

## THE ORIGIN OF PLURAL MORPHEMES IN WAYAMPI

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- **RESUMO:** *No Proto-Tupi-Guarani (América do Sul) não há um morfema que seja basicamente um pluralizador. Contudo, em Wayampi, uma das línguas descendentes do PTG, há dois morfemas de plural: kō, que pluraliza nomes; e kupa, o qual indica que o sujeito de terceira pessoa é plural. Neste artigo eu vou discutir as estratégias através das quais número poderia ser comunicado em Proto-Tupi-Guarani, a despeito da falta de um morfema plural, e mostro quais destas sobreviveram em Wayampi. Tentarei explorar o desenvolvimento de kō e kupa como pluralizadores em Wayampi. Wayampi é uma das três línguas da família Tupi-Guarani localizadas ao norte do Rio Amazonas no continente Sul-americano, em uma área que era tradicionalmente habitada por vários grupos de línguas da família Carib, entre elas o Wayana. As línguas Carib da região possuem um morfema plural, um alomorfe que é cognato de kō. Esta é a provável origem do morfema Wayampi. As duas outras línguas Tupi-Guarani que são faladas no lado norte do Amazonas, Emerillon e Zo'e, também possuem cognatos deste morfema. O segundo morfema, kupa, teria se desenvolvido da raiz verbal Proto-Tupi-Guarani \*kúβ, 'estar juntos', que, por causa do seu conteúdo semântico, só ocorreria junto a sujeitos no plural. Na terceira pessoa, a forma serial dependente (ou gerúndio) deste verbo seria \*o-kúβ-a '3-estar juntos,' que teria se tornado \*okúpa depois da aplicação de regras morfofonêmicas. Esta forma teria sido gramaticalizada em Wayampi como kupa, e sua posição na oração reflete a forma verbal da qual teria se originado.*
- **PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** *Plural; Tupi-Guarani; Línguas em contacto; Carib*
- **ABSTRACT:** *In Proto-Tupi-Guarani (lowland South America) there is no morpheme which is basically a pluralizer. However, one of PTG's descendent languages, Wayampi, has two plural morphemes: kō, which pluralizes nouns; and kupa, which indicates that the third person subject is plural. In this paper I will discuss the strategies by which number could be communicated in Proto-Tupi-Guarani, in spite of the lack of a plural morpheme, and show which of*

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these have survived in Wayampi. I will then explain the development of *kō* and *kupa* as pluralizers in Wayampi.

Wayampi is one of three Tupi-Guarani languages located on the north side of the Amazon River in lowland South America, in an area which was traditionally inhabited primarily by various language groups of the Carib family, among them the Wayana. The Carib languages of the region have a plural morpheme which has as one of its allomorphs a cognate of *kō*. This is the probable source of the morpheme in Wayampi. The two other Tupi-Guarani languages spoken on the north side of the Amazon, Emerillon and Zo'e, also have cognates of this morpheme.

The second morpheme, *kupa*, developed from the Proto-Tupi-Guarani verb stem \**kúβ* 'to be (many)', which due to its semantic content collocated only with a plural subject. The dependent serial verb form of this verb in the third person was \**o-kúβ-a* '3-be (many)-SER' which became \**okúpa* after the application of morphophonemic rules. This form became grammaticalized in Wayampi as *kupa*, and its position in the clause reflects the verb form from which it originated.

- **KEY WORDS:** *Plurals;Tupi-Guarani; Languages in contact; Carib*

## INTRODUCTION

In Proto-Tupi-Guarani (PTG) there is no pluralizing morpheme. The relative unimportance of indicating number in third person is reflected in the system of pronouns and personal prefixes: there are three distinctions for first person, two for second person, and only one for third.

