

DISENTANGLING A VERSATILE PREFIX:
THE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF A POLYSEMOUS
MARKER IN ARAWAK LANGUAGES¹

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A number of the world's languages have a special morpheme marking a generic human participant or possessor, roughly translatable as 'one', or 'someone'. In the course of language history, a generic marker may undergo semantic change and take on further functions—those of (a) a first person inclusive, (b) a marker of possessor coreferential with the subject of a clause, or (c) just a third person. The versatile prefix **pa-* attested in a number of Arawak languages of South America offers new insights into clusters of functions involving a “generic person.” The prefix is a feature of a variety of languages in the Upper Rio Negro region and a few other Arawak languages spoken north of the Amazon, in addition to a few south of the Amazon. We discuss the meanings of the prefix in individual languages and present a scenario of its historical development.

[KEYWORDS: Arawak languages, person marking, impersonal marking, prefixes, coreferential possessor, reciprocal, inclusive]

1. The expression of person in Arawak languages. The expression of person is among the most fascinating features of the Arawak family in South America. A standard set of person markers—first, second, and third—is supplemented by additional markers. Among these we find the versatile prefix **pa-* whose meanings range from ‘generic person’ or ‘impersonal’ to first person inclusive (you and me) and possessor coreferential with the subject of a clause. The prefix is attested in many languages north of the Amazon, and just a few south of it. Only very few have a corresponding personal pronoun. The aim of this paper is to investigate the semantic and syntactic properties of prefix **pa-* based on the analysis of sources available on all the languages of the family. Can it be reconstructed to the protolanguage? And if so, what plausible scenarios can we offer for its development across the family?

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The paper begins with a general overview of how person is expressed in Arawak languages (1.1). It then turns to a brief discussion of the history of recognition of the prefix *pa-* in the family, its segmental realization, and issues in its identification (1.2). The functions of the prefix across the languages of the family are discussed in 2. In 3, we turn to a historical and typological perspective on the prefix, and its development. The final section offers brief conclusions.

1.1. Background. The Arawak language family is the largest in South America in terms of its geographical spread, with more than forty extant languages and a few dozen extinct ones. Arawak languages are spoken in at least ten locations north of the Amazon, and at least ten to the south of it. The distribution of extant languages is shown in figure 1.²

All Arawak languages are synthetic, predominantly head-marking, and suffixing with a closed set of prefixes (see Aikhenvald 1999, 2002:288–95 for a summary of proto-Arawak grammar). Most of the person-marking prefixes are uniform and stable across the family. Others appear to be more problematic. The topic of this paper is the function, meanings, and hypothetical development of the polysemous prefix **pa-* which covers generic human referents, coreferential possessor and subject, in addition to a few other meanings.

A common feature of Arawak languages is marking participants—including subjects and, in many instances, also objects and other grammatical roles—on the verb with bound morphemes (see Aikhenvald 1999:88–89, 2017; Mihas 2017). This feature (sometimes referred to as polypersonalism: Fortescue 1994:2061, 2017) is common to many highly synthetic languages. Personal prefixes typically mark the subject of a transitive verb (called A) and of intransitive verb (called S) on verbs and also the possessor on nouns.³ The

² The internal classification of Arawak languages remains a matter of some debate. A number of grammatical and lexical traits distinguish languages spoken to the north of the Amazon from those spoken to the south. Well-established subgroups include Kampa in Peru, South Arawak languages in Brazil and Bolivia, and a few small North Arawak groupings in Brazil, Colombia, and Venezuela. These include the *Ta*-Arawak subgroup, with Guajiro (or Wayyu-naiki), Añun (or Parauhano) in the region of the Guajira Peninsula in Venezuela and in Colombia, Garifuna (or Black Carib) in Central America, and Lokono (alternatively known as Dian, or Arawak) in Guyana, French Guyana, and Suriname (and also the long-extinct Taino, the language of the first indigenous group encountered by Columbus), and the Uapuí subgroup in the Upper Rio Negro Basin. An alternative name for the family is Maipuran. The term *Arawakan* was earlier used for the combination of a well-established genetic subgrouping (known as *Maipuran*) and a number of other groups not demonstrably related (see, e.g., Noble 1965; Matteson 1972) and is hence avoided by the majority of experts in the field. A detailed discussion of the family is in Aikhenvald (1999, 2002, 2012a:32–36; Aikhenvald 2015 has a comprehensive bibliography and an up-to-date classification).

³ The following abbreviations are used: 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person; A, transitive subject; A/S, subject marker; ACTION, action; ADJ, adjectivizer; ANIM, animate; ART, article; AUG, augmentative; CAUS, causative; CL, classifier; COLL, collective; COMMIT, comitative;

TABLE 1
A COMPOSITE STATEMENT OF A/Sa/POSSESSOR PREFIXES,
O/SO SUFFIXES/ENCLITICS IN ARAWAK LANGUAGES

Person	Prefixes		Suffixes	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	*nu- or *ta-	*wa-	*-n or *-te	*-wa
2	*pi-	*(h)i	*-pi	*-hi
3nfem	*ri-, i-	*na-	*-ri, -i	*-na
3fem	*thu-, ru-, u-	*na-	*-thu, -ru, -u	*-na
“impersonal”	*pa-			
Non-focused A/S _a	*i-, a- (?)			
Dummy S _o /O	—	—	*-ni	

Source: Aikhenvald 1999:83, 2002:289

reconstructed system in table 1 distinguishes two numbers (singular and plural) and three persons (first, second, and third, with feminine and non-feminine gender distinctions in third person singular in the majority of languages). In at least two thirds of the languages, personal suffixes or enclitics express the object (O), and the subject of stative verbs (So) and/or the subject of non-verbal predicates.⁴ Some languages, including Kampa, cross-reference an object and another participant on the verb. About one third of the languages

COMPL, completed; CON, connective; CONV, converb; COREF, coreferential marker; DECL, declarative; DEM, demonstrative; DER, derivational; DIR, directional; EP, epenthetic; EXC, excessive; EXCL, exclusive; f, FEM, feminine; FOC, FOCUS, focus; FUT, future; IMP, impersonal; IMPER.SEC, second-hand imperative; IMPF, imperfect; IMPFV, imperfective; INCL, inclusive; INDEF, indefinite; INSTR, instrument; MASC, masculine; NCL, noun class; NEG, negator; nf, nonfeminine; NOM, nominalization; NOM.FUT, future nominalization; NOM.INSTR, instrument nominalization; NOM.PROCESS, process nominalization; NONPRESENT, nonpresent; NPOSS, non-possessed; O, direct object; OBJ, object case; p, person; PASS, passive; PAST, past; PAUS, pausal form; PERF, perfective; pl, PL, plural; PLUR.IMP, plural imperative; POSS, possessive marker; PRES.NONVIS, present nonvisual; PRES.VIS, present visual; PROCESS, process; PROH, prohibitive; PURP, purposive; PURP.NONVIS, purposive nonvisual; REAL, realis; REC, reciprocal; REFERENCE, reference; REFL, reflexive; REM.P.REP, remote past reported; REM.P.VIS, remote past visual; REPORT, reportative; RESTR, restrictive; S, intransitive subject; Sa, subject of an active intransitive verb; SEC, secondhand; SEQ, sequential; SGNF, singular nonfeminine; sg, SG, SING, singular; SING.IMP, singular imperative; So, subject of a stative intransitive verb; SUB, subordinator; TH, thematic; TOP.NON.A/s, topical non-subject; TOP, topical; V, verb.

⁴ The system of marking grammatical relations can be analyzed as a subtype of split S (Dixon 1994:71–77). Non-verbal predicates may include nouns, adjectives, manner adverbs and time words. In the majority of Arawak languages, adjectives differ from stative verbs in their morphological categories (such as genders and classifiers). They also differ in their syntactic functions: adjectives, but not stative verbs, can modify a noun directly (see, for instance, Aikhenvald 1998, 1999 on Warekena of Xié and 2003 on Tariana; Bezerra 2005 on Kurripako; pace Danielsen and Granadillo 2007, who propose that there is no distinction between stative verbs and non-verbal predicates).

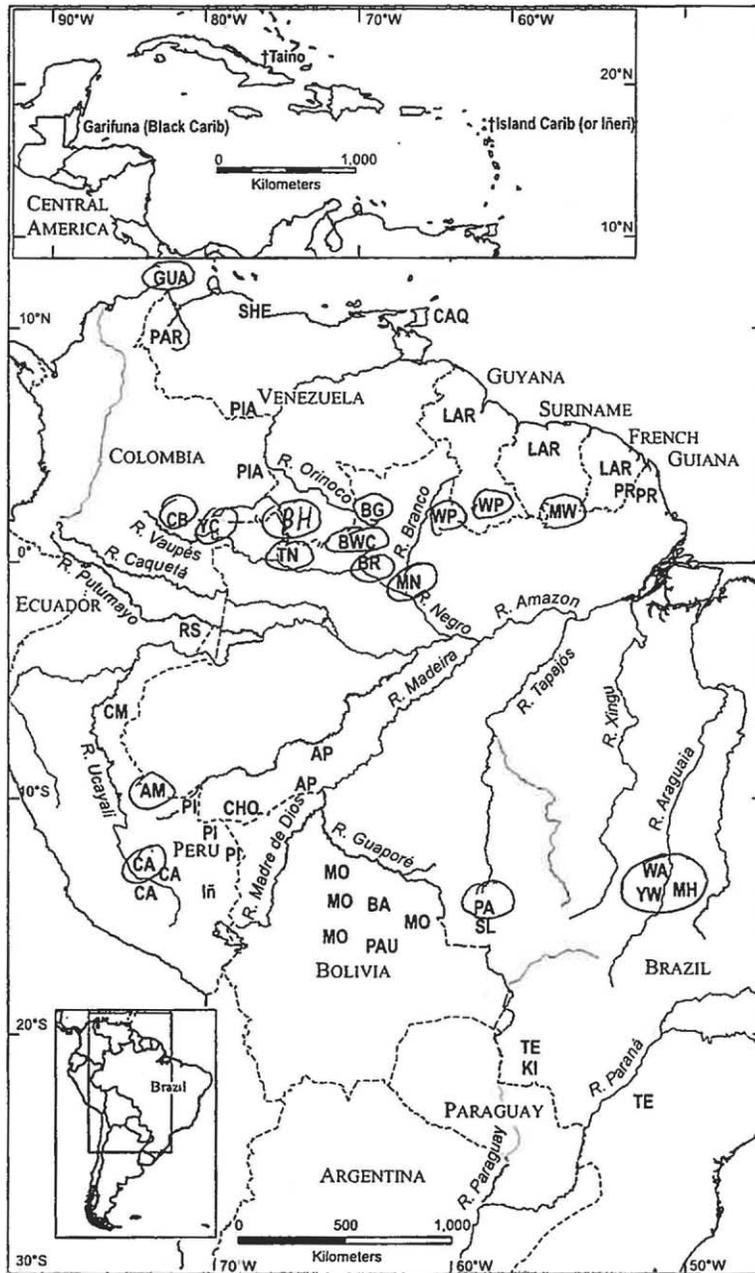


Fig. 1—Arawak languages. Languages with *pa-* are circled.

Abbreviations for Arawak languages used in figure 1

AM	Amuesha (or Yanesha')
AP	Apurinã (or Ipurina, Cangiti)
BA	Bauré
BG	Baniwa of Guainia (with dialects †Yavitero and Warekena of Xié)
BR	†Baré
BWC	Baniwa of Içana/Curripaco (or Içana-Kurripako)
CA	Campa languages (Machiguenga, Nanti, Nomatsiguenga, Ashaninca, Asheninca, Pichis, Perené, Pajonal)
CAQ	Caquetio
CB	Cabiyari (or Kawyari)
CHO	Chontaquiro
CM	Chamicuro
GUA	Guajiro (or Wayyu-naiki)
Iñ	Iñapari
KI	Kinikinao
LAR	Lokono Arawak
MH	Mehinaku (Xinguan Arawak)
MN	†Manao
MO	Mojo (Ignaciano, Trinitário)
MW	Mawayana
PA	Pareci (or Haliti)
PAR	Parauhano (or Añun)
PAU	Paiconeca, Paunaca
PI	Piro (or Yine; covering Masco-Piro, Maniteneri, Maxineri)
PIA	Piapoco (or Dzase)
PR	Palikur
RS	Resígaro
SHE	Shebayo
SL	Salumã (or Enawenê-Nawê)
TE	Terêna
TN	Tariana
WA	Waurá (or Waujá) (Xinguan Arawak)
WP	Wapishana
YC	Yucuna
YW	Yawalapiti (Xinguan Arawak)

lack personal suffixes and enclitics. Arawak languages (with one exception: see 2.1) do not employ cases for marking grammatical relations.

The person marking system includes additional person values. A number of Arawak languages (see table 1 and Aikhenvald 1995a, 1999:88) have a further vocalic prefix **i-* or **a-* which marks a nonspecified or focused subject (A/S) and an unspecified, or indefinite, possessor. There is also some evidence in favor of a generic or dummy suffix (or enclitic) **-ni* marking So/O, whose origin and development is a matter for further study.

