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Author(s): Nils M. Holmer

Source: *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Jan., 1949), pp. 45-56

Published by: The University of Chicago Press

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1262962>

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## GOAJIRO (ARAWAK) I: PHONOLOGY

NILS M. HOLMER

UNIVERSITY OF UPSALA, SWEDEN

0. Introduction
1. Informants
2. Dialects
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0. In the summer of 1947 the author, who was up to then engaged in field studies among the Cuna Indians on the San Blas coast of Panama, resolved to benefit from an invitation by Dr. Duque Gómez, head of the Instituto Etnológico y Servicio de Arqueología in Bogotá, to take up linguistic research among Indian tribes in Colombia. According to the arrangement I could join a branch institute at Santa Marta (the Instituto Etnológico del Magdalena) under the directorship of Dr. Gerard Reichel-Dolmatoff. During my stay at his headquarters in the healthy coastland below the Sierra Nevada peaks in an attractive part of Colombia and enjoying lavish hospitality, I had ample opportunities for field trips in the company of my host. It was on this occasion that I first made the personal acquaintance of the Goajiro Indian. Later on in the summer, when Dr. Duque Gómez kindly asked me to join a combined ethnological and linguistic expedition to the Goajira peninsula, I gratefully accepted and began with interest to extend my newly started investigation into the Goajiro language.

The latter is now spoken in the greater part of the peninsula of the same name, in Colombian as well as in Venezuelan territory. Linguistically and ethnically perhaps the strongest native tribe in Colombia, the Goajiros are frequently seen even in cities like Rio Hacha and Maracaibo, where they come to trade and where their melodious language

and picturesque costumes are noticed by visitors. Once bitter enemies of the whites, this fine and intelligent nation is now peaceable, but independent and somewhat reserved. One division of them, the Cosina (Goajiro *kusi'na*)—which perhaps only represents a clan (cf. below)—live in greater seclusion in the mountainous interior (the Serranía de Cosina, Goajiro *u'či kusi'na*).

The Goajiro are divided into clans or families (sometimes called castes),<sup>1</sup> for example the *E'pinayu'*, the *E'piayu'* (*E'piayu'*; cf. 3.9), the *Pušaina*, the *Hu'sayu'*, the *A'pšana*, the *Uraliu'*, etc., which have their own chiefs. At the present time, the families are not located in any particular districts, and the authority of their chiefs appears to be limited. There are no communal houses or ceremonial centers. Although an intensified study most probably will reveal unexpected details, the individual in this tribe appears to be bound by few restrictions.

The principal settlements with which I came into direct or indirect contact are: Rio Hacha (Goajiro *Si'čim'a* (RO), mainly Colombian), Hato Nuevo (*Ha'tanai*), Fonseca (*Honse'ka*), Papayal (*Ma'paya'l*), Uribia (capital of the territory of Goajira, mainly Colombian), Maicao, Manaure (*Akualu'uməi*, locative form), Santa Cruz (*Rilipimanaməi*, loc.), Carrizal (*Atoməi*, *Hotoməi*, probably loc.), *Ka'raisira*), Yuleng (*Yəla'i*), Cardón (*Walirahoi*), San José (*Ulima'u*), Bahía Honda (*Sohaseməi*, loc.), Puerto Estrella (*Paralialu'u*, loc.), Cabo de Vela (*Hepi'raməi*, loc.), *E'p'ira*, *Kau*), Santa Ana, Nazaret (*Wač'uali* (RO), *Mačuahə'lə* (NC), *Masale'*, *Masale*, *Iširu-məi*, loc.), where I stayed most of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rafael Celedon, *Gramática, catecismo y confesionario de la lengua goajira* (Collection linguistique américaine, tome 3), pp. 10, 11, and Introduction, pp. 23, 24.

time,<sup>2</sup> Jarara (Hala'la); (in Venezuela) Sina-maica, Maracaibo (Marakayamāi, loc., chiefly Venezuelan), El Mohán (Maha'na; near Maracaibo). (Notice the varying forms in the native place nomenclature.)

1. The following is a list of main informants: Manuel (Roberto?)<sup>3</sup> Ortiz (Goajiro Rupet'a A'pšanakaih), from Hato Nuevo (my chief informant for the western variety of Goajiro), abbreviated RO; Juan Bautista, from Cabo de Vela (JB); Noé Castillo, Nazaret (NC); Máximo Iguarán (of the E'piayu'), Nazaret (MI); Teodoro Silva, Nazaret (TS); Fray Juan, teacher at the Capuchin orphanage at Nazaret (FJ); Beatriz Iguarán (BI); Cenón, from Buenos Aires (Wawatui), near Nazaret (C); Ana Ofelia Ortiz, Nazaret (AO); Ana Isolina Ipuana, from Jarara (now living with Ana Ofelia and her sister; AI).

RO represents the western variety of Goajiro, the others mainly the eastern. AI speaks a dialect from the interior of the peninsula.

## 2. Dialects.

2.1. Goajiro is an Arawak language, most closely related to Arawak proper (Lukunu, on the coast of British Guiana), of which there is a description with vocabularies and texts by de Goeje.<sup>4</sup> From these Arawaks the Goajiro live separated, once by the now extinct Caquetío of the Venezuelan coast, who were their neighbors, and nowadays by non-Indian settlements. Still the analogies between the languages of these two Arawak peoples are considerable.

2.2. The most notable dialectal difference within Goajiro coincides with a western and

eastern subdivision, of which the former is characterized by the use of s- (š-) instead of h- in certain words, especially those with the non-masculine possessive prefix (see 7.12),<sup>5</sup> but also in, for instance, polo·šikih' (west), polohiki' (east) *hundred*, etc. Parallel to this distinction runs a series of other morphological and lexicological differences, of which the following are instances (west form cited before east form): te'pia, tapuya (ta'puya)<sup>6</sup> *my house*; pinči, pi'č (NC) *house*; uših, ušuh *cooking pot*; to'la, haši'č'i *male, man*.

2.3. Other distinctions have a different expansion. According to TS, the Venezuelans say yerə for erə *dog*, yerets for e'rets *dirty*, etc. AI uses the form waima for maima *many, much*, sa'u mi'čka for sa'u (ha'u) pi'čka(lə) *the door*, mo'la for mu'la *mule*, wop'uh for wo'puh *road*, etc. She also uses s- for h- in the words mentioned above (2.2). In some parts round about Uribia they say ant- for ent- *come* (e.g., anč pia *you have come*, JB), in others, aint-.<sup>7</sup> On the whole, however, all these distinctions are insignificant, and since the Goajiro travel a great deal on horseback, many speakers use various dialect forms indiscriminately.

2.4. According to RO, the dialect of the Cosina differs mainly in its drawling intonation, which he imitates by a singsong pronunciation, as in šia·ya·le·ya maka'laka tiyā (probably containing the words šia'yale·ya *they* (or *you*, plural), mak'ala *earth*, tia *that*, in interrogation), said to mean *one must know of all*.

## 3. Descriptive phonology.

3.1. Of the dialectal variations just men-

<sup>2</sup> Sincere thanks are due to Father Camilo, at the Orfelinato de los Padres Capuchinos de Nazaret, himself a fluent speaker of Goajiro, for valuable assistance in the initial stages.

<sup>3</sup> The Indians are often known by different names in different places.

<sup>4</sup> The Arawak Language of Guiana, Verh. der kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, afd. Letterkunde, n.s., vol. 28, No. 2 (1928).

<sup>5</sup> The geographical limit is difficult to fix. At Santa Cruz, a little east of Uribia, I heard hulu' pi'čka *in the house* (with h-) as well as supuh *shoestring* (with s-).

<sup>6</sup> This form may in reality be identical with the preceding one; cf. pia'lahaī *thou buyest*, for \*pu·yala'haī, and Taino bohio, boi (de Goeje, op. cit., p. 229).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Celedon éint- *venir* (op. cit., p. 95).

tioned, none seem to any extent to concern the phonology of the language, which therefore may be dealt with as a whole. There seem to exist only six fundamental vowels,<sup>8</sup> viz. a, e, i, o, u, and ə, and 11 consonants, viz. č (= English ch), h, k, l,<sup>9</sup> m, n, p, r, s, š (= English sh), t, w, and y (which latter are semivowels). The etymology of the language bears out that ts is rather a compound sound than an affricative. To be added to these fundamental sounds are two accessory elements, namely the pre-aspiration (marked by the Greek spiritus asper, ' ) and the glottal stop (marked by the Greek spiritus lenis, ' ); for the nasalization, see 3.5. The former is like a rough h (or sometimes a weak Spanish jota), which neither can be separated syllabically from the following consonant—č, k, p, t—nor have any effect on the syllabic length (see 4.1).<sup>10</sup> The glottal stop ( ' ) occurs chiefly between two vowels which do not form a diphthong; in initial or final position, as well as before a consonant, the glottal stop is usually suppressed in the pronunciation, even though the etymology of the word shows that it once existed (e.g., *anuwa canoe*, *ta'anuwai my canoe*; 5.13 and 7.15 (1)). Sometimes it is also suppressed in unaccented position.

The semivowels, w and y, mainly occur initially and between vowels; in other cases they are changed into the vowels u and i, respectively. After k, however, w may occur, the sequence kwa differing clearly from kua.

**3.2.** Diphthongs are numerous; ai and au should especially be noticed, as they are undistinguishable from ei and ou (which latter

are never used in this description). The latter values are, however, more common, and occasionally the final element is even dropped as in *hoktai = hauktaik wind*. The sequence ia (which is not properly a diphthong; cf. below) tends to become ie (as also ya often becomes ye; *taya I* is contracted either to *ta'* or *te'*); the combination wa often approaches wo (as in *kasawoi = kasawayu what?*) and *takwo'm my hat* often sounds, and may originally be, *takwa'ma*. Analogies to these phonetic details are found in the pronunciation of Spanish all along the Colombian seaboard. Also a'u is generally pronounced o'u, so that the adjective *mulia'u great* is commonly heard as *mule'u*. The first element in a diphthong always seems indifferent as to duration; *nawane'-irua the others*, for instance, is contracted to *nawana-irua*,<sup>11</sup> and *putükire'-irua, you shall put them to sleep*, to *putükirairua*. It should be noticed that ia and ua (and in general combinations beginning with i and u, except ui) are not diphthongs in Goajiro, but count prosodically as two short vowels (cf. 4.1, Note 20).

**3.3.** The values of the individual vowels are practically the same as in Spanish. Short a, however, is often more like English short u (ʊ), which sometimes makes the distinction between a and ə difficult. e, and especially o, are very open (*ho'lu now* is often like *ha'lu*). As for ə, it strikes me as being an unrounded frontal u (not unlike the front variety of Scottish Gaelic ao). Very roughly it may be equaled to French u or eu, but a phonemic differentiation between the latter two varieties does not seem possible.<sup>12</sup>

**3.4.** It is to be noticed that the vowel ə, like the others, may be either short or long

<sup>8</sup> In spite of Celedon, who gives seven at least (op. cit., p. 2).

<sup>9</sup> According to Celedon (op. cit., p. 5), there is no l-sound in Goajiro, and this author represents the middle consonant in *pala' sea* and *haraih five* in the same way (by r).

<sup>10</sup> RO pre-aspirates profusely. Sometimes I have noted pre-aspirated forms in his pronunciation which on other occasions were not so pronounced.

<sup>11</sup> Actually, I never heard anything but *nawaneirua*, but this form, in analogy with the one quoted next, must reasonably represent a phonetic variant (cf. above).

<sup>12</sup> For example, Celedon (op. cit., p. 2) notes the form *tóra she, it*, which I definitely heard as *tūra*; the phonemic value, of course, is *təra*.

(e.g., sə'təna *its wing*, e'kə:l *food*), vowel length being indicated by an inverted period, following the vowel sign. Thus many words are distinguished by the vowel length only, e.g., nuwala *his hair*, nuwala *his brother*, humāi *for her*, hu'māi *her land* (FJ), terāi *I see*, te'rāi *my wife*, həsih (cf. 3.8) *its tail*, həsi' *its flower*, etc. The vowel length is, however, often fluctuant. In monosyllabic words and in words of three or more syllables, a final vowel seems indifferent as to duration and never attracts the word accent: tə ~ tə *she, it*, hi'e-yu' ~ hi'e-yu *women* (the long vowel is generalized in order to show that the final vowel cannot be elided; cf. 3.12). Vowel length is not essential before h (polohiki' > polohiki *hundred*; also cf. paha from Spanish faja), neither, as a rule, when the vowel is nasalized. Before š and č, an i-glide is apt to develop, e.g., nohoš, nohoiš = nohoš *there is not*; sometimes it is very marked, as in eišahaši = aišahaši = a'šahaši *speaking*.

3.5. All vowels may be nasalized, which will be marked by the Spanish tilde (˜) above the corresponding vowel sign. When word-final, the nasalization often evolves an offglide (ŋ) like the one heard in American Spanish (nación, etc.), and this is the rule when the nasalization occurs before k (cf. Spanish blanco). Nasalization may occur before any consonant: hitəih ~ hintəih *boy*, wipuməi ~ wimpuməi *northward*, etc. As nasalized ə is very rare and nasalized əi very common, it might be suspected that they are variants of the same phoneme, but it will be safer at present to represent them as heard in each particular case. The word for *water*, wəi, more often sounds wi (ʔwiŋ, etc.).<sup>13</sup>

3.6. Regarding the consonants, attention should be paid to č, k, p, and t, which are not determined as to vocality, the voiceless quality as a rule prevailing. In Spanish

words, however, voiced forms are occasionally heard, e.g., gune'a *banana*, Spanish guineo, or even asala ba'a (b = Spanish fricative b) *beef*, literally *cow meat*, from Spanish vaca, and this also happens in native words: binč *house* (RO) for pinč(i), biamā *two* for piāmā, ya's bia *thou art* for ya's pia, etc., but these are clearly foreign to the system. s likewise is almost without exception voiceless. Stray voiced forms (z) do occur between vowels (e.g., (ha)muzəzā *what did you say?*) but lack all importance.

3.7. The sound of l is peculiar, being a kind of one-flap liquid, intermediate between Spanish ele and ere. Sometimes (and especially for those whose native language is Spanish) the distinction between l and r offers great difficulty (cf. 3.1, Note 9). The r-sound, on the other hand, is moderately trilled and somewhat prolonged. The semivowels, w and y, which are mainly initial or intervocalic (see 3.1) are like the corresponding sounds in English, with a marked tendency in the former to be pronounced like the Spanish gu- (i.e., ʔw); especially when occurring after a nasal the g-element is rather pronounced. RO also has dʒ for initial y in yəih *tobacco* and in some similar words. Although very common in many Indian languages, these details may to some extent be attributed to Spanish influence. As mentioned above (3.1), semivowels are vocalized if occurring in syllable-ending position, e.g., kau for ka'wa (from Spanish cabo), wo'liu for wo'li-wa *bolivar* (AO).<sup>14</sup>

Before initial u, a faint w is usually heard, e.g., (w)u'či *mountain*, (w)uših, (w)ušuh (cf. 2.2) *cook-pot*, (w)u'či' *bird*, etc.

3.8. The other consonants have standard values (h as in English or American Spanish).

<sup>14</sup> Notice that Spanish b (v) becomes w in Goajiro (if in recent words), e.g., wate'ya (also pote'ya) *bottle* (from botella), tawa'k *tobacco* (from tabaco), etc.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Cledon: güin (op. cit., p. 126).

Although in the local pronunciation of Spanish, *h* is added and dropped at discretion in front of vowels (e.g., *hel* = *el*, *hayer* = *ayer* (MI), *hēkontrara* = *encontrará*, etc.), this is in no way the case in Goajiro. The aspirate (*h*) may occur initially in antevocalic position and between vowels (where, however, it is liable to become suppressed in rapid pronunciation) but is barely perceptible in word-final position, except in its effect on a preceding vowel (see 4.1). All short, stressed final vowels in Goajiro appear to be followed by *h*, and by choosing *h* (whether distinctly heard or not) to express shortness of a preceding vowel, a convenient method will be found to express certain short diphthongs; *aih*, for example, is usually actualized as *ə* + a very short *i* (or *y*), likewise *ih* equals *iy*, as in the following words: *taihtaī* *I put*, *pōihtaī* *thou puttest*, *ihpah* *stone*, which are hence stressed on the last syllable. The aspiration is sometimes clearly perceptible, as in *ihpah* (RO), *aih* *night* (RO), *yōih* *tobacco* (C). For the origin of such syllables (which should be well distinguished from those containing a pre-aspirated stop), see 5.3.

3.9. The glottal stop (') is not found initially or before a consonant and is weakened in word-final position (e.g., *wunu*, stressed on the last syllable, = *unu'* *tree*); cf. 3.1. Hence *su'lu'he'* *from inside* becomes *su'luhe'*. For the suppression of the glottal stop in rapid pronunciation, see 3.1; also cf. *pato'la* *ox, bull* = *pa'ato'la* *cow male* (or from Spanish *vaca-toro*).

The pre-aspiration, as in *te'ki* *my head*,<sup>15</sup> is not used by many speakers, and it seems that the preceding vowel is then somewhat lengthened, e.g., *e'kə'ka* = *e'kə'tka* *food*, *pie'ka* = *pie'a'ka* *thou* (n), *me'ke'ra*, *pe'ke'ra'* (FJ) = *me'ke'ra*, *pe'ke'ra'* (AO) *search for cattle*. Notice that the preaspiration never occurs initially: *kəhama'la* *tell me* (RO), as against *pə'kəhama'la* *tamōi*, *idem*, or *ta'kəhe'r* *I will tell it* (RO).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Celedon *tejki* (op. cit., p. 5).