1 <sup>st</sup> singular	1 <sup>st</sup> inclusive	1 <sup>st</sup> exclusive
2 <sup>nd</sup> singular	2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	
3 <sup>rd</sup> (singular or plural)		

However, one of PTG's descendent languages, Wayampi, has two plural morphemes: *kupa*, which pluralizes

the third person subject especially when plurality is not otherwise made explicit by a pluralized noun, and *kō*, which pluralizes nouns or their possessors. Both morphemes are used primarily with reference to humans, but also occur with other highly individuated nouns. In example 1, the plural morphemes are highlighted.

- 1 a) *Jawarewa*<sup>2</sup> *kō* o-o *Wajapuku* pe. O-o *kupa* ky'y.  
jaguar-hunter PL<sup>3</sup> 3-go Oiapoque to 3-go PL

CHANGE.STATE

S S S S

'The jaguar hunters went to Oiapoque. They finally went.'

- b) E-r-eraa *kupa*. E-r-erekwa we o-o.  
1SG-LK-take PL 1SG-LK-wife also 3-go  
O A S S  
'They took me. My wife also went.'

- c) E-kujā *kō* we o-o panakō moy amā.

<sup>2</sup> This text was recorded and transcribed by Gary Olson, who as a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) carried on field work in the village of Molocopote from 1973-1976. The author of this paper wishes to thank Gary and his Wayampi language helper Kurikuri for the provision of this text. In the orthography used in this paper, *y* refers to the high mid unrounded vowel /ɨ/, *j* to the semivowel, ' to the glottal stop, and ~ to nasalization, which is a suprasegmental feature of the morpheme.

<sup>3</sup> Abbreviations of grammatical morphemes: A – subject of transitive verb (or reference to it), S subject of intransitive verb, O - object of transitive verb; SG - singular, EXCL - exclusive, INCL - inclusive, PL – plural; CIRCUM – circumstantial (form of verb; i.e. Oblique topicalized), COMPL – completive, COREF – coreferential, DIF – diffuse, EPEN – epenthetic, FUT – future; LK – linking morpheme (*r-*) characteristic of Class II stems in Tupi-Guarani languages, NEG – negation, RECIP – reciprocal, REDUP – reduplication, REFL – reflexive, SER – serial verb.

1SG-sister PL also 3-go backpack carry CONSEQUENTLY  
 S S O

'So my sisters also went to carry packs.'

d) I-moma'e kō oro-moy.  
 3-thing PL 1EX-carry  
 O A

'We carried their things.'

e) O-o ajaire Wajapuku ry myakyty kupa.  
 3-go afterward Oiapoque river downriver PL  
 S S

'Afterwards they went down the Oiapoque river.'

In this paper I will discuss the strategies by which number is communicated in PTG, in spite of the lack of a pluralizer, and show which of these have survived in Wayampi. I will then explain the development of *kō* and *kupa* as pluralizers in Wayampi.

## 1. LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

Tupi-Guarani is one of the major linguistic families of lowland South America. It is named for the two language groups which populated the eastern coast of what is now Brazil at the time of its colonization: Tupinambá and Guaraní. There are over 40 member languages in the Tupi-Guarani family, a few of which are now extinct. Due to extensive migrations by Tupi-Guarani peoples, member languages are now found, not only in Brazil, but also in Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, and French Guiana. Documentation of many of these languages in the past four decades has provided data for a tentative

subdivision of these languages into 8 subgroups (Rodrigues, 1984/1985).

Wayampi is a member of Tupi-Guarani subgroup 8. It is one of three language groups which are located on the north side of the Amazon River; the other two are Emerillon and Zo'e (also called Poturu). Until the mid 1700s, the Wayampi lived near the mouth of the Xingu River on the south side of the Amazon River (Nimuendaju, 1981). According to ethnohistorical accounts they crossed the Amazon on rafts, going from island to island, until they reached the northern shore (Waiãpi, 1991). From there they traveled up the Jari river, invading the traditional home of members of the Carib language family. One dialect group of Wayampi (Wajapuku dialect) now lives in French Guiana and another (Amapari dialect) in the Brazilian state of Amapá. A few speakers of a dialect similar to that in French Guiana (Jari dialect) live in the Brazilian state of Pará, to the west of Amapá. Data included in this paper are primarily from the Jari dialect.<sup>4</sup>