Additional prefixes which go back to proto-Arawak include **ka-* ‘attributive, relativizer’ and **ma-* ‘privative’.

The obligatory presence of bound pronouns in most Arawak languages correlates with the optional character and limited use of free independent pronouns (cf. the discussion in Dixon 2010:208–12). Across the Arawak family, independent pronouns transparently consist of a cross-referencing prefix plus a one-syllable emphatic particle: e.g., Baré *nu-ni*, Warekena of Xié *nu-ya*, Tariana *nu-ha*, Bahwana *nu-i*, Pareci (Haliti) *na-tyo*, Palikur *na-h* ‘I’. Independent pronouns are used sparingly—mostly to express focused arguments, copula subjects, and copula complements.⁵ Not every bound pronoun has a corresponding independent pronoun. For instance, no Arawak language has a free pronoun correlate of the “indefinite” prefix. Most languages have no free pronoun corresponding to the “impersonal” prefix **pa-*, which appears in a few languages scattered across the family. This is what we turn to now.

1.2. The prefix **pa-*: its form and its meanings. The existence of a pronominal prefix **pa-* with a range of meanings covering “impersonal, reflexive, reciprocal” in proto-Arawak was first pointed out by Wise (1991a:273, 275, 1991b:192).⁶ In his comparative study of Arawak languages, Payne (1991:377) suggests that the “most frequent” meaning of the prefix **pa-* is ‘impersonal’ and that “it is most probably derived from the lexical item ‘one’.” This is not borne out by the facts. The item ‘one,

⁵ For Arawak languages it would be inaccurate to say that bound pronouns arose as a consequence of grammaticalization of currently attested independent personal pronouns. Extant independent personal pronouns can be transparently traced to personal prefixes accompanied by a derivational formative. Their forms and exact use vary. In languages with no pronominal suffixes or enclitics (such as Baré), independent pronouns can be used in non-subject functions (Aikhenvald 1995b:155–56). The largest system in the family, with four types of independent pronouns (each of which can occur together with bound pronominal prefixes and suffixes), has been described for Alto Perené, a Kampa language, by Mihás (2015:128–34, 608–11). We can of course surmise that the pronominal suffixes could have resulted from grammaticalization of erstwhile pronouns which have been lost.

⁶ Wise (1991a:275, 1991b:192–93) mentions the impersonal *pa-* in Kurripako and cognate forms in Yucuna, Guajiro, Wapishana, Waurá, Amuesha, and Nomatsiguenga. Previous comparative studies of Arawak languages, including Matteson (1972:164–65) and Goeje (1928), do not mention this form.

other' in proto-Arawak is reconstructed as **ba*. Phonetic correspondences show that the segmental form of the pronominal prefix is uniformly **pa-*. This is confirmed, inter alia, by the Wapishana form *ba-* 'one' (e.g., Cadete 1990:225; Gomes dos Santos 2006:119), and Wapishana *pa-* 'reflexive/same subject prefix' (see Tracy 1974:123–24; Gomes dos Santos 2006:160, 188; and the discussion in 2.3.3).⁷ In a number of North Arawak languages, the prefix **pa-* and the number word **ba-* 'one, other' differ in their vocalic structure: the vowel of the item 'one, other' undergoes lengthening; for example, Tariana *pa:-dapana* (one-CL:house) 'one (house)'. This does not happen with the impersonal prefix *pa-* in this language. In other languages, such as Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako, the form for 'one, other' contains a formative *a-*; for example, Baniwa of Içana *apa-dapana* (one-CL:house), Piapoco *abé* 'one' (Klumpp 1995:3), absent from the prefix *pa-*.

Table 2 shows the meanings and the functions of the prefix in those languages in which it has been attested so far. The table is based on a careful investigation of all the extant materials on Arawak languages. The prefix *pa-* and its reflexes are attested only in those Arawak languages circled on figure 1.

In the past, the prefix **pa-* may have been found in a wider selection of languages. Because of mass language loss and extinction since the European invasion, the extent of its original spread is no longer recoverable. Many languages have gone into extinction with little if any documentation (see a comprehensive list in Loukotka 1968), among them quite a few languages from the Upper Rio Negro area acknowledged to have been the major region of concentration of Arawak languages (see Loukotka 1968; Hemming 1978a, 1978b, 1987; Aikhenvald 1999, 2012a [and references therein]; Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999; Adelaar 2000).

The quality and level of detail of language documentation are an additional issue. For scores of Arawak languages, all we have are scant word lists. These include Taino (the first indigenous group encountered by Columbus), the Caquetio of the Caribbean coast, the Shebayo off the coast of Venezuela, and numerous others (see Aikhenvald 1999, 2012a:31–36). Even lengthy word lists for now-extinct languages—such as Mandawaka (Koch-Grünberg 1928:287–300), Kaishana (Hanke 1960),⁸ Guinau (Koch-Grünberg 1928:278–86), and Atoará (Farabee 1918:267)—do not contain enough grammatical information.

⁷ Reconstructing labial stops, and especially the voiced labial, in Arawak languages is complicated by the fact that in a large number of languages the reflexes of proto-Arawak labials **b*, **p*, and **ph* have fallen together (some examples are in Payne 1991:431–35). Languages critical for distinguishing the three labials are Lokono, varieties of Island Carib, Garifuna, Palikur, Wapishana, and Piapoco (see Taylor 1978; Payne 1991:432).

⁸ Brief work with the last rememberer of Kaishana by Stefan Dienst (conducted in 2007–2008) remains inconclusive. A few sketch grammars of Arawak languages do not mention the reflexive prefix *pa-* and other bound morphology: e.g., Postigo (2014) on Waujá and Ortega Mujica (1992) on Yawalapiti.

TABLE 2
MEANINGS OF THE REFLEXES OF *pa- IN ARAWAK LANGUAGES

Meanings/ Languages	Impersonal						Coreferential Subject on Verbs	Coreferential Possessor	First Person	Other
	Nouns	Verbs	Free Pronoun	Reciprocal	Coreferential Subject on Verbs	Other				
Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako	yes	yes	yes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tariana	yes	yes	yes	yes: INCL	—	—	—	—	—	—
†Baré	yes	yes	—	yes: INCL	—	—	—	—	—	—
Warekena of Xié	yes	yes	—	yes	—	—	—	—	—	—
†Maipure	yes	yes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cabiyari	yes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
†Manao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	third person (?)
Baniwa of Guainia	—	yes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
†Yavitero	—	yes	—	—	—	—	yes (nouns)	—	—	—
†Bahuana	—	—	—	—	—	—	yes (nouns)	—	—	third person (main participant)
Guarequena	—	—	—	—	—	—	yes	—	—	3sg feminine
Yucuna	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	yes	—
Guajiro	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	yes	—
Wápushana	—	—	—	—	—	—	yes	—	—	—
Mawayana	—	—	—	—	—	—	yes	—	—	—
Wáuja	—	—	—	—	—	—	yes	—	—	—
Mehinaku	—	—	—	—	—	—	yes	—	—	—
Yawalapiti	—	—	—	—	—	—	yes	—	—	—
Pareci	—	—	—	—	—	—	yes	—	—	—
Amuesha (Yanesha')	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3sg possessive
Nomatsiguenga	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3sg feminine subject

Languages spoken south of the Amazon are below the line; dash (—) indicates the absence of the morpheme in a given function.

It may be that a lack of mention of the prefix *pa-* in these materials could be due to their limited character. Guinaú is closely related to Baré (see 2.1.3). Atoraí is related to Wapishana (see 2.3.3). Both Baré and Wapishana have reflexes of the prefix **pa-*. But note that Koch-Grünberg's (1911, 1928:267–68) rather extensive word lists and materials on Baré do not contain any instances of the reflexes of the impersonal prefix **pa-*; neither do Farabee's (1918) materials on Wapishana.⁹ The information available on the prefix *pa-* in the extinct Maipure and Manao is limited by the lack of sources (see 2.1.4) and difficulties in their interpretation. With these problems in mind, we now turn to the functions of the prefix across the family.

2. The functions and meanings of the reflexes of proto-Arawak prefix **pa-*. As shown in table 1, in a number of languages the prefix has the meaning of 'generic person' or impersonal. This is what we start with in 2.1. Its first person inclusive meanings are addressed in 2.2. We then turn to its meanings as a marker of coreferential possessor and/or coreferential subject in 2.3. Potential cognates of **pa-* in reciprocal markers and third person markers in a number of languages are addressed in 2.4.

2.1. The prefix *pa-* with a generic meaning. The prefix *pa-* with the meaning of a generic human, translatable as impersonal 'one', is found in six languages currently, or formerly, spoken in the area of the Upper Rio Negro Basin and its surrounds. The languages are: two members of the Uapuí subgroup (Tariana and the Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako dialect continuum), Warekena of Xié, Baré and Maipure (both now extinct), and Cabiari. Tariana and the Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako dialect continuum differ from the other languages in that they have an independent personal pronoun based on **pa-*. Cabiari stands apart from other languages in this section in that the reflexes of the prefix **pa-* appear to occur on nouns only.

2.1.1. The prefix *pa-* in the languages of the Uapuí subgroup. The widest range of uses and forms of the prefix *pa-* is attested in two members of the Uapuí subgroup within North Arawak languages (see discussion of this subgroup in Aikhenvald 2013a). Tariana is the only Arawak language spoken by ca. 70 people in the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area. The Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako dialect continuum is spoken by 3,000–4,000 people in the basin of the Içana River and its tributaries in Brazil and the adjacent areas of Colombia and Venezuela, stretching into the basin of the Middle Vaupés (figure 1).¹⁰ Other established members of the subgroup are Piapoco, which

⁹ The prefix *pa-* does occur in word lists of the varieties of Baniwa of Içana and Tariana recorded by Koch-Grünberg (1911).

¹⁰ Baniwa has at least twenty dialectal varieties, all mutually intelligible to varying degrees (sharing 90–96% of their lexicons) (see lists of dialects in Nimuendajú 1950/1955; Rodrigues 1986); contrary to Ramirez 2001b (since he worked with two Tariana speakers who mixed their

TABLE 3
 CROSS-REFERENCING MARKERS AND INDEPENDENT
 PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN BANIWA OF IÇANA-KURRIPAKO
 (BASED ON THE HOHÔDENE VARIETY)

Person/Gender	Prefixes		Enclitics		Independent Pronouns	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>nu-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>=nhua</i>	<i>=hwa</i>	<i>hnua</i>	<i>hwa</i>
2	<i>pi-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>=phia</i>	<i>=ihia</i>	<i>phia</i>	<i>ihia</i>
3nf	<i>ri-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>=ni</i>	<i>=hna</i>	<i>hria</i>	<i>hna</i>
3f	<i>ʃu-</i>		<i>=nu</i>		<i>ʃua</i>	
Impersonal	<i>pa-</i>		—		<i>pha</i>	
Indefinite	<i>i-</i>		—		—	

has no traces of the prefix *pa-* (see Aikhenvald 1995a, 2013a), and Guarequena (where the prefix has undergone reinterpretation as a marker of third person feminine: see 2.4.2).

Table 3 features cross-referencing markers and independent pronouns in the Hohôdene variety of Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako dialect continuum. Table 4 features cross-referencing markers and independent pronouns in Tariana. Tariana has lost pronominal enclitics (see Aikhenvald 2006a for some evidence that this loss occurred relatively recently). A feature shared by Tariana and Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako is the presence of an independent generic pronoun based on the prefix *pa-*. This feature is absent from all other languages (see table 2) and can be considered a joint Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako and Tariana innovation.¹¹

Tariana with Baniwa), there is no mutual intelligibility between Tariana and Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako (see also Aikhenvald 2014). Partial descriptions of Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako grammar are in Taylor (1991) and Ramirez (2001a). The data quoted here come from my own work unless otherwise specified (this includes ca. 300 pages of transcribed texts, in addition to 100 text pages in Fontes 2014). Other sources on Baniwa and Kurripako were taken into account (e.g., Bezerra 2005, 2012; Taylor 1991; and also Valadares 1993 and Granadillo 2006). Information on Tariana comes from my own work, based on ca. 30 hours of transcribed recordings (covering narratives, conversations, etc.); a comprehensive grammar (Aikhenvald 2003) and a dictionary; additional information on contact-induced change is in Aikhenvald (2002, 2006a, 2006b). There are minor dialectal differences in Tariana.

¹¹ Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako dialects have a series of preaspirated nasals and labials: *hn*, *hñ*, *hm* and *hw* (alternatively analyzed as devoiced nasals: see, e.g., Bezerra 2012; Lima de Souza 2012). The digraph *tt* corresponds to an alveolar stop. Here we follow the conventions adopted by each source (most of which follow the Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako practical orthography). There are minor dialectal variations in the forms of 3sg prefixes: cf. Kurripako *li-* ‘3sgnf’, *ro-* ‘3sgfem’ (Bezerra 2005:95).

