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# The Morpheme KA- of Carapana (Tucanoan)

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## Abstract

The Carapana language is principally spoken in the Department of the Vaupés, S.E. Colombia. It is one of four languages, viz., Carapana, Tatuyo, Wáimaja, and Yurutí (CTWY), utilizing a prefix unique to the twenty or so members of the TUCANOAN language family. In this paper the function of the morpheme KA- of Carapana is presented in its various environments, compared with the KA- of “sister” languages Tatuyo, Wáimaja and Yurutí and a unified definition presented. CTWY KA- is then compared to a similar morpheme in several ARAWAKAN languages in historically areal contact with CTWY, and a hypothesis of borrowing across language family lines proposed. Lastly, the author postulates how prefix KA- [and/or (a) more widespread form(s) of KA] may have influenced TUCANOAN languages as a whole.

## 0. Introduction

The Carapana<sup>1</sup> people are seminomadic horticulturists who live in scattered settlements along the Tí, Piraparaná, Papurí and middle Vaupés Rivers, all tributaries of the Amazon, in the tropical

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rain forests of southeastern Colombia. Carapana linguistically and culturally belongs to the Eastern Tucanoan language family (Mason 1950:vol 6:259; de Castellví 1958:123, Loukotka 1968:186, Matteson 1972:128, Hugh-Jones 1979:23). There are approximately 600 individuals who call themselves Carapanas. For the majority of these people, Carapana is their first language. However, due to certain marriage norms which exist among neighboring ethnic groups, and other factors, there are more than a thousand individuals who speak Carapana well.

Data for this study of the morpheme KA- was gathered during various visits to the Caño Tí community between 1967 and 1981, and during various visits to the upper Papurí River communities between 1982 and 1995 under the sponsorship of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. During these 28 years, I learned to speak the Carapana language, and it is from this point of view that I present this analysis. My principal language consultants, who provided texts and other pertinent language material, were Manuel Valencia (approximately 51 years of age), his brother Francisco (approximately 45 years of age), their father, Chief Julio Valencia (approximately 61 years of age), Luis Javier Benjumea (approximately 31 years of age), Diego Valencia (approximately 29 years of age) and Germán Vargas (approximately 32 years of age). These men represent three principal Carapana clans, viz., *diria pakārā ikobāhā*, *diria bītērā ikobāhā*, and *potayārā bītērā ikobāhā*, and it is their dialects of Carapana which are represented here.

Determining precisely the function of the morpheme KA- in the Carapana language has been somewhat elusive. In the published grammatical analysis of the Carapana language (Metzger 1981), there was no section devoted exclusively to a discussion of the function of KA-. It was illustrated only in the context of the various constructions in which it occurred, and glossed as a classifier after Matteson (1965: 279). What makes the study of KA- interesting, firstly, is that when it does occur, it occurs as a prefix; this in a family of languages in which inflection is almost exclusively expressed as a suffix. Secondly, KA- occurs as a prefix in only four of the twenty<sup>2</sup> or so TUCANOAN languages, viz., Carapana, Tatuyo, Wáimaja (Bará)<sup>3</sup> and Yurutí. Except for Yurutí each of the ethnic groups which speak these languages at present live in areas contiguous one with another.<sup>4</sup> Thirdly, one can, with a high degree of confidence, trace the origin

<sup>1</sup> Members of the Carapana community are also known as: Carapaná, Carapano, Carapana-tapuya, Karapana Tapuya, (*but not to be mistaken with Miraña Carapana Tapuya, which is Witotoan*), Möchda, Möchdāā, Mochaáa y Möxdöá.

<sup>2</sup> The languages I refer to here are: Barasana, Carapana, Coto, Cubeo, Desano, Koreguaje, Macuna, Orejón, Piratapuyo, Retuana, Secoya, Siona, Siriano, Taiwano, Tatuyo, Teteté, Tucano, Tuyuca, Wáimaja (Bará), Wanano, and Yurutí. There are other TUCANOAN languages which are either extinct, or spoken by only a few people. Pisamira, also known as Pisá Tapuya, Pápiwa and Wásöna, is one of these groups. The few remaining speakers of Pisamira live along the middle Vaupés River at a village known as Yakayaká. From the limited linguistic data available, it appears that this language is a close proximate of Yurutí and also utilizes prefix KA-.

<sup>3</sup> According to Huber and Reed (1992:xxiii), “Bará and Wáimaja are the ethnic languages of some 500-600 people who live in the tropical forests along the Caño Colorado, Caño Lobo, Inambú and Caño Yapú Rivers in the Vaupés (Colombia). Of the two Bará clans, only the Pāmoa Bará clan speaks the Bará dialect. Speakers of the Wáimaja dialect do not consider themselves Bará, and object to being called Bará.”

<sup>4</sup> However, Stradelli reported in 1910 that there was indication that Yurutí was once spoken on the Abio and Apaporis Rivers, an area just to the South of the location in which Carapana, Tatuyo, and Wáimaja have historically

of the morpheme to the influence of other local, i.e., areal languages, which belong to an entirely different language family. Fourthly, if this influence is indeed valid, it would seem to contradict a generally accepted theory of typological and historical linguistic universals with regard to the order of borrowing grammatical features between language families. Finally, it is interesting to postulate how prefix KA- (or a more widespread form of KA) may have influenced TUCANOAN languages as a whole.

### 0.1 Linguistic complexity

As stated earlier, determining exactly how the morpheme KA- functions in its various environments in the grammar of Carapana, let alone how it might function in other TUCANOAN languages, has been difficult over the years, and has posed a problem for other linguists as well. For example, in a grammar of the Tatuyo language, Elsa Gómez-Imbert (Gómez-Imbert 1982) stated that determining the function(s) of KA- in that language was one of the difficult points in her investigation, one that had not yet been entirely elucidated.<sup>5</sup> Of all of the languages in the TUCANOAN family, Tatuyo is the one most similar to Carapana. Gómez-Imbert begins her discussion of Tatuyo KA- in sec. II.6.1.1.a (pgs. 239-243) by stating that KA- apparently exists only in Carapana and Tatuyo.<sup>6</sup> I have found, however, that KA- also exists in Wáimaja (Bará) and Yurutí, and that its distribution in these languages is similar to that in Carapana and Tatuyo.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, it might be argued that the morpheme KA exists in a certain form in most, if not all, TUCANOAN languages (see sec. 5.0).

The morpheme KA- of Carapana under discussion here must first be distinguished from three homophonous suffixes *-ka*, the latter either (a) a general or stem formative suffix meaning ‘unit/thing’ as in the word ‘one unit’ *hĩ-kā* [one-INAN.S],<sup>8</sup> (b) a classifier suffix meaning ‘hollow’ as in the Carapana word ‘airplane’ *wĩ-ri-ka* [fly-ADJ-CLAS:hollow], and (c) a class/noun specifier

lived. (Pequenos vocabulários. Grupo de línguas Tocanas [Reunião do Congresso Científico Latino-Americano, vol. 3, No. 6, pp. 226-228.] Rio de Janeiro. 1910.) A remnant, perhaps, of this group exists today at the headwaters of the Tuy (tributary of the middle Vaupés), which serves as a “highway” to the Cananarí (tributary of the Apaporis). The majority live today at the mouth of the Yí (tributary of the lower-middle Vaupés) and the headwaters of the Paca (tributary of the Papurí).

<sup>5</sup> Gómez-Imbert says of the parallel KA- morpheme in Tatuyo: “La définition de sa valeur - ou plutôt de ses valeurs - a été un des points difficiles de l'enguête, qui n'est pas entièrement élucidé à l'heure actuelle.”

<sup>6</sup> cf. p. 239: “Apparemment, ce morphème n'existe que dans deux langues de la famille Tukano: le tatuyo et le karapana.”

<sup>7</sup> While this paper deals principally with grammatical comparison of affixal cognates rather than lexical cognates, it is interesting to note that when studying the latter phenomenon among members of the TUCANOAN family, Waltz and Wheeler (Waltz and Wheeler 1972) placed Carapana (Carapana), Tatuyo, Bará (Wáimaja) and Pápiwa (Pisamira) among the members of the same sub-group of the EASTERN TUCANOAN language family, viz., CENTRAL. (No data for Yurutí was available in the 1972 article.) The unique similarities of all five languages was noted as early as 1926 by Wilhelm Schmidt. J. Alden Mason (Mason 1950: vol 6:259) credits Schmidt with determining that Bara (Wáimaja), Möchdãã (Carapana), Pamoã (Tatuyo), Uaiãna (Yurutí) and Uasõna (Pisamira/Pápiwa) all belong to the same linguistic subgroup of Tucano (parenthetical additions mine).

<sup>8</sup> Carapana examples and others cited here are taken from my own field notes unless otherwise indicated. Abbreviations and symbols used in the examples and in the tables are found at the end of this article.

as in ‘edible animals’ *iga-ri-ka-rã* [eat-ADJ-SPEC-NOM], ‘mortar for pounding coca’ *patu-pa-ri-ka-wi* [coca-hit-ADJ-SPEC-CLAS:tubular], or as in ‘building used for studying’ *bue-ri-ka-wii* [study-ADJ-SPEC-house]. This final use of suffix -ka is similar to that of the prefix KA- save that it occurs word medial immediately before a certain set of nominalizers, a specific class suffix, or a simple noun, rather than word initial before verb roots (see sec. 1.2.1)

Comparing languages within the TUCANOAN family, one finds that prefix KA- occurs before certain nouns, classifiers, postpositionals of location and time, and verb roots with great frequency<sup>9</sup> only within the linguistic subgroup of Carapana, Tatuyo, Wáimaja and Yurutí (for convenience hereafter referred to as CTWY<sup>10</sup>). A comparison of the four languages with each other shows that KA- has the broadest distribution in Tatuyo, a narrower distribution in Carapana, and the narrowest distribution in Wáimaja and Yurutí.

To illustrate: prefix KA- often occurs before Tatuyo finite/independent verbs inflected for past tense, but in Carapana, Wáimaja, and Yurutí the morpheme never occurs in that position.<sup>11</sup> The Carapana, Wáimaja and Yurutí equivalent of a Tatuyo verb inflected in the past tense is simply the verb root plus verbal inflection as illustrated below.

(1) Tatuyo	Carapana	Wáimaja	Yurutí
<i>ka-tuti-w-ĩ</i> [SR-scold-PST.WIT-3M] ‘he scolded’	<i>tuti-w-ĩ</i> [scold-PST.WIT-3M] ‘he scolded’	<i>tuti-w-i</i> [scold-PST.WIT-3M] ‘he scolded’	<i>tuti-w-i</i> [scold-PST.WIT-3M] ‘he scolded’
<i>ka-paa-w-ĩ</i> [SR-work-PST.WIT-3M] ‘he worked’	<i>paa-w-ĩ</i> [work-PST.WIT-3M] ‘he worked’	<i>pade-w-i</i> [work-PST.WIT-3M] ‘he worked’	<i>padede-w-i</i> [work-PST.WIT-3M] ‘he worked’

In addition, there are certain stative verb roots that in their nominalized form and as adverbs obligatorily occur with prefix KA- in Carapana and Tatuyo. However, in Wáimaja and Yurutí the same words occur without the prefix, as illustrated below:

<sup>9</sup> In an alphabetized word list generated from a large Carapana text containing over sixteen thousand words approximately eighteen percent began with the morpheme KA-.

<sup>10</sup> Viewing CTWY from another perspective, it also belongs to a group of languages which include one or more of the surrounding ARAWAKAN linguistic communities mentioned below (fn. 15) with which CTWY share non-genetic common grammatical features. Together they form what Comrie (1989:204-208) calls a *sprachbund*, i.e., a reasonably well-defined group of languages in areal contact and sharing a number of common features that are not due to common genetic origin.

<sup>11</sup> Tatuyo verbs inflected in the past tense may occur with or without KA-. If they occur without KA-, they indicate a time period of a few hours ago. If a Tatuyo wishes to express a period of time of greater duration, he utilizes the KA- prefix (sec. 2.4). My principal language consultant for Tatuyo was Cándido Muñoz, a middle aged Tatuyo man, who has lived all his life in the Tatuyo community of San Francisco de Yapú. My principal language consultant for Wáimaja was Miguel Rosas Martín, a 32 year old Wáimaja man, who has lived all his life in the Wáimaja community of San Gabriel de Colorado. My principal language consultant for Yurutí was Felipa Lopes de Muñoz, a middle-aged Yurutí woman, who spent her first 20 years growing up in the Yurutí community of San Luis de Paca. All three understand Carapana well, the medium through which I obtained the data of their respective languages.

(2) Tatuyo	Carapana	Wáimaja	Yurutí
<i>ka-ĩbĩ-ã</i> [SR-be.tall-NOM] 'men/male people'	<i>ka-ĩbĩ-ã</i> [SR-be.tall-NOM] 'men/male people' <sup>12</sup>	<i>ĩbĩ-ã</i> [be.tall-NOM] 'men'	<i>ĩbĩ-ã</i> [be.tall-NOM] 'men'
<i>ka-wābā-rã</i> [SR-be.new-NOM] 'youth'	<i>ka-wābā-rã</i> [SR-be.new-NOM] 'youth'	<i>wābā-rã</i> [be.new-NOM] 'youth'	<i>bābā-rã</i> [be.new-NOM] 'youth'
<i>ka-biki-o</i> [SR-be.old-NOM] 'old woman'	<i>ka-biki-o</i> [SR-be.old-NOM] 'old woman'	<i>biki-o</i> [be.old-NOM] 'old woman'	<i>biki-o</i> [be.old-NOM] 'old woman'
<i>ka-roa-ro</i> [SR-be.good-ADV] 'good/well'	<i>ka-roa-ro</i> [SR-be.good-ADV] 'good/well'	<i>ãyũ-rõ</i> [be.good-ADV] 'good/well'	<i>yũ-rõ</i> [be.good-ADV] 'good/well'

In all four languages KA- is obligatorily prefixed to the verb in certain nominalized clauses as illustrated below:

(3) Tatuyo	Carapana	Wáimaja	Yurutí
<i>kĩ ka-hua-ri-pii</i> [3M SR-weave-PRES-CLAS] 'the basket he weaves'	<i>kĩ ka-hua-ri-pii</i> [3M SR-weave-PRES-CLAS] 'the basket he weaves'	<i>kĩ ka-hua-ri-pii</i> [3M SR-weave-PRES-CLAS] 'the basket he weaves'	<i>kĩ-ka sua-ri-pii</i> [3M-SR weave-PRES-CLAS] 'the basket he weaves'
<i>yĩ ka-bāhĩ-rĩ-hẽ</i> [1S SR-study-PRES-NOM] 'that which I know'	<i>yĩ ka-bāhĩ-rĩ-hẽ</i> [1S SR-study-PRES-NOM] 'that which I know'	<i>yĩ ka-bāhĩ-rĩ-hẽ</i> [1S SR-study-PRES-NOM] 'that which I know'	<i>yĩ-ka bāhĩ-r-ẽ</i> [1S-SR study-PRES-NOM] 'that which I know'

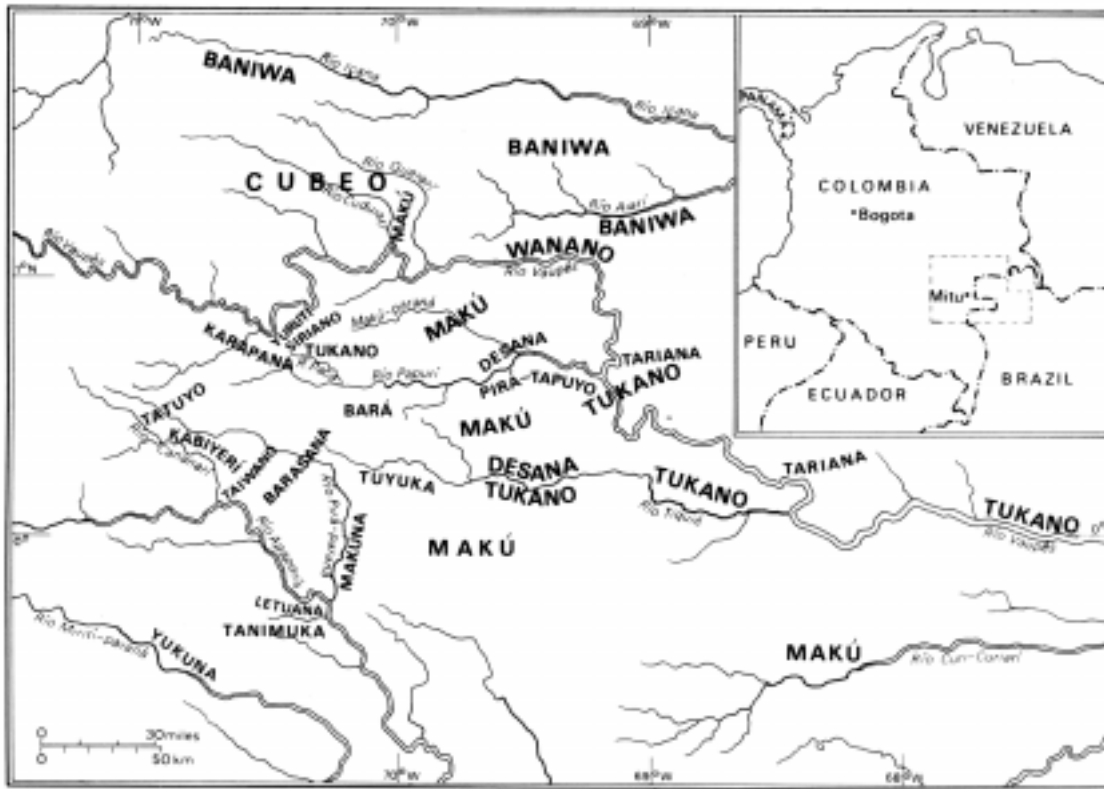
## 0.2 Historical/sociolinguistic complexity

Within the TUCANOAN family of languages, if KA- is, for the most part, unique to CTWY, we might look for reasons as to how it came to exist with the frequency that it does in these languages. One does not have to look too far, as one spreads the net of comparative inquiry to CTWY's linguistic neighbors to the south and southwest. Notice on the map provided, similar to the one in Gómez-Imbert's grammar (Carte II: La rivière Piraparaná et ses environs), that those who speak CTWY at present live near two indigenous communities specified in the diagram as Yucuna and Kabiyerí (other publications<sup>13</sup> have spelled the name 'Cabiyarí,' and 'Cauyari'). In addition, we have evidence, both from traditions remembered among CTWY speakers and the written records of anthropologists who have visited the area in the last century and early in this century (McGovern 1927: 329), that at least some CTWY ancestors lived among or near these communities. During that time, it is likely that CTWY speakers intermarried with them. Some

<sup>12</sup> In this example, KA- specifies the class of males referred to, viz., people.