## 2 STRATEGIES FOR EXPRESSING PLURALITY IN PROTO-TUPI-GUARANI

In spite of the absence of a pluralizer, plural number is communicated in various ways in PTG<sup>5</sup>. The more obvious of

<sup>4</sup> My husband Allen and I have been studying the Wayampi language since 1976, as members of SIL and as graduate students of UNICAMP. Field work was done by permission of the Fundação Nacional do Índio (FUNAI) through a contract with SIL. Special thanks to Al, to our daughters Naomi and Andrea who have always supported us in this work, and to our Wayampi friends, especially to Apu'a, who has taught me so much about her language.

<sup>5</sup> Sources of PTG reconstructions which appear in this paper: Jensen (1998), Lemle (1971), Rodrigues (1997). Sources of other data: Mybá Guarani

these include quantifiers (section 2.1), collective morphemes (2.2), and plural verbs (2.3). There are also several more subtle ways of communicating plural: through a diffuse locative suffix (2.4), a completive suffix (2.5), a reciprocal prefix (2.6), a commitative causative prefix (2.7), and monosyllabic reduplication indicating action involving successive absolutive referents (2.8). In sum, there are several sources in PTG for the potential formation of a pluralizer through grammaticalization in its descendent languages.

## 2.1 Quantifiers

Quantifiers in PTG include a rudimentary numerical system, as well as morphemes communicating the ideas of 'few', 'pair', 'many', 'all,' and 'each.' The use of quantifiers has persisted in Wayampi, although some of the specific morphemes have changed (Table 1).

	Wayampi	source in *PTG
<b>Numbers</b>	<i>pe'æ</i> 'one'	* <i>ojepeteæ</i>
	<i>moapy</i> 'three'	* <i>mocapýr</i>
	<i>irõte</i> 'four'	DERIVATION from * <i>irø</i> <sup>6</sup> 'partner'

(Dooley, 1982), Tupinambá (Barbosa, 1970), Urubu-Kaapor (Kakumasu, 1988), Kayabi and Guajajara (Jensen, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> The terms for even and odd numbers in Wayampi are *irõ* and *n-irõ-i* (NEG-even-NEG). Another derivation in Wayampi of \**irø* is *moirõirõ* 'to count'.

<b>Quantifiers</b>	<i>pe'æpe'æ</i> 'few'	DERIV. from <i>pe'æ</i>
	<i>mokoæ</i> 'pair'	* <i>mokõj</i> 'two'
	<i>irõ irõte</i> 'six' or 'eight'	DERIV. from * <i>irø</i>
	<i>jaty</i> 'several'	DERIV. from * <i>atýr</i> <sup>7</sup> 'pile'
	<i>jawijøjæ</i> 'each'	* <i>jaβæ</i> ?? 'each, all' <sup>8</sup>
	<i>pe'æruã</i> 'many'	DERIV. from <i>pe'æ</i> 'one' - * <i>ruã</i> 'NEG'
	<i>pawete</i> 'all'	* <i>páβ</i> 'COMPLETIVE'

**Table 1:** PTG Quantifiers with reflexes in Wayampi

There are a few quantifiers in Wayampi for which the source has not yet been established: *morijø*<sup>9</sup> 'two', *mu'ãruã* 'many' (literally, 'not *mu'ã*'), *pirujæ* 'all (alike)'.

There are two quantifiers in PTG which do not appear to have reflexes in Wayampi, but which have served as sources for distinguishing plurality in other languages of the family, as in Table 2.