3.10. Syllable-ending *k*, *p*, and *t* are implosive consonants (*k*, *p*, *t*), i.e., they are merely articulated, not pronounced, whence their occurrence often escapes the listener who is not used to them or prepared to find them. By suppression of a final short vowel (see 3.12), a preceding plosive *k* turns into the corresponding implosive, as in *ka'apu* ~ *ka'ap* *long* (RO), *tahap'u* ~ *tahap* *my hand*. Normally, the implosives are not marked as such in the phonetic spelling. Even *č* may occasionally be reduced; cf. 5.3, Note 28. A special form of (implosive) *k* appears before *l* in *lakla* *old*, *alaklaš* *chief*, which may sound either *laɣla*, *la'la*, *lai'la*, *alaɣlaškai* (el cacique, AO), *alawlaš* (MI).<sup>16</sup> Similarly, an original *p* (*b*) before *l* (< *r*), in *ga'ɰla* (from Spanish *cabra*); with this form, cf. *ga'blauta* (= *ka'plauta*) *sheepskin* and *li'bla* (= *li'pla*) *book* (from Spanish *libro*). In *karalauta* *paper, book* (of unknown etymology, although the final part is probably *-tah* *skin*), the alternative forms *garaləwta* and *karaləpta* show that the last element of the diphthong represents an original implosive *p*.

3.11. All consonants, except the semi-vowels, *h*, *r*,<sup>17</sup> and the glottal stop, may be either short or long, the length being marked (as for the vowels) by the inverted period following the consonant. The long (or geminated) consonants only occur in intervocalic position and (if stops) consist of an implosive (see 3.10) and explosive element. If a whispered final vowel (see 5.1) is completely suppressed, a preceding stop is converted into an implosive (see 3.10). There are examples of words being distinguished by gemination of a medial consonant only, such as *taupuna* *below me* and *taupun'a* *my face*.

3.12. Any word-final short vowel—sometimes also any short vowel before *s*, *š*, and *č*

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Celedon *raurá*, *laurá* *jefe* (op. cit.).

<sup>17</sup> The latter always seems somewhat prolonged (cf. 3.7).

—<sup>18</sup> are whispered and eventually suppressed. This is a peculiarity of all Indian languages in the coastal area of Colombia and Panama, being reflected in the pronunciation of Spanish as well (e.g., wahi'r *Goajiro* and *Goajira*, etc.). Concomitant with this process are certain changes in the consonant preceding the suppressed vowel, for which see further in the part dealing with combinatory and historic phonology (5.3).

#### 4. Stress.

4.1. The word stress in Goajiro is altogether dependent on the nature of the syllable, from which follows that the same word may have two or more fully stressed syllables. The least stress (class 1) pertains to syllables in which the vowel is liable to become whispered (see 3.12); notice that the final vowel in the combinations *ia* and *ua* (which are not diphthongs; see 3.2) may similarly disappear (e.g., *-iru* for *-irua*, plural suffix; see 7.8).<sup>19</sup> Every syllable containing a medial long or nasalized vowel or a diphthong,<sup>20</sup> or a vowel followed by a geminated consonant or a consonant group, is heavy and has main stress (class 4). Notice that the pre-aspiration does not produce syllabic length, as in *te'ki* *my head*, *i'čir* *salt*, *ta'če'(e)* *my tongue*, which are all stressed on the last syllable (cf. 3.1). Generally, end syllables terminated by a consonant (including *h* and the glottal stop) take precedence (class 3) of syllables terminated by a short vowel (class 2),<sup>21</sup> but a

vowel followed by *r*, *h*, or the glottal stop (which are indeterminate; 3.11) has relatively more stress (approximately class 3) than the others. Notice that the nasalization (except in the case mentioned above) has no effect on the syllabic stress. A final long vowel, which (according to 3.4) is of indeterminate duration, does not cause end stress; hence, for example, *ašəha* *paint, write*, *a'kəha* *tell*, etc., are stressed on the middle vowel. A certain irregularity may, however, be found in this system, although of no great importance. It is especially worthy of notice that according to FJ and several others forms of the verb *aukta* *die* is stressed on the first syllable, while *aukta* (always with *-aĩ*; see 7.12 (2 a)) *kill* is stressed on the second syllable. Unless this depends on some analogy,<sup>22</sup> I am unable to explain its origin.

4.2. Words in which the syllables are all of the lower classes (1–3) are often indifferent as to syllabic stress. Examples of such words are: *kasa* *what?*, *ta'u* *my eye*, *taya I*, *čira* *he, that one*, *təra (tra)* *she, it, that one*, *šiliwala* *star(s)*, *siruma* *cloud*, *si'ira* *girdle*, *hamususō* *what did you say?*, *hama'a* *hammock*, *pulahatu wəi* *lagoon* (literally *the place of the water*; FJ), *alihuna* *Colombian, white man*, *Apalaš* (place name); the tendency still prevails in the ordinary pronunciation to suppress a final short vowel (see 3.12). The forms *ka'uši* (*m*), *ka'usu* (*n*) *has got eyes*, which are occasionally pronounced with end stress by AO, should therefore be considered as emphatic (cf. 5.1).

It is important to state that in words of the above type there is a marked tendency to stress the second vowel. According to this rule, the Spanish word *gasolina*, when syncopeated according to 3.12, tends to become

<sup>18</sup> There are also examples of a short vowel being dropped after *n*, which thereby becomes vocalic, e.g., *npia* = *ni'pia* *his house* (RO), *nčō* = *na'čō*, *nu'čō* *his child* (RO).

<sup>19</sup> The frequent pronoun *taya I* is reduced either to *tai*, *te'* or *ta'* (cf. 3.2).

<sup>20</sup> Notice that *ia* and *ua* are not prosodical diphthongs (3.2). Such words as *te'pia* *my house*, *piama* *two*, *musia* *the same* are thus stressed according to the rule in 4.2.

<sup>21</sup> To this class evidently also belong syllables of the same type as the first syllable in *ihpah* *stone*, for which see 3.8.

<sup>22</sup> Cf., for instance, *auktəš'i -aĩ* *kills* and *auktəši* (*aukči*) (*is*) *dead*. It should be mentioned that I have heard both accentuations in *auktəčpa* *he died* and in some other forms. According to Celedon (op. cit., pp. 94, 122), *aut-* is *morir* and *uta-* *matar*.

kasoli, with the middle vowel relatively more stressed than the others. Such stress may even count prosodically as class 3 or 4.

**4.3.** In rapid pronunciation certain irregular reductions of the syllable length may occur. Thus, for instance, *wane one* may become *wane a, an* (cf. **7.7, 9.3**), and the preposition *su·lu' in it, (in* (see **23.2 (1)**) may be shortened to *sulu* in *sulu (w)ušik'al in the pot* (RO).

## 5. Combinatory and historic phonology.

**5.1.** Owing to the fact that the short vowels are often reduced in quality when not spoken with full syllabic stress, it is many times difficult to ascertain their phonemic value. This is especially true of ə in unstressed positions, for most of the other vowels show a marked tendency to assume this value in such position. To determine the occurrence of the six fundamental vowels found in Goajiro a careful study of the pronunciation of good speakers is therefore required.

As already mentioned, final short vowels are usually voiceless (or whispered) in normal speech. But it does not happen always, and especially not when the final vowel is preceded by certain consonant groups, e.g., *lakla old* (lakla', AI), *sotpa beach, bank, shore*. If preceded by a geminated consonant, on the other hand, the vowel may be unvoiced, as in *anasə good*, *tahap'u my hand* (cf. **3.11**). In careful pronunciation, the vowel is always fully voiced and even occasionally lengthened, e.g., *alihuna' stranger, white man* (= *alihuna, alihun*).<sup>23</sup>

**5.2.** By suppression of the voiceless final vowel, the preceding (single or geminated)

<sup>23</sup> The same rule holds for the local pronunciation of Spanish, in which the final vowel, if unaccented, is regularly treated as a short vowel in Goajiro (cf. **3.12**), but liable to be lengthened in emphatic pronunciation (e.g., *oika' = oiga*).

consonant becomes final and is treated accordingly. Stop consonants (and certain others) are changed into implosives (cf. **3.10**); thus *ta·nəka my mouth* becomes *ta·nək*. Nasals are merged in the nasal quality of the preceding vowel; thus *Aruamana El Pájaro* (place name; RO) becomes *Aruamã*, etc.<sup>24</sup>

**5.3.** The following regular alternation between emphatic (distinct or slow-tempo) forms and normal (non-emphatic) forms thus arises in final syllables preceded by a vowel:

Emphatic	Normal
-ka, -ke, -ki, -ko, -ku, -kə -k'a, -k'e, -k'i, -k'o, -k'u, -k'ə -pa, -pe, -pi, -po, -pu, -pə -p'a, -p'e, -p'i, -p'o, -p'u, -p'ə -ta, -te, -to, -tu, -tə -t'a, -t'e, -t'o, -t'u, -t'ə -la, -le, -lo, -lu, -lə -ra, -re, -ro, -ru, -rə	-k  -p  -t  -t (-l, -r, zero) <sup>25</sup>
-li (-ri?) -ma, -me, -mi (?), -mo, -mu, -mə -m'a, -m'e, -m'i (?), -m'o, -m'u, -m'ə -na, -ne, -no, -nu, -nə -n'a, -n'e, -n'o, -n'u, -n'ə -ni, -n'i (-mi, -m'i?) -či, (-č'i)	-ih <sup>26</sup> ~ (nasali- zation) ~ (nasali- zation) -i <sup>27</sup> -ih <sup>28</sup>

**5.4.** The evolution is not quite the same in word-final and antekonsonantic internal position. In the former case the reduction is less advanced (-l, -r, and -č often remaining). There are also cases of word-final -n instead of the nasalization, and on the whole intermediate forms are found to make a stray appearance.

In these circumstances it is very difficult

<sup>24</sup> Often with the same palatal offglide as in the Spanish *limū* (= *limu'na*) *lemon*; cf. **3.5**.

<sup>25</sup> In medial antekonsonantic position -t prevails. The form *samur* (from *samulu turkey buzzard*) is from RO.

<sup>26</sup> After -i, only -h.

<sup>27</sup> After -i, only nasalization.

<sup>28</sup> E.g., *sai(h)* (from *se'č*) *taya wat'a I come tomorrow* (RO).



to fix the phonemic value of every Goajiro word without an intimate knowledge of the language. It is often found that normal forms have ousted the emphatic form, which no longer remains in current use. For example, the plural of certain nominal stems in -l- (which was no doubt originally in -lina) is commonly reduced to (normal) -li instead of -li, because the final nasalization often functions as emphasizing (cf. 5.5). The form *puet·aka* *the door*, which is properly a normal form, has evidently been taken as emphatic and been further reduced to *puet·ak*. The etymology of the word is the only means of ascertaining the original form.

5.5. There are many cases in which the emphatic form is characterized by nasalization of the final vowel. This probably arose in cases where (according to 5.4) a normal form was taken to be the emphatic form. For, as it has been mentioned (4.1), a final nasal vowel falls in the same stress class as a non-nasal vowel and is therefore equally apt to be reduced as a non-nasal vowel. There are several instances of this, e.g., *Ma·paya·lum* for *Ma·paya·luməi* *to Papayal* (RO; cf. Note 29), *ho·luč* for *ho·lučə* *just now* (Spanish *ahorita*). In this way an inorganic nasalization of a final vowel (whether short or long) has in many cases arisen in emphatic forms, of which the following examples may be quoted: *anas·ə*, *anas·əi* *good*, *piamā* *two*, *apuni* *three*, *aiktus·ə* *it rained*, *nohotsə* *I do not like it* (Spanish *no me gusta*), *e·sə* *there is not*, *wanaī*, *wanē* (from *wane* *one*, RO), *auktsəi* (for *auktəsə* *medicine woman*; AO), etc.<sup>29</sup> This tendency affects Spanish words as well, e.g., *kohē* or *kepē* (RO) *coffee*, *Nasarē* *Nazaret*, etc.<sup>30</sup>

5.6. Another phonetic tendency arises from the indefinite quality of short, un-

<sup>29</sup> Forms such as the latter, as well as *Ma·paya·l* (above) tend to show that no phonemic differentiation between *ə* and *əi* is possible (cf. 3.5).

<sup>30</sup> A similar tendency to nasalize final vowels in emphatic forms is also characteristic of Kaggaba.

stressed vowels, namely that of assimilation. Usually the first stressed vowel of the word defines the quality of the succeeding short vowels, especially if they are *ə*. Compare the following forms, in which the non-masculine suffix ends in -u after a preceding u, otherwise in -ə: *auktəs·ə* *she, it died*, *matsas·ə* *little (n)*, *hotus·u* *it burned*, *hutu·su* *she, it fell*, etc., all according to TS. The article (7.5) often sounds -ko, -kono after stem-final -o or -u. Like Arawak proper, Goajiro has a great number of words in which the vowels are the same, e.g., *horots* *clear, bright*, *sərəts* *dirty*, *-korolo* *property* (see 7.18), etc.

5.7. As pointed out above (3.12), the reduction of short vowels is not bound to the final position. Before or after a sibilant, or sound containing a sibilant (s, š, ts, č), and sometimes before a medial h, a short vowel often becomes voiceless and suppressed, e.g., *skih* for *sikih* *fire*, *ščih* for *si·čih* *river*, *Pšaina* for *Pušaina* (name of a clan), *psəlha·* for *pusələha·* *give me*, *akamha·* for *aka·məha·* *(to) smoke* (AO), *akomhira·* for *ako·məhira·* *give me a smoke*, etc.

5.8. In certain cases an original u has evidently been changed into *ə*, namely

(1) after s, as evidenced especially by the Spanish loanword *sət·iha* *ring* (from *sortija*). The Spanish o is practically always rendered by u in Goajiro (cf. 5.10); hence the *ə* occurring in this word must depend on a special Goajiro phonetic tendency or law. In the same way one may explain the non-masculine possessive prefix *sə-* in the western dialects, as against *hu-* in the east, e.g., *sə·pana unu·* beside *hu·pana unu·* *the leaves of the tree*, or the non-masculine adjective suffix -*sə*, of which the masculine form is -*ši*, for in Arawak proper the non-masculine form usually ends in -u (-o), corresponding to masculine -i.<sup>31</sup>

(2) Between a labial and l, e.g., *məlia·u*

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *ifili* (m), *ifiro* (n) *big*, etc. (de Goeje, op. cit., pp. 22, 57).

(often *mole'u*, *mle'u*, see 3.2) for *mulia'u* *great*, *-pəla* for *-pula* *for*, or in the Spanish loanword *puli'ka* (*puli'ku*), *pəli'ka* (*pəli'ku*) *donkey* (from *burrico*).

(3) Often after *t*, as in *tə* (*tə*), *təra*, *təsa* *she, it, this, that* (cf. Arawak *toho*, *toraha*, de Goeje, op. cit., p. 57).

(4) Before *i* in diphthongs, e.g., *pəik'ala* *sit down* (imperative) for *pu-ik'ala* (cf. *aik'ala* (*to sit down*)). On the other hand, *ui* may arise from original *u-i*, as in *puika* *sell it* (imperative) for *\*pu-uika* (cf. *oika* (*to sell*)).

In other cases there is reason to think that Goajiro *ə* corresponds to Arawak *ə* (represented *ö*, *ü*, etc., by de Goeje), e.g., *ta'təna* *my arm* (cf. Arawak *dadöna*; de Goeje, op. cit., p. 249). Finally, there are many examples in the verbal system that would bear out that *ə* may arise from *a* before an *i* in the following syllable, e.g., *pirəni*, *pirəi* *do you see?* (from *-ira- see*).

5.9. Owing to the fact that different emphatic forms may coalesce in one normal form, it is not seldom found that secondary and incorrect forms are restored on the basis of more current normal forms. This is especially noticeable in Spanish loanwords. As we saw in 3.12, the current *wahi'r* may represent either *Goajiro* or *Goajira*, whence it was always doubtful whether the form in *-o* or *-a* should be properly used in the emphatic forms. The Goajiro Indian appears to have preferred the *a*-form, as evidenced by the following words: *puli'ka* *donkey* (see 5.8 (2)), *činčura* *a kind of hammock* (*chinchorro*; BI), *li'pla* (*li'bra*) *book* (*libro*), *sapa'ta* *shoe* (*zapato*), *Rupet'a* *Roberto*; similarly one makes *limu'na* from *limón* (*lemon*) and *ru'sa* from *arroz* (*rice*). The same instability is often reflected in the consonant preceding the final short vowel. Since, for example, both *-sə* and *-sə* alternate with *-s*, one may find both *anasə* (RO) and *anasə* *good*, etc.

5.10. The fact that Spanish *o* (at least in early loanwords) is regularly represented by

*u* in Goajiro (as also in Kaggaba and Cuna) seems to prove either that Spanish *o* was more narrow (resembling *u*) than the Goajiro *o* (cf. 3.3) or that the Goajiro *o* is a recent product of earlier *au*. That this is so is borne out by such alternations in the verbal inflection as *oika*, *oikawa* (*to sell*, *toike'r* *I will sell it*, *puika* *sell it* (AO) for respectively *a-uik-*, *ta-uik-*, *pu-uik-*.<sup>32</sup> There is reason to think that in most cases *e* also arises from a diphthong (*ai*), as shown by such forms as *terəi* *I see* (for *ta-ira-*, from *-ira- see*). In such a case, however, the monophthongization must be dated earlier than the Spanish loanwords, in which the vowel *e* is always rendered by *e* in Goajiro. The diphthongs *ai* and *au* in present day Goajiro are, on the other hand, of later origin. It seems evident, for example, that *a + i* is contracted to *ai* (e.g., *air(a)hala* *song*, beside *pi'r(a)ha* *sing*, imperative) or from *a + i* (as in certain plural forms in *-airua*; cf. 7.8 (2), 22.2 (2)); *au* may originate from *a + u* (as in *taulia* *from me*, *naulia* *from them*; *nu'lia* *from him*, *su'lia* *from her*). When nasalized, *au* shows a strong tendency to become *ō*, e.g., *ta'čō* (sometimes *-'čōū*) *my son, child*, beside *-'čəuni* (*-'čəuni*, *-'čəni*) *children*. Also the long vowel in *ho'lu* *now*, *noho* *momo'ləi* *do not fear* sometimes alternates with *au* or *ou*.

