

# Paumarí Morpho-Phonemics

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## 1. Morphophonemic changes at word junctures.

There is contraction of two similar vowels when one occurs word finally and the other occurs word or enclitic initially.

o- kha -ha ada jara "The outsider went."  
 away- go -mg the outsider  
 okhahada dzara

o- kha -hi ida gamo "The woman went."  
 away- go -mg the woman  
 okhahidagamo

jara -a bi- nofi -ki 'ida' "The outsider wants it."  
 outsider -sbj he- want -mg it  
 jara binofiki?ida

NB. sbj – subject enclitic  
 mg – margin: An obligatory final affix on verbs showing focus, and speaker orientation contrasts.

## 2. Morpho-phonemic changes of verb affixes.

Certain affixes have morphologically conditioned allomorphs. Verb roots which take the less usual allomorph are a sub-class of roots which may be either verbs or nouns.

|     |         |                |         |             |
|-----|---------|----------------|---------|-------------|
| eg. | 'bai    | "food/eat"     | ko-'bai | "have food" |
|     | no-'bai | "cause to eat" | vi-'bai | "eat with"  |

2.1 The affix /ka-/ which shows agreement with all nouns in the /ka-/ noun class and occurs on verbs and modifiers has the following allomorphs which are morphologically conditioned.

ka-∞ ko-∞ ki-∞ ak-∞ a-

|                  |                  |                |             |             |
|------------------|------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| <u>ka-</u>       | <u>ko-</u>       | <u>ki-</u>     | <u>-ak</u>  | <u>-a</u>   |
| saro- "break"    | sa- "take"       |                |             |             |
| dai- "be loaded" | dabo- "tie"      |                |             |             |
| 'bana- "pain"    | 'bami- "two"     |                |             |             |
| bada- "touch"    | baranaha- "call" |                |             |             |
| hoja- "remain"   |                  | hi- "to exist" |             |             |
|                  |                  | "to arrive"    |             |             |
| oni- "name"      |                  |                | oga- "know" |             |
|                  |                  |                | "flee"      |             |
| kha- "come"      |                  |                |             | kha- "come" |

|   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| <u>ka-</u> sarō -'i -hi ida vanami<br>nncl- break -comp -mg the paddle      | "The paddle is broken."   |
| bi- <u>ko-</u> sa -'i -hi ida vanami<br>he- nncl- take -comp -mg the paddle | "He took the paddle."     |
| 'a- <u>ki-</u> hi -ha<br>we- nncl- arrive -mg                               | "We arrived by canoe."    |
| 'ava- <u>ka-</u> kha -ki<br>you- nncl- come -mg                             | "You (pl) come by canoe." |
| va- <u>a-</u> kha -ki<br>they- nncl- come -mg                               | "They come by canoe."     |
| 'a- <u>ak-</u> oga -ki ada moro<br>we- nncl- know -mg the song              | "We know the song."       |

NB nncl – noun class  
comp – completive

2.2 The verbaliser /ka-/ which also shows possession has a morphologically conditioned allomorph /ko-/.

|  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| 'a- <u>ko-</u> 'bai -ha -ki<br>we- poss- food -rch -mg<br>vbs        | "We prepare food."       |
| 'a- <u>ka-</u> 'basori -ha -ki<br>we- poss- porpoise -rch -mg<br>vbs | "We go after porpoises." |

NB. vbs – verbaliser  
rch – subject role changer:  
-ha – subject as possessor to subject as agent and benefactor

2.3 The transitivity/causative prefix /na-/ has morphologically conditioned allomorphs na-∞ no-∞ ni-∞ n-.

|  |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| 'o- <u>na-</u> 'bakhani -hi ida lata<br>I- trv- open -mg the tin | "I opened the tin." |
| 'o- <u>no-</u> 'bai -ki 'ida isai<br>I- trv- food -mg the child  | "I fed the child."  |

|                 |            |     |               |                          |
|-----------------|------------|-----|---------------|--------------------------|
| 'o- <u>na</u> - | khanokhano | -ki | 'ida hogoi    | "I chop down the weeds." |
| I- trv-         | chop=down  | -mg | the weeds     |                          |
| 'o- <u>ni</u> - | kha        | -ki | 'ida isai     | "I fetch the child."     |
| I- trv-         | come       | -mg | the child     |                          |
| 'o- <u>na</u> - | oni        | -hi | ida isai Xixa | "I call the girl Xixa."  |
| I- trv-         | name       | -mg | the girl Xixa |                          |
| 'o- <u>n</u> -  | oba        | -hi | ida ava       | "I fell the tree."       |
| I- trv-         | felling    | -mg | the tree      |                          |