<sup>13</sup> ATLAS ETNOLINGUISTICO DE COLOMBIA, Instituto Caro y Cuervo, Bogotá, Colombia, HANDBOOK OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES, Smithsonian Institution, Bulletin 143, vol. 6, pg. 212, 1948.

unions, particularly with the Cabiyaří, continue to the present. What is significant about this situation is that the Yucuna and Cabiyaří languages are not TUCANOAN, but rather belong to the ARAWAKAN language family.



“The Vaupés region.” from *From the Milk River: Spatial and Temporal Processes in Northwest Amazonia* (used by permission of publisher, Cambridge University Press).

And it is among the ARAWAKAN languages that one finds a significant distribution of a morpheme similar to CTWY KA-.<sup>14</sup> There is good reason to believe that the CTWY KA- was borrowed at some point from Cabiyaří, and if not Cabiyaří, then another ARAWAKAN language<sup>15</sup> with whom CTWY has had a unique relationship (see sec. 4.0).

The phenomenon of borrowing linguistic features of neighboring languages is not too surprising in the light of the exogamous marriage patterns of the TUCANOAN groups (Hugh-Jones 1979:23). Members of these communities speak more than one language. In fact, the mother tongue of

<sup>14</sup> I am indebted to Winfred Lehmann (U.T. Austin), and colleagues participating in a comparative workshop conducted in February, 1987, for originally stimulating my inquiry of Carapana prefix KA- beyond TUCANOAN “borders.” Dorothy Klumpp, a colleague working at that time among the Piapoco, was particularly helpful in providing data relating to the use of KA in that ARAWAKAN language. More recently, Junia Schauer, a colleague working among the Yucuna, has lent me her insight into Yucuna *ka/-ka*.

<sup>15</sup> To the north and west of the TUCANOAN language family (Eastern Branch) live the Curripacos, Piapocos and Achaguas, to the north and east live the Banivas, to the east live the Tarianos, to the south the Yucunas, and to the southwest the Cabiyařís. All belong to the ARAWAKAN language family.

one's father is more than likely different from that of one's mother. Other men and women who have married into one's parents' families may speak still another language. And depending on the location of the village in which a person lives, a fourth or fifth language may be spoken. From birth on, a member of a particular community (membership being determined by one's father) grows up hearing a number of languages. The result is that the speakers of TUCANOAN languages are, for the most part, multilingual.<sup>16</sup>

The balance of this paper is organized as follows: section 1.0 deals with an analysis of Carapana KA-. Section 2.0 compares Carapana KA- with Tatuyo, Wáimaja and Yurutí KA-. Section 3.0 presents a unified definition of KA- and its function in Carapana grammar. Section 4.0 deals with the function of KA in Arawakan languages. Section 5.0 presents further Tucanoan forms possibly related to a KA Panamericanism. Section 6.0 presents conclusions.

## 1.0 Analysis of Carapana KA-

The prefix KA- of Carapana occurs in three principal environments of the language, viz.: (a) before certain bound nouns, classifiers, and postpositionals of location and time, (b) before the verb of certain nominalizations, and (c) before the verb of certain dependent clauses. Each occurrence is discussed in turn below in sections 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 respectively.

### 1.1 Carapana KA- prefixed to certain bound nouns, classifiers, and postpositionals of location and time

The prefix KA- of Carapana may occur affixed to certain bound nouns in place of a possessor prefix.<sup>17</sup>

(4) Thus one may say:	and:	but also:
<i>kĩ-pa-kĩ</i>	<i>kõ-pa-kĩ</i>	<i>ka-pa-kĩ</i>
[POS.3M-parent-3M]	[POS.3F-parent-3M]	[SR-parent-3M]
'his father'	'her father'	'the/that father (the one referred to previously)'

<sup>16</sup> In his article "An Emerging Tukanoan Linguistic Regionality," anthropologist Arthur Sorensen (1985:142) says: "The communities along the middle stretch of the Vaupés River comprise the climax area of multilingualism, with an intensified focus along its tributary, the Papurí, and its tributaries. Here are interspersed Uanano, Desano, Tukano, Piratapuyo, Tuyuka, Barasana, Siriano, Yurutí and Karapana communities. Every individual knows several languages: in addition to his or her father tongue and mother tongue, everyone knows Tukano, Spanish, Portuguese, and two or three of some ten other Indian languages. Spanish is typically spoken with a slight Portuguese accent."

<sup>17</sup> The possessive prefixes of Carapana, identical in form to personal pronouns, are: *yi-* 'my,' *bãrĩ-* 'our (inclusive),' *hãã-* 'our (exclusive),' *bĩ-* 'your (singular),' *bĩhãã-* 'your (plural),' *kĩ-* 'his,' *kõ-* 'her,' *dã-* 'their' and *to-* 'its (singular and plural).' In contrast to personal pronouns, possessive prefixes are phonologically bound to the nouns they modify.

(5) And he may say:	and:	but also:
<i>kĩ-poa</i>	<i>kõ-poa</i>	<i>ka-poa</i>
[POS.3M-hair]	[POS.3F-hair]	[SR-hair]
'his hair'	'her hair'	'the/that hair (that which was referred to previously)'

In each situation where KA- replaces a possessive prefix, the pronominal referent is already in mind. Hence, the speaker is thinking of a specific nominal referent<sup>18</sup> rather than a generic one. Here KA- has a deictic function.

Prefix KA- can also replace the specific noun in a specific-general noun compound construction in which the second noun is a general noun or a classifier.

(6) Thus one may say:	but also:
<i>yuki-rika</i>	<i>ka-rika</i>
[tree-fruit]	[SR-fruit]
'tree fruit'	'the/that fruit (the one referred to previously)'

(7) And he may say:	but also:
<i>kii-rupa</i>	<i>ka-rupa</i>
[manioc-CLAS:round.P]	[SR-CLAS:round.P]
'his manioc tubers'	'the/those tubers (the ones referred to previously)'

Once again, the speaker has a certain referent in mind and KA- has a deictic function.

In a location or time relator phrase, prefix KA- also may occur affixed to the postpositional, replacing the specific location or time word. KA- serves once again as a pro-form; i.e., replacing a known reference point.

(8) Thus one may say:	but also:
<i>ho-roka-pi</i>	<i>ka-roka-pi</i>
[there(out of sight)-below-LOC]	[SR-below-LOC]
'down river'	'at the/that place below (the one referred to previously)'

(9) And he may say:	but also:
<i>ria-rekobākā</i>	<i>ka-rekobākā</i>
[river-middle]	[SR-middle]
'in the middle of the river'	'in the middle of that place (the one referred to previously)'

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<sup>18</sup> Although the vast majority of the occurrences of KA- have definite referents (in the sense that they are uniquely identifiable to the hearer; Enc:1991:9), there is a small group of nominalized stative verbs whose referents are specific but not necessarily definite (see (2)). I have therefore chosen to call KA- a specific referent rather than a definite one.

(10) And he may say: but also:  
*wii-ti-ākā* *ka-ti-ākā*  
 [house-near-DIM] [SR-near-DIM]  
 ‘near the house’ ‘near the/that place (the one referred to previously)’

In each situation the speaker has a particular place in mind.

Likewise, in expressions of time KA- may replace the specific referent.

(11) Thus one may say: but also:  
*pasaribota-bero* *ka-bero*  
 [noon-afterwards] [SR-afterwards]  
 ‘after twelve o’clock noon’ ‘after the/that time (the time referred to previously)’

(12) And he may say: but also:  
*bōĩpĩ kĩ ka-rui-pa-ro* *ka-hĩgoye*  
*hĩgoye*  
 [sun 3M SR-sit-FUT-NOM before] [SR-before]  
 ‘before nightfall’ ‘before something referred to previously (a specific time in this case)’

In all these constructions, KA- functions as a pro-form substituting for the more specific pronouns, or nouns.<sup>19</sup>

## 1.2 Carapana KA- prefixed to the verb of certain nominalizations

Carapana, like most, if not all, TUCANOAN languages relies heavily on the use of nominalizations, both non-finite (called *free* hereafter) and finite (called *time-bound* hereafter).<sup>20</sup> A verb or clause is nominalized by the addition of a nominalizing suffix or classifier to the whole construction. These constructions may, in many cases, also be relativized into different syntactic positions in a

<sup>19</sup> There are a few words in Carapana which do not completely fit into the preceding pattern, two of which are *ka-pa-rā* [SR-be.many-NOM] ‘many beings,’ and *ka-pe-e* [SR-be.many-NOM] ‘many things.’ (Note that before *-e* [NOM], *-pa* [be.many] becomes *-pe*.) They are similar in that both words begin with prefix KA- which is affixed to a bound adjectival root, viz., *-pa* [be.many]. They are different in that no pronoun, or any other grammatical form, may be substituted in the slot which KA- fills.

<sup>20</sup> More specifically, Carapana nominalizations may be divided between (a) those which have no specific time reference (called *free*) and (b) those which have some element specifying a time or action (called *time bound*); that is, whether the action, or state of being, of the verbal element is either at the present time or contemporaneous with the action of the principal verb, if it has been so subordinated, glossed as “*present*” (*-Ø/-ri*); whether the action is just completed, glossed as “*recent past*” (*-ata*); whether it was completed in the more distant past, glossed as “*past*” (*-rika*); or whether it is yet to be done, glossed as “*future*” (*-pa*). (Carapana also has an additional morpheme, *-ya*, used infrequently, which when prefixed to the past tense morpheme, emphasizes the remoteness of the action. The resulting combination, viz., *-yarika*, is glossed as “*far past*”). Running somewhat parallel with morphemes expressed in the past is a spatial element. That is, the greater the distance between the speaker and the event, the more “*distant*” the time expressed. In addition, when forming time bound nominalizations, one must take into account negation, frustration, completion, incompleteness and other possible affixation. These morphemes are discussed in Metzger 1981:132-138.

clause, such as: subject, object, recipient, instrument/comitative, possessive, locative, temporal, means, and manner. In the first section below, I confine my discussion principally to a comparison of time-bound and free nominalizations. In the following section, I discuss more specifically one type of free nominalization in which prefix KA- may or may not occur. The third section deals with time-bound nominalizations.

### 1.2.1 Time-bound vs. free nominalizations

The following examples illustrate Carapana time-bound and free nominalizations in various syntactic positions:

(13) Time-bound (finite):

- (a) *[Ka-tuti-pai-Ø-rã]*                      *dĩ-yã-bã.*  
 SR-scold-CHAR-PRES-NOM                      be-PRES.IND-3P  
 They are ones who are characterized as continually scolding (others).
- (b) *[Ka-bue-bĩ-ata-dã]-rẽ*                      *dã*      *ho-ya.*  
 SR-study-FRUS-RPST-NOM-CMP                      3P(O)      give-IMP  
 Give (it) to those who recently tried to study (but were unsuccessful).
- (c) *To*      *yũ-rõ*                                      *[wi-ri-ka*      *ka-rui-pa-ro]-re.*  
 there      be.good-PROB.INAN                                      fly-ADJ-CLAS      SR-sit-FUT-NOM-CMP  
 It will probably be adequate over there where the airplane will land.

(14) Free (non-finite):

- (a) *[Bue-ri-ka-rã]*                      *dĩ-yã-bã.*  
 study-ADJ-SPEC-NOM                      be-PRES.IND-3P  
 They are ones who study (studying folk; i.e., students).
- (b) *[Petu-ri-ka-ro]*                      *ã-bĩ.*  
 shoot-ADJ-SPEC-NOM                      be-PST.WIT.INAN  
 It was a shooting time (i.e., an opportunity to shoot animals).
- (c) *[Bĩ*      *yise-ri-ka-pãĩ-rĩ]-rẽ*      *yĩ*      *bĩ*      *ho-wa.*  
 2S      cut-ADJ-SPEC-CLAS-P-CMP      1S(O)      2S      give-IMP  
 Please give me your cutting blades (i.e., machetes).

It will be noted in the examples above that prefix KA- consistently precedes the verb of time-bound nominalizations, but not of those that are free. One would expect this if, in fact, prefix KA- signals among other things specificity of time.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Note that (13a), (13b), and (13c) are ungrammatical without KA-. Thus, in Carapana, it would be grammatically incorrect to say, for example:

\**[Tuti-pai-Ø-rã]*                      *dĩ-yã-bã.*  
 scold-CHAR-PRES-NOM                      be-PRES.IND-3P

It should also be noted that in Carapana prefix KA- and suffix -ka are mutually exclusive, i.e., one can say *bue-ri-ka-wii* [study-ADJ-SPEC-house] (free nominalization) or *ka-bue-ri-wii* [SR-study-PRES-house] (time-bound nominalization) both meaning ‘the study house (school),’ but the former being ‘a school *in general*’ and the latter being specifically ‘*this present* school.’ Also each free nominalization, whether animate or inanimate, contains the adjectivizer -ri [ADJ], whereas time-bound nominalizations occur without the adjectivizer. If KA- is basically a noun prefix, we could postulate that free nominalizations, although written as one word in the present Carapana orthography, seem to function as noun phrases with KA- as part of the noun, as in the examples below:<sup>22</sup>

	Bound adjective	Noun	
(15) Noun phrases:	<i>hua-ri-</i> weave-ADJ	<i>ka-pii</i> SPEC-basket	‘woven basket’
	<i>bue-ri-</i> study-ADJ	<i>ka-rã</i> SPEC-NOM	‘studying folk (students)’
	<i>yese-ri-</i> cut-ADJ	<i>ka-pãĩ</i> SPEC-CLAS	‘cutting blade (machete)’
	<i>iga-ri-</i> eat-ADJ	<i>k-e</i> <sup>23</sup> SPEC-NOM	‘eating stuff (food)’

And time-bound forms function simply as nouns with KA- specifying the whole construction as illustrated below:

(16) Animate Nouns:	<i>ka-bue-Ø-rã</i> SR-study-PRES-NOM	‘those who are studying (students)’
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\*[*Bue-bĩ-ata-dã*]-rẽ      *dã*      *ho-ya*.  
study-FRUS-RPST-NOM-CMP    3P(O)      give-IMP

<sup>22</sup>It is interesting to speculate whether at one time in the past, nominalizers such as -rã [AN.P.], or a specific class suffix such as -wĩ [CLAS:tubular] functioned as fully independent nouns to which KA- was prefixed. There is one word in Carapana which seems to fit this hypothesis, viz., *ka-rõ* [SR-INAN] ‘that proportion.’ In this word, prefix KA- is bound to a root which ordinarily functions as an inanimate nominalizer, viz., -rõ [INAN]. Example in sentence:

*Ati      wii      kã-rõ      bĩ      wii      kẽdõ-gĩ.*  
this    house    SR-INAN    you    house    build-FUT.M]  
‘Build a house equal to the size of this house.’

<sup>23</sup> The morphemes -ka-he [SPEC-NOM] in this example, have contracted to form *k-e* [SPEC-NOM]. This is true of many concrete free nominalizations in Carapana. In abstract free nominalizations, such as *boti-ri-he* [be.white-ADJ-NOM] ‘whiteness,’ and *oo-ri-he* [be.sharp-ADJ-NOM] ‘sharpness,’ the morpheme -ka [SPEC] seems to have dropped completely. The fact that abstract nominalizations lack this morpheme may be a further indication that KA- refers only to specific or concrete things. It should also be noted that abstract nominalizations are formed from stative, rather than active verbs, a fact which may or may not be relevant to the absence of KA-.