TABLE 4
CROSS-REFERENCING PREFIXES AND INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS IN TARIANA

	Singular		Plural	
	Cross-Referencing	Pronouns	Cross-Referencing	Pronouns
1	<i>nu-</i>	<i>nuha</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>w(a)ha</i>
2	<i>pi-</i>	<i>piha, phia</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>iha</i>
3nf	<i>di-</i>	<i>diha, dihya</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>n(a)ha</i>
3f	<i>du-</i>	<i>duha, duhua</i>		
Impersonal	<i>pa-</i>	<i>p(a)ha</i>	—	—
Indefinite	<i>i-</i>	—	—	—

As in many other Arawak languages, prefixes in Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako mark the subject of transitive and active intransitive verbs, the possessor on nouns, and the object of an adposition. Enclitics mark the direct object, and the subject of stative verbs and of non-verbal predicates (see a summary in Aikhenvald 1995a, 1999, 2002; see also Taylor 1991 and Ramirez 2001a:10 on Baniwa; Bezerra 2005 on Kurripako).

The prefix *pa-* has no corresponding enclitic in Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako (same as in all other languages where it is attested). Tariana is unique among Arawak languages in that it has developed case marking for marking core grammatical relations, under the influence of East Tucanoan languages (Aikhenvald 2006a). Object case forms of personal pronouns are composed of personal prefixes followed by the marker *-na*; e.g., *nu-na* (1sg-OBJ) ‘me’, *pi-na* (2sg-OBJ) ‘you (object)’. Following the analogy, an object form of the impersonal pronoun is *pa-na* (IMP-OBJ) ‘one, someone (object)’ (see examples 24 and 25). That is, the impersonal in Tariana is not restricted in its grammatical function, which is unusual for the family (table 4).¹²

The indefinite prefix in Tariana is used only on nouns, very rarely on verbs. A major feature shared by Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako and Tariana is in a paradigmatic opposition between the indefinite prefix *i-*, the impersonal *pa-*, and personal prefixes (see Aikhenvald 1995b, 2003:124–25, 129; Bezerra 2005:96).

Tariana and Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako share a number of contexts in which the impersonal prefix *pa-* is used, both on nouns and on verbs. Here and throughout the paper the prefix in the examples is in boldface.

In both languages, the prefix *pa-* marks a generic possessor: for example, Tariana *pa-kapi*, Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako ***pa-kaapi*** (IMP-hand) ‘human

¹² Word-initially, Tariana *d* is a regular phonetic correspondent of Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako *r-* (see Aikhenvald 2006a).

hand, someone's hand', Tariana *pa-ketsi-ni* (IMP-relative-masc.sg), Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako *pa-kitsinda* (IMP-relative) 'someone's relative'.

The prefix is also used to mark a generic person on deverbal nominalizations (which have to contain a person-marking prefix, so the impersonal prefix may be considered a placeholder). Examples include Tariana *pa-hña-nipe* (IMP-EAT-NOM.PROCESS) 'food in general', *pa-tañe-nipe* (IMP-FAST-NOM.PROCESS) 'process of fasting', *pa-patu-ri* (IMP-GRASP-NOM.INSTR) 'clip, hair-clip', *pa-wha-nipa* (IMP-sit-DER+CL:flat) 'bench, bank'; *pa-wa-ni-phe* (IMP-mark-DER+CL:leaf.like) 'calendar', *pa-dukunia-ni-da* (IMP-light-DER-CL:round) 'torch, lamp' (lit. a round one [which] lights); Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako *pa-iñha-nipe* (IMP-eat-NOM) 'food', *pa-nhe-nita* (IMP-know-DER+CL:human) 'someone known' (examples from Fontes 2014). Using a personal marker with indefinite or impersonal reference in nominalizations is a feature described in a number of North American Indian languages (Mithun 1993:334).

Counting from five onwards in both languages involves body parts ('hand' and 'foot'). The forms used for counting take the generic prefix—e.g., Kurripako *apa-eema pa-kaapi tsinu* (one-CL:side IMP-hand dog) 'five dogs (lit. one side hand of dog)', Baniwa Hohôdene *dzamema pa-kapi tsinu* (two+CL:side IMP-hand dog) 'ten dogs' (lit. two side hands of dogs), Tariana (dialect of Santa Rosa) *pa-kapi thuya tsinu* (IMP-hand all dog) (lit. someone's hand all dog) 'five dogs', Tariana (dialect of Periquitos) *pa-kapi i-sisa tsinu* (IMP-hand INDEF-end dog) (lit. someone's hand finishes dog) 'five dogs'.

The prefix *pa-* is used in generic statements, as in (1), from Hohôdene Baniwa (Ramirez 2001a; Ilda Fontes and Zenilson Bezerra, personal communication), (2), from Kurripako (Bezerra 2005:96) (where *pa-* occurs on the verb in a subordinate clause), and (3), from Tariana (see also 6.11 in Aikhenvald 2003:126). Clauses are in square brackets.

Hohôdene Baniwa

- (1) [ñame matsia-ka] [pa-ñaitua-ka]
 NEG good-DECL IMP-steal-SUB

'It is not good to steal' (lit. It is not good when one steals).

Kurripako

- (2) [pa-rho-tsa] [pa-deenhi-ka]
 IMP-have.to-RESTR IMP-work-SUB

'One has to work' (lit. One needs when one works).

Example (3) comes from a Tariana text with instructions for what one needs to do to successfully snare fish. The generic prefix and the corresponding pronoun are used throughout the text. The last line ('fire is not lit') rephrases the impersonal statements using an agentless passive as an alternative to the impersonal (since 'fire' is in focus).

Tariana

- (3a) [kayu **pha** **pa**-tañe-ka]
 thus IMP IMP-fast-SUB

[kuphe nhe-mha meipuku-nuku]
 fish 3pl+come-PRES.NONVIS snare-TOP.NON.A/S

‘Thus when one fasts, fish come into the snare.’

- (3b) [**pa**-na-ka] [matsia kuphe nhe-pida]
 IMP-wish-SUB good fish 3pl+enter-IMPER.SEC

[**pa**:-ka] [**pa**-tañe-mha]
 IMP+say-SUB IMP-fast-PRES.NONVIS

‘If one wishes that fish come in well (lit. saying let fish come in well), one fasts.’

- (3c) [ne mhãida-mha **pa**-hña]
 NEG PROH-PRES.NONVIS IMP-eat

‘One does not eat.’

- (3d) [ne de:ri pumeni-peri mhãida-mha **pa**-hña]
 NEG banana sweet-COLL PROH-PRES.NONVIS IMP-eat

‘One does not eat sweet bananas.’

- (3e) [puperi mhãida-mha **pa**-ira]
 peach.palm PROH-PRES.NONVIS IMP-drink

‘One does not drink peach palm juice.’

- (3f) [ne inaru-ne mhãida-mha **pa**-kwa]
 NEG woman-COMIT PROH-PRES.NONVIS IMP-lie

‘One does not sleep with women.’

- (3g) [ne syawa mhãida-mha **pa**-kuka]
 NEG fire PROH-PRES.NONVIS IMP-light

[ne syawa ma-kuka-kana-de-mha]
 NEG fire NEG-light-PASS-NEG-PRES.NONVIS

‘One does not light fire, fire is not lit.’

The impersonal prefix can be used to refer to an action done by an unidentified participant, as in (4), from Kurripako (Bezerra 2005:124),¹³ and (5), from Tariana:

¹³ Kurripako examples from Bezerra’s work are quoted in their underlying form.

Kurripako

- (4) *li-no-ka-watsa kayo pa-iita kapiyho pa-thi*
 3sgnf-come-DECL-FUT so IMP-close as.soon.as IMP-eye

‘He will come as soon as one closes one’s eyes.’

Tariana

- (5) [*puperi-phe-pe pa-pita-ri*
caraná.palm-CL:leaf.like-PL IMP-drag/pull-CONV
ki-kayu-pidana pima]
as.if-like-REM.P.REP make.sound

‘It sounded as if someone was dragging leaves of a caraná palm.’

The prefix *pa-* is frequently used in procedural discourse. Example (6) is the beginning of a Kurripako story on how to build a house (courtesy Zenilson Bezerra; cf. Granadillo 2006:SL055). Example (7) is from a Tariana story about how to prepare manioc beer, told by Olívia Brito. Both Kurripako and Tariana stories employ the impersonal form throughout each story.

Kurripako

- (6a) [*nheette lhiahi no-kitsinda Sérgio*
so this.sgnf 1sg-friend/relative Sérgio
li-ooma li-aanhee]
3sgnf-want 3sgnf-know
 [*koame-ka pa-naitha-karo lhiahi pantti]*
how-SUB IMP-make-PURP this.sgnf house

‘So this friend of mine Sérgio, he wants to know how to build a house.’

- (6b) [*pa-iineeta pa-waopia-ka ttoa]*
IMP-begin IMP-think/plan-SUB Yet
 [*nheette pa-aa awakada-liko]*
then/so IMP-go forest-DIR
 [*pa-yoa-karo ttoophii pa-iineeta]*
IMP-cut-PURP aquariquara.tree IMP-begin

‘Having first begun to plan, one then goes to the forest, to cut aquariquara tree to begin with.’

In the Tariana example, serial verb constructions are underlined:

TABLE 5
CROSS-REFERENCING PREFIXES AND ENCLITICS IN WAREKENA OF XIÉ

Person/Gender	Prefixes		Enclitics		Independent Pronouns	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>nu-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>=wa</i>	<i>nuya</i>	<i>waya</i>
2	<i>pi-</i>		<i>=pi</i>		<i>piya</i>	
3nf	<i>i-/∅</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>∅</i>	<i>=ni</i>	<i>e-paru</i>	<i>niya</i>
3f	<i>yu-</i>		<i>=yu</i>		<i>ayu-paru</i>	
Impersonal	<i>ba-/pa-</i>		—		—	

Similar to Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako (but unlike Tariana), Warekena of Xié has both pronominal prefixes (which mark A/Sa on verbs and possessor on nouns) and pronominal enclitics (marking O/So and the subject of non-verbal predicates). Independent pronouns are formed based on personal prefixes with a variety of formatives. Third person independent pronouns coincide with the proximal demonstrative (not an uncommon feature in the world’s languages: see, e.g., Dixon 2012). An interesting innovation of Warekena of Xié, shared with closely related Baniva of Guainia and Yavitero (2.3.1), is the same form for second and third person (Table 5).

The allomorphs with and without voicing are in complementary distribution: *b* occurs if preceded by a vowel of the negative proclitic or if followed by a root starting with the voiced labial *b*; *p* is used in all other circumstances.

The impersonal prefix *ba-/pa-* has no corresponding personal pronoun. When used on nouns, it refers to a general human possessor, and is also used if the possessor is unknown, e.g., *nu-yufana* (1sg-voice) ‘my voice’, *pa-yufana* (IMP-VOICE) ‘someone’s voice, human voice’, *nu-mukawa-ne* (1sg-rifle-POSS) ‘my rifle’, *pa-mukawa-ne* (IMP-rifle-POSS) ‘one’s rifle, someone’s rifle’.

The impersonal prefix *ba-/pa-* is used on verbs to indicate a generalized A/Sa, as in the following examples. There is no special marking for impersonal O/So since there is no corresponding impersonal pronominal clitic. In both (11) and (12) the impersonal marker appears in serial verb constructions (underlined).

Warekena of Xié

- (11) yanetua-pia-hã pa-ma-hã bitsa-hã
 NEG+good-NEG-PAUS IMP-do-PAUS hammock-PAUS

karana tepa-ba-mia-rehẽ
 carana.palm hard-AUG-PERF-ADJ+PAUS

‘Caraná palm is not good to make a hammock; (it) is too hard.’

than fourteen elderly people (in Brazil). It is possible that the Warekena of Xié are later migrants from the adjacent Venezuela; however, their presence at the current location was documented as early as 1831 (by Natterer).

- (12) *ya-ba-be-pia-hã* *pa-ma-hã*
 NEG-IMP-can-NEG-PAUS IMP-do-PAUS
karana-tua-ri *bitsa-hã*
caraná-made.of-ADJ hammock-PAUS

‘One cannot make a hammock of caraná palm.’

The impersonal marking is often used with the ambitransitive verb *eda* ‘perceive, see/hear’, as shown in (13) (*beda* results from the fusion of *pa-eda*: see Aikhenvald 1998 on vowel fusion in Warekena of Xié).

- (13) *ya-beda-pia-hã* *mina-riana* *pani-fi*
 NEG-IMP+perceive-NEG-PAUS OWNER-MASC house-NPOSS

‘The house owner was not to be seen.’

The impersonal prefix on verbs and on nouns can refer to first person, ‘us’ (but without any overtones of inclusive/exclusive). This is illustrated in (14), from a description of a preparation for a successful hunting expedition. The referent of the first clause was translated into Portuguese as *a gente* ‘people, us’. The So subject of the stative verb in the second clause has an overt first person reference and is expressed with a first person plural pronoun.

- (14) [*pa-tsimá-mia anetua*] [*ate aliwa-mia-wa*]
 IMP-sleep-PERF well until dawn/wake.up.at.dawn-PERF-1plSo

‘One (or we) has (have) slept well until we wake up at dawn.’