5.11. The origin of the long vowels is threefold: (1) by contraction, e.g., *-kali'rua* (from *-kali-irua*; see 7.8); (2) by fluctuation in final position, e.g., *tə ~ tə* (see 3.4); notice especially *air(ə)ha* *sing* and *air(ə)hala* *sung*; (3) for emphasis, which often provokes superlength, e.g., *wa't'a* *very far* (from *wat'a's* *far*).<sup>33</sup> In Spanish loanwords, stressed vowels in open syllables regularly become long in Goajiro, e.g., *le'če* *milk*

<sup>32</sup> The same holds for Cuna and Kaggaba, and the latter language still lacks an independent *o*-sound.

<sup>33</sup> Similarly in the local pronunciation of Spanish, e.g., *ta'rde* *very late*.

(leche), la'pika *pencil* (lápiz), tawa'k *to-bacco* (tabaco), sapar'ta *shoe* (zapato; cf. 5.9), mur'sa *cat* (cf. Chilean muza = gato); an exception is found when h follows the vowel (see 3.4). Sometimes other vowels also appear as long, e.g., wo'li-wa *bolivar* (see 3.7).

5.12. In the consonant system, one will first of all notice the apparent absence of t before i in Goajiro words (except in tia, tia, probably from \*taya; see 10.3). The fact that the masculine forms of the demonstrative pronoun tə, təra, təsa are respectively ċi, ċira, ċisa seem to furnish the explanation: as in Arawak proper<sup>34</sup> original ti became ċi. In Spanish words, however, ti is possible, which would show that the passage of ti to ċi occurred earlier than the acquisition of most Spanish loanwords. It would be tempting to assume an analogous passage of si to ši, supported by the parallel existence of -ši (m) and -sə (n) as common adjective suffixes (the genders being usually distinguished by the final vowel, which is -i in the masculine and -u, -ə in the non-masculine form). Further notice the use of š in the non-masculine possessive prefix when an i follows (e.g., ši'ki-her, *its head*, RO), whereas s is used in other cases (cf. 7.12). But there are some words in Goajiro in which the combination si is found,<sup>35</sup> whence it is necessary to consider si and ši as different phonemes (as well as ti and ċi).

5.13. There can be little doubt about the earlier existence of two k-sounds in primitive Arawak, as reflected in Goajiro. As a rule Arawak k is unchanged in Goajiro (e.g., Arawak and Goajiro ka-, positive prefix; see 20.4), but in a great number of words Arawak k is corresponded by the glottal stop

in Goajiro, e.g., -lu'u *in* (Arawak o-loko; de Goeje, op. cit., p. 31), -a'u *on* (Arawak ako, aku *in*; ibid., p. 27), -a'u *eye* (Arawak akosi, akusi, in which -s(s)i is probably a (diminutive) suffix, cf. Island Carib acou, idem; see de Goeje, op. cit., pp. 30, 217). The change is evidently late in Goajiro, for certain Spanish loanwords partake of it: pa'a *cow*, ox (from vaca), wa'amaya *macaw* (from guacamaya, guacamayo), hama'a *hammock* (from hamaca; supposed to be of Arawak origin, although not used in Arawak proper); since voiced and voiceless stops are not differentiated in Goajiro, the same applies to Spanish g, e.g., la'una *lake* (from laguna).<sup>36</sup> In some words, however, k remains, e.g., hi'ka *string* (from jico, hico), tale-kačō *little bag* (from talega), sikari'a *cigarette* (from cigarrillo), Honse'ka *Fonseca* (place name). The reason for the different representation is not obvious. It might be suggested provisionally that an anterior palatal (as after e, i in Spanish) remained, while a posterior variant (as after a, o, u in Spanish, but occurring independently in primitive Arawak) was changed into the glottal stop. This would suit the Spanish words quoted, although it must be considered that the latter may also represent a later borrowing into Goajiro.

5.14. In a few words the glottal stop appears in inflected forms only, e.g., ta'anuwai *my canoe* (hence originally 'anuwa (3.1), cf. Spanish canoa; in de Goeje's collection from Arawak no similar word is found), ta'amai *my horse* (AI; hence originally 'ama; cf. Arawak kama *tapir*, de Goeje, op. cit., p. 226), ta'uih (ta'ul, NC) *my foot* (cf. Arawak kuti, supposing that the stem is \*ku-); perhaps also apuni *three* (cf. Arawak kabuin, idem; de Goeje, op. cit., p. 25), unu'u *tree* (cf.

<sup>34</sup> In most cases di seems to alternate with ji and ti with ci (= ċi) in de Goeje's lists (see op. cit., pp. 20, 24); there are, however, some words recorded with di, ti only.

<sup>35</sup> It might be possible to explain si from earlier sə, but I can find no positive proof of this.

<sup>36</sup> In this connection it may be mentioned that Spanish plátano (*plantain*) is borrowed into Goajiro as pla'ana. No parallel to this evolution can be found.

Arawak *konoko bush, jungle*), and *aha- burn* (cf. *ta'ahai I burned*).<sup>37</sup>

**5.15.** The history of the Goajiro r-sounds is interesting, but owing to its complexity not traceable in all its details. The fact that both r and rr in early Spanish loanwords is rendered by l in Goajiro (cf. *a'la parrot*, Spanish *ara*, *puli'ka donkey*, Spanish *burrito*) lets us presume that the Goajiro r is a late product or in any case has a different origin. There are two special cases of r to be considered, viz. (1) r before l in a following syllable and (2) r after i, e.

(1) Although r may in reality occur in practically any position in Goajiro words, it is more frequent when an l occurs in a following syllable, e.g., *warala flame* (FJ), *waralapai sparrow hawk* (MI), *-korolo property* (see 7.18), *haraih who?* (from *harali*, see 5.3), *haraih five* (from *harali*), etc. There are strong reasons for thinking that r here represents a dissimilation product and that the original form had an l. Cf. especially the interrogative stem *hala-* (e.g., *halaši where is?*) with the above-mentioned *haraih who?* (also Arawak *alika how?*, *alikai who?*, de Goeje, op. cit., p. 31).

(2) In most other cases r occurs after i or e, e.g., *terai I see*, *terai my wife*, *ere dog*, *hi'er woman*, etc. In this case one might reasonably suppose that the r-sound proceeds from an earlier y, which was dissimilated after i (e being a secondary product of ai; see 5.10).<sup>38</sup> The sound change did not take place everywhere: notice, for example,

<sup>37</sup> In this connection it might be mentioned that in Arawak proper an original k (of either type) is probably palatalized between two i's, e.g., *isi head*, cf. Goajiro *-i'ki-*, idem, Arawak *mariši maize*, Goajiro *maik'i*—RO asserts that *maiši* is used by Indians farther east; Arawak *isiroko meat*, Goajiro *-i'iruku*, idem (the latter with a different k-sound).

<sup>38</sup> In Quiché, for example, an original semivowel y (preserved in Maya) has evidently become r (e.g., *rax blue, green*, Maya (ya)yax), and this sound also corresponds to Maya l (e.g., Quiché *rak*, Maya *lak accompaniment*).

such alternations as *aira-* and *aiha-* (AI) *do*, or *-irua* and *-iwa* (plural suffix, e.g., *humaiwa with you*, AI), which probably depend on a dialectal difference.<sup>39</sup> The transition from y to r (if real) is, however, earlier than the Spanish loanwords, as evidenced by, for example, *si'a chair* (from *silla*); its early origin is also proved by such forms as *hi'e-yu women*, in which it is added secondarily to e'. As seen from the table in 5.3, the word-final reduction of r is the same as for l.

The r-sound sometimes occurs initially, e.g., *rauya mirror* (AO; cf. *-ira- see?*), *rəih knife* (probably from *\*ləli*; cf. above (1) and 5.3), and in the place name *Rilipimana Santa Cruz* (here perhaps also from l; cf. under (1)).

**5.16.** The origin of the geminated consonants (which are č, k, m, n, p, s, š, t)<sup>40</sup> is without a doubt principally the contraction of original double consonants or of consonant groups, of which the first member is an implosive. (Parallels to this are found both in Kaggaba and Cuna.) This is clearly seen from such alternative forms as *Ip'a ~ Ikpa-* (place name), *ap'ana ~ atpana rabbit*, *o'yən'əha ~ o'yətnəha dance*, *kač'isə ~ kalčisə strong* (e.g., *of the wind*); in the last form I heard the l pronounced voiceless by an old man. Notice especially *sət'iha ring* (from Spanish *sortija*), in which the syllable-final r (according to 5.3) became t, contracting with the following consonant.

**5.17.** The word-ending h produces gemination of a following form of the article (see 7.6(3)), e.g., *mah*, *mak'al place*, *ušuh*, *ušuk'al cooking pot*, *kaših*, *kašik'al moon*, etc.; also cf. *aip'a'a night, evening* (from *aih night*), *map'a'a place* (from *mah earth*). As

<sup>39</sup> In the case of *-irua*, a connection might be supposed with the plural suffix *-yu-*, so that the former would originally be *-iyua*. The only distinction made between these plural suffixes seems to be that the latter is usually found after a, o, u.

<sup>40</sup> ts always counts as long, and r is always somewhat sustained (cf. 3.7, 4.1); l never seems to occur long.

mentioned before (3.8), this *h* is usually very faint; we write it, however, in every word ending in a short, stressed vowel, which is not reduceable (according to 3.12). The origin of the aspirate remains an unsolved problem; there is no indication of it found in de Goeje's material from Arawak. In some cases (e.g., *kasa what?*, *kasah thing*) there seems to exist an alternation between forms with and without *-h*.

**5.18.** The pre-aspiration (which is found before *č*, *k*, *p*, and *t*: see 3.1) has no connection either with the intervocalic or word-final *h*, but seems rather to form part of the following consonant. Notice that the article (*-kaih*, etc.) loses its pre-aspiration when added to a noun ending in *-h* (see 7.6 (3)). There is no foundation for the supposition that a pre-aspirated consonant might have arisen, like the geminated consonants, from an earlier consonant cluster. The only remaining alternative is to assume that the Goajiro pre-aspirated stops are independent sounds in their origin, but comparison with Arawak proper does not give much of a clue for their identification.<sup>41</sup> Pre-aspirated

sounds neither occur initially (in a couple of cases, however, RO seems to use them with a supporting vowel) nor after a consonant. Hence *ši'ki her head* alternates with *ški* and *si'čih river*, with *ščih*. The pre-aspiration may, however, reappear after a final vowel in context, e.g., *unu'u 'pana tree leaf* (RO); cf. *nu'pana its leaf, leaves*. (But *yəih-'pana tobacco leaf* becomes *yəip'ana* (C) according to the above rule; 5.17.)

**5.18.** In two words Goajiro *h* seems to correspond to Arawak *k*, viz. *a'təha- know* (i.e. the same as Arawak *adek-*, *adök- see*) and *ahap'u hand* (cf. Arawak *akabo*, idem). It might be questioned whether Goajiro *h* in this case represents a pre-aspirated form of the *k*-sound which according to 5.13 is normally represented by the glottal stop.

Regarding the aspiration, it appears with great certainty that although *h* must be considered as an independent phoneme, it may nevertheless function as an accessory element in many forms, e.g., *ha'unəš ta' good-by* (literally *I go*; cf. *a'unəš taya I go*), *hainči waya we have arrived* (cf. *aint(ə)ši has, have come*). Cf. also 5.17.

<sup>41</sup> The Goajiro verb *-i'ka- eat* evidently corresponds to Arawak *eke*, idem (de Goeje, op. cit.,

p. 26). In other cases, however, Goajiro pre-aspirated sounds appear as mediae in Arawak proper.

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Goajiro (Arawak) II: Nouns and Associated Morphemes

Author(s): Nils M. Holmer

Source: *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Apr., 1949), pp. 110-120

Published by: The University of Chicago Press

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1262771>

Accessed: 26/02/2010 08:12

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## GOAJIRO (ARAWAK) II: NOUNS AND ASSOCIATED MORPHEMES<sup>1</sup>

NILS M. HOLMER

UNIVERSITY OF LUND, SWEDEN

6. Morphology
7. Nouns
8. Adjectives
9. Numerals
10. Pronouns

6. Morphology. The following parts of speech may be conveniently distinguished in Goajiro: nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns; verbs, adverbs, prepositions, postpositions, conjunctions, and interjections. The prepositions are in reality inflected postpositions (see 22.1) and the few postpositions proper are analogous to case suffixes (which are otherwise lacking in Goajiro).

### 7. Nouns.

7.1. Gender. One has to distinguish between the masculine (m) and non-masculine (n) gender, which are formally distinct in many nouns and in most adjectives. The gender of a noun is easily seen in the different form of the article (see 7.5) used with it. As a rule, masculine nouns comprise words for men and males (or proper nouns of men); non-masculine words comprise all others, i.e., words denoting women (including feminine proper names) or females or inanimate things. Notice that in animal names the male is expressed by a noun with the masculine article (e.g., pa'akaih *bull*, *ox*, from Spanish *vaca*, uik'aih *male snake*), whereas the female is expressed by a noun with the feminine article (e.g., pa'aka *cow*, uik'a *female snake*). Certain names of things are supposed to be animate and of masculine gender, e.g., kaik'aih *sun* (but *the moon*, whether supposed to be animate or not, has non-masculine gender: kašik'a), u'čikaih *mountain*. A *growing tree* is masculine (unu'ukaih) accord-

ing to MI (but RO has unu'ukal, as well as u'čkal *mountain*, with the non-masculine article), whereas *wood* is unu'ukal (n). According to some (TS) a *growing tree* is properly unu'ulia (see 7.19(3)). The *thumb* is masculine (nia tahap'ira mulia'ukaih *this is my thumb*, literally, *big finger*, RO), but the names of the other fingers are non-masculine.<sup>2</sup> The word pulo-wi, which denotes a certain *evil spirit* (or rather *power*), is non-masculine, but yo-luha-kaih *the devil*, as well as Malaiwakaih *God*, are both masculine (AO). The word -ai *life, heart, soul*, etc., which is frequently used in a personal sense, is non-masculine, e.g., ase-s tai *my heart will drink* (= ase-š taya *I will drink*), e'ke-s tai *my heart will eat* (= e'ke-š taya *I will eat*, *am hungry*).

7.2. All nouns that are indefinite (or not specified as to male or female gender) are construed as non-masculines, e.g., nohots (n) wayu *there is no Indian (man or woman)*, i.e., *no one*, but nohoš (m) nia *he is not there* (FJ). Similarly, auktəš haí wayu *he kills his life* (in Goajiro, n) *the Indian*, i.e., *he kills people* (AO), huyakwa alihuna *his (n) picture, a white man*, i.e., *the picture or drawing of a white man*, šia šie-rəi tərā *that is the wife of such a person* (in Goajiro, n; ésta es la mujer de fulano, RO).

7.3. Regarding the rules of grammatical agreement, Goajiro somewhat differs from English. For example, an adjective or pronominal word construed with the possessive form of a noun (see 7.11) may rather agree with the gender of the owner than with the

<sup>1</sup> Sections 1 to 5 are given in Goajiro (Arawak) I: Phonology, IJAL 15.45-56 (1949).

<sup>2</sup> The name for the male organ is probably masculine. I have heard aítue-š tako-skali (from Spanish *cosa*), an obscene expression which I cannot analyze.

noun they determine, e.g., *kasač·i pənə·lia* *what (m) is your name?* (if addressed to a man), but *kasač·ir (n) pənə·lia*, *idem* (if addressed to a woman).<sup>3</sup> In an analogous way one may find *taček·əi tai* *I desire, my heart for my heart desires* (RO) or *waček·əi wai* *we desire, our heart for our hearts desire* (RO).

**7.4. Article.** This term might conveniently be used to designate a morphological increment to the noun, indicating gender and number. Literate speakers of Goajiro declare this to be a definite article in the sense of Spanish grammar, but it is rather clear that its function is not in any way analogous to that of the Spanish article.<sup>4</sup> It may evidently be added to any noun in any function. As Goajiro nouns are easily used predicatively (*wayu· an Indian* or *it is an Indian*), it might be supposed that the article has principally a nominalizing function. This is also seen in, for instance, *sulu·ukal the interior* (RO), from *su·lu· in it* (see 23.1). As the article has a special masculine and non-masculine form, it shows the gender and number of the noun to which it is added. Nouns preceded by a possessive prefix (see 7.12) may take the article, although they are more often used without it. Nouns in the vocative usually do not have the article.

**7.5.** The article is suffixed to the normal or emphatic form of the noun (cf. 5.3). In this way a phonetic unit is created, for the accent sometimes moves to the article according to the rules stated in 4.1 and 4.2. The forms of the article are as follows:

Singular (m) -kaih (-kali) (n) -kal  
(-kala, -ka, -k)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Hence in *kasač·ir hənə·lia* *what is her name?* one must suppose that the non-masculine form of the interrogative word refers not to the non-masculine word *name* but to the non-masculine owner.

<sup>4</sup> In Celedon's grammar (op. cit.) I find no reference whatsoever to this grammatical element.

<sup>5</sup> The form -kal is mostly used by RO, but -ka is more common in Nazaret (e.g., by TS). For the form -k (e.g., *puet·ak door*, *haik its life, heart*; FJ), cf. 5.4.

Plural (m and n) -kana (-kanə, -kənə, -kono; cf. 5.6)  
-kali·rua

RO often has pre-aspirated forms of the article (-'kaih, -'kal, -'kana, etc.), e.g., *to·la·'kaih man, male*, *anuwa·kal canoe*, *hime·kal fish*, etc.; cf. 5.18.

