, the clitic was probably borrowed by Waiwai from the Arawakan languages, and not the other way around (ibid.: 326).

In section 4.1. Mawayana will be compared with its closest known relative, Wapishana. Section 4.2. will provide a wider comparison with the Arawakan language family as a whole. In section 4.3. the findings from the two previous sections will be summarized.

4.1. Wapishana and Mawayana verbal morphology

According to the classification provided by Aikhenvald (1999: 69) Mawayana and the Wapishana language from Guyana and Northern Brazil together form the Rio Branco branch of the North-Arawakan sub-family. The verbal morphology of Wapishana was first described in an article by Tracy (1974) and later also in the grammar by Gomes Dos Santos (2006). Because their analyses differ quite dramatically sometimes, I will use both works for this comparison.

Both Mawayana and Wapishana obligatorily use suffixes to indicate tense and mood. Mawayana uses the non-present *-e* in present and future tense and the verbal vowel *-a* in past tense and imperative mood (see section 2.3.6. for a more detailed explanation). According to Gomes Dos Santos (2006: 161) Wapishana uses a combination of two morphemes, the non-present marker *-niː* and the indicative mood marker *-n*. Only the non-present marker is used in past tense, only the indicative mood marker in present tense, both in future tense and neither in imperative. This clear-cut system is contrasted by Tracy's (1974: 123) analysis. According to her, for tense there are two different suffixes for non-present *-nii* and *-ni'na*, two suffixes for past *-'ka'na* and *-ra'na*, and a suffix *-'na* which can express past, imperative or hortative. In addition, there is a suffix *-naː* which is translated with 'already' (ibid.: 162) which is treated by both Tracy and Gomes Dos Santos as concerning tense, although it is not part of the tense system described above, and its translation suggests a meaning that includes more than just tense.

Notwithstanding the different analyses, the Wapishana tense system apparently does not resemble the way tense is expressed in Mawayana, even though both use obligatory suffixes to make a basic tense distinction into which the imperative is also integrated.

In Wapishana, there are two aspectual suffixes: the continuative marker *-p* and the suffix *-aːn* which denotes an interrupted or intermittent action (Gomes Dos Santos: 170). Tracy (1974: 124) lists several more suffixes: *-'k* 'suddenly, unexpectedly', *-'n* 'certainly, purposeful', *-nk* 'action completed and back to status quo', *-auzo* 'past perfect', *-dan* 'aimlessly' and *-uu* 'negative, completion'. She also

mentions some modality-related suffixes. There are *-n(u)* 'real', *-kiz(i)* 'let, allow', *-'o* 'unreal' (ibid.: 123) and *-'zo* 'desiderative (ibid.: 124).None of these suffixes seems to have a Mawayana counterpart, even though there are several suffixes and enclitics with aspectual or modal meaning.

There are some very probable cognates in the derivational morphology of both languages: the causative *-kiɗ* and the reciprocal *-a:k* in Wapishana resemble the Mawayana causative *-(a)kij* and reflexive *-(a)k*, as has already been mentioned in chapter 2. Other than that, Wapishana also has a passive marker *-ka* (Gomes Dos Santos.: 173) and a reciprocal marker *-iɲ* (ibid.: 174) and Tracy (1974: 124) also mentions the suffix *-tin* 'in state of' which derives intransitive verbs from both transitive and intransitive verbs. For none of those three affixes cognates have been found in Mawayana. However, the Mawayana transitivizer *-(a)ɗ* might well be related to the Wapishana suffix *-d* which makes transitive verbs out of adjectives (ibid.: 124).

In Wapishana, there is person marking on both ends of the verb, which resembles the person marking in Mawayana in both form[5] and function (see also table 5 below). Although both Tracy and Gomes Dos Santos call these morphemes affixes, the Wapishana 'prefixes' behave similarly to the Mawayana clitics; example (48), taken from Gomes Dos Santos shows how they can be elided in presence of other overt marking of the argument, in the same way as in Mawayana:

(48) pigaɽi aitʃap wiɽi
       2PRO   know   PROX
       'Do you know that?'
(Gomes Dos Santos.: 149, my translation)

However, unlike Mawayana, the person markers in Wapishana do not move to adverbs or the negation particle, but stay on the verb instead, as is illustrated in example (49). This takes away a major reason for considering the morphemes as clitics rather than affixes.