If the impersonal prefix in its first person plural reference is used on the first component of a serial verb construction, the first person plural prefix *wa-* can be used on the second one. This corroborates the first person meaning of the impersonal prefix *pa-*.

- (15) *ba-be-hẽ* *wa-ma-hã* *bitsa-hã* *dume-fe-tua-ri*
 IMP-can-PAUS 1pl-do-PAUS hammock-PAUS tucum-made.of-ADJ

‘One/we can make a hammock of tucum.’

2.1.3. The prefix **pa-* in Baré. Reflexes of the generic prefix **pa-* have also been documented in the prefix *ba-* in Baré, a now-extinct Arawak language formerly spoken in an extensive area in the Upper Rio Negro region along the Baria River and the Casiquiare channel and into the Orinoco Basin, extending into the basin of the river Xié and Upper Guainia up to the Atabapo.¹⁵

¹⁵ See Aikhenvald (1995a) for a history of Baré; examples here are from Aikhenvald (1995a) and a collection of ca. 150 pages of texts based on fieldwork with the last fluent speaker of the language. The prefix does not appear in Baré wordlists (nor in a partial sketch in Cunha de Oliveira 1994). Lopez Sanz (1972:29, 33) lists the prefix *ba-* with a generic meaning ‘one’ (*uno*). The examples given by Lopez Sanz illustrate the impersonal prefix in combination with roots starting with *h*, which then undergo the phonological process of H-metathesis (Aikhenvald 1995a:7): e.g., *hisu* ‘daughter’, *phísu* (*pi-hisu* 2sg-daughter) ‘your daughter’, *phésu* (*ba-hisu* IMP-daughter)

TABLE 6
CROSS-REFERENCING PREFIXES IN BARÉ

Person/Gender	Prefixes		Independent Pronouns	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>nu-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>nuni, nū</i>	<i>wani, wāī</i>
2	<i>bi-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>bini, bī</i>	<i>ini, ī</i>
3nf	<i>i-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>kuhū</i>	<i>kuhini</i>
3f	<i>u-</i>		<i>kuhu</i>	
Impersonal		<i>ba-</i>		—
Indefinite (verbs only)		<i>a-</i>		—

Unlike in Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako, Baré has no independent personal pronoun corresponding to the impersonal prefix *ba-* (note that *b* is a regular correspondent of **p*, *b* in Baré: see Aikhenvald 1995a). Table 6 lists cross-referencing prefixes in Baré which express possessor on nouns and the subject of transitive and active intransitive verbs. Baré has no cross-referencing suffixes or enclitics.¹⁶

The impersonal prefix with nouns refers to a general possessor, as in *nu-witi* (1sg-eye) ‘my eye’, *ba-witi* (IMP-eye) ‘one’s eye’, *nu-dana* (1sg-arm) ‘my arm’, *ba-dana* (IMP-arm) ‘one’s arm, arm in general’. The impersonal prefix on verbs implies a general referent, as shown in (16)–(18).

Baré

- (16) *hena-phe ba-yada-waka diñabua*
 NEG-yet IMP-see-NEG road
 ‘One does not see the road yet (the road is not yet visible).’

- (17) *ba-yada-phe*
 IMP-see-yet
 ‘One can see (it) still’ (or: ‘it [the sign] is still visible.’)

Example (18) comes from procedural discourse about preparing a garden.

- (18) [*kamuhu yahali ba-d'ekada miyuli*] [*ba-paraka*]
 sun time IMP-make garden IMP-weed
 [*phaduka*] [*phamada heru-da*] [*ba-kha*] [*ba-bana*]
 IMP+fall tree IMP+leave dry-FACTIVE IMP-burn IMP-plant
 ‘In summer time, one makes gardens, one weeds, one fells trees,
 one leaves (the place) to dry, one burns (it), one plants.’

‘one’s daughter’; *hayán* ‘fly’, *phiyán* (pi-hayán 2sg-fly) ‘you fly’, *pheyán* (ba-hayán IMP-fly) ‘one flies’ (see also example 18). Lopez Sanz (1972) offers no examples of this prefix in his texts.

¹⁶ The indefinite prefix on verbs is used if the A/Sa constituent is focused and preposed to the verb (Aikhenvald 1995a:157). The prefix was not mentioned by Lopez Sanz (1972:33) (though it appears in a short selection of texts at the end of his sketch, on p. 89).

TABLE 7
CROSS-REFERENCING PREFIXES IN MAIPURE

Person/Gender	Prefixes	
	SG	PL
1	<i>nu-</i>	<i>ua-</i>
2	<i>pi-</i>	
3nf	∅	<i>ni-</i>
3f	<i>ju-</i>	
Impersonal		<i>pa-</i>

We will see, in 2.2, that in one instance the impersonal prefix in Baré was used with inclusive first person reference.

2.1.4. The prefix **pa-* in Maipure. The prefix *pa-* ‘impersonal, generic referent’ appears to have been a feature of Maipuré, an Arawak language formerly spoken along the banks of Ventuari, Sipapo, and Autana rivers in what is now the state of Amazonas in Venezuela (a brief grammar sketch is in Gilij 1782:185–90, and examples in Zamponi 2003:23). Maipure is believed to have become extinct toward the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁷ Personal prefixes used as possessors on nouns and A/Sa markers on verbs are given in table 7 (based on Gilij 1782:187–88; see also Zamponi 2003:23).

The impersonal *pa-* expresses a generic referent on nouns and verbs, as in (19) and (20) (Gilij 1782:189–90, also quoted in Zamponi 2003:23). These are the only examples attested in all the sources on the language.

Maipure

- (19) nuca **pa**-navà chejàpi
NEG IMP-see moon

‘One does not see the moon’ (Gilij’s translation: non si vede la luna).

- (20) nuca pa-vià jucuà-re
NEG IMP-understand language-POSS(?)

‘One does not understand his language’ (Gilij’s translation: non si capisce la sua lingua).¹⁸

¹⁷ The language has played an important role in the history of Arawak language studies. The genetic unity of Arawak languages was first recognized by Father Gilij in 1782 based on a brief comparison of Maipure and Moxo from Bolivia. Maipure is the source of the alternative name for the family, Maipurán. The language was partly documented by Gilij (1782) (a summary of the sources is in Zamponi 2003). The language appears to have had some pronominal enclitics for O/So (see Zamponi 2003:21–22); an independent generic pronoun does not appear in the scant sources we have.

¹⁸ The impersonal meanings of (19) and (20) are further explained by Gilij as follows: “Ma questo parlare equivale ad un verbo passivo, oppur neutro-passivo” (But this expression is equivalent to a passive verb, or otherwise passive-neuter).

TABLE 8
CROSS-REFERENCING PREFIXES IN CABIYARI

Person/Gender	Prefixes		Independent Pronouns	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>nu-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>^hn ù</i>	<i>wani, wā</i>
2	<i>pi-</i>	?	<i>p^hè</i>	<i>Øè</i>
3nf	<i>i-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>yâ:</i>	<i>^hmà</i>
3f	<i>u-</i>		<i>wâ:</i>	
Impersonal (nouns only)	<i>a-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	—	

Third person and the impersonal are contrasted by Gilij (1782:190). The third person form is said to refer to a “definite thing” (as in 21), and the impersonal form is said to refer to something “indefinite” (as in 22).¹⁹

(21) Pedro nuca turà ani–juche
 Pedro NEG speak son–to
 ‘Pedro does not speak to his son.’

(22) sonicaperri Cristiano vejà pa–àni
 good Christian reproach IMP–son
 ‘A good Christian reproaches his son’ (Gilij’s translation: un buon Cristiano riprende il suo figlio).

2.1.5. The prefix **pa-* in Cabiari. Cabiari is a poorly documented and endangered North Arawak language spoken by about twenty elders within the Vaupés Linguistic area on the Apaporis River and its tributaries, the Cananari and Pirá-paraná. The generic prefix *pa-* appears only on nouns marking a general possessor,²⁰ e.g., *pa-nàpi* (IMP-arm) ‘everyone’s arm, one’s arm’, but not on verbs (Reinoso Galindo n.d.:9). Table 8 (based on Reinoso Galindo n.d.:9–10) features cross-referencing markers in Cabiari. Prefixes mark possessor on a noun and the A/Sa on the verb. Independent pronouns are used for S/So.

¹⁹ “La tercera persona senza alcuna preposizione significa una cosa determinata, v.g., *Pedro nuca turà ani-juche*; Pietro non parla al suo figlio. Ma essendo cosa indeterminata, che a particular persona non appartenga, al nome si aggiunge la particella *pa-*: v.g., *sonicaperrri cristiano vejà pa-àni*, un buon Cristiano riprende il suo figlio.”

²⁰ This form is not mentioned by Ramirez (2001b:387) in his notes on the language. He mentions a third person masculine pronoun *phé* (not documented by Reinoso Galindo). Data on vitality of Cabiari come from Katherine Bolaños Quiñónez, who has recently started salvage work on the language. The prefix *pa-* does not appear in scant word lists of Cabiari (Koch-Grünberg 1911; Matteson 1972:231–34; Huber and Reed 1992; Meléndez Lozano 2000). It appears that Cabiari may be related to the Uapuí subgroup; more studies are needed.

The prefixes *pa-* and *a-* are said to refer to impersonal forms covering plural and singular: e.g., *pa-nàpi* (PLUR.IMP-ARM) ‘arms of all’, *a-nàpi* (SING.IMP-ARM) ‘arm of someone’ (no textual examples are given) (cf. *nu-nàpi* (1SG-ARM) ‘my arm’, *pi-nàpi* ‘your arm’).

2.2. First person inclusive reference of the generic **pa-*. Inclusive-exclusive distinctions are atypical of Arawak languages (see Aikhenvald 2017 for the independent development of inclusive-exclusive pronouns and affixes in Kampa languages and in Terêna; these distinctions were developed in Mawayana, Resígaro, and Palikur as a consequence of language contact). In just two languages, reflexes of the generic prefix **pa-* have first person inclusive reference.

One of these is Tariana, spoken in a situation of continuous contact with East Tucanoan languages in the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area. The language is endangered, and most speakers nowadays use Tucano as their language of day-to-day communication.

All East Tucanoan languages of the area have an exclusive-inclusive distinction in their first person pronoun. Traditional Tariana used to have no inclusive-exclusive distinctions in its pronominal system, unlike East Tucanoan languages, where this distinction is pervasive. A further difference is the presence in the Tariana system of an impersonal pronoun *pha* ‘one’, and the corresponding personal prefix. This has no equivalent in the person-marking system in East Tucanoan languages (see Barnes 1999). As the younger generation are using more and more Tucano in their daily interactions, the Tucanoan influence on the language has increased drastically. As a result of Tucano influence, Tariana is developing an inclusive-exclusive distinction in pronouns and prefixes by reinterpreting the Tariana impersonal pronoun *p(a)ha* and prefix *pa-* (table 4), which are now frequently used for the inclusive ‘we’ (corresponding to Tucano *marî* ‘we inclusive’). The erstwhile first person plural pronoun *wha* and the prefix *wa-* acquire exclusive meanings (corresponding to Tucano *isâ* ‘we exclusive’) (see also Ramirez 1997; Aikhenvald 2002:62–64, 2003:126, 203).

For instance, the construction *p(a)ha nawiki* (we:INCL people) ‘us (all the) people’ typically includes the addressee. In contrast, *wha nawiki* (we:EXCL people) ‘us the people’ refers to a group that includes just the speakers, not the addressee. In (23), the speaker recapitulates the time difference between Brazil and Australia: what is yesterday for us (speakers) is today for you (those on the other end of the phone line):

Tariana

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| (23) <i>wha-ne-nuku</i> | <i>ikasu-naka</i> |
| we.EXCL-A/S-TOP.NON.A/S | today-PRES.VIS |
| <i>iha-ne-nuku</i> | <i>desu-naka</i> |
| you.PL-A/S-TOP.NON.A/S | tomorrow-PRES.VIS |

‘For us (not you) it is today, for you all it is tomorrow.’

In (24), the first person inclusive appears in the object function.

- (24) [pa:pe–nuku hema kayute **pa**–na
 possibly–TOP.NON.A/S tapir like+NCL:ANIM IMP/1INCL–OBJ
 di–hñeta–pidana]
 3sgnf–show+CAUS–REM.P.REP
 ‘Maybe he (evil spirit) showed himself to us in the shape of a
 tapir’ (lit. being like a tapir).

In (25), the impersonal prefix refers to the evil spirit who walks around ‘us’, the people, and scares ‘us’:

- (25) [**pa**–dalipa–pidana di–emhani
 IMP/1INCL–near–REM.REP 3sgnf–walk.around
 awakada–se–nuku diha ñamu] [**pa**–na
 forest–LOC–TOP.NON.A/S ART.nfsg evil.spirit IMP/1INCL–OBJ
 di–harameta–pu–pidana]
 3sgnf–be.scared+CAUS–AUG–REM.P.REP
 ‘The evil spirit ñamu walks in the forest next to us, he scares us a
 lot.’