<i>ka-bue-rika-rã</i> <sup>24</sup> SR-study-PST-NOM	‘those who used to study’
<i>ka-bue-ata-dã</i> SR-study-RPST-NOM	‘those who just studied’
<i>ka-bue-pa-rã</i> SR-study-FUT-NOM	‘those who will study’
(17) Inanimate Nouns: <i>ka-bue-ri-wii</i> SR-study-PRES-house	‘house for studying (school)’
<i>ka-bue-rika-wii</i> SR-study-PST-house	‘house once used for studying’
<i>ka-bue-ata-wii</i> SR-study-RPST-house	‘house just used for studying’
<i>ka-bue-pa-wii</i> SR-study-FUT-house	‘house to be used for studying’

### 1.2.2 Prefix KA- as part of a certain free nominalization

The phenomenon that prefix KA- consistently occurs before time-bound nominalizations and is absent before free ones holds true throughout Carapana with one exception.<sup>25</sup> This exception occurs when the morpheme *-bãhõ* [human] is incorporated as part of a free animate nominalization. In the resulting construction, suffix *-bãhõ* serves as an animate classifier (of humanity) and thus nominalizes the construction. Prefix KA- optionally occurs before the verb. Example:

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<sup>24</sup> Although the presence of prefix KA- and the *ka* of the suffix *-rika* [PST] in this example and below (17) would seem to contradict the statement “prefix KA- [SR] and suffix *-ka* [SPEC] are mutually exclusive,” it should be noted that morphologically *-rika* [PST] contrasts in this position with *-ata* [RPST], *-Ø/-ri* [PRES] and *-pa* [FUT], the suffixes used in both animate and inanimate nominalized verbs as illustrated in the following examples:

Animate nominalizations:		Inanimate nominalizations:	
<i>ka-kati-rika-i</i>	‘he who revived’	<i>ka-hoa-rika-pii</i>	‘the basket which was woven’
<i>ka-kati-ata-ki</i>	‘he who just revived’	<i>ka-hoa-ata-pii</i>	‘the basket which was just woven’
<i>ka-kati-Ø-i</i>	‘he who lives/survives’	<i>ka-hoa-ri-pii</i>	‘the basket being woven’
<i>ka-kati-pa-i</i>	‘he who will revive’	<i>ka-hoa-pa-pii</i>	‘the basket which will be woven’

Though some might propose that *-rika* [PST] could be analyzed as *-ri* + *-ka*, this *ka* only occurs with *ri* in the past tense and not with any other tense markers. In light of this restriction on its distribution, I would claim that *-rika* is the past tense marker morpheme, not *-ri* + *-ka*.

<sup>25</sup> Also note discussion under adverbial clause of manner (sec. 1.2.4).

- (18) *(Ka-)bue-ri-bāh-ā*<sup>26</sup>                      *dī-yā-bā.*  
 (SR-)study-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P              be-PRES.IND-3P  
 They are ones who study (studying folk; i.e., students).

Even though the gloss in (18) is identical to that of (14a), there seems to be a different nuance when the *-bāhō* construction is utilized, viz., emphasizing people dedicated to a profession or a task over a period of time ('students' in this case), rather than simply the task itself (studying). Moreover, a comparison of contexts as to when it is that prefix KA- occurs before a verb root in the *-bāhō* construction and when it does not, further aids in the understanding the function of KA-. That is, the difference to a Carapana who says *ka-bue-ri-bāh-ā* [SR-study-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P] rather than simply *bue-ri-bāh-ā* [study-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P], both apparently meaning 'students,' or *ka-paa-ri-bāh-ā* [SR-work-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P] rather than simply *paa-ri-bāh-ā* [work-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P], both apparently meaning 'workers,' seems to indicate a certain focus or lack thereof. In instances where KA- occurs preceding the verb root, its presence seems to indicate that the speaker is focusing on class membership for a certain group of people (or person, if singular). If KA- is absent, the speaker is making no such focus. Applying this principle to our illustration, when KA- precedes the verb root, the speaker is focusing on a class of people, namely students (in contrast to professors), or workers (in contrast to overlords). If KA- is lacking, no particular focus is being made.

It is somewhat difficult to illustrate this shift in focus. However, the following example, taken from Carapana text,<sup>27</sup> is offered with the hope that the reader can sense the shift in nuance generated by the presence or absence of KA-. Each of the free nominalizations, appearing below in bold type, is the first reference to those named in the body of the text from which they were taken:

- (19) *Bairi papera-tuti-ri*                      ***woa-ri-bāh-ā,***  
 thus      paper-stack-INAN.P                      write-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P  
 Thus those who write books;
- bās ĩr ĩbāh-ā***                      *ketiupa-rā,*                      ***ka- ĩyā-bese-ri-bāh-ā***  
 know-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P      chief-AN.P                      SR-see-choose-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P  
 and knowledgeable leaders, and that group who decide things after reviewing
- jueces*(SP),                      ***pa-hĩā-rĩ-kā-rō-pĩ***                      *ka-dētō-rĩkā-rā,*  
 judges                      hit-kill-ADJ-SPEC-NOM-LOC                      SR-surpass-PST-NOM  
 them (that is, judges) and those who were victorious (on the battle field),

<sup>26</sup> It will be noted that elision occurs in the plural example given here, *-bāhō* [NOM:human] plus *-rā* [AN.P] becoming *-bāhā*. Singular forms are *bue-ri-bāhō-ki* 'male student' [study-ADJ-NOM:human-M], and *bue-ri-bāhō-ko* 'female student' [study-ADJ-NOM:human-F]. (One hypothesis is that the masculine and feminine gender markers came from *ka* [SPEC] plus *-i* [M] becoming *-ki*; and *-ka* [SPEC] plus *-o* [F] becoming *-ko*; in which case we would have *bue-ri-bāhō-k-i* [study-ADJ-NOM:human-SPEC-M], and *bue-ri-bāhō-k-o* [study-ADJ-NOM:human-SPEC-F].)

<sup>27</sup> **Simón Bolívar**. Lomalinda, Meta, República de Colombia, Editorial Townsend, 1989:71.

*ape-rã*                    *yũ-bue-ri-bãh-ã*                    *ketiupa-rã*,  
 other-AN.P                    be.good-study-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P                    chief-AN.P  
 and others ...the leaders of those who study goodness (contextually, Christian

*dĩ-peti-ro*<sup>28</sup>    *ã-yũpa-rã*                    *dã*                    *ka-dẽyã-rõ-rẽ*.  
 be-be.all-NOM                    be-PST.HSY-3P                    3P                    SR-gather-NOM-CMP  
 leadership), everyone was (there) at that place where they were gathered.

In (19), there are four free nominalizations which utilize the suffix *-bãhõ* [human]. The first two nominalizations and the last do not occur with prefix KA-, the third does. What one notices contextually is that the speaker at first makes no particular focus on the type of people he enumerates, viz., those who write books, and knowledgeable leaders ((*papera-tuti-ri woa-ri-bãh-ã* [paper-stack-INAN.P write-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P]) and (*bãstĩ-ri-bãh-ã ketiupa-rã* [know-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P chief-AN.P])), respectively. However, when citing judges, he seems to focus on the group of men who fill that role, or perhaps better said, *the class of people* who ponder a matter and decide, who are known in Spanish as *jueces* (*ka-ĩyã-bese-ri-bãh-ã jueces*(SP) [SR-look-decide-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P judges]). This particular focus is possibly shown by the speaker's additional use of a Spanish loan word. Lastly, the speaker returns to making no particular focus on the final group he enumerates; viz., the leaders of those who study goodness, i.e., Christian leadership (*yũ-bue-ri-bãh-ã ketiupa-rã* [be.good-study-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P chief-NOM]), prefix KA- being absent. In these constructions, KA- seems to function as a specificity marker for a certain class of people. I therefore have glossed KA- here as a specific referent (SR). Wise and others, who have described Arawakan languages, have glossed a similar morpheme in this environment as attributive (ATT).<sup>29</sup>

### 1.2.3 Prefix KA- as part of time-bound nominalizations

Time-bound nominalizations<sup>30</sup> in Carapana, such as those in (13), play one of the more important roles in the syntax of the grammar, for frequency of occurrence. They are embedded as a constituent of either a dependent or independent clause functioning as a subject, a direct complement or an indirect complement of the clause. More specifically, the predicate of a time-bound nominalized clause is composed of prefix KA- bound to a verb root<sup>31</sup> followed by a

<sup>28</sup> Either the animate nominalizer *-rã* or the inanimate nominalizer *-ro* are heard in daily conversation to refer to 'all people,' i.e., *dĩ-peti-ro* [be-be.all-NOM] 'everyone' or *dĩ-peti-rã* [be-be.all-NOM] 'everyone.' More often the former is heard even though people are, of course, animate. *dĩ-peti-ro* commonly means 'everywhere.'

<sup>29</sup> Wise states (1990:90) that the term *attribute* (ATT) is used to gloss those prefixes which indicate "having an attribute, belonging to a class or possessing the noun."

<sup>30</sup> Derbyshire and Pullum (1986: vol 1:19,547) consider a finite, nominalized construction, such as those encountered in Carapana with optionally specified heads (which I have described as *time bound nominalizations*) to function as, but not be, true relative clauses. They state, "There appear to be a number of ... syntactic characteristics that are shared by languages of diverse genetic origins in Amazonia ... (among them is the) ... use of nominalizations to substitute for finite relative clauses and other types of relative clauses so that in many cases no finite subordinate clauses are found at all."

<sup>31</sup> Prefix KA- is obligatorily prefixed to all time-bound nominalized clause verb roots save those within the adverbial clause of manner when a non-specific referent is intended (see sec. 1.2.4). Also, there are instances where

morpheme indicating tense (see sec. 1.2). The final morpheme in the construction nominalizes the whole and reflects animacy, number and gender.<sup>32</sup> Time-bound nominalized clauses may be expanded to include optional margins, such as an explicit subject, object, locative, citation, and/or a word indicating time, means, or manner.<sup>33</sup> The examples which follow illustrate the use of time-bound nominalizations (bracketed) in several Carapana sentences and the position of prefix KA- in each. In (20), the time-bound nominalization functions as the subject of the sentence, in (21) the object, in (22) location and in (23) time. Example (24) illustrates “double imbedding” where one nominalization (underlined in example) is embedded within another (bracketed portion).

- (20) *[Alejandro dā ka-ĩ-Ø-ĩ] hi-paa-w-ĩ.*  
 Alejandro 3P SR-say-PRES-NOM help-work-PST.WIT-3M  
 The one they call Alejandro helped (by working too).

- (21) *Caru-bai, [Caja(SP)-re]*  
 Carlos-younger.brother Caja.Agraria-CMP  
 They searched for Carlos's younger brother,

*ka-wapa-bō-pai-Ø-i]-re kĩ bākā-w-ā.*  
 SR-value-owe-CHAR-PRES-NOM-CMP 3M(O) search-PST.WIT-3P  
 the one who (presently) owes a lot of money to the Caja Agraria.

- (22) *[Ka-wi-ri-ka ka-rui-pa-ro]-re paa-w-ā ka-bās-ā.*  
 SR-fly-ADJ-CLAS SR-sit-FUT-NOM-CMP work-PST.WIT-3P SR-populate-NOM  
 The people worked at the place where the airplane would land.

- (23) *[Bĩ-rē kĩ ka-bese-ri-pai]-pia eta-koa-garābā.*  
 2S-CMP 3M SR-judge-PRES-NOM-FOC arrive-CPL-FUT.3P  
 They will arrive specifically on the day in which he judges you.

a noun serving as the object of a transitive verb in a time-bound nominalized clause may occur between KA- and the verb root. Examples: (1) *ka-patu-pa-ata-dā* [SR-coca-work-RPST-NOM] ‘those who just picked coca leaves,’ and *patu ka-pa-ata-dā* [coca SR-work-RPST-NOM] ‘those who just picked coca leaves’; and (2) *ka-dĩbō-kĩti-bĩ-rĩk-ĩ* [SR-wife-have-FRUS-PST-NOM] ‘he who had a wife,’ and *dĩbō ka-kĩti-bĩ-rĩk-ĩ* [wife SR-have-FRUS-PST-NOM] ‘he who had a wife.’ Either set of examples is equally correct, although one more often hears the former than the latter.

<sup>32</sup> Other elements such as passive voice, negation, completion, incompleteness, etc., if a part of the construction, occur immediately following the verb root. Since these specific nuances are not in focus in this paper, no particular detail is given here.

<sup>33</sup> The margin may also include a pronoun. Specifically, a pronoun is necessary when the head of the nominalized clause, indicated by the nominalizing suffix, is different from the subject of the verb and the subject is animate, as in (20) and (23). When the head is different from the subject of the verb and the subject is inanimate, as in (22), a pronoun, viz., *to* ‘it,’ may occur, but more often does not. When the head is the same as the subject of the verb, as in (21) and (24) a pronoun does not occur, as the subject is indicated by the nominalizing suffix, which marks the head. (This is similar to what Strom has observed in Retuarā (Strom 1992:154)).

- (24) *Ka-bās-ā*      [*ka-tĩgo-rā-eta-rā*]-*rē*      *dā*  
 SR-populate-NOM      SR-hear-NOM-arrive-NOM-CMP      3P  
 John explained to the people who had come

*ketibihĩ-w-ĩ*      *Juan.*  
 explain-PST.WIT-3M      John  
 to hear (him).

From the examples above, one can again hypothesize that prefix KA- signals a specific situation that occurs in a specific time frame.

#### 1.2.4 Prefix KA- as part of the nominalization within an adverbial clause

In Carapana there are three adverbial clauses in which prefix KA- may occur, viz., the adverbial clauses of means, manner, and purpose, each subordinate to the principal clause of a sentence, and consisting of a time-bound nominalization followed by a relator.

An adverbial clause of means in Carapana specifies how or why some action or situation in the principal clause occurs (or fails to occur), and is usually glossed as “because” or “by means of.” The construction is composed of a time-bound nominalization, its optional margins and the relator word *hĩgo-ri* [precede-PTCL]. The following illustrations demonstrate the use of prefix KA- in the adverbial clause of means (each bracketed).

- (25) *Tie*      *bōā*      *paa-ri-bāh-ā*      *paa-ya-bā*  
 that.stuff      salt      work-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P      work-PRES.IND-3P  
 The salt workers (miners) are working

[*tie*      *bombillos*(SP)      *ka-hĩyā-wo-ro*      *hĩgo-ri*].  
 those.things      light.bulbs      SR-illuminate-spread-PRES.NOM      precede-PTCL  
 by means of light bulbs which illuminate all around.

- (26) [*Yai-a*      *dā-rē*      *roro*      *dā*      *ka-á-to*      *hĩgo-ri*],  
 tiger-AN.P      3P-CMP      terribly      3P      SR-do-PST.NOM      precede-PTCL  
 They say that because foreign people<sup>34</sup> treated them so terribly,

*ka-bās-ā-piabē*      *ka-pa-rā-bāhũ*      *yasi-yupa-rā.*  
 SR-populate-NOM-FOC      SR-be.many-NOM-EMP      perish-PST.HSY-3P  
 many indigenous people perished.

- (27) [*Kĩ*      *ka-ĩ-kũ-rĩk-ē-rē*      *dā*      *ka-bai-botio-ri-he*  
 3M      SR-say-establish-PST-NOM-CMP      3P      SR-be.like-rebel-ADJ-PRES.NOM  
 It’s evident that the people perished, but surely not because of their rebellious

*hĩgo-ri-bēē*]      *yasi-yup-a*      *ka-bās-ā.*  
 precede-PTCL-ENEG      perish-PST.EV-3P      SR-populate-NOM  
 attitude toward what he said.

<sup>34</sup> When referring to non-indigenous or foreign people, Carapanas use the plural form of *yai* ‘tiger.’

An adverbial clause of manner specifies the similarity (or contrast) of some action or situation to that of the principal clause, and is usually glossed as “like” or “in the same manner.” The construction is composed of a time-bound nominalization, and its optional margins. The nominalization takes the suffix *-re* [CMP], followed by the relator word *bairo* [like]. In the adverbial clause of manner, prefix KA- often does, but at times may not occur affixed to the dependent verb root. A pronoun agreeing with the subject of the clause preceding KA- is also optional (see fn. 33). The following illustrations demonstrate the use of KA- in the adverbial clause of manner (each bracketed).

Prefix KA- present:

(28) [*Oko ka-oka-ro-re* *bairo*] *maquina(SP)-bēdā*  
 water SR-come.down-PRES.NOM-CMP like machine-COM  
 Like the rain which is coming down (i.e., tap, tap, tap), I wrote down (my

*yī woa-oka-ho-w-ī*  
 1S write-come.down-send-PST.WIT-1.2  
 thoughts) using a typewriter.

Both pronoun and prefix KA- present:

(29) [*Kī ka-ī-woa-tu-ya-rika-ro-re* *bairo*] *bai-yupa-ro*.  
 3M SR-say-write-affix-RMT-PST-NOM-CMP like be.like-PST.HSY-INAN  
 It happened just as he said that it would when he wrote about it long ago.

Prefix KA- absent:

(30) [*Yai-a-ya-ye tīgo-Ø-i-re bairo*] *ka-roa-ro*  
 tiger-AN.P-POS-language hear-PRES-M-CMP like SR-be.good-ADV  
 Like (someone who is) listening to a foreign language, it was

*dā-rē tīgo-a-bā-dō*  
 3P-CMP hear-IMPL-PRIV-PST.PROB.INAN  
 impossible to understand them well.

In (30), the speaker does not seem to have anyone specifically in mind as hearing a language spoken. Thus one may deduce that in the adverbial clause of manner, KA- is absent when a non-specific referent is intended, present when a specific referent is intended.

An adverbial clause of purpose<sup>35</sup> specifies the reason why some action or situation in the principal clause should occur (or should fail to occur), and is usually glossed as “in order that.”

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<sup>35</sup> There is an additional dependent clause in Carapana which also indicates purpose. However, instead of using a nominalization, it consists of an imperative within a direct quote. An example:

*Ricardo bue-dūkū-yūp-ī kī bāk-ī-rē,*  
 Ricardo teach-CONT-PST.HSY-3M 3M offspring-M-CMP  
 Ricardo continually taught his son, in order that he might learn.

The construction consists of a time-bound nominalization and its optional margins, followed by the morpheme *-re* [CMP], the relator word *bairo* [like] and the verb *ĩ-ĩ* [say-M]<sup>36</sup>. The tense in the construction is always future *-pa* [FUT]. The nominalizer in the construction is always *-ro* [NOM]. In addition, prefix KA- obligatorily occurs affixed to the dependent verb root of the adverbial clause of purpose and is preceded by a pronoun, whether or not the nominal referent occurs. The following illustrations demonstrate the use of KA- in the adverbial clause of purpose (each bracketed).