<sup>7</sup> Derivations of this morpheme in Wayampi include *moaty* 'to gather (TV)' and *jimoaty* 'to gather together (IV)'. In Tupinambá *atýr* communicates the idea of a 'pile', but in Mbyá, like Wayampi, it can be used to refer to gatherings of people: *aty* 'grouped together', *mboaty* 'to gather things or people (TV)', *nhemboaty* 'to gather together (IV)'.

<sup>8</sup> *jaβiõ* 'each' Tupinambá, *jave/javi* 'all' Mbyá

<sup>9</sup> Apparently *morijø* is derived from two morphemes *mori* + *jø*, since *jø* occurs in a number of other numerical terms in Wayampi: *ke-jø* 'this many' *mokope-jø* 'that many', and *mope-jø* 'how many?'.

*PTG	forms in other TG languages
*etá 'many'	eta 'many' (Tb <sup>10</sup> , Mbyá <sup>11</sup> ) ta 'pluralizer' (UK)
*wā 'they, those'	wā, awā 'those (invisible)' (Tb); wā (Kb); wā (Gj) '3 <sup>rd</sup> person plural'

Table 2: PTG Quantifiers without reflexes in Wayampi

In Wayampi quantifiers may substitute for a noun (examples 2a, 2b and 3a) or they may modify a noun in a noun phrase (examples 2c and 3b).

2 a) O-'y-asa [moapy] kupa. 'Three (tapirs) crossed the  
3-water-cross three PL river.'  
S S S

b) [Irôte] a-juka. 'I killed four (wild pigs)'.  
four 1SG-kill  
O A

c) Sura [morijø yrapa] w-eraa. 'Sura took two arrows.'  
Sura two arrow 3-take  
A O A

3 a) [Jaty] o-pa kupa. 'Several (people) died.'  
lots 3-die(many) PL  
S S S

<sup>10</sup> Abbreviations of other languages: Gj Guajajára, Kb Kayabí, Tb Tupinambá, UK Urubu-Kaapor.

<sup>11</sup> Forms in Mbyá include: *t-eta*, *eta* 'many' *ta'y reta* 'many sons'; *t-eta* 'many people'; *mboetave* 'cause to increase in number'.

b) [Jaty marija] w-ereko kupa. 'They had lots of knives.'  
lots knife 3-have PL  
O A A

## 2.2. Collective morphemes

Another way of indicating plurality is through the use of morphemes which indicate a group. These include \*-pwér (~ -wér), \*-týβ, and possibly \*(a)týr.

In Wayampi, -kwe<sup>12</sup>, the reflex of \*-pwér, is used to refer to groups of people: *kwima'e-kwe* 'group of men', *waiwæ-ŋwe* 'group of women', *ja'yr-e* 'group of children'. An abundance of a certain type of tree, fish, or insect is indicated by the morpheme -ty, as in the following place names in the Amapari Indigenous Area: *Karapanã-ty* 'Place where mosquitos are abundant', *Pirima'y-ty-ry* 'River where the *pirima'y* fish are abundant', *Murumuru-ty* 'Murumuru grove', *Warapa-ty* 'Warapa grove', *Naja-ty* 'Naja grove'. Because of the loss of final consonants in Wayampi, it is not clear whether the speakers of Wayampi would associate -ty with \*týβ or with \*(a)týr 'group or pile'.<sup>13</sup>

## 2.3 Plural verbs

In PTG there are a few verbs which express group experiences (Rodrigues & Dietrich, 1997, p.283): \*kúβ 'to be (many)', \*páβ 'to die (many)', \*apítí 'to kill (many)', and \*momáβ 'cause to die (many)'. All of these are experiences that have a profound effect on the community: expressing either its existence or its termination, primarily through disease or war.

<sup>12</sup> Allomorphs in Wayampi (Jari dialect) are: -kwe, -ŋwe, -we, and -e.

<sup>13</sup> Compare data from Tupinambá: *itá-týβ-a* 'grouping of rocks', but *yβý-týr-a* 'hill, mountain'.