**7.6.** Examples of the article with different types of nouns:

(1) with nouns ending in a long vowel or diphthong: *wayu·kaih Indian*, *wayu·kali·rua Indians*, *hi·e·yu·kali·rua women* (RO; notice that the plural article may be added to singular or plural nouns alike), *ari·kal squirrel* (RO), *pala·kal (the) sea*, *həsi·ka (its) flower* (but *həsik·a its tail*; see below), *waralapai·ka sparrow hawk*, *səikal* (RO), *səika hammock* (chinchorro).

(2) With nouns ending in a short vowel: *to·la·kaih man, male* (RO), *pa·aka cow*, *pinčikal* (RO), *pi·čka house*, *anuwa·kal canoe* (RO), *mawikal cotton* (RO), *la·pika pencil* (Spanish *lápiz*), *sət·ihaka* (TS), *sət·ihakal ring* (Spanish *sortija*), *maima šiliwalakal many stars* (RO), *maima me·sakali·rua many tables* (RO), *puet·aka, puət·ak door*.

(3) With nouns ending in -h: *uik·aih* (or *uihkaih*) *male snake*, *uik·a female snake* (uih), *amak·a horse* (AI; amah), *mawak·al pigeon* (from *mawah*, RO, *mowah*, MI; cf. 3.2), *skik·al (the) fire* (RO; s(i)kih), *ihpak·al stone* (ihpah), *wo·puk·al, wo·puk·a road, way* (wo·puh), *mak·a earth, ground* (mah), *kašik·al (the) moon* (kaših), *həsik·a (its) tail* (cf. *həsi·ka its flower*, above), *kasa hupušuale kasak·a all things* (todas las cosas, AO).<sup>6</sup> Often *kaihkaih sun, day* is heard, being stressed on the last syllable (originally *kaih, kali*).

(4) With nouns ending in a consonant or nasal vowel or the glottal stop; these often represent normal forms of those enumerated under (2): *te·pičkali·rua children* (from *te·pič*), *hi·e·tkal woman* (RO; from *hi·e·r*),

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *kasap·ula(hatə)* (place) for a thing, *kasap·ulahatsa what is it for?* (FJ), in which also the following consonant is geminated.



etkal, etka *dog* (from ere, er), etkali-rua (TS), etkana *dogs*, luopko *arroyo* (luopo), wāika *water* (wāi), paika *your life, heart* (-ai), kalika *hen* (kali-na), u'či-čikana *little birds* (RO; u'či-či), unu'ukal *tree* (RO), *wood* (unu').

As appears from the examples, no functional distinction is possible between -ka and -kal or between -kana and -kali-rua. The plural forms may be added to singular or plural nouns (the sense being plural) or adjectives, e.g., wašin-ukali-rua *rich people* (AI; from wašir *rich*).

For certain pronouns used as a real definite article, see 10.4.

**7.7.** An indefinite article arises from the frequent use of wane *one* before a noun; the form is usually unstressed, wane (cf. 4.3), e.g., wane la *a (certain) lake* (AO), wane airhal *a song* (AO). I have no example of the suffixed article being used in this case.

**7.8.** Plural. The Goajiro noun without the article (7.5) forms a plural (and dual) by adding either one of the suffixes -yu and -irua, which are used indiscriminately with masculine and non-masculine nouns. The form of the noun is sometimes modified (cf. the examples). It should especially be observed that a final short -i (which is generally suppressed in the normal pronunciation) contracts with the initial vowel of -irua, the result being -i rua (cf. 5.11). Examples:

(1) with -yu: to-layu *men* (e.g., katep-aši to-layu-kania *do the men paint?* AO), Kusi-nayu *the Cosina* (RO; see O), tačöyu *my children*, p(ə)čöyu *your children*, hi-e-yu *women* (AO), piama hi-e-yu *two women* (RO; cf. wane-si hi-e-r *one woman*).

(2) with -irua: Kusi-nairu *the Cosina* (cf. under (1)), uli-rua *snakes* (AO; from uih), u'či-rua *mountains* (AO; from u'či), ta'uirua *my eyes* (AO), s(ə)tənairu *its wings* (TS), aše'eni-rua *clothes* (AO; from aše'ai, Spanish manta).<sup>7</sup> This suffix, or the equivalent

-iwa (see 5.15 (2)) may be added to verbal forms or inflected postpositions as well (cf. 22.2 (2)).

**7.9.** Instead of -yu, AI sometimes uses -muyu (= -muyu-?), e.g., wale-muyu *friends*, wa'irumuyu *friends*.<sup>8</sup> RO has the suffix -le-ya (which is common in the pronouns; see 10.1) in, for instance, wa'ule-ya *our eyes* (from -a'u).

**7.10.** If a noun is accompanied by a plural word (e.g., maima *much, many*) or a numeral (and sometimes in other cases), the singular form of the noun is often used, e.g., maima anuwa *many canoes*, maima ihpak'al *many stones* (RO), maima šiliwala *many stars*, maima unu' *many trees* (RO), amah waima *many horses* (AI), pienčiški amak'a *forty horses* (AI), šiale-ya te-rāi *these are my wives* (RO), we-rāi *our wives* (RO), wayu waya *we are Indians* (RO). The rule is, however, not universal; it may be noticed that the singular wayu *Indian* is often (as in other Indian languages) used collectively of the tribe.

**7.11.** Possessive construction. The Goajiro noun, which has no case inflection,<sup>9</sup> consequently lacks a possessive form. The possessive construction consists in coordination of the nouns expressing the owner and the owned (the latter generally preceding), e.g., asa-la pa'a or asa-laš pa'a *beef*, literally *cow meat, meat (of) cow*, unu'u'pana *leaves of trees* (RO), hi-yapal(hana) hama' *the temple of the hammock loom* (from hi-ya *woven fabric*, in which h- might be a petrified possessive prefix; cf. below). Usually the noun expressing the owned thing is provided with a possessive prefix (see 7.12) referring to the noun expressing the owner, as in sa'u pinčkal *the door (literally eye) of the house* (RO; properly *its eye, the house*), sa'u te'ki *my ear* (literally *its opening, my head*; RO), sahuna

<sup>7</sup> The final -airua in the above words seem an irregular product of contraction. The vowel -a in the singular is heard short, but may (phonemically) be -a or -ah.

<sup>8</sup> The latter word, wa'iru, is sometimes supposed to be the origin of the Spanish *Goajiro*. A Goajiro Indian is now called wayu *man, Indian*.

<sup>9</sup> Unless the postpositions (see 23.1) be reckoned as case suffixes.

(hahuna, MI) *pinčkal the roof of the house* (RO), *hulo-la pala the noise of the sea* (FJ), *nə'čō wayu the Indian's son* (RO), *hupuya Me-kolo Mekolo's (fem.) house* (AO).

**7.12.** Possessive inflection. There are no possessive pronouns in Goajiro, but in conformity with most American Indian languages the noun is capable of a possessive inflection by means of prefixes corresponding to our possessive pronouns. (The prefixes are the same as the personal prefixes in the finite verb; see 15.3.) The possessive prefixes all begin with a consonant (referring to the various persons in the singular and plural), followed by a vowel (which varies partly according to the person, partly according to the noun stem). In this way different sets of possessive prefixes arise.

(1) In nouns originally beginning with a consonant the following are commonly used:<sup>10</sup> *ta-* my; *pu-* thy, your (sing.)<sup>11</sup>; *nu-* his (m); *sə-* (west), *hu-* (east) *her, its* (n); *wa-* our; *hu-* your (plur.); *na-* their (m and n).

Examples: *ta'čō my son*, *pu'čō thy son*, *nə'čō (nčō) his son* (RO); *ta'uīh* (C), *ta'ul* (NC) *my foot*, *pu'uīh*, *pu'ul*, *pu'uli* (NC) *thy foot*, *nu'ul* (NC) *his foot*, *wa'uli-rua our feet*, *hu'uli-rua your feet* (pl.); *ta'tah my skin*, *pu'tah thy skin*; *ta'tənahut my friend*, *pə'tənahut thy friend*; *tanu-lu* (tanu-t) *my neck*, *punu-l thy neck*; *tače* (tač), *pəč*, *nəč* (nuč) *my, thy, his breechcloth* (NC).

(2 a) Nouns beginning with the vowel *a-* take the following prefixes: *ta-* my; *pa-* thy; *na-* his (m); *sa-* (W), *ha-* (E) *her, its* (n); *wa-* our; *ha-* your; *na-* their (m and n).

Examples: *ta'u my eye*, *pa'u thy eye*, *na'u his eye*, *sa'u, ha'u her (its) eye*; *tahap-u my hand*, *pahap-u thy hand*, *nahap his hand*, *sahap her hand* (from *ahap-u hand*; RO); *taī* (taina, tainai)<sup>12</sup> *my life, heart, soul*, *paī thy*

*life, etc.*, *haī* (saī, AI) *her, its life, etc.*, and with the article: *taika, paika, nəika* (= *naika*).

(2 b) If the *a-* is long (*a-*), the vowel remains long in the prefix, e.g., *ta-nək my mouth*, *pa-nək thy mouth*, *wa-nək our mouths*; *ta-ləī my grandson*, *pa-ləī thy grandson* (from *a-luni*; AI, however, has *nə-ləī his grandson*).

(3 a) Nouns originally beginning with *i-* have the following possessive prefixes: *te-* my; *pi-* thy, your (sing.); *ni-* his (m); *ši-* (W), *hi-* (E) *her, its* (n); *we-* our; *hi-* (?) *your*; *ne-* their (m and n).

Examples: *te'ki my head*, *pi'ki thy head*, *ni'ki his head*, *ši'ki her head* (RO); *te'pia my house*, *pi'pia thy house*, *ni'pia his house*, *š(i')pia her house* (RO); *we'pia our house(s)*; *temia(hatə) my provisions, provender*, *šimia-hatə* (AI), *himia(hatə)* (AO) *its provender*, *nemia their provisions*. So also: *teye my tongue*, *piye your tongue*, *niye his tongue* (RO; although Celedon, op. cit., p. 162, gives *yé lengua*) and *niyakwa his picture* (AO; although *picture* is given as *ayakwa*).

(3 b) If the *i-* is long, the prefixes are (according to 5.10 and 5.11) *tai-*, *pi-*, *ni-*, *wai-*, etc., e.g., *pi-mat your lips*, *ni-mač-ira his lips*, *hi-mata her lips* (TS), *waimat(a) our lips*.

(4) With an initial *u-* the prefixes appear as: *tau-* my; *pu-* thy, your (sing.); *nu-* his (m); *hu-* (E), *su-* (W) *her, its* (n); *wau-* (?) *our*; *hu-* your; *nau-* their (m and n).

Examples: *tauwala my brother*, *pu-wala thy brother*, *nu-wala his brother*; *taumaī my land*, *pu-maī thy land*, *nu-maī his land*, *hu-maī her or your (pl.) land*.

(5) When the initial stem vowel is *e-*, the prefixes are: *te-* my; *pie-* thy, your (sing.); *nie-* his (m); *we-* our; but there are very few instances of this, e.g., *te-rəī my wife*, *pie-rəī thy wife*, *nie-rəī his wife*; *te-čī my husband*, etc.

**7.13.** There are traces of an indefinite possessive prefix *ka-* *someone's*, which is used in very special constructions. For examples, see the sections 7.19 (6), 10.6 (1), and 10.7, in which *ka-* has related functions. The analy-

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Arawak proper (de Goeje, op. cit., p. 57).

<sup>11</sup> Nouns beginning with a labial often have no prefix in the 2d person singular, e.g., *pialu'uməī* to your house (for *pi'pialu'uməī*).

<sup>12</sup> As in *ya taina here is my heart*, *ya tainai in my heart* (en mi corazón), *a'is taī pu'tuma I love you* (my heart aches for you), *malaka taī punai I love you* (TS; literally the same as my heart for you (?); cf. 10.9 (3)).

sis of these is, however, rather problematic; a close connection between this *ka-* and the positive prefix *ka-* in verbal forms (see 20.4) seems to exist.

**7.14.** Some words hardly ever occur without a possessive prefix, e.g., *ši·e·r* or *hi·e·r* (*her*) *brother-in-law*, *hu·ya* *year* (*of it*), etc.

**7.15.** Possessive form. Many simple nouns (especially names of parts of the body) incorporate the aforesaid possessive prefixes without any other modification (cf. the above examples). But most other nouns change their form when used with the possessive prefixes. There are especially two standard modifications, viz. by means of the suffixes (1) *-i* (*-ni*) and (2) *-se·*. The rules for their respective use are not apparent. Examples:

(1) with *-i*: *ta·anuwaī* (*-wāi*) *my canoe* (*anuwa*), *tasi·iraī* *my girdle* (*si·ira*), *taitaī* *my calabash* (TS; from *i·ta*), *tahi·kaī* *my string* (AO; from *hi·ka* *hico, jico*), *tali·plaī* *my book* (from Spanish *libro*), *tayəli* *my tobacco* (*yəih*), *tala·pi* *my pencil* (Spanish *lápiz*); similarly: *taumaī* *my country*, etc. (see under 7.12 (4)), of which the stem has not been found independently (cf. *mah land*, with which it may be connected), and *tainaī* *my life, heart*, etc. (see under 7.12 (2 a)).

(2) With *-se·*: *tayəi(h)se·* *my tobacco* (AO; cf. under (1)), *wayəi(h)sairua* *our tobacco* (AO), *tače·ese·* *my tongue* (= *tače·e*), *tasət·ihase·* *my ring* (TS), *tauyase·* *my age*, here *pu·yase·* *what is your age?* (from *hu·ya* *year*; see 7.14). Instead of this, RO (and others) often have *-ši*, e.g., *tasət·ihaš* *my ring*, *tamawiš* *my cotton*, *wapataušī* *our finger nails*, *takaralahəš* *my feather gear* (FJ). Also notice the common and irregular *tasap·a·ts* *my shoe(s)* (from *sapa·ta*; cf. 5.11).

**7.16.** Certain nouns have a special derived form which is used when no possessive prefix occurs, e.g., *walaš*, *walaška* (AO) *hair* (cf. *tawala* *my hair*), *alaklaš* *chief* (cf. *talakla* *my chief*, NC, *walakla* *our chief*, RO), *e·ki·wi* (AO), *e·kiu* (RO, FJ) *head*, *e·kiuirua* *heads*

(cf. *te·ki·* *my head*). Several nouns which are not readily used without a possessive prefix (e.g., names of parts of the body; cf. 7.14) prefix an *a-* when occasionally used alone, e.g., *ahap·u* *hand*, *ahap·ira* *finger*, *anu·lu* *neck* (cf. 7.12 (1)), *a·če·e* *ear*, *a·təna* *arm, wing* (cf. *ta·təna* *my arm*, *hə·təna* *its feather*), etc.; sometimes this *a-* is treated as part of the stem (e.g., *ahap·u*; see 7.12 (2 a)), sometimes not, e.g., *alaklaš* *chief* (cf. *haraih* *pulaklakaih* *who is your chief?* (NC)).

**7.17.** Some nouns have rather different forms when used alone and with a possessive prefix. E.g., *pinči* (RO), *pi·či* (common at Nazaret), *mi·či* (AI) *house*, of which the possessive form is *-pia* (RO)<sup>13</sup> or *-puya* (common at Nazaret), e.g., *te·pia*, *pi·pia* *my, thy house*, *tapuya*, *puya* *my, thy house*; *wo·mu* (AO), *wo·m* (NC)<sup>14</sup> *hat* forms *takwo·ma* *my hat*, *pa·kwa·ma* *thy hat*.

**7.18.** Certain nouns form their possessive form by means of an auxiliary word, e.g., *ere* *dog*, *tamələi* *er(ə)* *my dog* (NC), *aulaka* *etka* *či·* *tamələi* *this dog is mine* (AO); *hama·a* *hammock*, *ta·u·la* *hama·* *my hammock* (NC), *ta·u·la* *mine* (*of a hammock*; AO); *pā* *bread* (from Spanish), *te·kəi* *pā* *my bread* (literally *my food bread*; NC). A general auxiliary is *-korolo* *property*, etc., e.g., *takorolo* *my property*, *mine*, *pukorolo* *thy property*, *thine*, *hukorolo* *hers*, *haraih* *korolo*, or better, *haraih* *kakoroloka* *hia* *whose is it?* (cf. 10.7), *šia* *səkorot·əra* (< *korolo* *təra*) *it is hers* (RO).

**7.19.** Formation of nouns. The most common nominal formatives are: *-čō* (diminutive), *-ule-* (augmentative), *-ia* (instrumental), *-lia* (specific), *-ih* (agent), *-waih* (general nominalizer), and *-la* (resultative).

(1) *-čō* (which is properly a noun meaning *child*, e.g., *ta·čō* *my child*) forms the diminutive of any noun, e.g., *hintəič·ō* *little boy* (RO), *hintuč·ō* *little girl* (RO; stem *hintəli*

<sup>13</sup> Also used in other compounds, e.g., *kusi·napi* *kitchen* (AO; from Spanish *cocina*).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Celedon huómo* (op. cit., p. 98).

(m) and hintulu (n)), *nčōčō his little child* (RO), *ha'u čō little child* (RO), *an-ēč-ō little sheep, lamb*, *pa'ačō calf* (from Spanish *vaca*), *susuč'ō little bag* (Spanish *mochila pequeña*), *həpəč'aunika* (with article) *eyelet, loophole (of Indian sandal; from həpəh)*. Another variety is -čī, as in *u'či čī little bird* (RO).

(2) -ule- is only used in special construction, chiefly *kasa'auleš he has long legs* (AO), *ša'aule one who has long legs* (AO; cf. *tasa'a my leg*).

(3) -ia expresses that wherewith something is performed and is thus added to verb stems, e.g., *ašəhia pencil* (*ašəha paint, write*), *epit ia broom* (*epit a sweep*), *ohu nia* or *anulu'ulia loom*, *aseru čihia a saw* (RO; from *ašeru čaha- (to) saw*, from Spanish *serrucho, a saw*; cf. 18.1). With possessive prefixes these derivatives still have verbal force, as seen in *pa'apa ta'anapahəi wane tatūkia bring me that I may borrow to sleep on* (rather than *my means of sleeping*; RO), *tašot ia* (*pušot ia, nišot ia*) (*a knife*) *to cut with* (FJ).