- (31) [*Ka-roa-ro* *dã* *ka-ãdĩ-pa-ro-re* *bairo* *ĩ-ĩ*],  
 SR-be.good-ADV 3P SR-be-FUT-NOM-CMP like say-M  
 They say that in order that they might survive,

*tie* *dĩyẽro-re* *ho-yup-i* *dã-rẽ* *Bolívar*.  
 this.stuff money-CMP give-PST.HSY-3M 3P-CMP Bolivar  
 Bolivar furnished them with some money.

- (32) *Dã* *caballo(SP)-a-re* *dã* *ẽyõta-boha-bãstĩ-yũpã-rã*,  
 3P horse-AN.P-CMP 3P(O) block.off-BEN-be.able-PST.HSY-3P  
 They say that they helped by blocking off (the escape routes) of their

[*dã* *ka-ruti-eti-pa-ro-re* *bairo* *ĩ-rã*].  
 3P SR-flee-NEG-FUT-NOM-CMP like say-3P  
 (companion's) horses, in order that they might not flee/escape.'

Note that the nominalized verb in each adverbial clause follows a pattern similar to that of the other time-bound nominalizations discussed above. That is, all take KA- except in a case such as (30), where the referent is non-specific.

### 1.3 Carapana KA- prefixed to the verb of certain dependent clauses

In Carapana there are two subordinate clauses in which prefix KA- may occur, viz., “head to tail” linking and conditional. What distinguishes one clause from another are differences in the subordinating suffixes and constructional variations. The following sections discuss and illustrate similarities and differences with particular attention given to the environment of prefix KA-.

#### 1.3.1 Prefix KA- as part of a head-to-tail linking clause

A head-to-tail linking clause in Carapana is one which repeats information given in the previous sentence before continuing on to new information in the principal clause of the new sentence. It

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[*kĩ* *bãstĩ-á-to* *ĩ-ĩ*].  
 3M know-do-IMP say-3M  
 (lit: Ricardo continually taught his son saying, ‘May he learn.’

<sup>36</sup> Although only a masculine singular ending is indicated here, more specifically, the adverbial clause of purpose utilizes any one of four free participial words, viz. *ĩ-ĩ* [say-M], *ĩ-õ* [say-F], *ĩ-rã* [say-AN.P], and *ĩ-rõ* [sound-INAN], which agree with the subject of the principal clause in person, number and gender.

‘links’ one bit of information to the next. Often the verb utilized in the predicate of the subordinate linking clause is the same verb used in the principal clause of the previous sentence. There are two types of head-to-tail linking clauses in Carapana, viz., (a) a simple linking clause usually glossed as “if” or “when,” and (b) a concessive linking clause usually glossed as “even though.”

Affixation following the dependent verb indicates the nature of the linking clause, and whether or not the subject will remain the same or change in the principal clause to which it is subordinated. If the subject of the dependent clause is the same as that of the principal clause, the verb in the dependent clause is marked by inflection which shows agreement in gender and number to that of the principal clause. If the subject of the dependent clause is different from that of the principal clause, the verb in the dependent clause takes the prefix KA- and is marked by a general linking suffix that indicates different subject. In such cases, if the subject of the dependent clause is animate, KA- is obligatorily preceded by a personal pronoun<sup>37</sup> which agrees with the animate subject of the dependent clause. If inanimate, pronoun *to* ‘it’ may, but usually does not, occur. The following examples demonstrate a series of linking clauses (bracketed) in Carapana, first simple linking clauses, then concessive linking clauses:

### Simple:

- (33) *Bogotá-re*    *yí*                      *eta-w-í.*  
 Bogotá-CMP    1S                                      arrive-PST.WIT-1.2  
 I arrived in Bogotá.

Same subject in both clauses:

- (34) [*To-re*            *eta-í,*]            *ãdí-rẽ*            *kĩ*            *y-ĩ-w-ĩ,*<sup>38</sup>  
 there-CMP            arrive-M            DM.M-CMP            3M(O)            1S-say-PST.WIT-1.2  
 When I arrived there, I said to this person,

“*Hito,*            *bãrĩ*    *ĩyã-to* *Museo Nacional(SP)-rẽ.*”  
 let's go            1P(INCL)    see-IMP    Museo Nacional-CMP  
 “Let's go see (visit) the National Museum.”

Different subject:

- (35) [*Bairo*    *yí*            *ka-ĩ-rõ,*]            “*Hai,*”            *y-ĩ-w-ĩ.*  
 thus            1S            SR-say-DS            fine/okay            1S(O)-say-PST.WIT-3S  
 When I said that, he said, “Fine.”

### Concessive:

- (36) *María,*            *Anita-bẽdã*            *atĩ-epe-w-ã.*  
 Mary                      Anita-COM            run-play-PST.WIT-3P  
 Mary raced against Anita.

<sup>37</sup> c.f., fn. 17.

<sup>38</sup> Note that the vowel sequence *í* plus *i* usually contracts to *i* in Carapana (oral or nasal depending on environment), so that *yí* ‘I/me’ plus *ĩ* ‘say’ becomes *yĩ* ‘I say/say to me.’

Different subject in both clauses:

- (37) [*Bairi María ka-tutua-o kō ka-ādĩ-bĩ-ata-kĩã-rẽ,*]  
 thus Mary SR-be.strong-NOM 3F SR-be-FRUS-DS-CCS-CMP

Even though Mary was a strong girl,

*Anita-piabẽ kō dẽtõ-w-õ.*  
 Anita-FOC 3F(O) overcome-PST.WIT-3F  
 Anita overcame her.

Same subject:

- (38) [*Bairo dẽtõ-bĩ-õ-kĩã,*] *iseadĩ-ẽ-b-õ Anita.*  
 thus overcome-FRUS-F-SS.CCS happy-NEG-PST.WIT-3F Anita

Thus, even though she overcame (her), Anita was not happy (about her victory).

Note that, in (34) and (38) above, the subject of each dependent clause is the same as that of the principal clause. Therefore each dependent verb, viz., *eta* ‘arrive’ and *dẽtõ* ‘overcome’ is marked by inflection which shows agreement in gender and number with that of the principal clause, viz., *-i* [M] and *-õ* [F] respectively. Note too that prefix KA- does not occur in this construction.

In (35) and (37), however, the subject of each dependent clause is different from that of the subject of the principal clause. Therefore each verb of the dependent clause, viz., *ĩ* ‘say’ and *ādĩ* ‘be’ is marked by a general inflection indicating simply change of subject, viz., *-ro* ‘simple.DS’ and *-atakĩã* ‘concessive.DS’ respectively. Note too that prefix KA- occurs affixed to both dependent verbs. Furthermore, since the subject of the dependent clause in (35) is first person singular, the pronoun *yĩ* ‘I’ precedes KA-, and since the subject of the dependent clause in (37) is third person feminine singular, the pronoun *kō* ‘she’ precedes KA-. Finally, note that even though the referent of the dependent clause is explicit in (37); viz., *María*, Carapana grammar requires the presence of a pronoun before KA-.

Among head-to-tail linking clauses there is a high correlation of prefix KA- with change of subject as well as a preceding pronoun which agrees with the subject of the clause. These pronouns are required in all dependent clauses (save those with inanimate subjects), where the subject is different from the subject of the following clause, since the subject is not marked by verbal inflection. Also, since the subject is a specific referent in all of these examples, it would seem, rather than merely specifying, that the function of KA- here may be to emphasize the subject as being different from that of the main clause.

### 1.3.2 Prefix KA- as part of a conditional clause

A conditional clause in Carapana is one in which a certain condition is cited which, when completed, gives rise to the action or situation in the principal clause. Similar to head-to-tail linking clauses, a suffix on the verb of the conditional clause, usually glossed as “if,” demonstrates that the clause is conditional in nature. However, different from linking clauses, whether the subject of the dependent clause is the same as that of the principal clause or not, the affix of the subordinate clause is the same. That is, the suffix of the verb in the dependent clause

is marked by one general conditional suffix, viz., *-ata*<sup>39</sup> (or *-etikōāta* if negative). Prefix KA- occurs affixed to the dependent verb root in all conditional clauses containing a specific subject and, if that subject is animate, KA- is preceded by a pronoun which agrees with the subject in person, gender, and number, since there is no marking of the subject in the verb in these clauses. If the subject is inanimate, the pronoun *to* ‘it’ may, but usually does not, occur. If the subject of the conditional clause is not specific in nature, neither prefix KA- nor a preceding pronoun occur. The following examples demonstrate the use of KA- in conditional clauses (bracketed):

Specific subject (animate) of subordinate clause different from that of the principal clause:

- (39) [*Santiago ka-tutua-i kĩ ka-ābā-ata,*]  
 Santiago SR-be.strong-NOM 3M SR-be-CND  
 If Santiago is a strong man,

*Jaime kĩ dētō-ētī-gi-bĩ.*  
 Jaime 3M(O) surpass-NEG-FUT-3M  
 Jaime will not overcome him.

Specific subject (animate) of the subordinate clause same as that of the principal clause:

- (40) [*“Yi bo-bĩ-kipi,” bārĩ ka-ĩ-ata,*]  
 1S desire-FRUS-PROB.PRES.1.2 1P(INCL) SR-say-CND  
 If we say, “I’m not sure whether I want it or not,”

*bārĩ boka-eti-ya.*  
 1P(INCL) find-NEG-PRES.IND.1.2  
 we shall not find it.

Specific subject (inanimate) of the subordinate clause same as that of the principal clause:

- (41) [*Tie ote-ri-k-e boa-we-ri ka-puti-eti-kōāta,*]  
 these plant-ADJ-SPEC-NOM die-cast-PTCL SR-sprout-NEG-CPL.CND  
 If seeds are not sown (onto the ground where they) die, and then germinate,

*bai-ri-k-a-bāhō rika-ho-bāsĩ-ētĩ-yā.*  
 be.like-ADJ-SPEC-NOM-EMP fruit-send-be.able-NEG-PRES.IND.N  
 they simply remain in their fruitless state.

Non-specific subject (animate) in subordinate clause:

- (42) [*Ka-ise-kĩ-dā-rē ĩga-ata,*] *ka-roa-ro-bāhũ*  
 SR-fat-ATT-3P-CMP eat-CND SR-be.flavorful-ADV-AUG  
 If/when they (people in general) ate fatty ones,

<sup>39</sup> There is a variation in this suffix when motion is involved; i.e., when Carapanas emphasize motion toward a certain referent, motion away from the referent, or simply action on site, they will use one of three morphemes, viz., *-ápá* ‘motion.away.from,’ *-apá* ‘motion.toward,’ *-ápa* ‘motion.on.site.’ These are derived from the irregular verb roots: *á-* ‘go,’ *atí-* ‘come,’ and *áti-* ‘do.’ When these three verb roots are contiguous to the general conditional suffix *-ata*, the first syllable is dropped so that we have: *-ápáta* ‘if (motion.away.from),’ *-apáta* ‘if (motion.toward),’ *-ápata* ‘if (motion.on.site).’ The negative counterpart of each simply substitutes the negative morpheme *-e* for the first syllable. For example, instead of *-ápáta* ‘if (motion.away.from),’ we would have: *-épáta* ‘if not (motion.away.from).’

*isea-w-ã.*  
 be.fatty-PST.WIT.3P  
 they (game animals) were really flavorful.'

Note in the examples above that, similar to the adverbial clause of manner, specificity of referent is the determining factor as to whether or not a subject pronoun and prefix KA- occur in the conditional dependent clause.

There seem to be two threads of meaning running through the syntax of Carapana grammar in relationship to prefix KA-. One thread seems to be a deictic function. The other that of specificity. For the former, prefix KA- functions as a pro-form for the possessor or point of reference, when the referent is known and current in the discourse context, in certain bound nouns, classifiers, and postpositionals of location and time.

For the latter, among time-bound nominalizations, including nominalizations within adverbial clauses, prefix KA- is always present when there is a specific referent in a specific context. With dependent clauses, prefix KA- is present whenever the subject is not marked by inflection on the verb, viz., in head-to-tail linking clauses with a change of subject, and in all conditional clauses containing a specific subject. Prefix KA- is absent in all free nominalizations and those time-bound nominalizations where there is no specific context or referent, and in all head-to-tail dependent clauses where there is a no change of subject, and hence the subject is marked by inflection on the dependent verb. It is also absent in conditional clauses with non-specific subjects. It would seem that, in dependent clauses, KA- is almost functioning as a pro-form standing in for the subject when not marked on the verb, that dependent verbs must always carry some reference to the subject, whether in the form of a gender/number suffix or the pro-form KA-.

## 2.0 Carapana KA- compared to similar morphemes in Tatuyo, Wáimaja and Yurutí

As stated earlier, prefix KA- of Carapana occurs in three principal environments of the language, viz.: (a) before certain bound nouns, classifiers, and postpositionals of location and time, (b) before the verb of certain nominalizations, and (c) before the verb of certain dependent clauses. From the data presently available, it appears that Tatuyo and Wáimaja have an almost identical distribution of prefix KA- to that of Carapana. Yurutí seems to have a more limited distribution. The following sections compare similarities and differences.

### 2.1 Prefix KA- bound to certain bound nouns, classifiers, and postpositionals of location and time

Prefix KA- occurs before certain bound nouns, classifiers, and postpositionals of location and time in Carapana and Tatuyo equally. Corresponding words in Wáimaja often use KA-. However, in Yurutí, prefix KA- never occurs in this environment. The following forms illustrate this phenomenon:

(43) Tatuyo	Carapana	Wáimaja	Yurutí
<i>ka-pa-ki</i> [SR-parent-M] 'the/that father' <sup>41</sup>	<i>ka-pa-ki</i> [SR-parent-M] 'the/that father'	<i>ka-pa-ki</i> <sup>40</sup> [SR-parent-M] 'the/that father'	$\emptyset$ - <i>pa-ki</i> [ $\emptyset$ -parent-M] 'father'
<i>ka-rupa</i> [SR-CLAS:round.P] 'the/those roots'	<i>ka-rupa</i> [SR-CLAS:round.P] 'the/those roots'	<i>ka-rupa</i> [SR-CLAS:round.P] 'the/those roots'	<i>kii-paga-ri</i> [yuca-CLAS:round-P] 'yuca roots'
<i>ka-pito-pi</i> [SR-mouth.of.river-LOC] 'at the/that mouth'	<i>ka-pito-pi</i> [SR-mouth.of.river-LOC] 'at the/that mouth'	<i>ka-pito-pi</i> [SR-mouth.of.river-LOC] 'at the/that mouth'	<i>dia-pito-pi</i> [river-mouth.of.river-LOC] 'mouth of the river'
<i>ka-bero</i> [SR-afterwards] 'after the/that time'	<i>ka-bero</i> [SR-afterwards] 'after the/that time'	$\emptyset$ - <i>hiro</i> [ $\emptyset$ -afterwards] 'afterwards'	$\emptyset$ - <i>siro</i> [ $\emptyset$ -afterwards] 'afterwards'

When prefix KA- does occur in Carapana, Tatuyo and Wáimaja, it functions as a deictic specifier substituting for more specific pronouns or nouns previously mention.

## 2.2 Prefix KA- bound to the verb of certain nominalizations

As stated above (sec.1.2), Carapana relies heavily on the use of free and time-bound nominalizations. These constructions may, in many cases, also be relativized into different syntactic positions in a clause, such as: subject, object, recipient, instrument/comitative, possessive, locative, temporal, means, and manner. This phenomenon is equally true of Tatuyo, Wáimaja and Yurutí. However, prefix KA- may or may not occur in the resulting constructions depending on the type of construction involved and the language.

Among the free nominalizations of CTWY, prefix KA- occurs in Carapana, Tatuyo and Wáimaja in the *-bāhō* (human) construction, and then only when the speaker is emphasizing a specific class of people. If no such emphasis is being made, it does not occur. However, in Yurutí, prefix KA- never occurs in this construction as illustrated below:

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<sup>40</sup> Although the Wáimaja form here indicates that prefix KA- may occur prefixed to 'parent' (*ka-pa-ki* [SR-parent-M] 'the/that father') and to 'roots' (*ka-rupa* [SR-CLAS:round.P] 'the/those roots'), the acceptance of KA- in that position was not universal among language assistants. However, no speaker of Yurutí accepts the use of prefix KA- in these positions. Thus, in the examples given here, when a bound noun or possessive pronoun is never present, there is a zero morpheme (marked by  $\emptyset$ ).

<sup>41</sup> By the gloss 'the/that father,' etc., I mean: 'the/that father (the one previously mentioned),' etc.