Reflexes of all these verbs exist in Wayampi: *ku*, *pa*, *apisi*, and *moma*. It is *\*kúβ* that is the source of the pluralizer *kupa* in Wayampi, as will be explained in section 3.1.

#### 2.4 Diffuse locative suffix *\*-βo*

PTG has a diffuse locative suffix *-βo*, which expresses the idea of “throughout”. When the noun whose location is described in this way is a count noun, the suffix implies plurality of the noun. This morpheme was originally described by Rodrigues (1952, p.72) for Tupinambá as a plural locative: “The plural locative indicates simply location, in space or time, but only in the plural.” Examples 4-5 are from Tupinambá:

4) *kujā kó-βo s-ekó-w*  
 woman garden-DIF 3-be-CIRCUM  
 ‘the women are in the gardens’

5) *kaβuré pytún-y-βo i-βeβé-w*  
 gnome.owl night-EPEN-DIF 3-fly-CIRCUM  
 ‘the gnome-owl flies throughout the night/ every  
 night’

In Wayampi the suffix *-βo* is no longer productive, occurring (as *-o*) only in a few complex constructions: *pyryo* ‘along’, ‘*aryo* ‘throughout the day’, and ‘*aryo* ‘above’. The idea of ‘diffuse’ is now communicated in Wayampi through the postposition *\*upí* with the meaning ‘throughout’: *ka’a r-upi* ‘throughout the rainforest’; *pya r-upi* ‘throughout the night’.

#### 2.5 Completive suffix *\*-paβ*

The use of the completive suffix *\*-paβ* on a verb indicates the involvement of all possible absolutive referents (i.e. S of intransitive verbs or O of transitive verbs), hence implying plurality as in example 6.

6 a) *\*o-có-paβ* ‘they all went’  
 3-go-COMPL

6 b) *\*o-‘ú-paβ* ‘he/they ate it all’  
 3-eat-COMPL

This suffix is retained in Wayampi, but does not preclude the use of the subject pluralizer *kupa*:

7 a) *oo-pa kupa* ‘they all went’

b) *o’u-pa* ‘he ate it all’

c) *o’u-pa kupa* ‘they ate it all’

#### 2.6 Reciprocal prefix *\*jo-*

Since reciprocity implies a minimum of two participants, the reciprocal prefix *\*jo-* (ex. 8b), in contrast to the reflexive prefix *\*je-* (ex. 8a), implies plurality.

8 a) *\*o-je-nupā* ‘he, they hit himself/themselves’  
 3-REFL-beat

b) *\*o-jo-nupā* ‘they hit each other’  
 3-RECIP-beat

These prefixes are also used with postpositions, in combination with a coreferential prefix.

- 9 a) \*o-je-ecé 'about/at himself'  
3COREF-REFL-about/at
- b) \*o-jo-ecé 'about/at each other'  
3COREF-RECIP-about/at

In Wayampi the prefix \*je- is not used with postpositions to express reflexivity (10a), only to indicate reciprocity (10b).

- 10 a) o-e 'about/at himself'  
b) o-je-e 'about/at each other'

In Wayampi verbs the reciprocal prefix merged with the reflexive prefix \*je-. Unless it is made clear by some other means that the subject is plural, for example, through the pluralizer *kupa* (ex. 11b), the interpretation is reflexive (ex. 11a). With the addition of a reciprocal postposition, the only interpretation is reciprocal (ex. 11c).

- 11 a) o-ji-nupã 'he hit himself'  
b) o-ji-nupã kupa 'they hit themselves/each other'  
c) o-ji-nupã ojee kupa 'they hit each other'

## 2.7 Comitative causative

The comitative causative prefix \*ero- indicates that the subject causes the object to perform an action together with himself.