(3) -lia (which may be specific or individualizing) is found for instance in *unu'ulia a growing tree* (cf. *unu' tree, wood*), *para lia beach, sea shore* (from *pala sea*; cf. 5.15 (1); the word is also found in the place name *Para lialu'u Puerto Estrella, = at the beach*).

(4) -ih (originally -li; m), -lə (-t, originally -lu; n), -li (originally -lina; plural) is an agent suffix, many times expressing a true active participle (cf. 16.7), e.g., *airhəih (m), airhət (n) singer* (from *air(ə)ha- sing*), *auktəih (m), auktul (n), auktəli* (plural) *murderer* (usually stressed on the second syllable; cf. 4.1).

(5) -waih (originally -wali; m), -walə (n), -wali, -waī (originally -walina; plural) may be added to almost any word or phrase to form a noun, e.g., *wat ahe waih one (m) from afar*, *wat ahe walə, idem (n), wat ahe walina* (or -waina) *people from afar* (from *wat ahe- from afar*, adverb), *auktəš wayuwaī* (or -wani) *criminals* (from *auktəš wayu killing people*).

(6) -la (-lə, -l, -t) expresses the result of a verbal action and corresponds to a passive participle; it thus occurs with verbal stems

(cf. -ih, under (4), from which it should be well distinguished). Examples: *airhəl song* (from *air(ə)ha- sing*), *mahus air(h)ətka təra that is a bad song* (AO), *aiktuhul parched maize* (cf. *aiktuhuši parching*, Spanish *tostando*). With a possessive prefix, a verbal function appears, e.g., *takumahala, takum-hala, takum-ala what I have done* (rather than *my done thing*; from *kumaha- do, perform*), *pukumahala what you have done*, *tašəhal what I have written* (from *ašəha-*), *tə tairəkal what I saw*, *tə ni-rakat what he saw* (from *i-raka-*); it is even possible to say *nairakatpa-la* (= *nairaka-l-pa-la*) *what they saw* (with the postfixed preterital -pa-la; see 16.2). Of special interest is *kasə-l drinking place*, from *asə- drink*; it seems to mean *someone's drinking* and contain the same possessive prefix as is mentioned in 7.13.

## 8. Adjectives.

8.1. It is important to distinguish between predicative and attributive construction.

Every adjective is capable of expressing an understood copula and is thus predicative. In this construction it is formally a verb and is placed at the beginning of the sentence (as happens to the verb). E.g., *anaš maī wayu-kaih the Indian is very good* or *it is a very good Indian* (RO), *anas maī hi-ətkal it is a very good or handsome woman* (RO), *anas maī te'pia my house is very good* (RO), *wihtəsə su-lia the grass is green* (RO), *wihtəsə pala-kal the sea is blue* (RO), *mulia'u maī karalautakal the book is very big* (RO), *lakla taya I am old*, *lakla təra she is old*, *ha'is-i taya I am warm* (of a man), *ha'is-ə taya, idem* (of a woman), *mahuš-i waya we are poor* (RO), *mahus-ə it is good for nothing*. Even in this construction a nominalization can take place, as in *mutsias maī nə'tah a negro* (literally *his skin is very black*; RO), *mələ'u su-uwa pa'akal a cow with long horns* (literally *her horns are long, the cow*; RO). The verbal character of the predicative adjectives appears from the fact that it may assume verbal inflected forms, e.g., *maimə-s it will be enough* (from *maima much*).

**8.2.** In the attributive construction the noun follows the adjective, e.g., *hi-etkal anas-ə a handsome woman*, *pinči anas-ə a good house* (RO), *wəi ha'is-ə hot water*, *wəi sa-mats cold water* (RO), *susuh məle'ukal a big bag*.

**8.3.** Whether used predicatively or attributively, the adjective is either declinable or indeclinable. In the former case the masculine singular form ends in -š(i), the masculine and non-masculine plural form in -ši, and the non-masculine singular form, in -s(ə) (cf. the above examples). This also is the durative participial termination of the verb (see 16.2).<sup>15</sup> Some adjectives, however, have different terminations. Thus *wašir rich* has the following forms: *wašir* (sing. m and n), *wašin-u*, *waši*, *wašin-əirua* (plural), e.g., *e-ši wayu wašin-u there are rich Indians* (AO). Similarly those in -waih have special forms (see 7.19 (5)).

The gender of the adjectives follows similar rules to that of the nouns (see 7.1).

**8.4.** The indeclinable adjective (e.g., *mulia'u great*, *lakla old*) is used for both genders and numbers, but sometimes there are alternative inflected forms (e.g., *mulia'uši*, *mulia'usu* = *mulia'u*). Both the noun and the adjective may be followed by the article, e.g., *wayu-kaih lakla-kaih the old Indian* (AI).

**8.5.** Comparison. The expression of a comparative and superlative is rudimentary. Usually the former is expressed in accordance with the following examples: *aulaka Rupert-a mulia'u hu-lia Rafaela Roberto is bigger than Rafaela*, *aulaka Rafaela ha'u-čō nu-lia Rupert-a Rafaela is smaller than Roberto* (AO), *aulaka tə wat-as hu-lia wane mah this (place) is more distant than the other place* (AO). In these examples the introductory word *aulaka* is in reality a conjunction *and* (see 24.1), which has a wide application in Goajiro

<sup>15</sup> Such words as *halaši waya where are we?*, *wat-a-ši waya we are far*, etc., may be considered as real verbs.

sentence building. The adjective is followed by an inflected preposition *from* (see 22.2 (5)); hence *hu-lia Rafaela* = *from (her) Rafaela* and *nu-lia Rupert-a* = *from (him) Roberto*.

There seems to exist no other superlative than the absolute one, expressed by *maima* (mai) *very, much*, e.g., *wašir mai very rich* (AO); see further the examples in 8.1.

## 9. Numerals.

**9.1.** Like the common adjectives, the numerals have an attributive and a predicative (or verbal) function; according to this they differ as to form, but not as to position. The attributive forms are the plainest forms, which are also used in counting. They are the following (chiefly according to RO): *wane-ši* (m), *wane-si* (n; the latter form also used in counting), *wane* (see below) for 1; *piana* (*piamā*, see 5.5; *piā*) for 2; *apunī* 3; *pienči* 4; *haraih* 5; *aipirua* 6; *akarač-i* (AO) 7; *me ki-sal* (RO), *məki-sa* (AO) 8; *mekie-tsə* 9; *polo* 10.

Numbers above 10 are compounds (partly with the postposition *-məi to*); the following forms are chiefly from TS: *polo wane-šimāi* 11; *polo piamamāi* 12; *polo haralimāi* (AO) 15; *polo aipiruamāi* 16; *polo karatsəmāi* 17; *apuniki* 30; *pienčiški* (AI) 40; *mekie-tsalhiki* 90; *polo-šiki* (west), *polohiki* (east) 100.

**9.2.** The above numerals usually precede the noun they determine, e.g., *wane-ši to-la* (or *hašič-i*) *one man*, *wane-si hi-e-r* *one woman* (RO), *piana hi-e-yu* *two women*, *piana kaih* *two days* (RO), *apunī pinčkal* *three houses* (RO), *apunī aih* *three nights*, *apunī u'čī-čikənə* *three little birds* (RO), *šiliwala akarač-i* *the seven stars* (AO). Also notice the construction *su-wala č(i) piana her two brothers*.

**9.3.** The form *wane* *one* is used before all kinds of nouns; it is often unstressed (*wane*; cf. 4.3) and used as a kind of indefinite article, e.g., *wane kaih one day*, *wane aih one night*, *wane hu-ya one year*. It is also used

in a plural indefinite sense (= *some*), e.g., wane·ale·wa *some friends* (RO).

**9.4.** The predicative forms (from 1 to 10) are the following (chiefly according to RO): 1. wane·šia (m), wane·sia (n); 2. piamaši· (m), piamaš(ə), piamaši· (AO) (n); 3. apunīši· (m), apunīsi·rua (n); 4. pienčiši· (m), pientsiəirua (sic; RO) (n); 5. haraiši· (m), haraisəirua (n); 6. aipiruaši· (m), aipiruasəirua (n); 7. akaraiši· (m), akaratəsiəirua (n);<sup>16</sup> 8. meki·sač·i· (m), meki·satsəirua (n);<sup>17</sup> 9. mekie·tsač·i· (m), mekie·tsəirua (n); 10. polo·ši· (m), polo·si·rua (polo·sia, polo·s, AI).

These mostly follow the noun, e.g., e·s amah polo·s *there are horses, they are ten*, i.e., *there are ten horses* (AI), pa·rutayu· polo·s *there are ten male horses* (from Spanish pardo? AI), mo·la polo·s *the mules were ten* (AI). The sense is often apparently attributive, as in piamaš pinčkal *two houses* (RO), piamaš aih *three nights* (RO), etkana polo·ši *ten (male) dogs*.

**9.5.** Ordinal numbers. These evidently are expressed by circumlocutions. AO has, for example, apunī tuan niyakwa *his third photo* (as if *three, the other photo of him*; modeled on tə wane· *the other (second)*; **10.9** (1)).

## 10. Pronouns.

**10.1.** Personal pronouns. The personal pronouns in Goajiro are mostly fully stressed forms, which are construed as nouns. (They may even take the article; cf. below.) While certain verbal forms express a pronominal subject or object by prefixes or suffixes, others are construed with personal pronouns. The latter alternative applies to the predicative adjective also (e.g., anaš taya (m), anas taya (n) *I am good*, etc.). The following forms are used: taya, taya·kaih (m) *I, me*; pia, pia·kaih (m), pia·ka (n) *thou, thee, you*;

nia, nia·kaih *he, him* (m); sia (W), hia (E) *she, her, it* (n); waya, waya·kan, wayakanəirua, wayale·ya (RO) *we, us*; hia, hiakan, haiirua (RO), hayakana (TS), šia·kan, šiale·ya, ši·rua (RO) *you*; naya, nairua, nayale·ya (RO), ni·rua *they* (m and n); šiale·ya *they* (n).

It appears that the forms in the 3d singular non-masculine person are (as often in the case of the possessive prefixes; see **7.12**) identical with those of the 2d person plural,<sup>18</sup> apart from the fact that the latter may be provided with plural suffixes. It nevertheless appears that the same plural form may also be used of a non-masculine plural, as in šiale·ya te·rəi *these are my wives* (RO).

**10.2.** The personal pronouns, when occurring as subject or object of a verb (or predicative adjective), are placed after the verbal form (or the adjective), e.g., ašəhəši taya *I am writing*, a·une·či taya *I shall go*, werəi waya·kan *we saw* (emphatic, cf. below; RO), anaš taya *I am good*. So also with a nominal predicate, e.g., wayu· taya *I am an Indian*, wayu· waya *we are Indians* (RO), Pšaina te· *I am a Pušaina*. In the latter case, however, a 3d person pronoun precedes the noun, e.g., nia tahap·ira mulia·ukaih *it (that) is my thumb* (RO), šia (or hia) tahap·u *it (that) is my hand* (RO), šia ta·nək *it (that) is my mouth* (RO). When used as an emphaticizer, on the other hand, the personal pronoun follows, e.g., pa·nək pia·kaih *thy mouth (thou)*, waimat waya·kan *our lips (we)*; cf. werəi waya·kan *we saw (we)*, above.

A suffixed -ta· is dubitative and said to express the idea of *it seems to be* (Spanish *seré, serás, será*, etc.), e.g., tayata· *it seems to be I* (*seré yo*), piata· *it seems to be you* (sing.), niata· *it seems to be he*, nayata· *it seems to be they*. The suffix may be the same as in anataš *he may be good*, anatas *it may be good*, anu·ta· *here is*.

<sup>16</sup> From akarali·šia and akara(u)səirua, respectively.

<sup>17</sup> From meki·sal·sia and meki·sal·su·irua, respectively. The terminations -i·rua and -əirua are probably phonetic variants (cf. **5.12**, Note 35).

<sup>18</sup> The characteristic h- no doubt originally belonged to the 2d person plural as in Arawak proper and as in the probably still more archaic Island Carib.

**10.3.** Demonstrative pronouns. The third person singular and plural may also be expressed by another set of pronouns, which may conveniently be called demonstrative. These, too, may be used either attributively or predicatively; there are also forms with the article (*čirakaih he, that one, tərak'al she, that one, RO*). There are three degrees of demonstrative pronouns, which (probably very roughly) correspond to the Spanish *éste, ése, aquel*, respectively (I have not been able to ascertain the original distinctions). It seems clear that the shortest form refers to proximity to the speaker (cf. English *this*), the others to distance (cf. English *that*). The forms are as follows: *či·, či he, this, this one (m)*; *tə·, tə she, it, this, this one (n)*; *čisa he, that, that one (Spanish ése, AO) (m)*; *təsa she, it, that, that one (n)*; *čira he, that, that one (Spanish aquel lejos, AO) (m)*; *təra she, it, that, that one (n)*.

Less common are *čia (m; AI)* and *tia (n; AO)*. No plural forms have been recorded, nor seem to occur (cf. Celdon, op. cit., p. 23); a singular often expresses a plural idea, as in *su-wala či piama her two brothers*.

**10.4.** When used attributively, the demonstrative follows, e.g., *aulaka etkači (= etkaihi či) tamələi this dog is mine (AO)*, *haraihi wayu· wašič-ia (= wašir či ya) who is this rich Indian? (AO)*, *mak'a tə· this place, pička tə· this house, hama'a tə· ta'u-la or ta'u-la hama'a tə· this hammock is mine (AO)*. In the predicative construction, however, the demonstrative precedes, e.g., *čira hintəik'aihi that is the boy (RO)*.

Nevertheless, there are examples of these pronouns being used before a noun without particular stress to express an attributive relation, as it appears, in the same way as a definite article. The following may be quoted: *širaku təra wəikal in the water (RO)*, *sa'ukolo təra me-sakal on the table (RO)*. There is especially a construction with a preceding personal pronoun, as in *nia čira to-la-*

*'kaihi that man, šia təra hi-etkal that woman, šia tə me-sakal this table (RO)*.

Like the personal pronoun, the demonstratives may be used as emphaziers of a preceding pronoun or pronominal prefix, e.g., *na'u čira to him, sa'u təra to her, ni-mač-ira his lips, that one (RO)*.

**10.5.** Interrogative pronouns. These are probably originally predicative (= *who is it?*, *what is it?* etc.) and always introduce the sentence. There are a great number of forms, some being used of persons, others of things, etc. The most important ones are (1) *haraihi who?* and (2) *kasa(wayu) what?*

(1) The former, which is used of persons, is declinable and has the forms *haraihi* (from *harali*; sing. m), *harat* (from *haralu*; sing. n), and *harali* (from *haralina*; plural, m and n), e.g., *haraihi nia who is he?*, *haraihi čira who is that man?*, *haraihi pirakaya whom do you see?*, *harat pia who are you?* (said to a woman), *harač-iā* (from *harat šia yā*) *who is she?*, *harali naya who are they?* (RO). Related to this stem is *he-ra, hera how many?* (e.g., *hera pu-yase how many (are) your years, i.e., how old are you?* TS) and *he-ram-a what more?*

(2) The latter is indeclinable, e.g., *kasa what is it?*, *kasawayu təra what is that?*, *kasawayu paıraka what are you doing?* (RO).

**10.6.** Of other forms the following may be mentioned: *han-a, kasač-i*, as well as the adverbial stems *hama* and *hala-*, all with a great number of variants and derivations.

(1) *Han-a* (cf. Celdon *janá quién*, op. cit., p. 23) is approximately equivalent to *haraihi*, e.g., *han-a kakum-ak-a who did it?*, *han-a kačauni-ka hia whose daughters are you?* (literally, *who (is it), you are his (someone's; see 7.13) daughters*; AO), *han-a kakoroloka tə· whose is this?*

(2) Of *kasač-i (m)* (approximately = *which?*, Spanish *cuál*) there are inflected forms *kasač-ir (n)* and *kasač-iki* (probably adverbial), e.g., *kasač-ik pia* or *kasač-ik how*

*are you?*, to which the answer is usually *napots nothing*, i.e., *all right* (cf. the Russian *nitchevo*).

(3) The following are all adverbial. Thus, for instance, *hama* (hã)<sup>19</sup> equals *how is?*, *what about?* or is a general interrogative word, e.g., *hama how are you?* (Spanish *qué tal?* RO), *hama pie-rāi what about your wife?* (RO), *hama taya'kai what about me?* (Spanish *a mí no?*, *y a mí?*), *hama pia what about you?* (Spanish *qué hay de ti?*), *hã ċi wane- what about the other?* (*y el otro?* RO), *hã nawane-kan what about the others?* The following are declinable derivatives: *hamas* (n) *kwaip(a) in what way?* (Spanish *de qué manera?*, cf. *hukwaip-a its form*, *pukwaip-a where are you going?*, *nukwaip-a where is he going?* RO), *hamahaċi* (m) *doing what?* or (Spanish) *para qué?* (RO). A variant is *hamu* (e.g., *hamu kwaip-ala how do you do it?*, *cómo haces tú?* RO), with the derivative *hamus* (cf. *Celedon jamúse*, op. cit., p. 100), e.g., *hamus pə'kəhai* (sing), *hamus hə'kəhai* (plural) *how (what) do (did) you say?* For the latter phrase one often uses (*ha*)*mususə*, (*ha*)*məsəsə*, *haməsī*, *ha məsə* (AO), etc. (cf. 3.6).