(49) au-na   pi-ti:ɗ-a-na:
       NEG-DEI   2-stretch-EP-IMM
       'Don't stretch the bow!'
(ibid.: 239, my translation)

On transitive verbs, both Mawayana and Wapishana use the prefix/proclitic for subject marking and the suffix/enclitic for object marking. However, they differ in the use of these morphemes on intransitive verbs: whereas Mawayana sometimes uses a proclitic and sometimes an enclitic, for Wapishana this is always a prefix. Another difference is that Wapishana has different morphemes for masculine/inanimate and feminine in the third person singular. Compare examples (50) and (51), where in the form only the pronominal prefix changes:

(50) tʃapiʔik   i-pukud-a-n
       early   3M-wake-EP-IM
       'He woke early.'

(51) tʃapiʔik   u-pukud-a-n
       early   3F-wake-EP-IM
       'She woke early.'

Although clitics are abundant on Mawayana verbs, neither Tracy nor Gomes Dos Santos make any mention of clitics in Wapishana, nor have I found any possible cognates for the non-person marking

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[5] Although not any more than in other Arawakan languages.

clitics in their works. Although this may be due to differences in analysis, it might also indicate that the use of so many clitics is an innovation on the part of Mawayana.

4.2. Mawayana and the Arawakan language family

Mawayana and Wapishana are part of the broader Arawakan language family. There are around 40 living Arawakan languages, spread over 12 different countries in Central and South America (Aikhenvald 1999: 65). On a lower level Mawayana and Wapishana are part of the group of North Arawakan languages. This group is distinguished from other Arawakan languages by some grammatical features, but it is unclear if this is due to contact or because of genetic affiliation, and the exact genetic subgrouping of Arawakan languages remains undecided (ibid.: 73).

Aikhenvald (1999: 80) lists a few common features of Arawakan languages: they tend to be agglutinative with many suffixes and a few prefixes, although the prefixes are historically more stable. The often recurring prefixes are person prefixes which express an argument on verbs and a possessor on nouns, a relative marker *ka-* to create possessive predicates and denominal verbs, and a negation marker *ma-* on verbs.

Mawayana fits this pattern reasonably well; all of the verbal affixes that I have found were suffixes, and most of the clitics were enclitics, with the exception being person markers. The negation marker *ma* is present in Mawayana, but it is a verbal particle rather than a prefix. It does retain its position in front of the verb. It does not form any verbs with *ka-*, but it does use it to make possessive predicates. The person markers Mawayana resemble the typical Arawakan system quite well, as can be seen from table 5 below:

	Arawakan		Mawayana		Wapishana	
1sg	nu-/ta-	-na/-te	n=	=na	ũ-	-in
2sg	(p)i-	-pi	ï=	=i	pɨ-	-ip
3sg.m	ɾi/i	-ɾi/i	rï=	=sï	i-	-(ɨ)ʐ(ɨ)
3sg.f	thu-/u-	-thu/-u	-	-	u-	-(ɨ)ʐ(u)
1pl	wa-	-wa	wa=	=wi	wa-	-
2pl	(h)i-	-hi	rï'u=	=wi	i-	-
3pl	na-	-na	na=	=nu	i-	-
coref[6]	pa-	-	a=	-	pa-	-

Table 5. A comparison of the Mawayana person markers with those in Wapishana (Gomes Dos Santos 2006: 159) and in the Arawakan family in general, as given by Aikhenvald (1999: 88).

As can be seen in Table 5, Mawayana has maintained the plural enclitics which Wapishana lost. Reversely, Wapishana still has the distinction between masculine and feminine pronouns in the third person, which Mawayana lost. It has been suggested by Carlin (2006: 330) that this loss may be caused by contact with Cariban languages, which do not have this gender distinction either.

For the first person singular, Proto-Arawakan may have had both the affixes with *t-* and those with *n-* shown in the table. The t-affixes are only retained in the upper Northern Arawakan languages, while most other languages, including Mawayana and Wapishana, have retained the n-affixes (Aikhenvald 1999: 88).

According to Aikhenvald, the original pronominal system in Proto-Arawak was a split-intransitive system, with the prefixes used for transitive and agent-like intransitive subjects (and possessors on

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[6] The coreferential marker (also called anaphoric in Wapishana by Gomes Dos Santos and 'impersonal' by Aikhenvald about Arawakan languages in general) has not be mentioned before because it is not used on verbs in Mawayana, but I have included it in this table to help illustrate the structural resemblances.

nouns), and the suffix for transitive objects and intransitive patient-like subjects (ibid.: 89). This system seems to be more or less intact in Mawayana, but not in Wapishana.