- 12 a) \*o-ár 'he fell'  
b) \*o-ero-ár 'he fell, causing (O) to fall with him'  
(i.e. 'he fell with O')

This prefix is productive in Wayampi as well, as in the reflex of example 12: *w-ero-a* 'he fell causing (O) to fall with him(self)'.<sup>14</sup>

## 2.8 Monosyllabic reduplication

Monosyllabic reduplication of the final syllable of the PTG verb stem indicates action involving consecutive absolutive referents<sup>14</sup>, thus implying plurality, as in examples 13 and 14.

- 13) \*o-pór 'he/they jumped'  
\*o-pó-pór 'they jumped, one after another'
- 14) \*o-i-mokón 'he/they swallowed it/them'  
\*o-i-mokó-kón 'he/they swallowed them, one after another'

Monosyllabic reduplication is no longer productive in Wayampi, although the verb form *mokōkō* 'swallow one after another' is still used. However, action on consecutive objects is communicated through bisyllabic duplication followed by the dependent serial verb *eraa* 'to take', as in ex. 15.

<sup>14</sup> That is, the action is performed consecutively by one S (subject of intransitive verb) after another, or on one O (object of transitive verb) after another.

- 15) o-nupā-nupā Δ-eraa 'he beat one after another'  
 3-REDUP-beat 3-take  
 A O

### 3 A DIACHRONIC EXPLANATION OF THE PLURALIZERS IN WAYAMPI

Wayampi has two pluralizers: *kupa* and *kō*. To summarize their functions, *kupa* indicates that the third-person subject (A or S) is plural, particularly when this is not otherwise indicated by the presence of a pluralized noun (ex. 16-18).

- 16) o-waå wejæ kupa 'they arrived again'  
 3-arrive again PL
- 17) e-r-eraa kupa 'they took me'  
 1SG-LK-take PL
- 18) jaty o-waå kupa 'lots arrived'  
 lots 3-arrive PL

The morpheme *kō* pluralizes a noun (ex. 19), a demonstrative pronoun (ex. 20), the third person possessor of a noun (ex. 21), the third person object of a postposition (ex. 22), or a plural unexpressed object of a transitive verb (ex. 23). By pluralizing a proper name (ex. 24), *kō* indicates a group of people associated with that person.

- 19) yrapa kō 'arrows'
- 20) awæ kō 'those'
- 21) i-kywy kō 'their brother(s)'

- 22) i-jupe kō 'to them'
- 23) w-eraa kō 'he took them'
- 24) Matapi kō 'Matapi and those with him'

When the prefix on a noun is first or second person singular, the pluralizer must be interpreted as referring to the noun rather than the possessor, as in example 25.

- 25) e-kujā kō 'my sisters'

Whereas *kō* could possibly be analyzed as a suffix, it seems more likely that it is a clitic, given the wide distribution of its functions, combining with nouns, demonstratives, postpositions, and verbs.

#### 3.1 A case of grammaticalization: the development of

##### *kupa*

The morpheme *kupa* developed from the dependent serial verb form<sup>15</sup> of the PTG verb *\*kúβ* 'to be (many)'. This verb form always has the same subject as the main verb. When the dependent serial PTG verb is intransitive, it is prefixed by a coreferential prefix (ex. 26); if it is transitive, it is preceded by a noun, pronoun or prefix referring to the object (ex. 27).

- 26) \*ere-có e-poracéj-ta 'you SG went to  
 dance'  
 2SG-go 2SG.COREF-dance-SER  
 S S

<sup>15</sup> This form is generally referred to by Brazilian linguists as a *gerúndio*.



- 27) \*o-có oré r-ep<sup>j</sup>ák-a      'he went to see us  
EX'  
3-go 1EX LK-see-SER  
S    O

All the verbs in a series may be lexical in content (ex. 26-27), or one of the verbs may act as an auxiliary, communicating grammatical information, such as continuative action (ex. 28).