(44) Tatuyo	Carapana	Wáimaja	Yurutí
<i>(ka-)paa-ri-bāh-ā</i> [(SR-)work-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P]	<i>(ka-)paa-ri-bāh-ā</i> [(SR-)work-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P]	<i>(ka-)pade-ri-bāhō-kā</i> [(SR-)work-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P]	<i>Ø-padede-ri-baso-ka</i> [Ø-work-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P]
‘(class of) workers’	‘(class of) workers’	‘(class of) workers’	‘workers’
<i>(ka-)bue-ri-bāh-ā</i> [(SR-)study-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P]	<i>(ka-)bue-ri-bāh-ā</i> [(SR-)study-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P]	<i>(ka-)bue-ri-bāhō-kā</i> [(SR-)study-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P]	<i>Ø-bue-ri-baso-ka</i> [Ø-study-ADJ-NOM:human-AN.P]
‘(class of) students’	‘(class of) students’	‘(class of) students’	‘students’

Among the time-bound nominalizations of CTWY, prefix KA- occurs in Carapana, Tatuyo and Wáimaja in most constructions. However, in Yurutí, prefix KA- occurs only in those time-bound constructions which have a pronoun as part of their margin, indicating a more specific referent, as illustrated below:

Marginal pronoun absent:

(45) Tatuyo	Carapana	Wáimaja	Yurutí
<i>ka-bue-pa-i</i> [SR-study-FUT-NOM]	<i>ka-bue-pa-i</i> [SR-study-FUT-NOM]	<i>ka-bue-p-i</i> [SR-study-FUT-NOM]	<i>Ø-bue-a-kĩ</i> [Ø-study-FUT-NOM]
‘the future student’	‘the future student’	‘the future student’	‘the future student’
<i>ka-bue-pa-wii</i> [SR-study-FUT-house]	<i>ka-bue-pa-wii</i> [SR-study-FUT-house]	<i>ka-bue-pa-wii</i> [SR-study-FUT-house]	<i>Ø-bue-ati-wii</i> [Ø-study-FUT-house]
‘the future school’	‘the future school’	‘the future school’	‘the future school’

Marginal pronoun present:

(46) Tatuyo	Carapana	Wáimaja	Yurutí
<i>kĩ ka-bue-pa-i</i> [3M SR-study-FUT-NOM]	<i>kĩ ka-bue-pa-i</i> [3M SR-study-FUT-NOM]	<i>kĩ ka-bue-p-i</i> [3M SR-study-FUT-NOM]	<i>kĩ-ka bue-a-kĩ</i> <sup>42</sup> [3M-SR study-FUT-NOM]
‘his future student’	‘his future student’	‘his future student’	‘his future student’
<i>kĩ ka-bue-pa-wii</i> [3M SR-study-FUT-house]	<i>kĩ ka-bue-pa-wii</i> [3M SR-study-FUT-house]	<i>kĩ ka-bue-pa-wii</i> [3M SR-study-FUT-house]	<i>kĩ-ka bue-ati-wii</i> [3M-SR study-FUT-house]
‘his future school’	‘his future school’	‘his future school’	‘his future school’

What becomes apparent in comparing CTWY in the examples above (including those in section 2.1) is that prefix KA- seems to have fallen into disuse in Yurutí as a deictic specifier, as a specifier of a certain class of people, or as a specifier of time in time-bound nominalizations. For Wáimaja, the process of disuse has been somewhat less pronounced, in that prefix KA- still

<sup>42</sup> In Yurutí, KA- seems to be bound to the pronoun as a suffix rather than the verb root as a prefix in Carapana, Tatuyo, and Wáimaja. This division seems to be supported by data in the following section where whole words may occur between KA- and the verb root. Thus I have joined KA- to the preceding pronoun rather than to the verb.

serves as a deictic specifier in certain environments, as a specifier of a certain class of people, and as a specifier of time in all time-bound nominalizations, whether or not they have a pronoun in their margin.<sup>43</sup> The occurrence and function of Tatuyo KA- seems to be identical to that of Carapana.

Also noteworthy is that, where prefix KA- occurs optionally in Carapana, Tatuyo and Wáimaja, specificity seems to be the determining factor as to its presence. Thus, among the nominalizations of these three languages, where a particular class of people is in focus, or a specific time is in focus and active in the construction, prefix KA- will occur. If these factors are not operating, it will not occur. For Yurutí, in contrast, the determining factor for the presence of KA- seems to be not so much specificity of time in time-bound nominalizations, but specificity of a margin, viz., the presence or absence of a pronoun. When the pronoun occurs, KA- will occur. If absent, KA- will not occur.

Among the time-bound nominalizations of CTWY which serve in adverbial clauses, prefix KA- occurs in similar environments in Carapana, Tatuyo and Wáimaja, viz., bound to the verb of the nominalization. However, in Yurutí, again, KA- only occurs where a pronoun is present, and it occurs rather as a suffix bound to the preceding pronoun as illustrated in (47) to (50) below<sup>44</sup>:

Time-bound nominalization in adverbial clauses with KA-:

(47) ‘Before the foreigners sit down, I’m leaving.’

(C)	<i>Yai-a</i> <sup>45</sup> tiger-AN.P	<i>dã</i> 3P	<i>ka-rui-pa-ro-hĩgoye</i> , SR-sit-FUT-NOM-before	<i>yĩ</i> 1S	<i>á-g-ĩ</i> go-FUT-M
(T)	<i>Aw-a</i> Carijona-AN.P	<i>dã</i> 3P	<i>ka-rui-pa-ro-hĩgoye</i> , SR-sit-FUT-NOM-before	<i>yĩ</i> 1S	<i>aa-g-ĩ</i> go-FUT-M
(W)	<i>Peka-bãh-ã</i> fire.stick-human-AN.P	<i>kĩhã</i> 3P	<i>ka-duwĩ-pa-ro-hĩgero</i> , SR-sit-FUT-NOM-before	<i>yĩ</i> 1S	<i>wa-ru-ku</i> go-FUT-M
(Y)	<i>Peka-bãs-ã</i> fire.stick-human-AN.P	<i>kĩhã-ka</i> 3P-SR	<i>dui-rawatiati-sĩgero</i> , sit-FUT.NOM-before		<i>wa-gĩa-ku</i> go-FUT-M

<sup>43</sup> Another possibility is that KA- was never fully incorporated into either of these languages. In either case, what we observe in Yurutí and Wáimaja could be due to the historical and present proximity of the Carapana, Tatuyo and Wáimaja communities as opposed to the Yurutí communities, who live farther away among neighboring Siriano and Tucano communities. Or it could be due to intermarriage norms among CTWY; viz., a high propensity among Carapana, Tatuyo and Wáimaja communities to marry within these three groups; and an equally high propensity among Yurutí to marry into the Siriano and Tucano communities (Malone ms.).

<sup>44</sup> In one Yurutí construction, viz., concessive clause, KA- seems to occur as a suffix bound to the verb as illustrated in (53).

<sup>45</sup> Foreigners are known by the Carapana, and Tatuyo as ‘tiger-people,’ and ‘Carijona-people (a distant, historically fierce tribal community)’ respectively. For Wáimaja, and Yurutí they are known as ‘fire-stick (firearms) people.’

(48) ‘Just as he scolded me, I will not do (i.e., I will not return in kind).’

(C)	<i>Roro</i>	<i>kĩ</i>	<i>ka-tuti-ro-re</i>	<i>bairo</i>	<i>kĩ</i>	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>áperi-g-ĩ.</i>
	badly	3M	SR-scold-PRES.NOM-CMP	like	3M(O)	1S	not.do-FUT-M
(T)	<i>Roro</i>	<i>kĩ</i>	<i>ka-tuti-ro-re</i>	<i>bairo</i>	<i>kĩ</i>	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>atĩ-ke-k-ĩ.</i>
	badly	3M	SR-scold-PRES.NOM-CMP	like	3M(O)	1S	do-NEG-FUT-M
(W)	<i>Yāyārō</i>	<i>kĩ</i>	<i>ka-tuti-ro-re</i>	<i>biro</i>	<i>kĩ-rē</i>	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>tii-ti-ru-ku.</i>
	badly	3M	SR-scold-PRES.NOM-CMP	like	3M-CMP	1S	do-NEG-FUT-M
(Y)	<i>Kĩ-ka</i>	<i>yāyārō</i>	<i>tuti-ariro</i>	<i>biro</i>	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>kĩ-rē</i>	<i>tuti-e-ri-ga.</i>
	3M-SR	badly	scold-PRES.NOM	like	1S	3M-CMP	scold-NEG-FUT-M

(49) ‘Like the one who built this house (subject specified), I will build one too.’

(C)	<i>Ati-wii-re</i>	<i>ka-kēdō-rik-i-re</i>	<i>bairo</i>	<i>ka-roa-ro</i>
	this-house-CMP	SR-build-PST-NOM-CMP	like	SR-be.good-ADV
	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>kēdō-g-ĩ</i>	<i>yĩ-kĩã.</i>	
	1S	build-FUT-3M	1S-CMP	
(T)	<i>Ati-wii-re</i>	<i>ka-kēdō-rik-i-re</i>	<i>bairo</i>	<i>ka-roa-ro</i>
	this-house-CMP	SR-build-PST-NOM-CMP	like	SR-be.good-ADV
	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>kēdō-g-ĩ</i>	<i>yĩ-kēdã.</i>	
	1S	build-FUT-3M	1S-CMP	
(W)	<i>Ati-wii-re</i>	<i>ka-kēdō-rik-i-re</i>	<i>biro-ra</i>	<i>āyũ-rō</i>
	this-house-CMP	SR-build-PST-NOM-CMP	like-EMP	be.good-ADV
	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>kēdō-ru-ku</i>	<i>yĩ-kã.</i>	
	1S	build-FUT-3M	1S-CMP	
(Y)	<i>Ati-wii-re</i>	$\emptyset$ - <i>ti-rig-i-re</i>	<i>biro</i>	<i>yũ-rō</i>
	this-house-CMP	$\emptyset$ -build-PST-NOM-CMP	like	be.good-ADV
	<i>ti-gia-ku</i>	<i>yĩ-kã.</i>		
	build-FUT.PROB-3M	1S-CMP		

Time-bound nominalization in adverbial clauses without KA-:

(50) ‘Like listening to foreign language (subject unspecified), it was impossible to understand them well.’

(C)	<i>Yai-a-ya-ye</i>	$\emptyset$ - <i>tĩgo-<math>\emptyset</math>-i-re</i>	<i>bairo</i>	<i>ka-roa-ro</i>
	tiger-AN.P-POS-language	$\emptyset$ -hear-PRES-NOM-CMP	like	SR-be.good-ADV
	<i>dã-rē</i>	<i>tĩgo-bãsi-a-bã-dõ.</i>		
	3P-CMP	hear-be.able-IMPL-PRIV-PST.PROB.INAN		
(T)	<i>Aw-a-ye</i>	$\emptyset$ - <i>api-<math>\emptyset</math>-i-re</i>	<i>bairo</i>	<i>ka-roa-ro</i>
	Carijona-AN.P-language	$\emptyset$ -hear-PRES-NOM-CMP	like	SR-be.good-ADV
	<i>dã-rē</i>	<i>api-bãhi-a-bã-dõ.</i>		
	3P-CMP	hear-be.able-IMPL-PRIV-PST.PROB.INAN		
(W)	<i>Peka-bãhã-ye</i>	$\emptyset$ - <i>tio-<math>\emptyset</math>-gi-re</i>	<i>biro</i>	<i>ãnu-rō</i>
	fire.stick-human-language	$\emptyset$ -hear-PRES-NOM-CMP	like	be.good-ADV
	<i>kĩhã-rē</i>	<i>tio-bãhi-yã-bã-dĩ.</i>		
	3P-CMP	hear-be.able-IMPL-PRIV-PST.PROB.INAN		
(Y)	<i>Peka-bãsi-ye</i>	$\emptyset$ - <i>tio-<math>\emptyset</math>-gi-re</i>	<i>biro</i>	<i>ñu-rō</i>
	fire.stick-human-language	$\emptyset$ -hear-PRES-NOM-CMP	like	be.good-ADV
	<i>kĩhã-rē</i>	<i>tio-bãsi-yã-bã-dĩ.</i>		
	3P-CMP	hear-be.able-IMPL-PRIV-PST.PROB.INAN		

When the head of the nominalized adverbial clause of Carapana, Tatuyo and Wáimaja is different than the subject of the verb, as in (47) and (48), a pronoun is necessary. When the head is the same as the subject of the verb, as in (49) and (50), a pronoun does not occur. KA- is absent when a non-specific referent is intended and time is not in focus. Elsewhere, when a specific referent is intended and time is in focus, prefix KA- will occur. Yurutí works similarly. However, as noted above, KA will not occur when a pronoun does not occur, as in (49).

### 2.3 Prefix KA- bound to the verb of certain dependent clauses

Among the time-bound nominalizations of CTWY which serve in dependent clauses, prefix KA- occurs in similar environments in Carapana, Tatuyo and Wáimaja, viz., bound to the nominalized verb. However, in Yurutí, again KA- only occurs where a pronoun is present, and it occurs rather as a suffix bound to the preceding pronoun as illustrated in (51) to (58) below<sup>46</sup>:

Same-subject head to tail simple linking clauses (without KA-):

(51) ‘Upon arriving there, we stayed (there) a day.’

(C)	<i>To-re</i> there-CMP	<i>Ø-eta-rã,</i> Ø-arrive-AN.P	<i>hĩ-kã</i> one-INAN.S	<i>rĩbĩ</i> day	<i>hãã</i> 1P(EXCL)	<i>ã-bĩ.</i> be-1,2.PST.WIT
(T)	<i>To-re</i> there-CMP	<i>Ø-eha-rã,</i> Ø-arrive-AN.P	<i>hĩ-kã</i> one-INAN.S	<i>rĩbĩ</i> day	<i>hãã</i> 1P(EXCL)	<i>ka-ã-bĩ.</i> SR-be-1,2.PST.WIT
(W)	<i>To-re</i> there-CMP	<i>Ø-ea-rã</i> Ø-arrive-AN.P	<i>hĩ-kã</i> one-INAN.S	<i>rĩbĩ</i> day	<i>hãã</i> 1P(EXCL)	<i>dĩ-wĩ.</i> be-1,2.PST.WIT
(Y)	<i>To-re</i> there-CMP	<i>Ø-ea-rã,</i> Ø-arrive-AN.P	<i>i-ka</i> one-INAN.S	<i>bireko</i> day		<i>dĩ-wĩ.</i> be-1,2.PST.WIT

Prefix KA- in different-subject head to tail simple linking clauses:

(52) ‘When he said that, I said, “OK (to him).’

(C)	<i>Bairo</i> thus	<i>kĩ</i> 3M	<i>ka-ĩ-rõ,</i> SR-say-DS	<i>“Hai,”</i> OK	<i>y-</i> 1S-	<i>ĩ-w-ĩ</i> say-PST.WIT-1.2	<i>(kĩ-rẽ).</i> (3M-CMP)
(T)	<i>Tobairo</i> thus	<i>kĩ</i> 3M	<i>ka-ĩ-rõ,</i> SR-say-DS	<i>“Hai,”</i> OK	<i>yĩ</i> 1S	<i>ka-ĩ-w-ĩ</i> SR-say-PST.WIT-1.2	<i>(kĩ-rẽ).</i> (3M-CMP)
(W)	<i>Tobiro</i> thus	<i>kĩ</i> 3M	<i>ka-ĩ-rõ,</i> SR-say-DS	<i>“Hai,”</i> OK	<i>yĩ</i> 1S	<i>ĩ-w-ĩ</i> say-PST.WIT-1.2	<i>(kĩ-rẽ).</i> (3M-CMP)
(Y)	<i>Kĩ-ka</i> 3M-SR	<i>biro</i> thus	<i>ĩ-yẽrõkã,</i> say-DS	<i>“Hai,”</i> OK		<i>ĩ-w-ĩ</i> say-PST.WIT-1.2	<i>(kĩ-rẽ).</i> (3M-CMP)

Same-subject head to tail concessive linking clauses (without KA- in Carapana, Tatuyo, and Wáimaja):

<sup>46</sup> In one Yurutí construction, viz., concessive clause, KA- seems to occur as a suffix bound to the verb as illustrated in (53) and (54).

(53) ‘Although she heard what he said, she didn’t respond to him.’

(C)	<i>Tie</i> this	<i>kĩ</i> 3M	<i>ka-ĩ-rĩ-hẽ-rẽ</i> SR-say-PRES-NOM-CMP	$\emptyset$ - <i>tĩgo-bĩ-õ-kĩã</i> , $\emptyset$ -hear-FRUS-F-SS.CCS	<i>kĩ</i> 3M(O)	<i>yi-eti-ya-bõ</i> . respond-NEG-PRES-F
(T)	<i>Tie</i> this	<i>kĩ</i> 3M	<i>ka-ĩ-rĩ-hẽ-rẽ</i> SR-say-PRES-NOM-CMP	$\emptyset$ - <i>api-ba-ko-kẽdã</i> , $\emptyset$ -hear-FRUS-F-SS.CCS	<i>kĩ</i> 3M(O)	<i>yi-ke-Ø-bõ</i> . respond-NEG-PRES-F
(W)	<i>Te</i> this	<i>kĩ</i> 3M	<i>ka-ĩ-rĩ-hẽ-rẽ</i> SR-say-PRES-NOM-CMP	$\emptyset$ - <i>tio-bĩ-gõ-kĩã</i> , $\emptyset$ -hear-FRUS-F-SS.CCS	<i>kĩ-rẽ</i> 3M-CMP	<i>yi-ti-Ø-bõ</i> . respond-NEG-PRES-F
(Y)		<i>Kĩ-ka</i> 3M-SR	<i>ĩ-r-ẽ-rẽ</i> say-PRES-NOM-CMP	<i>tio-ka-pe-o-kãrã</i> , hear-SR-FRUS-F-SS.CCS	<i>kĩ-rẽ</i> 3M-CMP	<i>yi-eri-go</i> . respond-NEG-PRES.F

Prefix KA- in different-subject head to tail concessive linking clauses:

(54) ‘Although Santiago is a strong man, Jaime for his part hit him (i.e. Santiago).’