(4) Of the stem *hala-*, declinable local adverbs (or verbs) are formed, namely *halaši* (sing. m and plural) and *halas* (sing. n), both meaning *where is?*, *where are?* e.g., *halaši waya where are we?*, *halas te-rāya where is my wife?* (RO). Further: *halihe-ši whence is?*, *halapši at what time of day?*, e.g., *halapši suntaka when does she come?* (AO); cf. *halap-a kaihkai what time is it?*

**10.7.** An interrogative clause in Goajiro, whether containing an interrogative pronoun or not, generally has an interrogative particle (-ka, -ka'a, -ka'aka, -ka ka'aka or -ya, -yā; cf. 22.2) affixed to some important word, e.g., *kasa paīraka* (sing.), *kasa haīraka* (plural) *what are you doing?*, *harayā who is it?*, *halašiā where is he?* (RO), *halasiā where is it?*,

*halaši nawane-ya where are the others?*, *haraiħ kakorolokayā whose is it?* (in which both particles are used together), *kasa huput-e-tka wa'pula waya mahuk-anu what will you leave for us who are poor?* (AO). See further the examples in the preceding paragraphs.

Another interrogative particle is *ċe*, e.g., *harali ċe-wayu-kana wašin-ukali-rua who can the wealthy Indians be?* (AI).

**10.8.** The interrogative pronouns are also used in an indefinite sense, e.g., *psa'a kasawai* (= *kasawayu*) *bring (me) something*. *Kasa* probably is the same as *kasah*, which means *a thing* (*maima kasah many things*).

**10.9.** Other pronouns. The following should especially be mentioned: *wane* (usually preceded by a demonstrative word or a prefix) *other, the other*, *mušiaka*, etc., *the same*, *malaka the same*, *-pušua all*, and *-aulaka some*.

(1) The common forms for *the other, the others* are (sing.) *ċi wane* (m), *tə wane* (tuane, tuane, tuan; n), and (plural) *nawane*: *tuane pinč another house*, *tuane wapuk-a another way*, *nawane wayu-kana other Indians*, *nawanairua others*; otherwise it is possible to say *ċisa wane that other one* (RO), etc. It is evident that the Indians do not differentiate strictly between *one* and *another*.

(2) There are many related forms for *the same*, the most important ones being *mušiaka* (m) and *musiaka* (n), used both in the singular and plural. The construction appears from: *musiaka it is the same*, *mušiaka taya wane I am the same as the other* (FJ), *katep-aši to-layu-kania mušiaka našahaya hi-e-yu do the men paint (their face) the same as the women do?* (AO). The following forms are contractions or modifications of those mentioned: *muška*, *muyak-a*, *məši-ka* (m), *muska*, *məsəkə* (n), e.g., *muska wane-ya like the other*, *məsəkə taya the same as I*.

(3) Another word for *the same* is *malaka*

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Celedon jamá* (op. cit., p. 100).



(maka), e.g., malaka (maka) *tayakaih like me* (TS), malaka tai punai *I love you* (see 7.12 (2 a), Note 52).

(4) *All*, -pušua, is usually preceded by a personal prefix, e.g., wapušua *all of us* (RO), wat·ahe·waina napušua *all from afar* (RO), a'unahana napušua *they all went* (RO). There

is a special plural form -pušua·le· (probably = -pusua·le·ya, cf. 7.9), e.g., spušua·le· *you all* (RO), kasa hupušua·le· kasak·a *all things* (AO). Another word for *all, whole* is -pa'a, e.g., s(u)pa'a mak·al *the whole earth* (RO).

(5) Of -aulaka I have one example only: naulaka (nauluk; AO) *some* (plural).

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Goajiro (Arawak) III: Verbs and Associated Morphemes

Author(s): Nils M. Holmer

Source: *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Jul., 1949), pp. 145-157

Published by: The University of Chicago Press

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1263372>

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# GOAJIRO (ARAWAK) III: VERBS AND ASSOCIATED MORPHEMES<sup>1</sup>

NILS M. HOLMER

UNIVERSITY OF LUND, SWEDEN

11. Relative construction
12. Verbs
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11. Relative construction. There are no relative pronouns in Goajiro, nor any particular relative form of the verb. The relative construction thus finds no formal expression, as in *haraik'a čira entakaya who is that one that comes?* (with both interrogative particles; cf. 10.7).

The nominal derivatives of verbal stems by means of the suffixes mentioned in 7.18 (especially (4) and (6)) as well as 16.7 often serve to express a relative form; cf. the examples quoted in the places referred to.

## 12. Verbs.

12.1. The Goajiro verb comprises a system of finite forms proper, of participial forms, and of a verb noun. All these forms are in the present stage of the language to be considered as purely verbal; even the verb noun differs as much from an ordinary noun as does the English infinitive (in the present material, for instance, it is not found com-

bined with the article). On the other hand, a historical analysis of the verb shows clear traces of that grammatical non-distinction between noun and verb which is peculiar to the Amerindian languages at large.

The finite forms proper occur regularly in a comparatively small number of (chiefly transitive) verbs; only the imperative is formed in this way from all verbs. Participial forms and the verb noun, on the other hand, are used of practically all verbs. In the intransitive verb the finite forms incorporate a pronominal subject; in the transitive verb, often also an object. The participial forms agree with their subject as to gender and number and have no inherent object. The verb noun is mostly used with a preposition (cf. English *to do*, etc.).

12.2. Tenses and modes. The tense and mode forms of the Goajiro verb correspond only approximately to analogous forms in English. The "present" tense (whether expressed by a finite or participial form) is rather a timeless "aorist," referring vaguely to the time of the speaker or to the previous context. Past tenses either express completed action or an action ceased long ago, and future tenses, usually either will or intention. There are special interrogative and negative forms, usually less differentiated as to time. The imperative mode fairly well conveys the idea of an English imperative. A mode which may conveniently be called subjunctive (always formed according to the finite paradigm) is used approximately as an English *that*-clause.

12.3. Person. In the finite paradigm the four singular persons (1st, 2d, 3d m, and 3d n) and the three plural persons (1st, 2d, and

<sup>1</sup> See Goajiro (Arawak) I for sections 1 to 5; and II for 6 to 10 in IJAL 15. 45-56 and 110-120 (1949).

3d m and n) are expressed by personal prefixes, which are the same as the possessive prefixes described in 7.12. If the object is expressed also, this is done by suffixes similar to those used in the participial inflection. For an indefinite form, see 15.3 (5).

The participial forms, of transitive as well as of intransitive verbs, are declinable as to gender and number and agree with the subject (which may be a noun or a personal pronoun), following the verbal form. If a direct or indirect object occurs, the latter is placed after the subject.

**12.4.** Finite forms proper. By these we mean such verbal forms as are provided with a personal prefix (for the form of the prefixes, see 15.3). There are three main categories of finite forms, viz. (1) the imperative, (2) the subjunctive, and (3) the present (or aorist).

### 13. Imperative.

**13.1.** Every Goajiro verb has three persons in the imperative, expressed by prefixes beginning with p- (2d person sing.), h- (2d person plural), and w- (1st person plural). The stem is normally that of the verb noun (see 17.1). The form of the prefixes depends on the initial of the verbal stem; the rules are given below (15.3). Examples:

(1) pušəha· *paint, write* (from ašəha·), həkəha· taməi *tell (plur.) me* (AO; from a'kəha·), punta *come* (from -nta), pəkə·rula· sulu' pičəka *enter the house* (from -ke·rula), pulakata ušik'al sa'u skik'al *place the pot on the fire* (RO), peik'ala· *sit down* (from aik'ala·), peihta· *put*, peihtə·ra· *return it* (with object suffix; see 15.2);

(2) paika· haik *scare it* (from aika· -ai), haiha· *do* (from aiha·, AI);

(3) pašaha· *speak* (from ašaha·; FJ);

(4) pipit'a· *sweep, clean* (cf. epit'əš taya *I sweep*);

(5) pirəha· *sing* (from airəha·);

(6) pu'kta hai an'er *kill the sheep* (FJ), haukta sai *kill (plur.) it* (AI; from aukta·, with an irregular form of the prefix);

(7) pe·rula· sa'u *open the door* (from e·rula·).

The final vowel is short and stressed in pusah *drink* and pi'kah *eat* (stems sa- and i'ka-). Otherwise, imperative forms are often emphasized by nasalization of the final vowel, e.g., puyən·utā *pull* (from yən·uta-).

**13.2.** For emphasis or for other (not definable) modification of the exhortation, certain particles are often added to the imperative form, such as -iwa·, -pa·, -pa·la, -ma·la, -ma'sa, -mat'a. Examples:

(1) pušəhaiwa· *write* (MI), pusak'aiwa· *ask, greet* (AO), weraiwa· *let us see* (stem -ira-), hauya wasaiwa· *come let us drink*, hauya we'kaiwa· *come let us eat*, wapana·hiraiwa· *let us lift it* (this suffix is often used with the first person plural; cf. 7.8 (2));

(2) pu'ohapa· *(go and) bathe*, pušakatapa· *take down, lower*, pia·le·rapa· *lift it* (with an object suffix; see 15.2);

(3) hiet·əpa·la *wait a little* (see 13.3);

(4) tūkama·la *go and sleep* (RO), pusama·la wəi *drink water* (RO), pi'kama·la hime *eat fish* (RO), pəkəhama·la taməi *tell me* (RO), hutūka huma·la *sleep a little* (with the 2d person plural prefix repeated before -ma·la; RO);

(5) pi·rhama·sa *sing then* (Spanish cante pue; AO);

(6) pušakatamat'a *take down, lower*, pu'unamat'a *go away* (Spanish anda véte).

There are examples of imperative forms without the personal prefix, e.g., kəhama·la *tell me* (RO), tūkama·la *go and sleep* (RO), čuaha·pa· skik'al *light the fire* (RO; cf. pučuaha· *light it*).

**13.3.** Some imperative forms do not belong to any particular verbal stem, but are independent and isolated. This above all applies to ma· (ma)<sup>2</sup> *give*, which is construed

<sup>2</sup>The idea of *give* (imperative) is often expressed by a stem ma in the American Indian languages; cp. especially the Nahuatl and Quechua imperative particle ma, e.g., (Quechua) ma, apamui *go ahead, bring it*.

with a noun in the indefinite possessive form (see 7.13), e.g. *ke'kai ma' waya give us food* (AO), *kawaise ma' waya give us water* (AO), *kaše'ai ma' waya give us cloaks* (AO), *ka'an'etse (kan'etse) ma taya give me a sheep* (AO), etc.

Other isolated imperatives are: *halaiči* (sing. m), *halair* (sing. n), *halaina* (plural) *come*, (*halai tamai come to me*, JB); *hauya come, let us go*; *nah catch, catch it* (*nah la'pika catch the pencil*); *pa'apa bring (me)*; *sa'a, psa'a, psaiha* (RO) *bring (me)*; *hiet'əpa'la wait a little* (Spanish *permisito*); *paika tamai waika (te'kai) bring me water (food)*; *kaukta sur'lia shut up*.

**13.4.** The negative imperative is formed analytically by means of the introductory adverb *noho* (approximately = *don't*) and the subjunctive form of the verb (see 14.1), e.g., *noho pir'hanī don't sing it* (AO; the nasalization of the final vowel is emphatic (cf. 13.1), *noho pəyalhəi don't cry* (from *ya-laha-*); also cf. *noho motui pai do not forget it* (from *motus tai I forget*).

#### 14. Subjunctive.

**14.1.** The subjunctive stem differs from that of the imperative in having a suffix *-ni* (*-n-i*; commonly *-i*, see 5.3) before which a final *-a* of the stem often appears as *ə* (cf. 5.8). The form is the same as that of the finite present (see 15.1). The subjunctive usually expresses an English *that*-clause or a wish (cf. Spanish), e.g., *pa'apa ta'anapahai bring me that I may borrow (a hammock)*; (RO), *nu'unai let him go* (Spanish *que se vaya*; AO), *a'unai let people go* (see 15.3 (5)).

The varied use of the subjunctive is illustrated by the following additional examples: *waček'ai wai na'salai we wish that he do (us) a favor* (RO), *nasak'anai may they greet them* (FJ), *nohole'r ta'sai (= ta'sahai) I shall not be able to speak* (RO), *halapš pu'unai at what time do you go?*, *psa'a wai tasai bring me water that I may drink* (JB), *psaiha tamai te'kai give me to eat* (literally *that I may eat*; RO).

**14.2.** The subjunctive form is no doubt originally a verb noun in the possessive form (see 7.15 (1)). This especially appears in the construction *nohots anai put'erai I cannot see well* (AO), literally *it is no good for my seeing* (*pul(a) terai*). A preposition (*pula for*; see 22.2 (4)) is not normally construed with a verbal form.

For the forms in *-ka'aka*, etc., see under Conjunctions (24.2).

#### 15. Indicative.

**15.1.** A few verbs use forms apparently like the subjunctive form (see 14.1), but in an indicative sense, without reference to a definite time (cf. 12.2). We may call this form the finite indicative. It is formed of transitive verbs only and the form is perfectly like that of the subjunctive. When a pronominal object is expressed (see 15.2), the characteristic termination *-i* (*-ni*) disappears. Even when not expressed, an object (*him, her, it*) may be understood.

The following "aorist" forms were obtained: *terən'i, terai I see, saw*, etc. (*uik'aih terai I saw a snake, maima terai kusi'nayu I have seen many Cosina*; RO), *pirai, nirai, širai you, he, she saw* (RO), *ta'pai I hear* (*napots ta'pai I do not understand*; RO), *taček'ai I wish, waček'ai we wish* (RO), *toikai I sell, pia'lahai you buy* (NC; = *pu-ya'lahai*), *taihtai I put* (cf. *paihta put thou*), *tairai I do, taulai I have left, pu'lai you have left, maima həsai you have drunk much, wasai (where can) we drink?* (Spanish *dónde está el trago?*), *taiktai tayakaih I killed it* (emphatic; cf. 10.2), *poiktai you killed it* (TS), *taka'mhirai (tako'mhirai) I gave him a smoke* (Spanish *le di a fumar*; TS), *hamus pəkəhai what do (did) you say?* (or subjunctive?), *taunekai pia I call you, pu'nekai taya you call me, nu'nekai taya he calls me, taunekai wane'kalika I called him yesterday* (RO), *te'rulei sa'u pička I will open the door, tasərelai I will shut it*.

Sometimes a modifying particle is added, as for the imperative (see 13.2), e.g., *terai pa'la I will see* (Spanish *voy a ver*; RO).

**15.2.** More often future forms, expressing a personal object, are found. The future suffixes chiefly consist of the elements -e- (cf. 16.3), -he- (cf. 19.2), or -we- (for which see further in 16.3), to which another suffix is added, indicating gender and number of the object,<sup>3</sup> namely -či (sing. m), -ra (-r, -t; sing. n), or -na (plural), e.g., tereči *I will see him*, pireči *you will see him* (emphatic nasal), terer *I will see it*, ta'kəhe'r numəi *I will speak it to him* (RO), putükire'či *you will put him to sleep*, putükire'ra *you will put her to sleep*, tatükirē *I will put them to sleep*, kasa paire't wat'a *what will you do tomorrow?*, toiker *I will sell it* (from oika', oika-wa' *sell*), taulahe'č *I will leave him*, taulahe'č pia *I will leave you* (m), taulahe'r *I will leave it* (TS), taihtahe'r skik'a *I will put it on the fire*, takumahe'r *I will do it*; takumahaēihat *I am going to do it*, tapataihəč *I will lift him*, tapataihətə *I will lift her*, it (with another future suffix; cf. 16.6); ta'sawə'r *I will speak it* (RO), tapatawə'r *I will lift it*.

Sometimes the suffix seems to refer to the subject, not to the object, as in taput'e'č (m) pula *I (m) will leave it for you*, taiker' (n) pia *I (n) will teach you* (AO; cf. pəika' taya *teach me*). There are even forms (said by women) in which a subject and object suffix appear together, e.g., taik'ale're'č ha'u'kai *I will put down the child*, taik'ale're'n te pičkalirua *I will make the children sit down*, taihte're'r *I will return it*.

**15.3.** As in the case of the possessive prefixes (see 7.12), we get different sets of personal prefixes, according to the original stem of the verb.

(1) If the stem began with a consonant, the following are used: ta- *I*; pu- *thou, you* (sing.); nu- *he* (m); sə- (W), hu- (E) *she*, it (n); wa- *we*; hu- *you* (plur.); na- *they* (m and n). Examples: tatükire *I will put them to sleep*, tapatawə'r *I will lift it*, wasəi (where can) *we drink?*

<sup>3</sup> Seldom that of the subject, as in taiker pia *I (n) will teach you* (AO); see below.

(2) Stems beginning with a- (usually long) take the prefixes ta(·)-, pa(·)-, na(·)-, sa(·)-, ha(·)-, wa(·)-, ha(·)-, na(·)-, e.g., paire't *you will do it*, ta'sawə'r *I will speak it*.

(3) Stems beginning with original i- take the prefixes te-, pi-, ni-, ši- (hi-), we-, hi-, ne-, e.g., terəi *I see*, pire'či *you will see him*, te'kəi *that I eat* (subjunctive).

In the forms of aik'ala' *sit*, as well as in taiktəi *I killed*, paiktəi *you killed* (15.1 (1)), the stem initial may have been a consonant, as the forms are taik'ala-, paik'ala-, etc. above (1), Note 61).

(4) Stems beginning with u- take the prefixes to-, pu-, nu-, su- (hu-), wo-, hu-, no-, e.g., toiker *I will sell it*, puika' *sell it* (imperative). The initial u- might have been long (u-), or else inorganic, in pu'kta haī an'e'r *kill the sheep* (imperative; FJ), of which the verb noun is aukta' -aī (although, as mentioned in 4.1, the stress is on the second syllable); there can be no direct connection between this verb and the one mentioned under (3).

(5) Stems beginning with other vowels are rare. In e'ula- *open*, the vowel e' seems to remain throughout the whole paradigm.