- 28) \*aβá o-manō o-úp-a<sup>16</sup>      'the man is dying  
(lying down)'  
man 3-die    3COREF-lie-SER  
S    S        S

In the derivation of *kupa*, shown in example 29, \*kúβ '3-be (many)' underwent a morphophonemic change when followed by the serial verb suffix \*-a. This form was grammaticalized in Wayampi as *kupa* 'plural', without the third person coreferential prefix \*o-.

- 29) \*kúβ + \*-a > \*kúp-a > kupa  
30) \*o-kér o-kúpa                    > o-ke kupa  
3-sleep 3COREF-be(many).SER 3-sleep PL  
'they (many) sleep/slept'      'they sleep/slept'

Even in the absence of the coreferential prefix, which referred to the subject, the grammaticalized morpheme

<sup>16</sup> The stem *úβ* 'to be lying down' undergoes a morphophonemic change to *úp* when followed by the serial verb prefix -a. This is comparable to the morphophonemic change which takes place in \*kúβ.

pluralizes the subject. Its position at the end of the clause reflects the position of its origin (31-32).

- 31) n-o-ma'á-i      Δ-ee kupa      'they didn't see  
him'  
NEG-3-look-NEG 3-at PL  
32) o-waã karume kupa      'they arrived late  
in the afternoon'  
3-arrive late.afternoon PL

### 3.2 Languages in contact: the source of *kō*

The morpheme *kō* was acquired by the Wayampi through contact with speakers of a Carib language. Their closest contacts were with the Wayana Indians, so it is reasonable to assume that Wayana is the source.<sup>17</sup> In addition to the evidence of vocabulary items borrowed from Wayana (Grenand, 1975), contacts between the Wayampi and the Wayana are documented historically (Gallois, 1980).

In his grammar of Wayana, Jackson (1972) describes -*kom* as the pluralizer of possessors, which he distinguishes from the noun pluralizer, with its multiple allomorphs: -*tom*, -*nom*, -*yam*, -*ham(o)*, -*amo*, and -*lam*. He describes the combination of -*kom* with person prefixes in nominalizations of reflexive action (Table 3) and also with person prefixes expressing the possessor (agent) in object nominalizations (Table 4).

<sup>17</sup> Emerillon (A. Jensen, 1979) and Zo'e (Onésimo Martins de Castro, personal communication) also have cognates of this morpheme: *kom* and *kā*, respectively.

<i>iw-</i> '1s'	
<i>ëw-</i> '2s'	<i>Ëw-</i> ... <i>-kom</i> '2p'
<i>iw-</i> '3s'	<i>iw-</i> ... <i>-kom</i> '3p'
<i>emna</i> $\Delta$ - '1EXCL'	
<i>kuw-</i> '1-2' <sup>18</sup>	<i>kuw-</i> ... <i>-kom</i> '1-2p'

Table 3: Reflexive person prefixes (Wayana)

<i>in-</i> '1s'	
<i>ën-</i> '2s'	<i>ën-</i> ... <i>-kom</i> '2p'
<i>in-</i> '3s'	<i>in-</i> ... <i>-kom</i> '3p'
<i>emna n-</i> '1EXCL'	
<i>kun-</i> '1-2'	<i>kun-</i> ... <i>-kom</i> '1-2p'

Table 4: Person prefixes of possessor (Wayana)

Jackson writes: "The pluralizers of nouns are never in a predicative construction<sup>19</sup>. They must be distinguished from *-kom*, which is the pluralizer of possessors and takes precedence over the noun pluralizer. If the possessive pluralizer *-kom* occurs on a word, the noun pluralizer cannot; the word must be preceded by *kole* 'many' instead."

The plurals of interrogative pronouns (Table 5) and demonstrative pronouns (Table 6) in Wayana are also formed with the morpheme *-kom*.

<sup>18</sup> Jackson didn't use the terms 'inclusive' and 'exclusive'. But the glosses he gives for lead me to conclude that there must be a three-way distinction: 1 exclusive, 1 dual inclusive, and 1 plural inclusive.