NB. trv – transitiviser/causative

**2.4** The transitiviser accompaniment prefix /va-/ has a morphologically conditioned allomorph /vi-/.

|                    |         |     |               |                               |
|--------------------|---------|-----|---------------|-------------------------------|
| bi- <u>va</u> -    | kaikahi | -hi | ida isai      | "She arrived with the child." |
| she- trv-          | arrive  | -mg | the child     |                               |
| bi- a- <u>vi</u> - | ka      | -si | -ki ida isai  | "She took the child up."      |
| she- away- trv-    | go      | -up | -mg the child |                               |

**2.5** There is morphological conditioning of the verb suffix order 2 when it is followed by the /-ha-/ suffix. These are all suffixes marking locational aspects. (i) before /-ha-/ becomes (a).

|                                      |                     |                                   |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| -bakos <u>i</u> -                    | -bakos <u>a</u> ha- | "the long edge of an object"      |
| -fon <u>i</u> -                      | -fon <u>a</u> ha-   | "edge between water and land"     |
| -mor <u>i</u> -                      | -mor <u>a</u> ha-   | "up a slope"                      |
| -s <u>i</u> -                        | -s <u>a</u> ha-     | "up in the air"                   |
| 'o- o- kha -rafon <u>i</u>           | -hi                 | "I'm on my way down to the port." |
| 'o- o- kha -rafon <u>a</u> ha        | -hi                 | "I'm on my way down to the port." |
| I- away- go -in the direction of -mg |                     |                                   |
|                                      | water's edge        |                                   |

/-ha-/ shows intransitive but its further meaning has not yet been identified.

If there is a CVV preceding the /-ha-/ and the second V is (i), then (i) becomes (ja) before /-ha-/.

|                |                   |                 |
|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| -ma <u>i</u> - | -ma <u>ja</u> ha- | "nearby"        |
| -na <u>i</u> - | -na <u>ja</u> ha- | "towards water" |

2.6 The prefix and suffix which together mark the benefactive form of a verb have morphologically conditioned allomorphs. The usual form is /ka- root -hi/. /ka-/ has an allomorph /ko-/. /-hi/ has an allomorph /-i/.

bi- na- abini -ki ida 'arakava "He killed the chicken."  
he- trv- die -mg the chicken

ho -ra ka- abini -hi -vini hi -ki "He killed the chicken for me."  
me -ben ben- die- -ben -mg-mg be -mg

NB. ben beneficiary/benefactive

(NB. bi- does not occur overtly in above example because of -ra enclitic preceding it)

|          |          |                             |                      |
|----------|----------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| -soko-   | "wash"   | <u>ko</u> -soko- <u>i</u>   | "wash for someone"   |
| -sa-     | "take"   | <u>ko</u> -sa- <u>hi</u>    | "take for someone"   |
| -dora-   | "gather" | <u>ko</u> -dora- <u>hi</u>  | "gather for someone" |
| -karaga- | "find"   | <u>ka</u> -karaga- <u>i</u> | "find for someone"   |
| -gathi-  | "catch"  | <u>ka</u> gatha- <u>i</u>   | "catch for someone"  |

2.7 The second and third person plural prefixes have morphologically conditioned allomorphs. /'ava-/'avi-/ "you plural" /va-/ vi-/ "they"

va- kaja'oria -hi ida "They were annoyed with her."  
they- annoyed=with -mg her

vi- kana -ha "They bathed."  
they- bathe -mg

'ai 'avi- hi -mani -ki 'a'oni "Are you going to leave?"  
depart you- mg -interr- -mg- you (by land)

'ai 'ava- ki- hi -mani -ki 'a'oni "Are you going to leave"  
depart you- nncl- mg -interr -mg you by canoe?"

NB. interr – interrogative

### 3. Morpho-phonemic changes of verb roots.

3.1 Verb roots which end in a final CVi have allomorphs similar to the affixes mentioned in 2.5. when the intransitiver /-ha-/ occurs, when the benefactive /-hi-/ occurs or when the nominaliser /-hi/ occurs. (i) becomes (ja) before -hi/-ha.

'o- rakhai -ki ida kodi- siroi "I plant my field."  
I- plant -mg the my- field

kodi- rakhaja -hi  
 my- plant- -nominaliser

"My planted thing."  
 (my plantation)

rakhaja -ha -ki ida siroi  
 plant -rch -mg the field

"The field is planted."

ho- ra ka- rakhaja -hi -vini -hi -ki  
 me- ben ben- plant -ben -mg -mgb -mg

"He planted the field for me."

### 3.2 There is morphological conditioning of the verb of motion/-kha-/ before certain affixes. The allomorphs are -kha-∞ -ka-∞ gai-∞ -ga-∞ -kai-

ka -siaga "to go following"  
ka -si "to go up"  
ka -thima "to go up river"  
ka -fiani "to go across"  
gai -mori "to go up a slope"

ga -ri "to go down"  
kai -kahi "to arrive"  
kha -mai "to go nearby"  
kha -jakosi "to go into"  
kha -onani "to go out of"  
 etc.