**15.4.** An indefinite subject is expressed either by a- (cf. 7.16) or ka- (cf. 7.13), e.g., a'unəi *let people go* (AI), atükəi *to sleep* (AI), atumpunaī *to sleep on the way* (AI); ka'alatai *people passed* (AI).

**15.5.** The following finite forms are irregular: nu'maka'aka (when) *he said*, na'maka'aka (when) *they said*, na'sina- na'si *they say* (FJ).

## 16. Participial forms.

**16.1.** Forms which are no doubt to be considered as original active participles play an important part in the verbal inflection in Goajiro. They are formed from most verbs (transitive and intransitive) and are capable of expressing various tenses. The participial forms are declined and agree with

their subject as to gender and number, but do not incorporate a pronominal subject or object. As for the place of the subject and object, see above (12.3).

There are two sets of participial forms, of which the respective functions are not easily definable. It might be suitable, however, to call the first of these forms durative (as it prevails in presentic forms) and the second instantaneous (as it is characteristic of past and future tenses). Both forms have the same vowel *a-* prefixed to the stem as is found in the verb noun (see 17.1).

**16.2.** The durative form is characterized by the same suffixes as are found in the inflected adjective (see 8.3), i.e., (in the singular) *-š(i)* (m) and *-s(ə)* (n) and (in the plural) *-ši* (sometimes *-šī*). The preceding vowel is most often *ə*, perhaps a modification of *a* (cf. 5.7 and 5.8).

The most common tense is an indefinite present (or sometimes a perfect), as in *a'šəhəš taya I am speaking*, *a'təhəš taya I know*, *awatəši u'čikaih the bird flies (is flying; TS)*, *a'ohəš taya I am bathing*, *epitəš taya I am sweeping, cleaning*, *aik'alaš sitting*, *asəš taya wəi I drink water (RO)*, *e'kəš taya hime I eat fish (RO)*, *alač (from alatəši) passing (RO)*, *alač'i they passed (AO)*, *a'šahaši waya we shall have a talk (RO)*, *a'ša(ha)ši waya wane'kalik we were talking yesterday (RO)*, *atūkuš taya sawaip'a I slept last night (RO)*, *entəš taya ali'kaməi I came yesterday (RO)*, *entš (enč) pia (RO)*, *anč pia (JB) you have come (said to a man)*, *ents pia, idem (said to a woman)*, *anči hia, idem (said to many; common greeting)*, *hutu'ši (m), hutu'su (n) has (is) fallen (TS)*, *apulahas tahi'kəi my string broke*, *aiktəs hu'yakal it has rained (Spanish ya lluvió; RO)*, *auktəši (m), auktəsə (n)<sup>4</sup> (is) dead (auktəs pa'aka the cow is dead or has died; TS)*.

With the suffix *-pa* or *-pa-la* this form has a future sense, e.g., *aya'lahəšpa taya I am*

*going to buy* (Spanish *voy a comprar*; RO), *čašpa taya širakuməi pala'kal I will go to the sea (RO)*, *aya'lahəšpa-la taya takwo'm I am going to buy (me) a hat (RO)*, *atūkušpa-la taya I am going to sleep (RO)*.

**16.3.** By changing the final *-a* of the verb stem into *-e*, a future form arises, which according to some denotes *will* rather than mere future time. Examples: *atūkeš taya I will sleep*, *epit'eš taya (said by a man)*, *epit'e's taya (said by a woman) I will sweep, clean*, *awat'e'ši (he) will fly* (Spanish *quiere volar*; TS), *asəiheš (or asəheš) taya I want to drink* (Spanish *quiero tomar*; for the tense suffix, see 16.6). A similar shade of meaning is found in the suffix *-we-*, e.g., *e'ki'rahawəš tai s(ə)naī wayu'naiki I want to learn Goajiro (RO)*, *e'kawə'ši wants to eat* (Spanish *quiere comer*; TS), *asut'eš taya yəih I will smoke tobacco*. According to FJ, *atūkešpa* means *wanted to sleep* (Spanish *antes quería dormir*).

**16.4.** The instantaneous participle is characterized by the following terminations: (in the singular) *-či* (m), *-t* (or *-r*, in the future; n) and (in the plural) *-nu* (*-na*). It is chiefly used in a preterit or future sense.

In the preterit forms the above suffixes are added direct to the verbal stem, a final *-a* being usually changed into *ə* as in the durative participle (see 16.2). To this the particle *-pa* is usually suffixed. Examples: *awat'əčpa he flew (TS)*, *e'kətpa she ate*, *asəčpa he drank*, *asətpa she drank*, *asənapa they drank*, *a'kəhačpa he said*, *auktəčpa he died* (Spanish *ya murió*).<sup>5</sup> If the suffix *-čika* is used instead of *-pa*, a remote preterit is obtained, as in *asənčika waya it is long since we drank* (Spanish *hace tiempo que tomamos*).

**16.5.** If the final vowel of the verb stem is changed into *-e* (as for the durative form;

<sup>4</sup> This also is the name of the *piache* or *medicine man* (or *woman*).

<sup>5</sup> Without *-pa* the sense is (according to FJ) future, e.g., *auktač haī an'e-r I shall kill the sheep*.

see 16.3), the meaning becomes that of a real future (although it is sometimes presentic). Examples: a'uneč taya Ma'payal'um *I shall go to Papayal* (RO), a'unawe'nu waya *we shall go* (a'une'n waya wat'a' *we shall go tomorrow*; RO), enteč (anteč (m), ante'r (n)) taya *I shall come* (but enteč taya Ma'payal'he' *I come from Papayal*; RO), ente'nu waya *we shall come*, ante'nu *they will come* (Spanish *llegan*; AO), seč taya wat'a' *I shall come back tomorrow*, se'r it *it will come*, se'nu wat'a' *they will come tomorrow* (Spanish *vienen*, AO; from a defective stem),<sup>6</sup> alihe'nu *they will return*, aikte'r ho'lu *it is raining now* (Spanish *ahora llueve*, — correct? RO), atūkeč taya ho'lu aip'a'awe'na *I shall sleep tonight* (RO), atūke'na waya *we shall sleep* (RO), ahaheč taya *I shall burn* (Spanish *voy a quemar*), aiktuheč taya *I will parch corn*, aukteč *he will die*, aukte'r *she, it will die*. As in the durative participle (see 16.3), the suffix -we' may be used alternately, e.g., e'kirahaweč taya *I shall learn*, a'shawe'n waya *we shall speak a while* (RO).

16.6. Along with these terminations (which are also found in the durative participial form) others may be used in a future sense, namely -ha-, -he-, and -iha-. Examples: a'unahač taya te'pialumai *I am going to my house* (RO), a'unahana napu'sua *they are all going* (RO; the meaning seems presentic in a'unahaih (= a'unahač; see 5.3) taya sulu' anuwa'kal *I go in a canoe*; RO), a'unahanai waya *we will go* (the termination is not quite clear), čahač taya hēnai a'oha' *I am going to bathe*, ka'mēnihat taya *I am going to add (something*; Spanish *voy a aumentar*; AO), auktahat *she or it is going to die* (AO); ohuitaheč taya *I will go out*; a'ohaihač taya *I am going to bathe*,

<sup>6</sup> The form *seheč come from* is presentic according to RO: *seheč taya te pialuhe' I come from my house. seheč taya širakuhe' pala'kal I come from the sea*; -he' here is evidently the postposition from (23.1), as in *halaheč pia where do you come from?*

a'ohaihana waya *we are going to bathe*, aihaihana waya *we are going to do* (Spanish *vamos a hacer*). In the forms of the substantive verb (see 20.1), and perhaps in some others, -ha- denotes past time.

Notice that the adjectival and pronominal forms ending in -ši and -či (see 8.3 and 10.6) are inflected in analogy with the above forms.

16.7. A true active participle obtains in the agent form in -ih (see 7.19 (4)). A passive participle is formed by the suffix -la- (see 7.19 (6)). Notice especially such verbal forms as *nairakatpa'la what they had seen*, in which a personal prefix and the tense suffix -pa'la (see 16.2) are combined.

## 17. Verb noun.

17.1. The verb noun invariably ends in -a- (liable to be shortened in certain circumstances; cf. 3.4 and 4.1), which also may be considered as part of the verbal stem. Verbal stems beginning with a consonant or i- or u- take a prefixed a- (which also appears in the participles; see 16.1), a-i- being contracted to e- and a-u-, to o-. Examples: ašaha' *paint, write*, a'saha' *speak*, atūka' *sleep*, asut' a' *smoke*, ali'ka' *rise, ascend*, aiha', ai'ra' *do*, aika' -ai' *frighten*, aukta' *die*, aukta' -ai' *kill* (4.1), oika' *sell*, air(ə)ha' *sing*. Occasionally these forms are used as actual nouns, e.g., a'kəha' *tell and tale, story* (AO), o'yən'əha' *dance*, alap'aha' (*go to or attend*) *a wake* (Spanish *velorio*).

17.2. The verb noun sometimes has an alternative suffix in -a'wa', e.g., a'saha'wa' *speak*, ali'ka'wa' *rise, ascend*, oika'wa' *sell*, the meaning being the same as of the forms given above (17.1). Similarly: ačuahawa' *kindle, light*, ašaikta'wa' *play*, ayən'uhira'wa' *pull*, e'kiraha'wa' *learn*.

17.3. The Goajiro verb noun is used in constructions similar to those with an infinitive in English or Spanish, e.g., ma'təhaisaih taya a'saha' ka alihunaiki *I*



cannot speak Spanish (NC), *ma'təhaisaih taya akamha: I do not (know how to) smoke* (AO). Very often it is preceded by a preposition (cf. English *to*, Spanish *a*, *para*, etc.), of which *sənaĩ* (*hunaĩ*, *hənaĩ*)<sup>7</sup> *to*, *for*, *huma'* (originally *with*) are most common e.g., *čahač taya hənaĩ a'oha' (see 16.6)*, *a'una' hənaĩ alap'aha' go to the wake* (Spanish *ir al velorio*, FJ; *hənaĩ*, *sənaĩ a'una'*, according to FJ, also equals the Spanish *al salir*), *huma' pe'ke'ra (or me'ke'ra) in order to search for (lost cattle)*.

### 18. Verbal formatives.

**18.1.** Verbs are most often derived by means of the suffixed elements *-ha-* (verb noun *-ha'*), *-ka-* (verb noun *-ka'*), *-ira-* (verb nouns *-ira'*), *-puna-*, and *-na-*.

Of these the first-mentioned is not easily definable as to function. Formally the same as the future suffix *-ha-* (which may properly mean *to be going to*; see 16.6), its sense is evidently different in the cases to be dealt with here. Thus beside *ira-* *see* (*terəĩ I see*), one finds *iraha-* *visit, see, know* (e.g., *terahai I see*, RO, *nohot'erahai I do not know him*), in which the function of *-ha-* may not be defined. A more concrete sense is found in *aseru'čaha-(to) saw* (e.g., *aseru'čahəšpa'la taya I am going to saw*; RO), from Spanish *serrucho (a saw)*, which points to an instrumental function (= *to use*) of the derivation suffix (from this verb the noun *aseru'čahia a saw* is again formed; see 7.19 (3)). In many cases forms with and without *-ha-* interchange, e.g., *a'šahi* (RO) and *a'šahaši speaking* (*ma'šaiasli waya we are not speaking*).

**18.2.** Another not easily definable derivative suffix is *-ka-*, which is evidently found in the following verbs: *iraka-* *look* (e.g., *piraka-* *look*, imperative; cf. *ira-* *see*, *iraha-* *see, know*; notice the long initial vowel), *ulaka-* *leave, go away* (e.g., *pu'lakamat'a go your way*; cf. *u'la-* *leave*), *tuka-* *sleep*

(verb noun *atuka'*; cf. *tumpuna-*, under (4)). The suffix is common in Arawak proper, but its function in Goajiro is not clear.

**18.3.** The formative *-ira-* is distinctly causative, as in *tukira-* *put to sleep* (e.g., *putukira-* *ha'u'kaih put the child to sleep*; cf. *tuka-* *sleep*), *šakatira-* *lift* (AO; cf. *šakata-* *ascend*), *li'kira-* *lift* (cf. *li'ka-* *rise*), *təhira-* *teach* (e.g., *putəhira taya teach me*, AO; cf. *təha-* *know*), *ka'mahira-* *let smoke, give to smoke* (e.g., *aka'mahirama tawa'k give (me) tobacco*, *-ik'ale'ra-* *let sit, put down* (e.g., *paik'ale'ra-* *ha'u'kaih put down the child*; cf. *aik'ala-* *sit*).

**18.4.** The next, *-puna-*, denotes *doing something in passing or on the way*. The clearest example is that of *tukapuna-* or *tumpuna-* (cf. *tuka-* *sleep*, the stem being *tum-* as in other Arawak dialects; cf. under (2) above) *sleep on the way, sleep while on a journey*. e.g., *atukapunaš taya ča'ya Honse'ka (last night) I slept at Fonseca* (RO). Other examples are rare or not easily analyzed, e.g., *kasački ča'ya e'punahač pia?* (said to mean *qué se dice por allá?* RO); if the stem verb is *e-* *be* (see 20.1 (4)), the meaning seems to be *how are you going to pass there?*

**18.5.** By *-na-* passive forms are made, but the process is not always clear. For examples, see 22.5.

### 19. Negative and interrogative forms.

**19.1.** The Goajiro verb is commonly negated by means of negative adverbs preceding it. They are *nohoš* (m), *nohots*, *napots* (n) *there is not* and *noho no, not, I do not want to, don't* (prohibitive). Both are followed by subjunctive forms (see 14.1) or by adjectival or participial forms ending in *-i* (*-ni*), e.g., *nohots ta'pəĩ I do not hear* (or *understand*), *napots ta'pəĩ I do not understand* (RO; literally *there is not that I understand*), *nohots ta'təhai I do not know* (RO),

<sup>7</sup> The non-masculine possessive prefix (*sə-*, *hu-*) corresponds to the gender of the verb noun.

nohots nuntāi *he did not come* (AI), napots terāi *I did not see*, nohots werahāi *we do not know*; nohoš alikāni *he does not climb* or *ascend* (FJ), nohoš hutui *he did not fall*, nohoš oikaī taya *I did not sell*, nohoš momo-lai taya *I am not afraid* (cf. momo-ts taya *I am afraid*), nohoš mapus-ai taya *I am not tired* (cf. mapus-aš *tired*), nohoš oyən-əhahāi taya *I never dance* (-ha- before the nasalized syllable = *ever?*); noho pi-rhanī *do not sing it* (emphatic nasalization; AO), noho momo-lai pia *do not be afraid*. Future forms can be made with nohole-r *there will not be* (see 20.2), e.g., nohole-r aiktāi hu-ya *it will not rain*.

**19.2.** Apart from these simple forms of negation there exist some rather complex forms, which are participial and related to those described in 20.4.

In negative statement in a general present sense forms are used which are made in analogy with the ma-form of nouns (see 20.4). The following are examples: ma-šaisali waya *we did not speak* (Spanish *no hablábamos*; RO), ma-təhaisai *I do not know*, ma-təhaisai taya asut-a- yəih *I cannot smoke tobacco* (RO), moikaīsai taya *I do not sell (anything)*, maīrəisai taya *I do nothing*, me-rulaisa *it does not open*, maparalaisala wəika *the water does not run*. Future forms are made by addition of a future suffix, e.g., -ha- (see 16.6) or -he- (perhaps expressing will), e.g., ma-šahaihana waya *we shall not speak* (Spanish *no vamos a hablar*; RO), maik-alaihe-sai taya *I do not want to sit down*.

**19.3.** If the sentence is introduced by an interrogative word, slightly different forms are used, in which the termination is the same as in the participial forms described in 19.1, and the particle -ka (see 10.7) follows, e.g., hamus mentāika pia (RO), hamus mant-āika'aka pia *why did you not come?*, hamus pia mentāika ka'aka, idem (RO).

**19.4.** Interrogative forms. An interrogation may be expressed by the same form as a statement, e.g., a-təhəš pia *do you know?* (RO). More often an interrogative clause is introduced by hama (hā) or contains a suffixed or infixed -ya (-yā) or -ka (-ka'a, -ka'aka; cf. 10.7) or the particle če- (see 10.7), e.g., hama pia'kaih nohole-č *will you not be?* (RO), hama nie-rāi čira halašia (for *halas ya*) *where is his wife?* (RO), hauha pu'unaka ča-ya e'pialumai *when do you go home?* (RO), hauha ha'unak (= hu'unaka) *when do you (plural) go away?* (RO), anayaše pia *are you well?* (Spanish *¿cómo amaneció?*), for ana-ya-ši-ya (?).

**20.** *Have* and *Be*: forms with ka- and ma-.

**20.1.** The idea of *have* in Goajiro (as in most Amerindian languages) is derived from that of *be with*. The substantive verb *to be* is expressed by many primitive stems, of which the most important are ya-, ča-, sa-, ha-, and e-, which (in a general present sense) take the durative participial endings (-ši, -š; see 16.2). Since a local sense is inherent, they are not construed with an adverb or preposition.

(1) By ya- (yala-) the idea of *be here* is expressed, e.g., ya-š taya sotpa *I am (here) on the beach* (RO), ya-š pia *you are here*, ya-š taya *I was here (yesterday)* (RO), yalas sa'u skik'al *it (the pot) is (here) on the fire* (RO), ya-špa-la taya hera kaih e-rahā *I shall stay here I don't know how many days* (RO).

(2) By ča- and sa- distance from the speaker is expressed (*be there*), e.g., ča-ši padrekaih *there is the padre*; without a verbal suffix: ča- te'pia Ruraita *my house is* (i.e., *I live at*) *Robetto* (RO), sa- su-lu-pi-čka *it is (there) in the house*, sa- sa'u me'skal *it is (there) on the table*. There is also a derivation čehe-ši *is (comes) from (there)*.