An impersonal form in its inclusive sense can be accompanied by an overt subject with generic reference (the corpus contains no examples of other functions of the impersonal form in such contexts):

- (26) hiku–naka **pa**–ni nawiki
 thus–PRES.VIS IMP/1INCL–do/act Indian/people
 ‘This is how we people do (things).’

The impersonal prefix in its inclusive use was translated into Portuguese as *gente* ‘people, us’. This is reminiscent of the first person overtones of the prefix *ba-/pa-* in Warekena of Xié (examples 14 and 15). In just one instance in the corpus of Baré, the impersonal prefix has inclusive reference, ‘us (speaker and addressee)’. This is shown in (27), a final spontaneous farewell to the author from Candelário da Silva, the last fluent speaker of Baré (who passed away six months later) (see also Aikhenvald 1995a).

Baré

- (27) ate **ba**–yada–ka
 until IMP–see–SEQ
 ‘Good-bye’ (lit. until one sees; i.e., until we (you and I) see each
 other).

The development of impersonal to inclusive in Baré is similar to what we find in Tariana. We should however bear in mind that this example appeared as a one-off occurrence in a corpus collected from a single, obsolescent speaker.

The first person plural prefix *wa-* and the corresponding personal pronoun *wani* ‘we’ in Baré do not have exclusive overtones. There are no indications of an inclusive meaning of *ba-* in earlier sources on Baré (such as Lopez Sanz 1972 and earlier lists of words and phrases). Although the development of an inclusive pronoun in Tariana is contact-induced, its roots in Baré are unclear.²¹

2.3. The prefix **pa-* as a marker of coreferential possessor and related functions. The prefix *pa-* in the meaning of possessor coreferential with the subject of the clause has been described for a number of Arawak languages in various locations. In Baniwa of Guainia and Yavitero, two North Arawak languages closely related to Warekena of Xié (2.1.2), the prefix combines the meanings of coreferential possessor and of generic person. This is where we begin. We then turn to the polysemous prefix *pa-* in Bahuana in 2.3.2. In 2.3.3 we discuss the prefix *pa-* as a marker of possessor coreferential with the subject and coreferential subjects on verbs in Wapishana. Finally, instances of the prefix as an exclusive marker of possessor coreferential with the subject in Arawak languages of the Xingu, closely related Pareci-Haliti, and Mawayana are addressed in 2.3.4.

2.3.1. The prefix **pa-* as a marker of coreferential possessor and of generic person in Baniva of Guainia and Yavitero. In two closely related North Arawak languages—Baniva of Guainia and the extinct Yavitero, both very closely related to Warekena of Xié (2.1.2)—the prefix *pa-* is polysemous. It functions as a marker of coreferential possessor on nouns and of generic person on nouns and on verbs.

Baniwa of Guainia is spoken by ca. 200 people in the community of Maroa and a number of other settlements in the Department of Casiquiare of the state of Amazonas in Venezuela. Alternative names for the language are Baniva or Baniva of Maroa (González-Ñáñez and Camico 1996, 2000).²² A list of cross-referencing prefixes (which mark possessor and the A/Sa constituent of a verb) and suffixes which mark the O/So, in addition to free pronouns, is in table 9.²³ Their status as suffixes or enclitics is impossible to ascertain at present. Prefixes with the initial labial consonant undergo optional voicing (*pi-/bi-*, *pa-/ba-*) if followed by a stem which begins with a voiced consonant (González-Ñáñez and Camico 1996:28, 2000:200).

²¹ A typologically similar development of a generic prefix into a first person marker has been described for Chamacoco, a Zamucoan language spoken in Paraguay (Ciucci and Bertinetto 2017).

²² There is no comprehensive grammar of the language; González-Ñáñez and Camico (1996, reprinted in 2000) is a brief sketch of the language with few examples. Álvarez and Socorro (2002) do not mention personal prefixes; this source contains additional information on the number of speakers. An earlier sketch by La Grasserie (1892) does not mention the prefix *pa-*.

²³ The lists of prefixes and third person suffixes are taken from González-Ñáñez and Camico (1996:25, 2000:195); other suffixes are from La Grasserie (1892:617–22). The list of personal pronouns from older sources in La Grasserie (1892:617–22) shows wide variation and has not been included for this reason.

TABLE 9
CROSS-REFERENCING PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES IN BANIVA OF GUAINIA

Person/Gender	Prefixes		Suffixes	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>nu-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-wa</i>
2	<i>pi-</i>		<i>-pi</i>	
3nf	<i>i-/∅</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>∅</i>	<i>-ni</i>
3f	<i>yu-</i>		<i>-yu</i>	
Impersonal		<i>pa-</i>		—

According to a brief sketch by González-Ñáñez and Camico (1996:22–23; reprinted as 2000:195–96), the prefix *pa-* has the meaning of a generic possessor on nouns or a generic subject on verbs, “roughly equivalent to a Spanish indefinite pronoun ‘uno’ or pseudoreflexive ‘se,’ or also the indefinite pronoun ‘cualqueira,’”²⁴—e.g., *péebù* (IMP+head) ‘someone’s head’, *pa-pâna* (IMP-house) ‘someone’s house, people’s house’, *pa-wèyá* (IMP-want) ‘one wants, it is wanted’). This is illustrated with the following example (glossing is mine):

Baniva of Guainia

- (28) **pa**–bè **pa**–túmuàta néyēpe wáni
 IMP–be.able IMP–fall.in.love woman:PL here

‘It is possible to fall in love with women here.’

Its other meaning is to indicate that the possessor of a noun is coreferential with the subject of a verb (González-Ñáñez and Camico 1996: 22)—see (29) (glossing is mine). It is not clear from the sources how to distinguish the generic possessor meaning from the “coreferential possessor” one.

- (29) ∅–pátatá **pa**–mîiyule
 3sgnf–work COREF.3p–piece.of.land

‘He works (on) his own piece of land.’

In contrast, third person cross-referencing on the possessed noun would indicate lack of coreferentiality between the subject and the possessor, as shown in (30).

- (30) ∅–pátatá mîiyule
 3sgnf–work 3sgnf+piece.of.land

‘He works (on) someone else’s piece of land.’²⁵

²⁴ “En tal caso equivale aproximadamente al pronombre indefinido español ‘uno’ o al seu-dorreflejo ‘se’ o inclusive al pronombre indefinido ‘cualqueira’” (González-Ñáñez and Camico 1996:13).

²⁵ González-Ñáñez and Camico (1996:23) mention a similar polysemy in Kurripako; however, this has not been attested in the existing sources on the language (e.g., Bezerra 2005).

TABLE 10
CROSS-REFERENCING PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES IN YAVITERO

Person/Gender	Prefixes		Suffixes		Independent Pronouns	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>nu-/na-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>núya(ha)</i>	<i>wáya(ha)</i>
2	<i>hi-</i>		<i>-hi</i>		<i>jíya(ha)</i>	<i>níya(ha)</i>
3nf	∅	<i>ni-</i>	∅ (- <i>ji</i>)	<i>-ni</i>	<i>áni(hi)</i>	<i>ánini</i>
3f	<i>yu-</i>		<i>-yu</i>		<i>ányu</i>	
Impersonal/COREF	<i>ha-</i>		—			—

Yavitero, or Baniva of Yavita, offers a similar picture. The language was spoken in the basin of the Atabapo River, north of the Rio Negro–Guainia River Basin. The language owes its name to Yavita, a major settlement where the language used to be spoken (Mosonyi 1987:2). The language is very closely related to Baniwa of Guainia (Mosonyi 1987:41–42; Mosonyi and Largo 2000). A striking difference between Yavitero and Baniva of Guainia (as well as Warekena of Xié) lies in the phonological change *p* to *h* in Yavitero. Table 10 features prefixes (used for possessor on nouns and A/Sa on verbs) and suffixes (marking O/So on verbs) (Mosonyi 1987:41, 56; Mosonyi and Largo 2000:608–9).

Similar to Baré and Warekena of Xié, neither Baniva of Guainia nor Yavitero have an independent personal pronoun corresponding to the impersonal/reflexive prefix *ha-*.

On nouns, the prefix *ha-* (a regular reflex of proto-Arawak **pa-*) marks the possessor corefential with the subject, in much the same way as in (29), from Baniva of Guainia, e.g., (31) (Mosonyi 1987:42) (glossing is mine):

Yavitero

- (31) *yu-ínta* **ha-tánimi**
 3sgfem-see 3COREF-daughter
 ‘She sees her own daughter.’

Compare this with (32), where third person on the possessed nouns indicates that the possessor is different from the subject (cf. (30), from Baniva of Guainia):

- (32) *yu-ínta* *yu-tánimi*
 3sgfem-see 3sgfem-daughter
 ‘She sees her (someone else’s) daughter.’

Another example of a coreferential use of *ha-* on a noun is shown in (33). In (34), the prefix occurs on a postposition which takes the same set of prefixes as a possessed noun (a typical feature of Arawak languages). Examples are from a dictionary in Mosonyi (1987:138).

- (33) ni-kálaja **ha**-húlisi
 3pl-open 3COREF-eye
 ‘They open their own eyes.’
- (34) Dío wé wa-yé kúlusijliami **ha**-wéneje
 God 3sgnf+leave 1pl-for sin 3COREF-after
 ‘God left us the sin after himself.’

Note that the coreferential use of *ha-* only applies to third person: this can be seen in (35), where the coreferential prefix is not used with first person (Mosonyi 1987:181):

- (35) nu-kálaja na-numa
 1sg-open 1sg-mouth
 ‘I open my mouth.’

When used on verbs, the prefix has a generic meaning ‘one, people in general’—e.g., *ha-hátata* (IMP-work) ‘one works’, *ha-wita* (IMP-know) ‘one knows’, and (36). (Mosonyi 1987:60 compares it with the impersonal *on* ‘one, people’ in French; see also Mosonyi 1987:138.)

- (36) hata **ha**-yé **ha**-héha kiá
 NEG IMP-be.able/can IMP-pass here
 ‘One cannot pass here.’

There are no examples of the prefix *ha-* with a generic meaning on nouns.

The absence of coreferential possessor meaning in Warekena of Xié is a major grammatical difference between this language and Baniva of Guainia and Yavitero. The coreferential possessor meaning is restricted to nouns (and also postpositions, at least in Yavitero), whereas the generic or impersonal meaning occurs with both nouns and verbs in Baniva of Guainia and just with verbs in Yavitero.

2.3.2. The prefix **pa-* in Bahuana: the marker of coreferential possessor, a third person, and a reflexive. Bahuana, a North Arawak language formerly spoken on the Demini River (Middle Rio Negro) in the north of the state of Amazonas in Brazil, offers a curious combination of meanings for the prefix **pa-* (whose regular reflex in Bahuana is *pa-*, glossed as ‘third person’).²⁶ Table 11 features the pronominal prefixes (marking possessor on nouns, object of postpositions, and A/Sa on verbs) and the suffixes (marking

²⁶ Ramirez (1992) is the only source on the language, based on his work with the last, and obsolescent, speaker. Ramirez glosses *nV-* as ‘fourth person’ and *pa-* as ‘third person’. As shown in Dixon (2012:203–4), the term “fourth person” is used in at least five meanings in modern linguistic work. In order to avoid confusion, I gloss *nV-* as ‘third person’ (in agreement with examples given by Ramirez 1992), and *pa-* as ‘coreferential marker; main participant’ (in agreement with its meanings in Ramirez 1992:34–37).

TABLE 11
CROSS-REFERENCING PREFIXES, SUFFIXES AND INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS IN BAHUANA

Person/Gender	Prefixes		Enclitics		Independent Pronouns	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>nu-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>nui</i>	<i>waibenari</i>
2	<i>pV-</i>		<i>-qal-qi</i>		<i>qi</i>	
3p, accessory participant	<i>nV-</i>	?	—	?		?
3p, COREF, main participant	<i>qa-</i>		<i>-qaqi</i>		<i>nia</i>	

So/O on verbs), and independent personal pronouns. Similar to Baré, Warekena of Xié, and Yavitero, there is no personal pronoun corresponding to the prefix *qa-* (see Ramirez 1992:34, 51–52). In contrast to most Arawak languages (and all the ones discussed so far), Bahuana does not distinguish genders in third person singular.

Similar to Baniva of Guainia and Yavitero, in Bahuana the prefix *qa-* marks the possessor which is coreferential with the subject—e.g., *qa-tui* (3COREF-forehead) ‘his own forehead’ and (37) (Ramirez 1992:37).

Bahuana

- (37) *ni-kiqa qa-tsunuya-ni*
 3person-wash 3COREF-pot-POSS
 ‘He washes his own pot.’

In contrast, the prefix *nV-* ‘third person’ (*ni-* in 38) is used on the noun if the subject is different from the possessor, as in (38) (vowel changes in the prefix are morphologically conditioned: see Ramirez 1992:36).

- (38) *ni-kiqa ni-tsunuya-ni*
 3person-wash 3person-pot-POSS
 ‘He washes someone else’s pot.’

A similar example comes from a brief text at the end of the grammar (the only one available in the language: Ramirez 1992:79).