(C)	<i>Santiago</i> Santiago	<i>ka-tutua-i</i> SR-strong-M	<i>kĩ</i> 3M	<i>ka-dĩ-bĩ-atakĩãrẽ</i> , SR-be-FRUS-DS.CCS	<i>Jaime</i>	<i>piame</i> for.his.part
	<i>kĩ</i> 3M(O)	<i>pa-w-ĩ</i> , hit-PST.WIT-3M	( <i>Santiago-re</i> ). (Santiago-CMP)			
(T)	<i>Santiago</i> Santiago	<i>ka-tutua-i</i> SR-strong-M	<i>kĩ</i> 3M	<i>ka-dĩ-bao-pakẽdãrẽ</i> , SR-be-FRUS-DS.CCS	<i>Jaime</i>	<i>bãkã</i> for.his.part
	<i>kĩ</i> 3M(O)	<i>ka-pa-w-ĩ</i> , SR-hit-PST.WIT-3M	( <i>Santiago-re</i> ). (Santiago-CMP)			
(W)	<i>Santiago</i> Santiago	<i>ka-tutua-gĩ</i> SR-strong-M	<i>kĩ</i> 3M	<i>ka-dĩ-bĩ-hatakããrẽ</i> , SR-be-FRUS-DS.CCS	<i>Jaime</i>	<i>pee</i> for.his.part
	<i>kĩ-rẽ</i> 3M-CMP	<i>pa-w-i</i> , hit-PST.WIT-3M	( <i>Santiago-re</i> ). (Santiago-CMP)			
(Y)	<i>Santiago</i> Santiago	<i>tutua-gĩ</i> strong-M	<i>dĩ-ka-pe-i-kãrã</i> , be-SR-FRUS-M-DS.CCS		<i>Jaime</i>	<i>pee</i> for.his.part
	<i>pa-w-i</i> , hit-PST.WIT-3M	( <i>Santiago-re</i> ). (Santiago-CMP)				

Prefix KA- in same-subject conditional clauses:

(55) ‘If he wants it, he’ll buy it.’

(C)	<i>Tie-re</i> that.stuff-CMP	<i>kĩ</i> 3M	<i>ka-boo-ata</i> , SR-want-CND	<i>wapati-g-i-bĩ</i> . buy-FUT-M-3M
(T)	<i>Tie-re</i> that.stuff-CMP	<i>kĩ</i> 3M	<i>ka-boo-ata</i> , SR-want-CND	<i>wapaye-g-i-bĩ</i> . buy-FUT-M-3M
(W)	<i>Te-re</i> that.stuff-CMP	<i>kĩ</i> 3M	<i>ka-boo-hata</i> , SR-want-CND	<i>wapati-ru-ku-bĩ</i> . buy-FUT-M-3M
(Y)	<i>Kĩ-ka</i> 3M-SR	<i>tie-re</i> that.stuff-CMP	<i>boo-yẽrõkã</i> , want-CND	<i>wapati-i-ga-wi</i> . buy-M-FUT-3M

Prefix KA- in different-subject conditional clauses:

(56) 'If he wants it, I'll give it to him.'

(C)	<i>Kĩ</i>	<i>ka-boo-ata,</i>	<i>kĩ</i>	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>ho-g-i.</i>
	3M	SR-want-CND	3M(O)	1S	give-FUT-M
(T)	<i>Kĩ</i>	<i>ka-boo-ata,</i>	<i>kĩ</i>	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>ho-g-i.</i>
	3M	SR-want-CND	3M(O)	1S	give-FUT-M
(W)	<i>Kĩ</i>	<i>ka-boo-hata,</i>	<i>kĩ-rẽ</i>	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>tiko-ru-ku.</i>
	3M	SR-want-CND	3M-CMP	1S	give-FUT-M
(Y)	<i>Kĩ-ka</i>	<i>boo-yẽrõkã,</i>	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>kĩ-rẽ</i>	<i>tiko-gia-ku.</i>
	3M-SR	want-CND	1S	3M-CMP	give-FUT-M

(57) 'If he doesn't pay me, I'm going to scold him.'

(C)	<i>Yĩ</i>	<i>kĩ</i>	<i>ka-wapati-eti-kõãtã,</i>	<i>kĩ</i>	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>tuti-g-i.</i>
	1S(O)	3M	SR-give.wages-NEG-CND	3M(O)	1S	scold-FUT-1.2M
(T)	<i>Yĩ</i>	<i>kĩ</i>	<i>ka-wapaye-kẽ-pata,</i>	<i>kĩ</i>	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>tuti-g-i.</i>
	1S(O)	3M	SR-give.wages-NEG-CND	3M(O)	1S	scold-FUT-1.2M
(W)	<i>Yĩ-re</i>	<i>kĩ</i>	<i>ka-wapati-tĩ-hata,</i>	<i>kĩ-rẽ</i>	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>tuti-ru-ku</i>
	1S-CMP	3M	SR-give.wages-NEG-CND	3M-CMP	1S	scold-FUT-1.2M
(Y)	<i>Kĩ-ka</i>	<i>yĩ-re</i>	<i>wapati-eri-yẽrõkã,</i>	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>kĩ-rẽ</i>	<i>tuti-gia-ku.</i>
	3M-SR	1S-CMP	give.wages-NEG-CND	1S	3M-CMP	scold-FUT-1.2M

(58) If/when they (people in general) ate the fatty ones, they (game animals) were flavorful.'

(C)	<i>Ka-ise-ki-dã-rẽ</i>	<i>Ø-iga-ata,</i>	<i>ka-roa-ro-bãhũ</i>	<i>isea-w-ã.</i>
	SR-fat-ATT-3P-CMP	Ø-eat-CND	SR-be.good-ADV-AUG	be.flavorful-PST.WIT-3P
(T)	<i>Ka-ise-ki-dã-rẽ</i>	<i>Ø-iga-ata,</i>	<i>ka-roa-ro-bãhũ</i>	<i>ka-isea-w-ã.</i>
	SR-fat-ATT-3P-CMP	Ø-eat-CND	SR-be.good-ADV-AUG	SR-be.flavorful-PST.WIT-3P
(W)	<i>Ka-ihe-kĩti-rã-rẽ</i>	<i>Ø-baa-hata,</i>	<i>ãyũ-ro-bãhũrõpẽ</i>	<i>poa-w-a.</i>
	SR-fat-ATT-3P-CMP	Ø-eat-CND	be.good-ADV-AUG	be.flavorful-PST.WIT-3P
(Y)	<i>Use-kĩti-ra-re</i>	<i>Ø-yaa-yẽrõkã,</i>	<i>yũ-ro-horo</i>	<i>poa-w-a.</i>
	fat-ATT-3P-CMP	Ø-eat-CND	be.good-ADV-AUG	be.flavorful-PST.WIT-3P

What one observes in simple head-to-tail linking and concessive dependent clause types in Carapana, Tatuyo and Wáimaja is that when the subject of the dependent clause is the same as the subject of the independent clause, the subject is marked by a gender suffix on the dependent verb. Thus there is no need for a pronoun specifying the subject of the dependent clause, and prefix KA- does not occur. Where the subject of the dependent clause is different from the subject of the independent clause, there is no gender suffix marked on the dependent clause, only a general suffix. Thus a pronoun is required to specify the subject of the dependent clause and prefix KA- occurs. If a pronoun occurs, KA- always occurs.

In conditional clauses in Carapana, Tatuyo and Wáimaja there is no gender suffix on the dependent clause, but, once again, only a general suffix. Thus a pronoun is generally required to specify the subject of the dependent clause and prefix KA- occurs. However, in those instances where a non-specific subject is intended in the conditional clause, as in (58) above, neither prefix KA- nor a specific pronoun occurs. Similar to the nominalizations within the adverbial clause of manner, specificity is apparently the conditioning factor as to occurrence.

Yurutí works similarly. However, unlike Carapana, Tatuyo and Wáimaja, KA- is bound to the preceding pronoun as a suffix, rather than being a prefix bound to the verb of the construction. Also, in concessive clauses, KA- occurs whether or not there is a change in subject, albeit, as a suffix following the verb root, as in (53) and (54).

#### 2.4 Prefix KA- bound to the verb of certain independent clauses

As indicated earlier, prefix KA- may also occur before the *independent* verb root in Tatuyo, in which case it functions as a marker to distinguish past tense from recent past tense. Carapana, Wáimaja and Yurutí make no distinction with KA- but rather reflect the differences in tense in the inflection of the verb as in the following examples:

(59) Past:

Tatuyo	Carapana	Wáimaja	Yurutí
<i>ka-tuti-w-ĩ</i> [SR-scold-PST.WIT-3M] 'he scolded'	<i>tuti-w-ĩ</i> [scold-PST.WIT-3M] 'he scolded'	<i>tuti-w-i</i> [scold-PST.WIT-3M] 'he scolded'	<i>tuti-w-i</i> [scold-PST.WIT-3M] 'he scolded'
<i>ka-paa-w-ĩ</i> [SR-work-PST.WIT-3M] 'he worked'	<i>paa-w-ĩ</i> [work-PST.WIT-3M] 'he worked'	<i>pade-w-i</i> [work-PST.WIT-3M] 'he worked'	<i>padede-w-i</i> [work-PST.WIT-3M] 'he worked'

(60) Recent past:

Tatuyo	Carapana	Wáimaja	Yurutí
<i>tuti-w-ĩ</i> [scold-RPST.WIT-3M] 'he just scolded'	<i>tuti-a-bĩ</i> [scold-RPST.WIT-3M] 'he just scolded'	<i>tuti-haw-i</i> [scold-RPST.WIT-3M] 'he just scolded'	<i>tuti-aw-i</i> [scold-RPST.WIT-3M] 'he just scolded'
<i>paa-w-ĩ</i> [work-RPST.WIT-3M] 'he just worked'	<i>paa-a-bĩ</i> [work-RPST.WIT-3M] 'he just worked'	<i>pade-haw-i</i> [work-RPST.WIT-3M] 'he just worked'	<i>padede-aw-i</i> [work-RPST.WIT-3M] 'he just worked'

It is difficult to see what relationship this prefix KA- may have to specificity in Tatuyo in this particular environment. Perhaps it comes from another ARAWAKAN morpheme indicating past tense.<sup>47</sup> Or perhaps Tatuyo, having lost at one time the contrast between past and recent past,

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<sup>47</sup> Junia Schauer, who studies Yucuna, a WESTERN NIWIKI ARAWAKAN language spoken to the south of CTWY, states in a grammatical sketch of Yucuna (Schauer, J. *El Yucuna*, ms., 1993:20.), "El pasado remoto... lleva la raíz del verbo con los prefijos de persona o sufijos de género y número, y con o sin el verbo auxiliar *i?ima'ka*. Cuando el verbo es precedido por ciertos modificadores se lleva *-ka* ..." She gives the example: *ri-'ya i?ima'ka* [3M-llorar existir/PAS.RMT] "El lloró."

came to use KA- once again in these independent clauses to convey remote past *as distinct* from recent past. This analysis of the prefix KA- merits further study at a later time.<sup>48</sup>

Save for this anomaly in Tatuyo, there are two threads of meaning running through the syntax of CTWY grammar in relationship to prefix KA-, one of which seems to be a deictic function, and the other that of specificity. A close observance of these relationships brings us to a unified definition of KA-.

### 3.0 A unified definition of KA- and its function in Carapana grammar

There are two threads of meaning running through the syntax of Carapana grammar in relationship to prefix KA-, one of which seems to be a deictic function, and the other that of specificity. For the former, KA- functions as a pro-form for the possessor or point of reference, when the referent is known and current in the discourse context, in certain bound nouns, classifiers, and postpositionals of location and time. For the latter, where prefix KA- optionally occurs, specificity seems to be the determining factor as to its presence. Thus, among nominalizations where a specific time is in focus and active in the construction or a particular class of people are in focus, prefix KA- will occur. Also, where there is a change in subject in dependent clauses, or emphasis requires an explicit pronoun, prefix KA- will occur. If these factors are not operating, it will not occur.

With this in light, we define Carapana KA- as “specific referent.”

## 4.0 Function of KA in Arawakan languages

### 4.1 Linguistic universals/historical perspective

Prefix KA- seems to be one of a number of morphemes which commonly occur in several major language families located in Central and South America. The largest as well as most widely dispersed of these families, MAIPURAN ARAWAKAN,<sup>49</sup> has a significant distribution of KA. According to Wise (1990:110), “Resígaro, Amuesha, and the Campa group are the only languages (among the MAIPURAN ARAWAKAN language family) which do not have a prefix with *ka/ga*.” David Payne (1990:79-80) suggests that the morpheme KA has an even wider distribution. He postulates that *-ka* stem closure, i.e., thematic suffix of the MAIPURAN

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<sup>48</sup> Wilson (1992), who until recently worked among the Achagua, an ARAWAKAN community to the northwest of CTWY and related to Piapoco, states in a personal communication, “As a prefix, *ka-* adjectivizes a smallish closed set of nouns, and means “having.” (It has an opposite: *ma-* “lacking”). Elsewhere, *KA-* is *exceptionally a non-productive verb prefix, allowing the verb to appear sentence initial (otherwise not permitted). This particular ka-seems to be evolving thus: ka- > a- > #-” (italics mine).*

<sup>49</sup> The MAIPURAN ARAWAKAN language family, i.e., “mainstream” Arawakan, has perhaps the largest distribution of languages in all of South America, from the Caribbean basin in the north to the Bolivian lowlands in the south, from the Atlantic Coast in the east to the foothills of the Andes in the west. In the northern part of South America are the MAIPURAN ARAWAKAN languages – Guajiro (Wayuu), Lokono, Paraujano, Taíno, Wapishana, Newiki, Piapoco, Achagua, Curripaco, Resígaro, Cabiyaí, and Yucuna. In the central area are found Garífuna, Palicur, Amuesha, Chamicuro, Waurá, and Parecís. In the south there are found Terena, Ignaciano, Baure, Piro, Apurina, and Campa.

ARAWAKAN family, the *ka* auxiliary verb of the QUECHUAN family, and similar affixes in other South American language families are widespread forms. Moreover, Payne proposes that the morpheme KA numbers among the important widespread forms or “panamericanisms” of the native languages of the Americas. One reason that many of us who have studied TUCANOAN languages have not suspected the potential relationship of TUCANOAN KA- with that of ARAWAKAN KA earlier is due, in part, to the fact that linguists engaging in comparative studies generally focus on languages *within* their language family and less often *without*.

If then, we posit that TUCANOAN KA- and ARAWAKAN KA are related one to another, the first question we need to ask is, “In which direction did the influence occur?” Due to fact that KA is definitely a feature common to the entire MAIPURAN ARAWAKAN family, whereas it is considerably more restricted in TUCANOAN languages, it would seem logical that the influence was from the former to the latter and not vice versa. In addition, the speakers of MAIPURAN ARAWAKAN languages are far more numerous than those of TUCANOAN languages. It will be noted that the people of the northwest Amazon were reported to have been quite mobile due to intertribal warfare, population pressures, fear of sicknesses associated with certain areas, and more recently, conflict with non-indigenous settlers. These conditions apparently gave rise to contact over decades, if not centuries, between certain TUCANOAN and ARAWAKAN groups (Stark 1985:165; Hugh-Jones 1979:19).<sup>50</sup>

The ARAWAKAN communities most proximate to CTWY (historically, if not all currently) belong to the Western Newiki subgroup, viz., Yucuna, Cabiyaí, and Piapoco (for convenience hereafter referred to as ARAWAKAN YCP).<sup>51</sup> Oliver (1989), using Matteson’s comparative volume on taxonomical relationships of American Indian languages, postulates that those ARAWAKAN communities which formed the Western Newiki family migrated up the Rio Negro then separated southwest to the Caqueta/Apaporis areas, west up the Vaupés, and northwest up the Içana.<sup>52</sup> The Yucuna, as early as 1906, are reported to have been living on the Miritíparaná; the Cabiyaí, as early as 1911, on the Cananarí and the middle course of the Apaporis River; and the

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<sup>50</sup> There could, however, be (an)other possible reason(s) for the existence of prefix KA- in CTWY. Comrie writes in *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology* (Comrie 1989:201): “If we observe similarities between two languages, then there are, in principle, four reasons why these similarities may exist. First, they could be due to chance. Secondly, they could stem from the fact that the two languages are genetically related, and have inherited the common property from their common ancestor. Thirdly, the two languages could be in areal contact: one language could have borrowed the property from the other, or both could have borrowed it from some third language, either directly or through the mediation of yet other languages. Fourthly, the property could be a language universal, either absolute or a tendency.” I have chosen for this paper to advance the third reason, which seems most logical to us, i.e., CTWY were historically in areal contact with the Western Newiki family, during which time KA- was borrowed from them.

<sup>51</sup> This particular grouping is found in *Comparative Studies in Amerindian Languages*, Mouton, The Hague, E. Matteson (et. al) 1972:228.

<sup>52</sup> *The Archaeological, Linguistic and Ethnohistorical Evidence for the Expansion of Arawakan into Northwestern Venezuela and Northeastern Colombia*, University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1989:vol. 1, pgs. 99-102.

Piapoco, as early as 1889, on the Guaviare River.<sup>53</sup> With the exception of the Piapoco, who continued to migrate northwest into the Llanos, each of these communities occupies approximately the same territory today as it did at the turn of the century. However, the incorporation of KA- into CTWY likely began at an earlier date. Oliver citing reports of early Jesuit chroniclers states:

...from about 1680 onward most of the Caquetío of the Llanos had vanished...(being replaced) by the widespread and dominant Achagua.<sup>54</sup>

Also:

From a lexicostatistical point of view, the Achagua had diverged from Piapoco (and Yucuna) ...by about A.D. 1100 ...having begun their journey toward the Llanos from the Upper Negro Basin, through the Inírida-Guaviare and into the Llanos. They may have also spread across the upper tributaries of the Içana-Vaupés, Inírida and Guaviare into the Llanos, while the Piapoco-Yucuna remained behind.<sup>55</sup>

Perhaps it was during this ‘sojourn’ along the middle Vaupés-Apaporis Rivers, that the ancestors of the Piapoco, as well as those of the Yucuna (and Cabiyarí), who never ‘moved on,’ intermarried with the ancestors of CTWY giving rise to the incorporation of KA- into TUCANOAN languages. What seems likely is that, at some point during the migration of one or more of these ARAWAKAN communities, or perhaps during the migration of CTWY, they came into contact with one another. During this interaction, what Shackt (1989-1990:151-152) identifies as “matrimonial alliances” were formed, and as a result, succeeding generations incorporated the morpheme KA into CTWY.<sup>56</sup>

In the sections that follow, I discuss the use of KA- as a pro-form, i.e., standing in for a known referent, and as a marker of specificity, particularly in nominalizations in the WESTERN NEWIKI ARAWAKAN family, showing the likely origins of KA- in CTWY.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> *Classification of South American Indian Languages*, University of California, Los Angeles, California, C. Loukotka 1968:130-136.