<sup>19</sup> Given the examples in his paper, I take Jackson's term 'predicative construction' to mean nominalized forms of verbs.

Singular interrogative pronouns	Plural interrogative pronouns
<i>ënik</i> 'who?'	<i>ënik-yam-kom</i> 'who (plural)?'
<i>ëti</i> 'what (animate)?'	<i>ëti-kom</i> 'what (plural)?'
<i>tala-n</i> 'what one?'	<i>tala-n-kom</i> 'what ones?'
<i>të-non</i> 'which one?'	<i>të-non-kom</i> 'which ones?'

Table 5: Interrogative pronouns (Wayana)

Singular demonstratives	Plural demonstratives
<i>sïn</i> 'this (animate)'	<i>sïn-kom</i> 'these (animate)'
<i>helë</i> 'this (inanimate)'	<i>helë-kom</i> 'these (inanimate)'
<i>mïn</i> 'that (animate)'	<i>mïn-kom</i> 'those (animate)'
<i>mëlë</i> 'that (inanimate)'	<i>mëlë-kom</i> 'those (inanimate)'

Table 6: Demonstrative pronouns (Wayana)

The combination of *-kom* with various person prefixes in Wayana clarifies the behavior of *kõ* in Wayampi in pluralizing the possessor of a noun and the object of a postposition, as in examples 33-34:

33) *i-kywy kõ* 'their brother(s)'

34) *i-jupe kõ* 'to them'

The precedence that *-kom* takes over noun pluralizers in Wayana suggests how *kõ* became predominantly a noun pluralizer in Wayampi (ex. 35).

35) *yrapa kõ* 'arrows'

Just as *-kom* combines with demonstrative pronouns in Wayana, *kō* combines with demonstratives in Wayampi, as in examples 36-37.

- 36) awæ kō                    'those'  
 37) amō kō                    'some, others'

What remains unexplained in Wayampi is the use of *kō* in reference to an otherwise unstated third person plural object, such as example 38, for which there does not seem to be a model in Wayana:

- 38) o-pyy kō-ta                'he will buy them'  
       3-buy PL-FUT  
 39) n-o-juka kō-i             'he didn't kill them'  
       NEG-3-kill PL-NEG

This seems to be the place where *kō* looks most like a suffix, since certain inflectional morphemes which follow it (*-ta* 'future', *-i* 'negative') only occur with predicates and otherwise seem more like suffixes than clitics. The existence of these morphemes in Wayampi preceded the introduction of *kō* as a pluralizer, as evidenced by the existence of cognates in related Tupi-Guarani languages (*-ta* < \**potár* 'want', \**-i* 'NEG'). If *kō* were a suffix, its insertion in this position would be, I understand, unusual in agglutinating languages. It is more likely for a new morpheme to become one of the outermost affixes. I do not know whether a similar observation has been made for the position of clitics. At any rate, I suggest two possible analogical explanations for its position immediately following the verb stem: one is its position next to the stem in nouns (as in exs. 33, 35); the other is by association of this morpheme with

the completive suffix *-pa*, as seen in example 39, since both *-pa* and *kō* refer to the object:

- 39) o-pyy-pa-ta                'he will buy them all'  
       3-buy-COMPL-FUT

#### 4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, although there are a number of morphemes in PTG which could potentially have been grammaticalized as a pluralizer in Wayampi, only one, \**kúβ* 'to be (many)', in fact did so. Both the position of the morpheme *kupa* within the clause and its reference to the subject reflect its origins as a dependent serial verb.

The other pluralizer in Wayampi, *kō*, is the result of borrowing from the Carib language family. Although it has developed basically into a noun pluralizer in Wayampi, certain aspects of its behavior are clarified by an understanding of its source as a possessive pluralizer, from which it generalized to assume all of its present functions.

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