- (39) *nia ni-dau qa-tsinawi-uRa*
 then 3person-mouth 3COREF-wife-to
 ‘Then he says to his (own) wife . . .’

The prefix *qa-* is used on postpositions in a similar way. As in most Arawak languages, postpositions behave similarly to nouns. Compare (40) and (41).

- (40) *ni-tuma qa-uRa*
 3person-do 3COREF-for
 ‘He does (it) for himself.’

- (41) ni-tuma ni-uRa
 3person-do 3person-for

‘He does (it) for him (someone else).’

Similar examples can be found in the text in the Appendix to the grammar (Ramirez 1992:79–81). The third person marker *nV-* (represented by *ni-/ni-* in the examples above) could be cognate with the third person marker *(-)ni(-)*, attested in Baniwa of Içana third person masculine singular clitic =*ni* and Palikur third person prefix *ni-* (see Green and Green 1972, 2016; Aikhenvald and Green 1998; Aikhenvald 1999:88).

The corresponding suffix *-ɸaɸi* can be used on a verb as a reflexive marker, indicating that the object of the verb is coreferential with the subject. This is shown in (42), contrasted with (43) (Ramirez 1992:37, 69).

- (42) ni-mutu-ta-**ɸaɸi**
 3person-cut-TH-3COREF

‘He cut himself.’

- (43) ni-mutu-ta
 3person-cut-TH

‘He cuts him (someone else).’

Both prefixes (*ɸa-* and *nV-*) also occur on independent verbs in main clauses. Then, the distinction between prefix *ɸa-* and prefix *nV-* is similar to that between “fourth person” and “third person” in the meanings established by the Athapaskan linguistic tradition, depending on whether or not the subject (A) argument is the expected controller of the activity, or the “major” participant. Alternatively, the distinction—illustrated with (44) and (45)—can be compared with that between proximal and obviative in Algonquian languages (see an overview in Dixon 2010:204, and additional information in Akmajian and Anderson 1970; Anderson and Keenan 1985:262).

The major participant is referred to with *ɸa-*, while the prefix *ni-* refers to an additional, subsidiary (or “accessory”) participant (Ramirez 1992:37). If Pierre had arrived with his friend (as a subsidiary participant), one would say (44) about Pierre:

- (44) **ɸa**-kureta huni
 3p:MAIN-drink water

‘He (the major character) is drinking water.’

In contrast, (45) will be said about someone who accompanied Pierre:

- (45) ni-kureta huni
 3p:SUBSIDIARY-drink water

‘He (a subsidiary character) is drinking water.’

TABLE 12
CROSS-REFERENCING PREFIXES IN WAPISHANA

Person/Gender	Prefixes	
	SG	PL
1	<i>ō-</i>	<i>wa-</i>
2	<i>pu-</i>	<i>u-</i>
3nf	<i>u-</i>	<i>ĩ-</i>
3f	<i>o-</i>	
COREF possessor or subject		<i>pa-</i>

This usage is curious. In the absence of textual examples and given the limitations of the data, it is difficult to evaluate.²⁷ We can only hypothesize that *pa-* may have been used as a marker of a topically established subject (or perhaps the one coreferential with a previously mentioned one).

2.3.3. Prefix *pa-* as a coreferential subject and possessor marker in Wapishana. Wapishana is spoken along the Rio Branco in Brazil and southern Guyana by at least 4,000 people. Personal prefixes mark possessor on nouns and the subject on verbs (table 12).²⁸

The prefix *pa-* signals coreference of two third-person subjects on verbs, as in (46) (Tracy 1974:123–24) (same example given in Gomes dos Santos 2006:160).

Wapishana

- (46) *u-aip-(a)-n* ***pa***-*mako-n*
 3masc.sg-want-EP-REAL 3COREF-go-REAL
 'He wants to go.'

When used on a noun, the prefix *pa-* marks the possessor coreferential with the subject, as in (47) (Gomes dos Santos 2006:101).

- (47) *zín* *tikap-ni:* ***pa***-*dikin*
 woman see-NONPRESENT 3COREF-photo
 'The woman saw her own photo.'

²⁷ In two short texts at the end of Ramirez's grammar (1992:79–81), only *nV-* appears as a marker of third person subject on verbs. Earlier word lists on the language do not contain any relevant information.

²⁸ See Tracy (1974:123). There are only third person object suffixes (it is unclear whether they can be used to mark So). A brief grammar sketch with few textual examples is provided in Gomes dos Santos (2006). Additional sentences and examples are found in Cadete (1990:70). The prefix on a verb and on a noun can occur in one sentence, as in

- u-aip-(a)-n* *pa-zamatan* *pa-wanikinini*
 3sgnf-want-EP-REAL 3COREF-grab+NOM 3COREF-meat
 'He wants to grab his own meat' (Eithne Carlin, personal communication 2016).

Although in Wapishana the prefix *pa-* can be used on nouns and on verbs, its cognate in the closely related Mawayana has only been attested with nouns—we turn to this in 2.3.4.

2.3.4. Prefix **pa-* as a marker of coreferential possessor in Arawak languages of the Xingu, in Pareci-Haliti, and in Mawayana. Reflexes of the prefix **pa-* mark possessor coreferential with the subject of a clause in five Arawak languages, from three different parts of Amazonia.

2.3.4.1. The three extant Arawak languages of the Upper Xingu region in the state of Mato Grosso (Brazil) form a closely-knit subgroup. Waujá (formerly known as Waurá: see Richards 1977, 1988, 1991; Payne 1991) is spoken by at least 400 people. Its closest relative, Mehinaku, is spoken by ca. 230 people. Yawalapiti has fewer than ten speakers and is on the brink of extinction. All the extant Xinguan Arawak languages mark possessor coreferential with the subject with the prefix *pa-* on nouns only.

A general feature of Xinguan Arawak personal prefixes is the absence of gender distinction in the third person singular (possibly because of diffusional impact from Carib or Tupí languages: see Seki 2010; Aikhenvald 2012a:303). Table 13 features personal prefixes marking possessor and the subject in the three languages of Xingu.²⁹

The prefix *pa-* in Waujá is consistently used to mark the possessor coreferential with the subject and is translated by ‘one’s own’ in the online dictionary created by Emilienne Ireland: e.g., *o-tain* ‘his/her/its child’, *pa-tain* ‘his/her/its own child’ (Emilienne Ireland, personal communication 2016). The following textual examples illustrate its use. (48) comes from Richards (1977:143):

Waujá

- (48) *iya ituka pa-mawagepe-že*
 3sg+go 3sg+get 3COREF-plant.juice-POSS
 ‘He went to get his own plant juice.’

²⁹ Data on the languages of Xingu vary in quantity, quality, and depth. The information on the prefix *pa-* in Waujá comes from Richards (1977, 1988, 1991) and from Emilienne Ireland’s online dictionary (<https://pt.wiktionary.org/wiki>) and personal communication (2016). The prefix is not mentioned in Postigo (2014). The information about the prefix in Mehinaku comes from Angel Corbera Mori (personal communication 2016). It is not mentioned in Medeiros (1990), Corbera Mori (2005), nor in an attempt to offer a diachronic account of person marking in Mehinaku in Carvalho (2015). A partial grammar of Yawalapiti by Ortega Mujica (1992) does not mention the prefix; the information was extracted from notes by Mendes (1976). The fourth Arawak language of Xingu, Kustenaú, is known from a brief word list by Steinen (1886). It does not contain instances of the prefix *pa-*. Waujá has one verbal pronominal suffix, *-ni* ‘third person object’ (Richards 1991:163); its presence and use in Waujá and in other languages of the subgroup require further study. Mehinaku forms are from Corbera Mori (2005:266, 2007:253) (as the most recent firsthand accounts of the language); Yawalapiti forms (except for the coreferential prefix *pa-*) are from Ortega Mujica (1992:60–61); Waujá forms are from Postigo (2014:159) and Richards (1977, 1991).

TABLE 13
PERSONAL PREFIXES IN THE ARAWAK LANGUAGES OF XINGU

Person	Waujá	Mehinaku	Yawalapiti	Waujá	Mehinaku	Yawalapiti
	SG			PL		
1	<i>nu-</i>	<i>n(u)-</i>	<i>n(u)-</i>	<i>aj-, a-, aw-</i>	<i>a-, aw-</i>	<i>a-, aw-</i>
2	<i>pi-</i>	<i>pi-</i>	<i>p(i)-</i>	<i>j-, je-, ji-, ju-</i>	<i>y-, w-, hi-</i>	<i>i-</i>
3	<i>∅-li-</i>	<i>in-/in-, i-, ini-</i>	<i>in-, i-</i>	<i>∅-</i>	<i>in-, i-</i>	<i>i(n). . .-pa</i>
COREF (nouns only)						<i>pa-</i>

(49) and (50) come from a creation myth (Richards 1991:173, 175).

- (49) *majiju ∅-iya pa-pij-e-u*
 from.its.place 3-take 3COREF-domestic.animal-TOP.FOC-ACTION.FOC
 ‘He took his (own) pet from its place.’

In (50), the overt subject is omitted; the antecedent of the coreferential *p(a)*-is recoverable from the context.

- (50) *a-y-i-upa pukeneji i-pitsi*
 1pl-go-COMPL-FOCUS 3COREF+people 3p-REFERENCE
 ‘Let’s go, (he said) to his own people.’

The prefix *pa-* in Mehinaku marks coreferentiality between the subject and the possessor, as shown in (51) (Angel Corbera Mori, personal communication 2016):

Mehinaku

- (51) *hukuta-pai pa-kitsapa*
 3p.wash-IMPF 3p.COREF-foot
 ‘He is washing (his own) foot.’

A third person prefix (allomorph *i-*) will be used if the possessor is not coreferential with the subject, as in (52):

- (52) *xahā eweyehe-pei i-puti*
 3p scratch-IMPF 3p-thing.POSS
 ‘He is scratching his (someone else’s) thigh.’

The examples of the reflexive prefix *pa-* in Yawalapiti (which is now close to extinction: Emilienne Ireland, Angel Corbera Mori, and Lucy Seki, personal communication 2016) come from isolated phrases collected by Mendes (1976) (in phonetic transcription)—e.g., *úkə išítsuta? pá-ma?* (he 3sg+cut 3COREF-skin) ‘he cut his own skin’ versus *úkə išítsuta? í-ma?* (he 3sg+cut 3-skin) ‘he cut her (someone else’s) skin’ (item 36 in her list; a similar example is in her item 22).

2.3.4.2. Pareci, or Haliti, is spoken by about 1,800 people in the state of Mato Grosso (Brazil) (see Brandão 2014). The language shares numerous features with the Arawak languages of the Xingu and appears to form a low-level subgroup with them (see also Aikhenvald 1999). In Pareci this prefix (used only on nouns) marks possessor coreferential with the subject. The form of the prefix is *ha-*.³⁰ This reflects the phonological process of lenition $p > h$ characteristic of the language (shared with Yavitero, as we saw in 2.3.1). Similar to the Arawak languages of Xingu, there is no gender distinction in third person. Table 14 lists pronominal prefixes in Pareci (based on Silva 2013:159; Brandão 2014:82; Rowan and Burgess 1979:18). Pronominal prefixes mark possessor on nouns and subjects on verb (except for the coreferential possessor *ha-*, which only occurs on nouns).

Example (53) comes from Brandão (2014:84):³¹

Pareci

(53) Dirizonae-li-tse-txoa=la fihi Ø=txiya
 Dirizonae-CL:round-CL:small-big=FOC straight Ø=pass

ha-katxolo-za kakoa
 3COREF-dog-POSS COMMIT

‘Dirizonae went straight with his own dog.’

In (54), from the same text, the marker *e-* on the word ‘dog’ shows that the possessor of the dog is not the subject of the clause.

(54) hoka e*_{ij}-katxolo-za-hoko-txoa=la e-hakakao-ne-ta
 CON 3sg-dog-POSS-CL:circled-big=FOC 3sg-similar-POSS-?

Ø-tem-ita
 3sg-run-IMPFV

‘Then his (=the boy’s) dog was running as well.’

Example (55) shows that the antecedent of the coreferential *ha-* in Pareci has to be the subject of the clause. In (55), *ha-* can only have the subject, *azama* ‘deer’, as its antecedent. The oblique ‘with him’ cannot be the antecedent. Clauses are in square brackets.

³⁰ Brandão (2014) provides a comprehensive grammar of the language; Silva (2013) gives a detailed analysis of the morphosyntax of the language. An informative grammatical sketch is in Rowan and Burgess (1979). Similar to Waujá, the language has a third person object enclitic =*ene*. Brandão (2014) analyzes personal prefixes in Pareci as proclitics, based exclusively on the fact that they can occur on nouns and verbs. Examples and discussion of *ha-* are in Silva (2013:159), Rowan and Burgess (1979:19), and Brandão (2014:83–85); a dictionary by Rowan (2001) provides additional examples.

³¹ Given lack of evidence (other than polyfunctionality) for interpreting prefixes in Pareci as proclitics, I have treated them as prefixes.