<sup>54</sup> Oliver 1989:303; note too, that Achagua is a close proximate of Piapoco.

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.*, pg. 496.

<sup>56</sup> It is interesting to note that Shackt (1989-1990:151) reports that an indigenous community now speaking Yucuna, viz., the *Jupichiya* (or Matapí) are reported by mainstream Yucuna as not actually being historic Yucuna, but rather descendents of another community, “probably TUCANOAN,” who after forming matrimonial alliances with the Yucuna, eventually exchanged their mother tongue for the Yucuna language.

<sup>57</sup> Although I postulate that KA was introduced to CTWY (EASTERN TUCANOAN) after this community separated from their WESTERN TUCANOAN cousins, KA may have entered earlier when the two groups were still united. Cook and Criswell (1993:32) demonstrate what appears to be a similar morpheme in Koreguaje, a member of the WESTERN TUCANOAN family. If it is valid, another theory of adaption may need to be developed.

## 4.2 Morpheme KA in Yucuna

In Yucuna, Stanley Schauer (1974:5) identifies nine discourse features which he describes as “sequence markers.”<sup>58</sup> Three of these have KA as a constituent of their construction. They are *e kaha*, *kaha ewaha*, and *kaha rikaha*, which Schauer glosses as “then also,” “finally/at last” and “right then” respectively. Concerning *e kaha* “then also,” Schauer states:

*E kaha* does not occur as frequently as does *e*<sup>59</sup> but, like *e*, it is not normally found at the beginning of a new paragraph. *E kaha* is used when a major participant is brought back on stage after a temporary interval. It is also used when there is additional action by the same agent, but with a change of referent such as a switch of addressee or a change of time or location.

Concerning *kaha ewaha* “finally/at last,” Schauer states:

With a locative function *-wa* means ‘along’ as in *iñe’epú chuwá* ‘along the road.’ *Ewá* and *kaha ewaha* likewise deal with the stages reached along the sequence line. *Ewá* can be translated as ‘at that stage’ or ‘during that time,’ whereas *kaha ewaha* means ‘finally’ or ‘at last.’

Concerning *kaha rikaha* “right then,” Schauer states:

*Kaha rikaha* occurs infrequently. It functions as a deictic element pointing anaphorically to a precise cause, event, or location on which a climactic event hinges.

Schauer provides the following example (underlining *kaha rikaha* mine)<sup>60</sup>:

(61a.) *Wa'ahini wani ina'uqué taka'aká richohé.*  
 always very people die in.it  
 People frequently die in it (the rapids).

(b.) *Ahopana ka'axná ehaño nayani wa'até richohé.*  
 others perhaps wet their.children with in.it  
 Some of them capsize with their children there.

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<sup>58</sup> Schauer states: “There are nine sequence markers which occur sentence initially with considerable frequency in Yucuna NARRATIVE DISCOURSE. These are *e*, *e kaha*, *eha*, *eko*, *eta*, *eyá*, *ewá*, *kaha ewaha*, and *kaha rikaha*. Of these, *e* and *e kaha* have the greatest frequency of occurrence.” Schauer glosses these markers as: “then,” “then also,” “just then,” “then (in the distance, or in the future),” “just then (emphatic),” “there (in contrast),” “at that stage,” “finally/at last” and “right then” respectively.

<sup>59</sup> see fn. 58 for meaning of *e*.

<sup>60</sup> For consistency in this paper, I have written all Yucuna examples phonemically so they appear somewhat different from Schauer's article. Piapoco examples, which follow, have also been adjusted somewhat from Klumpp's grammar for purposes of consistency.

(c.) *Kaha rikaha nakapichako richohé.*  
 right.then they.get.destroyed in.it  
 Right then they lose their lives.

(d.) *Eyá ahopana kuwá'año mawirúke'echa ka'axná.*  
 there others cross.over drunk perhaps  
 Others perhaps cross over there while they are drunk.

(e.) *Kaha rikaha nataha'aká richohé.*  
 right.then they.die in.it  
 Right then they die in the rapids.

Similar to Carapana, there seem to be two threads of meaning running through Yucuna syntax in sequence markers utilizing KA. One is a deictic function, and the other, specificity. For the former, a sequence marker beginning with prefix KA-, viz., *kaha rikaha* “right then,” functions as a deictic specifier or a point of reference when the referent is known and current in the discourse content, as in (61c) and (61e) above. Another, although more cumbersome, gloss might be “precisely at that time.”

For the latter, where a specific time is in focus and active in the construction, and that time changes, or where a change in a referent occurs, a parallel sequence marker, viz., *e kaha* “later/then (switch referent)” occurs. Elsewhere, *e kaha* signals a change in time, or a change in referent/subject. Lastly, *kaha ewaha* signals a specific time, viz., the finality of specific events in the story line/discourse. Thus, the meaning/function of Yucuna KA on the discourse level is not unlike that of Carapana prefix KA-.<sup>61</sup>

Parallels between Yucuna and Carapana continue on lower grammatical levels. In her grammatical sketch of Yucuna, Junia Schauer (1993:39) states that suffix *-ka* [SPEC], which Schauer glosses as “specifier,” occurs as the base of all personal pronouns (free forms),<sup>62</sup> as a nominalizer/subordinator in all subordinate clauses, as a pre-verbal modifier in adverbs and certain adverbial clauses, and as a marker of progressive action in other clauses.

As a simple nominalizer, Schauer indicates that *-ka* [SPEC] expresses the concept of “this class” or “this type (of thing)” specifying that which it modifies. Examples:

(62) *Na he'i-ka ri-'ka?*  
 what snake-SPEC 3M-SPEC  
 What kind of snake (is) this?

<sup>61</sup> However, David Payne (personal communication) indicates that these sorts of connectives tend to be transitory in nature and thus of rather recent development in most Arawakan languages. Consequently, I do not posit that CTWY KA- originated from these connectives. Rather, these connectives and CTWY KA- most likely came from a more stable lexical KA in Yucuna, Piapoco, and/or Cabiari discussed in succeeding paragraphs.

<sup>62</sup> The personal pronouns (free forms) of Yucuna are: *nu-'ka* [1S-SPEC] “I/me,” *we-'ka* [1P-SPEC] “we/us,” *pi-'ka* [2S-SPEC] “you,” *i-'ka* [2P-SPEC] “you (plural),” *ri-'ka* [M-SPEC] “he/him,” *ru-'ka* [F-SPEC] “she/her,” *ne-'ka* [3P-SPEC] “they/them,” and *ri-'ka* [INAN-SPEC] “it.”

- (63) *'Na-ka ri-'ka?*  
 what-SPEC 3M-SPEC  
 What kind of thing (is) this?

In each situation, the referent is already in mind. Thus, like Carapana, the speaker is thinking of a specific nominal referent rather than a generic one. Here, Yucuna *-ka* seems to function as a deictic specifier or a point of reference when the referent is known and current in the discourse.

Of particular interest in our comparison of Yucuna and Carapana KA is the position and function of this morpheme in the nominalized clause of Yucuna. Here, Schauer indicates that, in those cases in which the head of the nominalized clause corresponds to that of the subject of the verb, the clause takes the suffix *-ka* [SPEC] followed by a gender/number suffix corresponding to the verb of the independent clause. In such cases, Schauer indicates that Yucuna *-ka* [SPEC] functions as a nominalizer or subordinator of the dependent clause.<sup>63</sup> The resulting grammatical construction of this nominalized clause in Yucuna is identical to what we find in Carapana, save for the position of KA. In Carapana, KA occurs before the verb; in Yucuna, after. Example:

- (64) ‘Those who were just here will arrive once again.’

(C)	<i>Ato-re</i>	<i>[ka-ādī-bī-ātā-dā]</i>	<i>eta-ga-rā-bā</i>	<i>tūdū.</i>
	here-CMP	SR-be-FRUS-RPST-NOM	arrive-FUT-P-3P	again
(Y)	<i>Ma'ho</i>	<i>[i'imi-'cha-ka-ño]</i>	<i>i'phá-he-ño</i>	<i>'piño.</i>
	here	be-RPST-SPEC-P	arrive-FUT-P	again

Elsewhere in Yucuna, where the head of the nominalized clause does not correspond to the subject of the verb, suffix *-ka* [SPEC] occurs followed by *-re* [REL], which expresses the relation to the principal verb. Suffixes indicating time and gender/number follow. The resulting grammatical construction, although somewhat different from what we find in Carapana, still has significant parallels in the latter. Examples:

- (65) ‘They are those whom we are looking at.’

(C)	<i>[Bārī</i>	<i>ka-īyā-Ø-rā]</i>	<i>dī-yā-bā</i>	<i>dā.</i>
	1P(INCL)	SR-see-PRES-NOM	be-PRES.IND-3P	3P
(Y)	<i>[Wa'-ma-ka-re-na]</i>	<i>ne-e'ima-ká</i>		
	1P-see-SPEC-REL-P	3P-be-SPEC		

- (66) ‘He took the machete with which I killed the tapir.’

(C)	<i>Yiserikapāĩ</i>	<i>bēdā</i>	<i>weki-re</i>	<i>[yĩ</i>	<i>ka-pahĩā-ata-pāĩ]-rē</i>	<i>dē-w-ĩ.</i>
	machete	with	tapir-CMP	1S	SR-kill-RPST-CLAS-CMP	take-PST.IND-3S
(Y)	<i>Ri-xiña'á</i>	<i>hahalu</i>		<i>[no-'no-ka-re]</i>	<i>a'u</i>	<i>'hema.</i>
	3M-take	machete		1S-kill-SPEC-REL	with	tapir

<sup>63</sup> Schauer states (1993:29): “Claúsulas subordinadas pueden expresar condición, propósito, razón, suposición, secuencia, y acción simultánea, o la negación de éstos. Estas claúsulas pueden preceder o seguir a la claúsula principal, con la excepción de la claúsula de secuencia subordinada que siempre sigue a la principal. Algunos pueden llevar tiempo, otros no. No llevan sufijos de género/número con la excepción de la claúsula relativa. Todas las claúsulas subordinadas llevan el sufijo *-ka*.”

In conclusion, the same two threads of meaning which run through the syntax of Carapana grammar in relationship to prefix KA-, also run through Yucuna in relationship to *ka-/-ka*, viz., a deictic function, and that of specificity. However, in Yucuna, prefix KA- only occurs as a discourse feature in what Stanley Schauer calls “sequence markers,” and then not all such markers.<sup>64</sup> On a lower level, the suffix *-ka* [SPEC] of Yucuna nominalized clauses occurs in an almost identical environment to that of Carapana, save that, in the former, it follows the verb and in the latter, it precedes the verb. Although Junia Schauer indicates in her paper that Yucuna *-ka* [SPEC] functions as a nominalizer/subordinator of the dependent clause, one might also postulate, from the examples above, that Yucuna *-ka* [SPEC] functions similarly, if not identically, to that of Carapana, viz., i.e., specifying a specific time in a specific situation. However, different from Carapana, where there is contrast in some constructions which may or may not take KA- (depending on whether or not specificity of time or situation is in focus), in Yucuna suffix *-ka* [SPEC] occurs in *all* subordinate clauses.

### 4.3 Morpheme KA in Piapoco

Piapoco also utilizes KA as a discourse marker of prominence and/or change of focus of participants, objects, scenes, time, etc. (Deloris Klumpp, personal communication). However, this particular morpheme in Piapoco, unlike Yucuna (and Carapana on lower levels), manifests itself as a suffix rather than a prefix. Klumpp, glossing Piapoco *-ka* [PA] as “positive assertion” in this position, gives the following examples in her grammar (Klumpp 1990:176):

(67) ‘And there (it was that) the tiger killed him (the boy).’

<i>Yá</i>	<i>né-ré-ka</i>	<i>cháwi</i>	<i>i-núa-ni.</i>
and	from-there-PA	tiger	3S-kill-him

(68) ‘And then (it was that) the tiger threw upon himself, the boy.’

<i>Yá</i>	<i>né-íse-ka</i>	<i>cháwi</i>	<i>i-úka</i>	<i>i-ínata-bàa-wa</i>	<i>yá-í</i>	<i>sùma-ì-ka.</i>
and	from-then-PA	tiger	3S-threw	3S-upon-area-REFLX	he-near	child-M-SR

In (67), *-ka* [PA] appears to mark prominence or change of focus in location; in (68), time. Elsewhere, Piapoco *-ka* [PA] occurs as a verb suffix giving a positive, affirmative, or completed aspect to the meaning of the verb. So, it does not occur in negative statements, questions, imperatives, nor in a series of clauses leading up to a final verb of completed action (D. Klumpp, personal communication). Examples:<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> For the moment we disregard the fact that Yucuna like most, if not all, ARAWAKAN languages has a well-used homophomous prefix *ka-* [ATT] which means “having an attribute.” Its counterpart is *ma-* [PRIV] meaning “lacking an attribute.” However, according to David Payne (personal communication), ARAWAKAN attributive prefix KA- is more likely to have developed from a verb meaning, “have, be, do ...” rather than the “close-proximate deictic” KA of ARAWAKAN languages, which relationship with CTWY KA- I advance in this section.

<sup>65</sup> This example and those that follow were taken from Klumpp (1990:159).

(69) ‘We teach.’  
*Wa-éwáida-ka.*  
 1P-teach-PA

(70) ‘He never worked again.’  
*Kàmi-ta      kirí-nama      i-íbaida.*  
 NEG-EMP      more-INCL      3S-work

In (69), the sentence is positive and *-ka* [PA] occurs; in (70), the sentence is negative and *-ka* [PA] does not occur. Here, the parallels between Carapana KA- and Piapoco *-ka* begin to wane. KA never occurs in that position in Carapana. However, there are instances where Piapoco KA, similar to Carapana KA, seems to function as a deictic specifier or a point of reference when the referent is known and current in the discourse. Examples:

(71) ‘Those (portions of ) cloth are cut.’  
*I-dalúa-kaná-ka      nía-de      wáluma-ka*  
 3S-cut-PTCL-PA      3P-MED      cloth-SR<sup>66</sup>

(72) ‘Those cassava (cakes) will be distributed.’  
*I-wakùà-kaná-ka      kaná-nama-piná      nía-í      makadu-ka*  
 3S-distribute-PTCL-PA      none-INCL-FUT      3P-near      cassava-SR

In (71) and (72), both cloth and cassava respectively occur with Piapoco KA, which, in this case, functions as a deictic specifier or a point of reference referring back to the particular elements which are known and current in the discourse content. What is different from Carapana is that there is no indication that Piapoco KA may substitute for more specific pronouns or nouns previously mentioned. Perhaps the closest we come to this phenomenon is what occurs in a certain nominalized clause type, viz., a nominalized clause without a gender-number suffix.

Nominalized clauses in Piapoco generally take gender-number suffixes as in (73)<sup>67</sup> (nominalized clause bracketed):

(73) ‘Mary came with another woman who sells fiber string.’  
*María i-ànàa-ka      aiba inanai i-ápicha [i-wenda-íchúa] wàa-ka.*  
 María      3S-come-PA      other      woman      3S-with      3S-sell-F      twist-NOM

In nominalized clauses without a gender-number suffix, *-ka* [PA] occurs in the place of the gender-number suffix, as in (74) (nominalized clause bracketed):

<sup>66</sup> In the Piapoco grammar (Klumpp, ms., 1990), Klumpp glosses this morpheme as [ART], i.e., “article.” However, since it seems to function closely to Carapana KA in this position, I have glossed it as [SR] as “specific referent.”

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, p. 212.

(74) ‘We do not know what type of knife (it) is that they make.’

<i>Kàmi-ta</i>	<i>wa-álía-wa</i>	<i>kai'-ná-kaalí</i>	<i>wisua-na-si</i>	<i>i-íwítáaná-ka-ni</i>
NEG-EMP	we-know-INTR	thus-INTR-if	cut-NOM-NONSPC	3S-type-PA-N
... <i>yá-í</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>[na-mani-ka]</i> .		
N-near	thus	3M-make-PA		

In (73), *íchúa* [F] occurs as the person/gender suffix in the nominalized clause: *i-wenda-íchúa* [3S-sell-F] ‘she who sells,’ in (74) *ka-* [PA] substitutes for the person/gender suffix *-íri* [M], so that we have *na-mani-ka* [3M-make-PA] ‘those (males) who make.’ In this case, it would appear that Piapoco KA functions as a pro-form substituting for a specific gender-number suffix.

The parallels between Carapana and Piapoco, like Yucuna, are striking.<sup>68</sup> Prominent among the functions of Piapoco KA is its function as a deictic specifier or a point of reference when the referent is known and current in the discourse content, and its function as a marker of specificity.<sup>69</sup>

### 5.0 Further Tucanoan forms possibly related to a KA panamericanism

There is substantial evidence that the morpheme KA numbers among the important widespread forms or ‘panamericanisms’ of the native languages of the Americas. In the ebb and flow of assimilation among these languages, as people groups diverged from one another and then again came into contact with one another over centuries, if not millenia, KA apparently remained a significant feature of language (sometimes shifting positions, sometimes varying in meaning). What is noteworthy in our limited discussion of KA in the Tucanoan family is that this morpheme can be seen in most, if not all, languages, if not universally as a deictic specifier or marker of specificity, then as one of the other functions of a KA Panamericanism.