Aikhenvald claims that most Arawakan languages have both valency-increasing and valency decreasing derivations, and that they all have morphological causatives (ibid.: 90). This certainly fits for Mawayana and Wapishana, with their causative suffix *-(a)kij/-kid*, and their reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-(a)k/-a:k*. Possible cognates are the Palikur[7] causative *-kis* (Launey 2003:187) and the Lokono[8] causative *-kyty* (Pet 1987: 67). A reciprocal marker *-ak* is also found in Palikur (Launey 2003: 187), Tariana[9] has a reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-kaka* (Aikhenvald 2003: 263) and a reciprocal *-koko* is used in Baure[10] (Danielsen 2007: 244). Furthermore, Lokono has a suffix *-ty ,*which forms transitive verbs from stative verbs (Pet 1987: 68), and Tariana has a causative *-ita* which also forms transitive verbs from stative verbs (Aikhenvald 2003: 268). These might be related to the Mawayana transitivizer *-(a)d*.

About TAME-marking Aikhenvald says: "All Arawak languages have rather complex systems of tense-aspect, mood, modality, directionals and aktionsarts; only a few have evidentials. These are almost always expressed with optional suffixes or enclitics. Languages show great variability in the categories and forms used." (Aikhenvald 1999: 93)
It could be debated whether the systems of Mawayana and Wapishana are 'rather complex', but they do consist of optional suffixes or enclitics. Morphemes which might be related to the Mawayana itive *-(a)d* is the Palikur suffix *-te*, which has the same meaning of going to do something (Launey 2003: 179), and the Lokono suffix *-the*, which instead has a meaning of coming rather than going (Pet 1987: 66).

4.3. Summary

In this chapter I have compared Mawayana with other languages from the Arawakan language family. Some parts of the Mawayana verbal morphology clearly show the Arawakan inheritance; many of the tendencies of Arawakan verbal morphology are also found in Mawayana, and some of the morphemes discussed in this work appear to have cognates in several other Arawakan languages: these are the person markers, the causative, the reflexive, the itive and the transitivizer. The other morphemes, however, did not appear in my search. Although some probably will if more thorough research is done, it is especially striking that none of the non-person marking clitics showed up, not even in Wapishana. This does not mean that cognates do not exist, but it is possibly an indication that the abundant use of clitics in Mawayana might be an innovation.

Another thing that struck me is the relationship between Mawayana and Wapishana; these two supposedly form a sub-family together, but in its verbal morphology Wapishana did not resemble Mawayana more than other Arawakan languages, for example Palikur or Lokono. They also diverge quite a lot in their basic vocabulary, which is shared for not more than 50 percent (Eithne Carlin: personal communication). Although they are possibly more alike in other areas, they differ quite remarkably in these two aspects.

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[7] North-Arawak, Palikur. Oiapoque and Urucalá rivers, Brazil and nearby French Guyana (Aikhenvald 1999: 69).
[8] North-Arawak, Extreme North. Suriname, Guyana, French Guyana and Eastern Venezuela (ibid.: 69).
[9] North-Arawak, North-Amazonian, Upper Rio Negro. Vaupés river, Brazil (ibid.: 70).
[10] South and South-Western Arawak, South-Arawak. Blanco river, Bolivia (ibid.: 67).

5. Conclusions

This thesis set out to examine the verbal morphology of the Mawayana language on the basis of a corpus of stories and elicitated material. Despite the problems encountered with the corpus, a basic picture of the verb in Mawayana has emerged from the data. I can only hope it will be able to direct further research if more data becomes available.

Some verbal suffixes have been identified. They fall into two categories: valency changing suffixes and suffixes that mark for TAME. The former group is relatively unproblematic, their functions are clear and probable cognates have been found in several other Arawakan languages.

The TAME markers are more problematic. It is not possible with these data to establish the paradigms that one might expect for morphemes with such a function. They seem like an unstructured bunch of morphemes that were haphazardly thrown together rather than a structured communication system. That image became even stronger when it was shown that many enclitics also mark TAME, and that for none of the morphemes involved cognates were found (except maybe the itive). I am not sure if more data would clear up the image much, or if this mess is simply a result of the sorry state the language is currently in.

A significant challenge was the analysis of the occurrence of [a]s through much of the verbs. I have tried to give several different explanations for their presence, but none of them seems to get it quite right. The key for this issue might be in Wapishana; in that language this vowel also occurs between verbal morphemes, and is there analysed as an epenthetic vowel.

It was shown that many clitics can occur on verbs in Mawayana. I was able to divide them into categories both on semantic and on morphosyntactic grounds, but these categories do not coincide. The order in which they occur also seems quite haphazardly constructed. Once again this might be the result of the process of dying out.

I have been able to connect a big part of the verbal morphology to other Arawakan languages. However, for many morphemes no cognates were found, including all of the non-person marking enclitics. Also, in its verbal morphology Wapishana did not seem to be any closer connected to Mawayana than other Northern Arawakan languages. It would be interesting to learn more about their relation.

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