TABLE 14
PRONOMINAL PREFIXES IN PARECI

Person	Prefixes	
	SG	PL
1	<i>no-/na-/n-</i>	<i>wa-</i>
2	<i>hi-/ha-</i>	<i>xi-/za-</i>
3	<i>e-li-/en/ene-/in-/ini-</i> on nouns \emptyset on verbs	<i>e-li-/en/ene-/in-/ini-..-ha</i> on nouns \emptyset . . <i>-ha</i> on verbs
COREF (nouns)	<i>ha-</i>	

(55) [azamai ala tekoa e*_{i/j}-kako]

deer FOC run.away 3sg-COMIT

[**ha**_{i/*j}-zotawa heno \emptyset _{i/*j}-moka=ene hoka]

3COREF-horn above/on.TOP 3sg-put=3OBJECT CON

‘The deer_i ran away with him_j, he_{i/*j} [=deer] put him_{i/*j} [Dirizonae] on his antlers.’

2.3.4.3. The Mawayana (also known as Mapidian) are a small Arawak-speaking group whose last speakers currently reside with speakers of North Carib languages (Waiwai and Trio) in the frontier corner of Brazil, Guyana, and Suriname. There is currently no grammar of Mawayana; the most up-to-date information comes from Carlin (2006, and personal communication 2016).³² Mawayana is closely related to Wapishana (see 2.3.3); in contrast to Wapishana, proto-Arawak **p* in Mawayana has been lost (at least in word-initial positions)—e.g., *i-kini* (2sg-spirit.song) ‘your (2sg) spirit song’ (where *i-* is a reflex of the proto-Arawak *pi-* ‘second person singular’: Carlin 2006:319). Mawayana has a prefix *a-*, a regular reflex of proto-Arawak **pa-* (since the word-initial labial *p-* has been lost in the Mawayana language). The prefix appears to only occur on nouns as a third person coreferential possessor marker. This is shown in (56) (Eithne Carlin, personal communication 2016).

Mawayana

(56) **a**-beyu_koso ri-bisika

3COREF-hammock_REPORT 3sgA-untie:PAST

‘He untied his own hammock.’

³² Wordlists with some discernible grammatical formatives are given in Farabee (1918) and Howard (1986). Based on the existing sources, it would be premature to compile a list of pronominal suffixes in the language. Based on Carlin (2006:319 and personal communication), and also examples in Farabee (1918:283–88) and Howard (1986), we can state that prefixes are used to mark possessor on nouns and A/Sa on verbs, whereas suffixes are used to mark objects on verbs and some stative subjects (e.g., ‘be hungry’, ‘fall asleep’).

Unlike the closely related Wapishana, Mawayana does not appear to use this prefix on verbs.

2.4. Further potential cognates of the prefix **pa-*. Possible reflexes of the prefix **pa-* with a reciprocal meaning occur in Yucuna and Guajiro (2.4.1) and with a third person meaning in Amuesha (also known as Yanasha), Nomatsiguenga, Guarequena, and Manao (2.4.2).

2.4.1. Prefix **pa-* with a reciprocal meaning in Yucuna and Guajiro. Reflexes of the proto-Arawak prefix **pa-* have reciprocal meanings in two Arawak languages north of the Amazon, Yucuna in Colombia and Guajiro (or Wayyu-naiki) in Colombia and Venezuela. However, the exact meanings are different in the two languages.

Yucuna is spoken by about 600–700 people in the basins of the Miritiparaná and the lower Caquetá in the Department of Amazonas in Colombia (see Fontaine 2008:45–46).³³ The prefix *pa-/pe-* expresses reciprocal meanings in combination with a suffix *-kaka/-chaka* when used on nominalized verbal roots and on postpositions. (The form *-kaka* is cognate to the reciprocal suffix *-kaka* in many North Arawak languages; cf. Tariana *-kaka* ‘reciprocal’.) The prefix is not compatible with other pronominal prefixes on verbs or on nouns. Examples are given in (57) and (59) (Schauer et al. 2005:308), and (58) (Wise 1991b:192, based on Junia Schauer’s personal communication). The form *pura’akó* appears to be a deverbal noun and is translated as ‘talk; language’ (Schauer et al. 2005:142).

Yucuna

(57) ne–ma’á **pa**–pura’akó–chaka
3pl–hear REC–talk–REC

‘They understand each other’s talk.’

(58) unká n–ema’a–lá **pa**–pura’akó–čaka
NEG 3pl–understand–NEG REC–talk–REC

‘They did not understand each other’s languages’ (lit. talk).

(59) Wa–japa **pa**–jwa’até–chaka
3pl–work REC–with–REC

‘We work with one another.’

Another example of the circumfix involving the prefix *pa-* on a postposition is given in (60) (Schauer et al. 2005:125) (glossing is mine).

³³ The language shares a number of features with the Uapuí subgroup of North Arawak (especially Piapoco). The main sources on the language are grammar sketches by Schauer and Schauer (1978, 2000) and a further sketch in the dictionary by Schauer et al. (2005).

- (60) Wephá **pa**api-chaka na-jwaaté
 1pl+respect REC+under-REC 3pl-with
 ‘We respect each other.’

The prefix *pa-* and its allomorph *pe-* on nouns are described as having the meaning of “relationship of an action occurring on, between or against the affected part”—e.g., *nakú* ‘on top, above’, *pa-nakú* ‘above something’ (a problem or pain) (Schauer et al. 2005:301–2).³⁴ It is illustrated with the following pair of examples. In (61), ‘back’ is said not to be “affected” and is marked with a third person masculine possessor prefix.

- (61) Ri-wajlé chapáata riká
 3sgMASC-back ache to.him
 ‘His back aches (to him).’

In (62), the prefix *pa-* (glossed as ‘on’ [*sobre*]) on the same possessed noun ‘back’ indicates that ‘back’ was “affected.”

- (62) **pa**-wajle-ya ra-ó
 ‘on’-back-POSS 3sgMASC-fall
 ‘He fell on his back.’

Because of the scarcity of examples in the sources on Yucuna, the use and meaning of the prefix *pa-* with nouns, and the exact meaning of “affectedness,” are difficult to explain. The overtone of “affectedness” of the participant associated with *pa-* in (62) is reminiscent of the use of its potential cognate *qa-* in Bahuana as a marker of the “main” participant (see 44). However, this is highly speculative, and more information on Yucuna is required before the prefix on nouns can be understood. Alternatively, one could consider the formative *pa-* in the reciprocal circumfix as homophonous with *pa-/pe-* on nouns and postpositions.

The prefix *pa-* appears in a number of verbs with reciprocal meaning in Guajiro, spoken by ca. 300,000 people on the Guajira Peninsula in Venezuela and in Colombia (Olza Zubiri and Jusayú 2012:67, 69–70). The language forms a well-established subgroup with Añun (or Parauhano) and Lokono Arawak (and probably also the now-extinct Taino). A major feature of this subgroup is *t-* as a marker for first person (rather than *n-* as in other languages of the family) (hence the name *Ta-Arawak* for the subgroup: Aikhenvald 1999). The prefix *p-* appears to be productive and derives reciprocal verbs—e.g., *aiññuawá* ‘be held enemy of’, *p-aiññuawá* ‘be enemies to each other’ (Olza Zubiri and Jusayú 2012:70). It also appears to be used as a word class changing derivation, as in *achi’kumüni* ‘after, something that comes after’ (Olza

³⁴ “significa una relación de acción sobre, entre o contra la parte afectada” (Schauer et al. 2005:301).

TABLE 15
CROSS-REFERENCING PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES IN AMUESHA (OR YANESHA¹)

Person	Prefixes: Possessor		Prefixes and Suffixes: Subject	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>ne-</i>	<i>ye-</i>	<i>ne-</i> or <i>-eñ</i>	<i>ye-</i> or <i>-ey</i>
2	<i>pe-</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>pe-</i> or <i>-ep)</i>	<i>se-</i> or <i>-es</i>
3	<i>po-/pue-</i>	<i>po-/pue-. . -et</i>	∅	<i>-et</i> [†]

[†] Mary Ruth Wise, personal communication 2016

Zubiri and Jusayú 1988:9), *pachi'kuwáúá* ‘alternate between each other, act in turns’ (Olza Zubiri and Jusayú 1988:159); *ajuna* ‘the one who is on top’ (Olza Zubiri and Jusayú 1988:21), *pájunauá* ‘be on top of each other’ (Olza Zubiri and Jusayú 1988:160).³⁵

2.4.2. Prefix *pa-* as a marker of third person in Amuesha (Yanesha¹), Nomatsiguenga, Guarequena, and Manao. The reflex of **pa-* occurs as a third person marker in a number of languages, both south and north of the Amazon. The third person singular possessive prefix *po-/pue-* in Amuesha (or Yanesha¹) could be cognate to the proto-Arawak prefix **pa-* (as mentioned by Mary Ruth Wise [1991b:192] in her pioneering paper). Amuesha, spoken by about 8,000 people in the eastern Amazonian parts of the Peruvian departments of Huánuco, Junín, and Pasco, is atypical for the Arawak family in terms of its phonology, grammatical features and forms, and also lexicon (see Wise 1976 and Adelaar 2006 on the impact of Quechua and substrata of numerous unidentified languages in Amuesha; Amuesha may either be a family-level isolate or form a branch with Chamicuro which does not have any traces of the prefix *pa-*: Parker 1991).

Table 15 shows nominal possessive prefixes in Amuesha (Duff-Tripp 1997:29) in comparison with verbal affixes marking the subject. The choice between suffixes and prefixes largely depends on whether a verb is regular (in which case it takes prefixes) or irregular (then it takes suffixes: Duff-Tripp 1997:73; see also Wise 1986:570–71; Duff-Tripp 1998). Amuesha does not have a gender distinction in third person markers.

Nomatsiguenga belongs to the Kampa subgroup of Arawak languages (see Mihás 2017 for an outline of main features of Kampa languages). According to Mihás (2017), Nomatsiguenga forms a separate branch within the Kampa subgroup; Mary Ruth Wise (personal communication 2016) suggests that Nomatsiguenga forms a subgroup with Matsiguenga and Nanti within the

³⁵ Most examples quoted by Olza Zubiri and Jusayú (1988:163, 2012:69–70) appear to contain the suffix *-wa*, analyzed by some scholars as “reflexive” or a thematic marker (see Wise 1991a:193). A number of further examples (unglossed, and with orthographical conventions somewhat different from the 2012 grammar) are in Olza Zubiri and Jusayú (1988:160–63).

TABLE 16
CROSS-REFERENCING PREFIXES IN NOMATSIGUENGA

Person/Gender	Prefixes		
	SG	PL	
		Inclusive	Exclusive
1	<i>n-/na-/ni-/no-</i>	<i>a-/o-/∅</i>	<i>n-/na-/ni-/no-. . .-íg</i>
2	<i>p-/pa-/pi-/po-</i>	<i>p-/pa-/pi-/po-. . .-íg</i>	
3nf	<i>i-/y-</i>	<i>i-/y-. . .-íg</i>	
3f	<i>o-/p-/pa-/pi-/po-/∅</i>	<i>o-/p-/pa-/pi-/po-/∅-. . .-íg</i>	

Kampa branch. Nomatsiguenga is spoken in Satipo Province in the district of Pangoa in the southeastern foothills of the Peruvian Andes along the rivers Sonomoro and Pangoa, by about 4,000–5,000 people (see Shaver 1996; Wise 1971). Third person feminine singular, and all plural verbal prefixes, have allomorphs *p-/pa-/pi-/po-* occurring with vowel-initial roots—see table 16 (Wise 1971:47, 58, 67; Shaver 1996:35; Talancha de la Cruz 2010:75; Lawrence 2013:69–70; Mihás 2017).³⁶

An etymological connection between the proto-Arawak prefix **pa-* and the allomorphs on third person feminine prefixes in Nomatsiguenga has been implicitly suggested by Wise (1991b:273). To our knowledge, no such allomorphs have been documented for other Kampa languages.

The development of **pa-* into a third person feminine marker is echoed by a similar development in Guarequena, a geographically distant and poorly known Arawak language of the Uapuí subgroup. Guarequena is currently spoken by about 300 people in Guzmán Blanco (Municipio Autónomo Guainía in the state of Amazonas in Venezuela) on the left shore of the Guainia River, and two speakers in one Warekena of Xié-speaking community in Brazil (where it is called Warena, or “the old Warekena”).³⁷

Table 17 features prefixes (marking possessor on nouns, objects of postpositions and A/Sa on verbs) and suffixes (marking O/So on verbs and the only argument of non-verbal predicates), and independent pronouns in Guarequena (González-Ñáñez 1997:69–70).

³⁶ These allomorphs are not found in possessive prefixes on nouns in Wise (1971:58) or in Shaver (1996:34–35), pace Lawrence (2013:25). An additional, Kampa-specific development concerns the inclusive-exclusive distinction in first person plural; see 2.2. The first-person-plural inclusive prefix *a-* is a regular correspondent of proto-Arawak **wa-* (Payne 1991).