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<sup>68</sup> It should also be noted that parallels with CTWY go beyond YCP. Asheninka (Campa), an ARAWAKAN language spoken in the lowlands of Peru, also utilizes a ‘close-proximity deictic’ KA. Examples:

<i>ha-ka</i>	‘here (closeby)’ [compare with: <i>ha-nta</i> ‘there (far off)’]
<i>iro-ka</i>	‘this (feminine), where <i>iro</i> is the truncated 3rd person feminine pronoun’
<i>iri-ka</i>	‘this (feminine), where <i>iri</i> is the truncated 3rd person masculine pronoun’
<i>kooya-ka</i>	‘woman-this (i.e., this woman here, or this woman, the one recently referred to in a narrative context)’

Thus, although I postulate that CTWY KA- was introduced through matrimonial alliances made with YCP speakers, deictic KA appears to be an element of considerably older MAIPURAN history than just the YCP group.

<sup>69</sup> The only linguistic data available to the author at this time regarding the Cabiya language are a limited Swadesh-Rowe word list found in Huber and Reed’s work (Huber and Reed 1992), and some personal field notes gained through conversations with two middle-aged individuals who lived among the Cabiya during their youth, but since that time have spoken only Carapana. They admit that the data volunteered might not be accurate. It is regrettable that the area in which this community lives, viz., the Cananari, a tributary of the Apaporis River, is now insecure to outsiders, due to the presents of Colombian anti-government forces. Hence, it is not possible to observe the occurrence of KA in that language to any great extent.

Earlier I discussed prefix KA- functioning as a specific referent in TUCANOAN CTWY (see sections 1.0 and 2.0). In addition, if we interpret the KA of a certain common CTWY nominalized construction as being a prefix, rather than suffix (see sec. 1.2.1), then prefix KA- (noun/class specifier) also occurs in Barasana and Macuna, two languages spoken in close proximity to CTWY, as illustrated below:

(75) Noun phrases:	Adjective	Noun	
Carapana:	<i>yise-ri-</i> cut-ADJ	<i>ka-pãĩ</i>	‘cutting blade/knife’ SPEC-CLAS:flat object
Tatuyo:	<i>yihe-ri-</i>	<i>ka-pãĩ</i>	‘cutting blade/knife’
Wáimaja:	<i>wide-ri-</i>	<i>ka-pĩĩ</i>	‘cutting blade/knife’
Yurutí:	<i>wide-ri-</i>	<i>a-pĩ-gã</i> <sup>70</sup>	‘cutting blade/knife’
Barasana:	<i>wide-ri-</i>	<i>ka-pĩ</i>	‘cutting blade/knife’
Macuna:	<i>wĩhã-r-</i>	<i>a-hãĩ</i>	‘cutting blade/knife’

Elsewhere, one might postulate that KA was prefixed at some point in time to certain Tucanoan personal pronouns so that in Tucano, Wáimaja, Barasano, Tuyuca, Yurutí, Tatuyo, Carapana, and Koreguaje we basically have *ka-* [SR] plus *i/i* [M] becoming *ki/ki* ‘he/him/his,’ and *ka-* [SR] plus *o* [F] becoming *ko* ‘she/her.’<sup>71</sup> This would not be unlike Guajiro, a large ARAWAKAN group to the northwest of CTWY in which KA seems to have been affixed to the gender suffixes so that you have *-ka-i* [SR-M] ‘he,’ *-ka-i* [SR-F] ‘she,’ and *-ka-na* [SR-AN.P] ‘they.’ In every situation, Carapana personal pronouns have an anaphoric deictic function; i.e., they refer to someone already known in context.

Also noteworthy are the differences between other pronouns where specificity is in focus or not in focus, such as the interrogative pronoun ‘who [M],’ and demonstrative pronoun ‘this one [M]/that one (i.e., the one nearby or presently in focus) [M].’ For the former, no specific reference is implied and prefix KA does not occur. For the later, a specific referent is implied and KA (or rather a reflex of KA, viz., *ã-* [SR]) occurs, as in the following examples:<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Note that in Yurutí prefix KA- occurs simply as *a-* [SR], and in Macuna morphemes *-ri* [ADJ] and *ka-* [SR] apparently contract to *-ra* [ADJ.SPEC].

<sup>71</sup> More specifically, for the eight languages listed above, we have *kĩ, kĩĩ, kĩĩ, kĩĩ, kĩ, kĩ, kĩĩ,* and *ka-i* respectively meaning ‘he, him, his;’ and *ko, kōō, kōō, kōō, kō, kō, kōō* and *ka-o* respectively meaning ‘she, her.’ Elsewhere, as in Macuna, Barasana, Secoya and Cubeo we have simply *ĩ, ĩ, ĩ* (or *hãĩ*), and *ĩ* respectively meaning ‘he, him, his;’ and *iso, so* (or *sō*), *ĩō* (or *hãō*), and *ō* respectively meaning ‘she, her’ (Huber and Reed 1992).

<sup>72</sup> Since we have a different phonological form (*Ã-* as opposed to KA-), not entirely attributable to a different phonological environment, our examples in this section may demonstrate a separate borrowing unrelated to the more “recent” borrowing of deictic YCP *-ka/ka-*; i.e., one possibly derived from an older widespread form.

(76)	Pronouns:	Interrogative pronoun		Demonstrative pronoun	
	Carapana:	<i>dĩĩ</i> who(?).M	‘who?’	<i>ã-dĩĩ</i> SR-who.M	‘this/that one’ <sup>73</sup>
	Tatuyo:	<i>dĩĩ</i>	‘who?’	<i>ã-dĩĩ</i>	‘this/that one’
	Wáimaja:	<i>yĩrõ</i>	‘who?’	<i>ã-dĩ</i>	‘this/that one’
	Yurutí:	<i>yĩrõ</i>	‘who?’	<i>ã-dĩ</i>	‘this/that one’
	Barasana:	<i>dĩĩ</i>	‘who?’	<i>ã-dĩ</i>	‘this/that one’
	Macuna:	<i>yĩbĩ</i>	‘who?’	<i>ã-dĩ</i>	‘this/that one’
	Tucano:	<i>dĩ’ĩ</i>	‘who?’	<i>ã-’rĩ</i>	‘this/that one’
	Tuyuca:	<i>dĩ’ĩ</i>	‘who?’	<i>ã-dĩ</i>	‘this/that one’

A possibly distinct KA ‘stem formative suffix’ in MAIPURAN ARAWAKAN languages, including the WESTERN NIWIKI subgroup, is perhaps the most widespread shared feature found among certain TUCANOAN languages. It appears in the same position grammatically in TUCANOAN languages as it does in ARAWAKAN languages, viz., a suffix, but not always as the same form; i.e., it appears as *-ka*, *-a*, or *-ga* (also *-kã*, *-ã*, or *-gã* in nasal environments). One might postulate that as TUCANOAN communities came into contact with larger ARAWAKAN ones, ARAWAKAN *-KA* began to replace TUCANOAN *-RO*<sup>74</sup> [INAN.S]. For example, Tucano, Wáimaja, Tuyuca, Yurutí, Macuna, and Retuarã seem to have each utilized ARAWAKAN *-KA* in the word ‘abdomen.’ While Wanano, Tatuyo, Carapana, Desano, and Siriano have each retained TUCANOAN *-RO* as illustrated below:

(77)		-KA occurring			-RO occurring	
	Tucano:	<i>páá-ga</i> abdomen-INAN.S	‘abdomen’	Wanano:	<i>’pha-ro</i> abdomen-INAN.S	‘abdomen’
	Wáimaja:	<i>’páá-ga</i>	‘abdomen’	Tatuyo	<i>’pá-ro</i>	‘abdomen’
	Tuyuca:	<i>’páa-ga</i>	‘abdomen’	Carapana:	<i>’pá-ro</i>	‘abdomen’
	Yurutí:	<i>’páa-ga</i>	‘abdomen’	Desano:	<i>’pá-rú</i>	‘abdomen’
	Macuna:	<i>hera-ga</i>	‘abdomen’	Siriano:	<i>’pá-rú</i>	‘abdomen’
	Retuarã:	<i>hẽ?’bẽ-ã</i>	‘abdomen’			

In the word for ‘foot,’ Tucano, Piratapuyo, and Retuarã seem to have each utilized ARAWAKAN *-KA*. However, Wanano, and Desano retained TUCANOAN *-RO* as illustrated below:

<sup>73</sup> Compare with: *hĩĩ* ‘that one [M] (far off, or not particularly in focus)’

<sup>74</sup> By TUCANOAN *-RO* I include all of the forms into which *-RO* likely developed, viz., *-ro*, *-rõ*, *-ru*, *-rũ*, *-da*, and *-dã*.

(78)	-KA occurring		-RO occurring		
Tucano:	<i>diʔpó-ka</i> foot-INAN.S	‘foot’	Wanano:	<i>daʔpo-ro</i> foot-INAN.S	‘foot’
Piratapuyo:	<i>daʔpo-kā</i>	‘foot’	Desano:	<i>'gúbú-ru</i>	‘foot’
Retuarã	<i>ũʔpu-a</i>	‘foot’			

In the word for ‘breast,’ Wáimaja, Yurutí, Bará, Tuyuca, Tatuyo, Carapana, Macuna, Barasana, and Retuarã seem to have each utilized ARAWAKAN -KA. Whereas Tucano, Piratapuya, Desano, and Siriano retained TUCANOAN -RO as illustrated below:

(79)	-KA occurring		-RO occurring		
Wáimaja:	<i>õpẽ-gã</i> breast-INAN.S	‘breast’	Tucano:	<i>õpẽ-rõ</i> breast-INAN.S	‘breast’
Yurutí:	<i>ũpe-ga</i>	‘breast’	Piratapuya	<i>o'pẽ-dõ</i>	‘breast’
Bará:	<i>õpe-a</i>	‘breast’	Desano:	<i>ãpĩ-rũ</i>	‘breast’
Tuyuca:	<i>õpẽ-ã</i>	‘breast’	Siriano:	<i>ũpĩ-rũ</i>	‘breast’
Tatuyo:	<i>ũpẽ-ã</i>	‘breast’			
Carapana:	<i>ũpẽ-ã</i>	‘breast’			
Macuna:	<i>õhẽ-ã</i>	‘breast’			
Barasana:	<i>õhẽ-ã</i>	‘breast’			
Retuarã:	<i>ũʔpe-a</i>	‘breast’			

Also relevant here is panamericanism attributive prefix KA- (or rather its reflex *ã-* [ATT] in Carapana, Tatuyo, and Wáimaja; *ãʔ-* and *yã-* in Desano and Taiwano respectively) contrasting with privative prefix MA- [PRIV] in such verbs as ‘to be’ and ‘to not be’ as illustrated below (see fn. 64):

(80)	Carapana:	<i>ã-dĩ-yã</i> ATT-be-PRES	‘there is’	<i>bã-dĩ-yã</i> PRIV-be-PRES	‘there is none’
	Tatuyo:	<i>ã-dĩ-∅</i>	‘there is’	<i>bã-dĩ-∅</i>	‘there is none’
	Wáimaja:	<i>ã-dĩ-∅</i>	‘there is’	<i>bã-dĩ-∅</i>	‘there is none’
	Desano:	<i>ãʔ-rã-ã</i>	‘there is’	<i>bã-rĩ-ã</i>	‘there is none’
	Taiwano:	<i>yã-ã-hã</i>	‘there is’	<i>bã-ã-hã</i>	‘there is none’

In concluding this section, we note that the incorporation of WESTERN NIWIKI ARAWAKAN dietic KA into TUCANOAN CTWY languages seems to contradict a generally accepted theory of typological and historical linguistic universals with regard to the order of borrowing grammatical features between language families, viz., lexical features are borrowed before grammatical ones. If the theory were to hold true between ARAWAKAN YCP and TUCANOAN CTWY, what we would

expect is that in a standard word list, we would find a number of shared lexical cognates between the languages before we would find a shared affixal cognate, such as KA. In actuality, we do not find this to be the case. Using Huber and Reed's comparative study,<sup>75</sup> containing 368 words based on a list developed by Morris Swadesh and John Rowe, the author found few examples of possible shared cognates between Carapana and ARAWAKAN YCP:

(81) Carapana:	Cabiyarí:	Yucuna:	Piapoco:
<i>yai</i>	<i>tsaawi</i>	<i>yáawi</i>	<i>tsáwi</i>
'jaguar'	'jaguar'	'jaguar'	'jaguar'
<i>yese</i>		<i>keéso</i>	<i>kéesu</i>
'peccary'		'capybera'	'capybera'
<i>hēbē</i>	<i>ʔeema</i>	<i>héema</i>	<i>éma</i>
'paca'	'tapir'	'tapir'	'tapir'
<i>pisadā</i>		<i>pítsí</i>	<i>púisi</i>
'cat'		'agouti'	'agouti'
<i>bībī</i>		<i>piʔmí</i>	<i>sípi</i>
'hummingbird'		'hummingbird'	'hummingbird'
<i>rií</i>	<i>ʔiira</i>	<i>iiká</i>	<i>àiku íraná</i>
'blood/sap'	'blood'	'sap'	'sap'
<i>opi-a</i>	<i>ʔia</i>	<i>wa-aia</i>	<i>wa-yéi</i>
'tooth'	'tooth'	'tooth'	'tooth'
<i>yēbē-rō</i>	<i>nu-neni</i>	<i>wa-lená</i>	<i>wa-nène</i>
'tongue'	'my tongue'	'tongue'	'tooth'
<i>coti-a</i>	<i>ukhu</i>	<i>wa-iʔikú</i>	<i>wa-ùkuta</i>
'chest'	'chest'	'chest'	'chest'
<i>kūi(ruka)</i>	<i>kaayi</i>	<i>kahíru</i>	<i>káini</i>
'manioc'	'manioc'	'manioc'	'manioc'
<i>pátu</i>		<i>ipatú</i>	<i>koka(SP)</i>
'coca'		'coca'	'coca'
<i>kūbūũ</i>		<i>kúumu</i>	<i>kamàlikeeri</i>
'shaman'		'drum'	'shaman'
<i>yi paki</i>	<i>no-niri</i>	<i>paʔayú</i>	<i>pàitsu</i>
'my father'	'my-father'	'dad (vocative)'	'dad (vocative)'

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<sup>75</sup> Huber and Reed (1992).

<i>kĩbã</i> 'summer'	<i>ʔeri</i> 'sun/day'	<i>kaamú</i> 'sun'	<i>kamũí</i> 'summer'
<i>ási</i> 'be.hot'		<i>aʔahí</i> 'chili pepper'	<i>àasi</i> 'chili pepper'
<i>dãã</i> 'they/their/them'	<i>na-</i> 'their'	<i>neeká</i> 'they'	<i>nía</i> 'they'

## 6.0 Conclusions

The morpheme KA seems to be one of a number of morphemes which commonly occur in several major language families located in Central and South America. The largest, as well as most widely dispersed of these families, is MAIPURAN ARAWAKAN, of which Yucuna, Cabiyaí and Piapoco (YCP) are members. Due to the historical areal contact of WESTERN NIWIKI YCP with Carapana, Tatuyo, Wáimaja and Yurutí (TUCANOAN CTWY), matrimonial alliances were formed, and as a result, succeeding generations of CTWY speakers, hearing both languages spoken in the home, apparently incorporated the morpheme KA into their otherwise TUCANOAN speech patterns.

In CTWY, prefix KA- has essentially the same meaning as YCP *-ka/ka-*, viz., a deictic specifier substituting for a known referent, and as a marker of specificity,<sup>76</sup> i.e., specifying a specific time in a specific situation. Differences occur as to the position of KA in certain parallel constructions, and the scope of use in each linguistic community. In the ebb and flow of assimilation among these languages, as people groups diverged from one another and then again came into contact with one another over centuries, if not millenia, KA apparently remained a significant feature of language (sometimes shifting positions, sometimes varying in meaning). What is noteworthy in our limited discussion of KA in the Tucanoan family is that this morpheme can be seen in most, if not all, languages, if not universally as deictic specifier or marker of specificity, then as one of the other functions of a KA Panamericanism.

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<sup>76</sup> See fn. 18 on why KA- is not called a marker of definiteness.

## Abbreviations

ABS	abstract	MED	medial
AN	animate	N	neuter
ADJ	adjectivizer	NEG	negative
ADV	adverbializer	NOM	nominalizer
ATT	attributive (possessing an attribute)		(-i/i/ki 'M,' -o/ko 'F,' -rã/dã/ã 'AN.P,' -ro/to/pai/a 'INAN.S' -he/e 'INAN.P/ABS')
AUG	augmentative	NONSPC	non-specific
BEN	benefactive	O	object
CCS	concessive	P	plural
CHAR	characteristic	PA	positive assertion
CLAS	classifier	POS	possessor
CMP	complement (direct, indirect or location)	PRES	present
CND	conditional	PRIV	privative (opposite of ATT)
CONT	continuative	PROB	probability
COM	comitative	PST	past
CPL	completive	PTCL	participle
DIM	diminutive	REFLEX	reflexive
DM	demonstrative pronoun	REL	relative
DIR	directional	RMT	remote
DS	different subject	RPST	recent past
EMP	emphasis	S	singular
ENEG	emphatic negative	SP	Spanish loan word
EV	evident	SPEC	specifier
EXCL	exclusive	SR	specific referent
F	feminine singular	SS	same subject
FRUS	frustrative	WIT	witness
FOC	focus	Ø	zero morpheme
FUT	future	1	first person
HSY	hearsay	2	second person
INAN	inanimate	3	third person
INCL	inclusive		
IND	indicative		
INTR	intransitive		
IMP	imperative		
IMPL	impersonal		
LOC	location		
M	masculine singular		

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