³⁷ Apart from short word lists, the main source on Guarequena is a basic grammar sketch by González-Ñáñez (1997). González-Ñáñez (1997:32) notes a close proximity between Kurripako and Guarequena. See Aikhenvald (1998) for a reconstruction of historical migrations of the Guarequena and Aikhenvald (2012b) for the word list of Warena. The spelling “Guarequena” is maintained here (as in Aikhenvald 1998) following the sources and to avoid confusion with Warekena of Xié (2.1.2).

TABLE 17
CROSS-REFERENCING MARKERS AND PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN GUAREQUENA

Person/Gender	Prefixes		Suffixes		Independent Pronouns	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>nu-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-wi</i>	<i>nújwa</i>	<i>wéjya</i>
2	<i>pi-</i>	?	<i>-pi</i>		<i>píjya</i>	?
3nf	<i>ni-</i>		<i>-ni</i>		<i>níjya</i>	
3f	<i>pa-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>-nul-yu</i>	<i>-nákan/-nákani</i>	<i>péjya</i>	<i>néjya</i>

TABLE 18
CROSS-REFERENCING PREFIXES, SUFFIXES AND PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN MANAO

Person/Gender	Prefixes		Suffixes		Independent Pronouns	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>nu-, no-</i>	<i>aa-, oa-, oe-</i>	?		<i>no</i>	<i>buêne, oêna</i>
2	<i>poe-, pu-</i>	?	?		<i>pi</i>	<i>yna</i>
3masc	<i>ly-, re-, z-</i>		<i>-ry-, -ri-, -r-, -ly-, -di-, -y</i>		?	
3fem	<i>ru-, lu-</i>	<i>n- (?), ba-</i>	<i>-ru-, -ro</i>	?	<i>eronty</i>	<i>néla</i>

The third person nonfeminine suffix *-ni* and its feminine counterpart *-nu* can be considered a shared innovation with Baniwa of Içana/Kurripako. The existence of different forms for the third person feminine prefix and suffix follows a general principle operational in the majority of Arawak languages not to have a suffix (or enclitic) corresponding to the prefix **pa-* and its reflexes. Having one form for second and third person suffixes is reminiscent of Warekena of Xié (see table 5) (however, note that the source does not contain 2pl forms for suffixes or prefixes).

Traces of the prefix *pa-* with the meaning of third person have been attested in Manao, a North Arawak language formerly spoken along the Rio Negro. The form of the prefix is *ba-*. The once powerful and aggressive Manao (after whom Manaus, the capital of the Brazilian state of Amazonas, was named) were decimated throughout the eighteenth century, and their language became extinct in the nineteenth century.³⁸ The major source for the language is the “Christian doctrine” composed around 1740 (Brinton 1892:38–44; Joyce 1951). Based on this, one can establish a system of personal prefixes, suffixes, and pronouns (table 18; see Goeje 1948:158, 165). Question marks refer to gaps in the paradigm.

³⁸ The final Manao word list was collected by Johannes Natterer ca. 1831 (list 42); other lists include work by Spix (in Martius 1867:221–22). These contain some pronominal forms, but no traces of *ba-*.

All the prefixes appear to mark possessors on nouns—e.g., *no-neque* (1sg-heart) ‘my heart’, *pu-neque* (2sg-heart) ‘your heart’—and subjects on verbs—e.g., *p-yanyqui Tupa* (2sg-accept God) ‘Do you accept God?’ (Goeje 1948:158). The prefix *ba-* as a third person plural marker occurs on verbs only: e.g., *ba-ya* (3pl-receive, believe) ‘they believe’, *babatêre* (ba-batâ-re 3pl-see-?) ‘they see’ (Joyce 1951:69), *ba-mâ-ne* (ba-mâ-ne 3pl-go-REFL?) ‘they go away’ (Joyce 1951:68). According to Goeje (1948:158), the formative *ba* in the generic noun *baura* ‘person’ may also be related to the impersonal prefix *ba-*.

3. The versatile prefix **pa-*: its origins and development. Reflexes of the proto-Arawak prefix **pa-* have been attested in 21 languages from the Arawak family, spoken both south and north of the Amazon; see table 2 and figure 1 (where the relevant language names are circled).

In terms of its geographical distribution, the prefix **pa-* is found in three subgroups of the family spoken south of the Amazon:

- a. the Arawak languages of Xingu and closely related Pareci-Haliti (2.3.4);
- b. possibly in Nomatsiguenga (Kampa subgroup) (2.4.2);
- c. Amuesha (or Yanasha), which can be considered a family-level isolate (2.4.2).

North of the Amazon, the prefix is found in

- d. one language of the *Ta*-Arawak subgroup (Guajiro or Wayyu-naiki) (2.4.1);
- e. three languages of the Uapuí subgroup within the Upper Rio Negro region (Tariana, Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako and Guarequena) (2.1.1);
- f. Cabiari (related to the Uapuí subgroup) (2.1.5);
- g. three closely related languages of the Baniva of Guainia subgroup (Baniva of Guainia, Warekena of Xié, and †Yavitero) (2.1.2 and 2.3.1),
- h. four additional languages within the Upper Rio Negro and adjacent areas whose subgrouping remains a matter for further studies: †Baré, †Maipuré, †Manao, and Yucuna further to the west (2.1.3–4, 2.4.2).
- i. †Bahuana, formerly spoken on the Middle Rio Negro (2.3.2);
- j. Wapishana and Mawayana, two languages of the Rio Branco subgroup on the borders of Brazil, Guiana, and Suriname (2.3.3–4).

The spread of the reflexes of the prefix **pa-* across the family suggests that it can be reconstructed to proto-Arawak. The form of the prefix is uniform across the family. In most languages (with the possible exception of Bahuana) there are no corresponding suffixes or enclitics. Only two languages—Tariana and Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako—have a corresponding independent pronoun.

The productivity of the prefix varies (we saw in 2.4 that in Guajiro it is restricted to a limited number of lexical items). So does its selectivity: we can see from table 2 that in some languages it appears on nouns and on verbs (as do other person-marking prefixes across the family), whereas in others it is restricted to just verbs or just nouns.

The meanings of the prefix are manifold. The meaning ‘generic person’ is restricted to Arawak languages north of the Amazon, spoken in the area of the Upper Rio Negro Basin: Tariana, Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako, Warekena of Xié, Baré, and also Maipure and Cabiari (for which only limited materials are available). The region of the Upper Rio Negro–Orinoco Basin is considered to be the locus of major linguistic diversity within the family, and its likely proto-home (see discussion in Aikhenvald 1999, and a summary with further sources in Aikhenvald 2013b). The ‘generic person’ meaning of the prefix could be an archaic feature, inherited from the protolanguage.³⁹

The other well-established meaning of the prefix is ‘possessor on nouns coreferential with the subject of a clause’. This meaning is attested in two closely related languages within the Upper Rio Negro–Orinoco Basin: Baniwa of Guainia and Yavitero. What is remarkable about these languages is a complementary distribution between the meanings of ‘generic person’ and ‘coreferential possessor’: the former appears on verbs in both languages (and also on nouns in Baniwa of Guainia), and the latter is restricted just to nouns in both languages.

The reflexes of the prefix **pa-* as coreferential possessor on nouns are found in two languages of the Rio Branco subgroup (Wapishana and Mawayana), and also in Arawak languages of Xingu and closely related Pareci-Haliti. This spread suggests a relative antiquity of this meaning.

We are faced with the polysemy between generic person (marking possessor on nouns and subject on verbs) and coreferential possessor (on nouns). The coexistence of the two meanings in Baniwa of Guainia and Yavitero suggests that this polysemy may be an archaism, rather than an innovation. The polysemy itself is reminiscent of the polysemy between impersonal and reflexive meanings of *se* in Romance languages (see Cennamo 1993, 2016:972–73). The direction of development in Italian dialects is believed to have involved an extension from the “original” reflexive to passive and impersonal (see Parry 1998 and references there). The exact details of this semantic development remain a matter

³⁹ Those languages that do not have any reflexes of **pa-* have other means of marking impersonal referents. Añun, a *Ta*-Arawak language (closely related to Guajiro), has an impersonal prefix *a-* (see in-depth discussion in Patte 1987, and a mention in Patte 1989:47) which is also used for “unspecified” and backgrounded subjects. This prefix is reminiscent of the indefinite subject marker *a-* in Baré (table 6). Piapoco (Klumpp 1990:64–65), a member of the Uapuí subgroup, employs third person plural prefixes and impersonal auxiliaries (marked with third person non-feminine prefix *i-*) to express generic meanings.

for further investigation (especially in light of the difficulties in distinguishing passives and truly impersonal forms pointed out by Parry 1998:110–11). A different development was proposed by Ciucci and Bertinetto (2017, and Luca Ciucci, personal communication 2016) for Zamucoan languages spoken south of the River Amazon: here, an erstwhile third person prefix developed into an impersonal and then into a marker of coreferential possessor.

On the other hand, given the wide spread of coreferential possessor meaning, an alternative solution would be to reconstruct this meaning and just the use of the prefix on nouns to the protolanguage. We can then hypothesize that the coreferential possessor acquired an impersonal meaning in the languages of the Upper Rio Negro–Orinoco Basin and became extended to verbs, following an analogy with other prefixes shared by nouns and by verbs (see table 1).

Further innovations can be postulated for individual languages as follows:

3.1. Extension from impersonal to first person inclusive in Tariana and possibly in Baré (**2.2**) (echoed by use of the generic prefix as a first person plural marker in Warekena of Xié: **2.1.2**). The developments are independent, since in Tariana it is a relatively recent impact of language contact. The reasons for this development in Baré are not known.

The development of first person plural overtones for generic forms is relatively common cross-linguistically. In Brazilian Portuguese, ‘people’ is used to refer to ‘us’ (first person plural) (see also Cennamo 2016:981). Along similar lines, the colloquial French impersonal pronoun *on* (from Latin *homo* ‘person, man’) is used in the meaning of first person plural pronoun ‘we’ (see further examples in Heine and Kuteva 2002:233; see Béguelin 2014 on the competition between *on* and *nous* in French).⁴⁰ Developing an inclusive pronoun out of a generic marker is somewhat less common. A first person inclusive pronoun has evolved out of a generic noun meaning ‘person, people’ in Kono, a Mande language from Sierra Leone (Heine and Kuteva 2002:233). “Defocusing” prefixes with impersonal meanings convey the meaning of the inclusive first person in Caddo, a Caddoan language of Oklahoma (Chafe 1990:66–67; Mithun 1999:71). Along similar lines, the prefix *denaa-* in Koyokon (Athapascan: Thompson 1996:656) can function as an indefinite prefix or as a first person plural prefix.

3.2. Extension from coreferential possessor on nouns to marking coreferential subject on verbs in Wapishana (**2.3.3**). This analogical development appears to be unique to Wapishana within the Arawak family.

⁴⁰ Similar examples are found in Matses, a Panoan language from Peru (Fleck 2006:558), Koyokon (an Athabaskan language: Thompson 1996:656), and a number of Tibeto-Burman languages, including rGyalrong (Sun 2005:14), Kiranti (Ebert 1994:28–29), and Limbu (Michailovsky 2001).

3.3. Development from coreferential possessor on nouns to reflexive subject on verbs in Bahuana, and the development of an opposition similar to proximate-obviative in Bahuana (using a reflex of the prefix **pa-* as a marker of the “main” participant) (2.3.2). Note however that the only existing source on Bahuana is highly limited owing to the endangerment of the language.

3.4. A possible development from a marker of coreferential possessor to a reciprocal marker in Yucuna and in Guajiro (2.4). This development echoes a cross-linguistically well-established polysemy between reflexive and reciprocal (see an overview in Dixon 2012:138–96).

3.5. A possible independent development of a reflex of the prefix **pa-* into a marker of third person singular feminine in Nomatsiguenga (Kampa subgroup) and Guarequena (Uapuí subgroup), with an additional development of an independent third person singular feminine pronoun in Guarequena based on *pa-* (2.4.2). The development of a feminine marker out of a generic person marker is comparable to the development of feminine reference of a generic marker in Iroquoian languages (see Mithun 1993:335, 2014, and further examples in Aikhenvald 2016: chap. 7).

3.6. A possible independent development of the reflex of the prefix **pa-* into a marker of third person: possessive on nouns in Amuesha, and an apparent subject prefix on verbs in Manao (2.4.2). This is reminiscent of a development of indefinite or nonspecific third person into an exponent of general third person in Athapascan languages (see Mithun 1993:336).

Independent development pathways in 3.5 and 3.6 point toward the possible antiquity of a cross-linguistically uncommon polysemy between an impersonal and a coreferential possessor meaning for the proto-Arawak prefix **pa-*.

4. To conclude. A versatile prefix **pa-* is a feature of a number of Arawak languages, most of them spoken north of the Amazon, and just a few to the south of it. The prefix has a plethora of meanings—ranging from impersonal, or “generic person,” to first person inclusive, coreferential possessor (just on nouns), and also reciprocal. The geographical spread of the reflexes of **pa-* suggests that it can be reconstructed to the protolanguage. However, despite a number of plausible scenarios for its development, the exact pathways of semantic change, and its original meaning in the protolanguage, remain an open issue.

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