(3) When asking *where*, ha- (hala-) is used, e.g., halapš ha-na waya *at what time of day are we?* (i.e., *what time is it?*), halaši waya *where are we?*

(4) By e- is expressed the general idea of

*there is*, e.g., e's (wane) pulo·wi *there is (a certain) evil spirit* (FJ); also sa· e· la·ka *is in the lake* (AO).

Other tenses, as well as subordination, may be expressed as in ordinary verbs, e.g., čahači taya ali·kamai *I was there last night* (RO), čahat pia Apua 'u *have you (n) been at Apua'u?* (AO), nohots čahatai taya čaya *I have not been there* (AO), yahana waya *we were* (RO), ya·we·č taya wat·a· *I shall be here tomorrow* (RO), ya·we·na waya wat·a· pu·pula *we shall be here tomorrow waiting for you* (RO), e·ka·aka *when (they) were there*.

*Here is* is also expressed by ani, ania, anu, anu·ta, e.g., ania e·ka·l *here is (the) food*.

**20.2.** The negative forms of the above words are derived from the negative stems noho- and napo- (cf. 19.1) and are chiefly nohoš (m), nohots (n) *there is no*. These are general present forms, e.g., nohots wai *there is no water*, nohots e·ka·l *there is no food*. Other tenses are expressed in the usual way, e.g., nohole·č *he will not be (there; RO)*, napole·č taya *I shall not come (there; RO)*.

**20.3.** To express *have* Goajiro may use a substantive verb or the adverb (?) na·ya (usually translated by Spanish *así hay*) with a following -ma·ana (approximately = *in one's possession*; cf. numa·anamai *to his own (place)*, ma·ana *at your own (place)*; cf. 7.12 (1), Note 11) —inflected as a preposition; see 22.2—or an inflected form of -ma·ana alone. Examples: tama·ana e·s la·pi *I have a pencil*, na·ya maik·i tama·ana *I have maize*, na·ya o·ko·ohu·š tama·ana *I have bread*; (negative) napots maik tama·ana, napots o·ko·uhu·š tama·ana (RO),<sup>8</sup> no·holer *I will not have it*.

**20.4.** Forms with ka- and ma-. When the object is a noun used in an indefinite or general sense, *have* is expressed by means of the prefix ka- and *not have* by the prefix

ma-<sup>9</sup> which are both provided with declinable (adjectival or participial) suffixes. Thus ka- is followed by the durative suffix -ši, -sə (see 16.2), while ma- requires an element -sa- and the agent suffix (see 7.19 (4); one thus gets -saih (sing. m), -sala (-sat; sing. n), and -sali (plural). The stem of the noun is usually the possessive form (see 7.15, 7.17, 7.18). Examples:

(1) with ka-: ka·uši (m), ka·usu (n) *has eyes* (AO), ka·uiš taya *I have feet*, ka·če·eš taya *I have ears, I hear, understand* (RO), ke·raiš taya *I have a wife*, ke·piaš taya *I have a house*, kačōš taya *I have children*, kasa·auleš taya *I have long legs* (cf. 7.19 (2)), kalu·uši (he) *has something inside* (cf. -lu·u *in*; 23.1), ka·uleš pia hama·a *have you got a hammock?* (cf. 7.18), kasi·iraš taya *I have got a girdle*, etc. Notice the irregular forms halaš ke·piai pia *where do you live?* (RO), and ča·š taya ke·piai Honse·ka *I live at Fonseca* (RO).

(2) With these may be compared the following negative forms with ma-: ma·uisaih taya *I have no feet*, ma·ce·esaih taya *I do not hear, understand* (Spanish *no oigo*; RO), me·raišaih taya *I have no wife* (RO), me·piasaih taya *I have no house* (RO), mačōsaih taya *I have no children*, malu·usaih (m), malu·usat, malu·usa (n) *has nothing inside, is empty*, ma·u·lasaih taya *I have got no hammock* (RO), masi·irəisaih te· (= taya) *I have no girdle*, mačikasa *has no name*.

In interrogation the negative form lacks the participial termination (-ši, -saih, etc.), in conformity with the negative verb (see 19.3), e.g., hamus malama·uka·aka pia *why do you not have eyebrows?* (RO; cf. kalama·uš taya *I have got eyebrows*, talama·u *my eyebrows*).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Celedon ookotúshi *mazamorra de leche* (op. cit., p. 111).

<sup>9</sup> They are combined with the following word stem according to the same rule as the possessive and personal prefix ta- (see 7.12 and 15.3); ka- is possibly identical with the supposed indefinite possessive prefix (see 7.13).

## 21. Adverbs.

**21.1.** By the suffix -ki certain adverbs are formed, e.g., kasačiki *how? like what?*, nohots kasački *nothing, like nothing, indifferently*; also, cf. pu če'uhī (?) ta'nək'i *you understand (in) my language* (RO), napots pa'pōi ta'nək'i *you do not understand (in) my language* (RO; cf. ta'nək *my mouth*).

**21.2.** The following local, temporal, and modal adverbs are important. One should first of all notice the plain stems ya' (ya'ya, yain; RO) *here*, ča' (ča'ya, ce') *there*, sa'sa *there, near*, e' *there* (AO), which are also found as basic elements of the substantive verb (see 20.1). Examples: halaičia'māi (< ya'māi) *come hither*, če' tamāi *give me* (literally *there (ča'ya) for me*), e'māi *to where he is* (Spanish a donde él). Another plain local adverb is uča (učaī, AI, u'čaī, u'čpa) *over there, yonder*, e.g., u'čpa ni'pia *there is his house*. wat'a's (m), wat'a's (n) *far* (e.g., wat'a's nu'māi *his country is far away*) and pehes (n) *near* are inflected as adjectives (8.3). By addition of postpositions the following forms are obtained: wat'amāi (*to*) *afar, far* and wat'ahe' *from afar*. Other direction adverbs express the cardinal points, chiefly wimpumāi (*to the*) *north* (u'čupuna is said to be *east* and wapuna, *west*).

**21.3.** Among plain temporal adverbs will be noticed: ho'lu *now* (the diminutive ho'lo'čō (perhaps better ho'lo'čō; cf. 3.9) is used in the sense of *in a moment*, Spanish ahorita, or also for *just a moment*, Spanish permiso), mapah *then, afterward* (Spanish después, MI), and the interrogative hauha' (hauha) *when?*, hauha pia *when do you come?* (RO), hauhe'r idem (in a future sense). Other temporal adverbs mostly express *days or times of the day*. They are: wat'a'pa or wat'aik *this morning*, sawaih (hawaii) *tonight* (probably = sa'u (ha'u) aih), sawaip'a *last night*, aip'a'a (we'n) *tonight* (aip'a'a also = *(it is) night, evening*, Spanish es de noche; (RO) ho'lu ali'ka *tonight* (RO) ya'la *in the evening*, na'ukaihkači' *today* (= na'u kaih-

kaih či' *on this day*), ali'ka, ali'kala' *at night*, aip'aika *last night* (cf. aih, originally ali, *night*), ali'kamāi, wane'kalik, sa'ukalik *yesterday* (cf. kaih, originally kali *day*), wat'a' *tomorrow*, wat'a'čō *in the early morning*, ha'ukaih *always* (AO).<sup>10</sup>

**21.4.** Modal adverbs are especially palič'ō *a little* and maima, māi *very* (e.g., wihtōsō māi pala'kal *the sea is very blue*, RO); further the dubitative e'rahō (era, e'ra) *perhaps* (e.g., ya'spa'la taya hera kaih e'rahō *I shall stay here I don't know how many days*, RO). The adverb he' (cf. 24.1) corresponds to the English *also*, e.g., he' taya'kaih *I also* (FJ); in the same sense a'sa is used (tayakaya'sa *I too*) and tamusiā (used by AI). Čikwaya means *again, once more*, e.g., pu'laka čikwaya *repeat it*.

**21.5.** The negative adverbs are of great importance. Nohoš (m) and nohots (n), which are declinable (cf. 19.1), are used to express absence: *he (she, it) is not there or there is no, there is not*. Noho is used prohibitively or to express will in general; when used alone, these often express the English and Spanish *no* (nohoš, nohots, *no, there is not, noho no, I do not want to or don't*. e.g., noho maka'mahāihāis *no, I do not want to smoke*). Other negative words (used in similar ways) are: napots, nap'ots (especially in emphatic answers), noholu, nap'olu; noholiš'i *no, they are not the same*, AO).

## 22. Prepositions.

**22.1.** English prepositions are either expressed by prepositions or postpositions in Goajiro. The former are in reality inflected postpositions of the same type as the Nahuatl noca, moca, Ica *for me, thee, him*, etc., which are so common in the American Indian languages. In these the possessive prefix of the inflected form refers to and agrees with the noun determined by the preposition. The following are common

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Celedon guanékaí, guanékainka ayer.

prepositions in Goajiro: -a'u *on*, -a'umai *onto*, -či, -čiki *for*, -'ətpa'a, -'ətpa'amai, -'ətpəna (< -puna?) *beside, past*, -i'raku *in, at*, -i'rakumai *into*, -i'rakhe' *from (within)*, -i'u'puna *below*, -ka' (-ka) *in, by*, -ma' (-ma) *with*, -nai *for*, -'pula *for*, -'tuma *for, by*, -u'lia, *from*, -u'puna *below* (cf. i'punamai *upward*; AO), -u'punahe' *from below*.

**22.2.** These are regularly combined with possessive prefixes, according to the rules for the possessive inflection of the noun (see 7.12), as in the following examples:

- (1) ta'u *on me*  
     pa'u *on thee, you* (sing.)  
     na'u *on him* (m)  
     sa'u (ha'u) *on her, it* (n)  
     wa'u *on us*, etc.
- (2) tama' (tama) *with me*  
     puma' (puma) *with thee, you* (sing.)  
     numa' (numa) *with him* (m)  
     səma' (səma, huma', huma) *with her, it* (n)  
     wamairua *with us* (with plural suffix; see 7.8 (2))  
     humairua (humaiwa', AI) *with you* (plural)  
     na'ma' (AO), namairua *with them* (m and n)
- (3) tanaī *for me (mine; TS)*  
     punaī *for thee, you* (sing.)  
     nunaī *for him* (m)  
     sənaī (hunaī) *for her, it* (n), etc.
- (4) pula, pula pia *for thee, you* (sing.; cf. 7.12 (1), Note 11)  
     wa'pula *for us*  
     splerua *for you* (RO; = su'pulerua, with plural suffix)  
     na'pula *for them* (m and n)
- (5) taulia *from me (or than me; 8.5)*  
     nu'lia *from him* (m)  
     su'lia (hu'lia) *from her, it* (n)  
     naulia *from them*
- (6) taupuna *below me*  
     nu'puna *below him* (m)  
     su'puna *below her, it* (n)
- (7) tayu'puna *below me*  
     pi'u'puna *below thee, you* (sing.)

hi'u'puna *below her, it* (n)

wayu'puna *below us*

If the person referred to is indefinite, the prefix a- is used, e.g., ačiki, anaī *for someone* (cf. 7.16) or *for* (in general). There even seem to exist cases in which no prefix is used.

**22.3.** Examples of the prepositions with nouns: sa'u me'skal *on the table*, sa'u mak'al *on the ground*, sa'u wəikal *on the water*, sa'umai u'čkal *into the mountain* (RO), həčiki puli'kal *after the donkey* hučirua (həčirua) puli'ku *(to search) for a donkey*, širaku wəikal *in the water* (RO; also *near, at the water*), a'unahač taya širakumai ščik'al *I am going to the river* (RO), səka (həka) wayu'naiki *in Goajiro*, a'šaha' ka (from həka?) alihunai *speaking Spanish*, numa nu'walakaih *with his brother*, sənai wayu'naiki *(learn) in Goajiro* (RO), pi'raka' səmai unu'uliakali'rua *look at the trees* (with a non-masculine singular prefix), tasəraləi puet'aka hu'lia (su'lia) hiki'ruluhai (= huke'ruluhai?) wayu' *I will shut the door lest anyone enter* (literally *from him, his entering*; FJ).<sup>11</sup> The same construction occurs with inflected forms of the postpositions -lu'u *in* and -mai *to* (see 23.2). Very seldom a preposition is provided with the article, e.g., sa'ukolo təra me'sakal *on the table* (RO; cf. 10.4).

**22.4.** The local adverbs ča', ča'ya *there*, čamai *thither* (see 21.2) are equivalent to a preposition with a personal prefix (*in it, at it, etc.*) and are therefore easily used as prepositions, e.g., a'unahač taya ča'ya Ha-tanai *I will go to Hato Nuevo* (RO), ča'ya Honse'ka *at Fonseca*, ya tainai *in my heart*, etc.

**22.5.** By the preposition -'tuma the agent of passive verbs (see 18.1 (5)) is expressed, e.g., nasak'unasi'rua na'tuma *they were greeted by them*, nohoš ali'kəni a'u hutuma

<sup>11</sup> The non-masculine prefix is used according to 7.2. In this example the verb noun character of the subjunctive (14.2) is well demonstrated.

wayu' it (*the mountain*, Goajiro u'či, m) is not ascended by Indians (FJ), anayawatsha' erahēni wapuya na'tuma alihuna wat-ahewali *thanks for our house being visited by strangers from afar* (AO).

### 23. Postpositions.

**23.1.** The only postpositions used after a noun in Goajiro are -he' *from*, -lu'u (generally -lu') *in, at*, -māi *to, toward*, and the compounds -lu'uhe' (-luhe') *from inside* and -lu'umāi (-lumāi) *into*. Examples: Honse'kahe' *from Fonseca*, Walawala wop'uhe' *from the direction of Walawala* (AI), te'pialu' *in(to) my house* (RO), Honse'kamāi *to Fonseca*, Para'lialu'uhe' *from Puerto Estrella*, pi'pialu'umāi *home, to your house* (AO). For sehe'č Yelaihe' (*he comes from Yuleng*), one rather says sehe'č Yelai (cf. 165., Note 6).

**23.2.** The postpositions -lu'u and -māi are declinable in the same way as the prepositions (see 22.2) and according to the following pattern:

(1) ta'lu' *in me*; pulu' *in thee, you* (sing.); nu'lu' *in him* (m); su'lu' (hu'lu') *in her, it*; wa'lu' *in us*, etc. The first vowel is often short: talu'u (TS), pulu', sulu', etc. (cf. 4.3).

(2) tamāi *to me, for me*; pumāi or māi<sup>12</sup> *to thee, for thee, you* (sing.); numāi *to him, for him* (m); humāi *to, for her, it* (n); wamāi *to us, for us*; hamāi (irregular) *for you* (plural; TS); namāi *to them, for them* (m and n). The first vowel is sometimes long: ta'māi (AO), wa'māi (TS).

In the same way the compound forms are inflected, e.g., taluhe' *from within me*, su'luhe' *from within it, from inside*, talu'umāi *into me*. In the third person all these forms are used as prepositions, e.g., hu'lu' wo'puh *in (on) the road* (AO).

### 24. Conjunctions.

**24.1.** Of the coordinate conjunctions the

<sup>12</sup> E.g., māi pia'kaih *for thee* (TS; cf. 7.12 (1), Note 11).

most important is aulaka (perhaps originally meaning *together*), which is used in a great many ways (cf. 8.5 and 10.9). It is sometimes said to mean *and*. E.g., aulaka etka čir tamələi (*and?*) *this dog is mine* (AO), aulaka puntapa pi'pialu'umāi pusak'aiwa'māi na pupuškana (*and*) *when you come home, greet (bring greetings to) your family* (AO).

Otherwise the conjunction *and*, at least when connecting nouns, is rendered by the preposition səma *with it*,<sup>13</sup> e.g., (p)sa'a si'aka səma me'ska *bring a chair with a table*, i.e., *a chair and a table*. The adverb -he' (see 21.4) is used in a similar way, e.g., pia he' taya *you and I*.

**24.2.** The subordinate conjunctions are mostly enclitics, joined to the subjunctive form of the verb, yet without the characteristic -i (-ni; see 14.1). The most common suffixes are -ka, -ka'a, -ka'aka, -ka ka'aka (probably the same as the interrogative postfix; see 10.7), e.g., nantaka'aka *when they came* (AO). It is used in the corresponding principal clause as well. In story context this construction is far more common than in English or Spanish and the postfix is often declared to have no special signification.

More distinctly subordinating is -pa, e.g., puntapa pi'pialu'umāi *when you come home (to your house; see 24.1)*, ta'šawer ta'təhapa *I will speak it (i.e., Goajiro) when I have learned it* (RO), kasa huput'etka wa'pula waya mahuk'anu ha'unap'a (= hu'unapa?) *what will you leave for us who are poor when you go away?* (AO). Another subordinate form is nantaiwaya *when they came* (AI), perhaps with a subordinating -ya (cf. 10.7, 19.4).

**24.3.** The conditional conjunction *if* corresponds to Goajiro mulek'e, which introduces the conditional clause, e.g., mulek'e ta'təhəi *if I learn it* (RO).

<sup>13</sup> See 22.2 (2). Also cf. Nahuatl *ihuan with it* and Quechua *-huan with*, both used in the sense of the conjunction *and*.

**24.4.** The preposition *pula* (pəla, pət) *for* (cf. **22.1, 2**), without a personal prefix, is used as a subordinate conjunction in the sense of *that*, etc., e.g., *nohots anaī pət·erəī I cannot see well* (AO; literally *it is no good for my seeing*); here again the verb-noun character of the subjunctive form appears (cf. **14.2**).

**25.** Interjections. The most common interjections are: *ā yes* (pronounced in many different ways according to the signification), *hauya let us go* (cf. **13.3**), *halia* (haliā, AO) *watch, beware* (e.g., *halia pi'ki· watch your head*), and *anayawač·a·* (m), *anayawatsha·* (n; AO) *thank you* (probably the last syllable contains a particle -ha·).

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Goajiro (Arawak) IV: Texts

Author(s): Nils M. Holmer

Source: *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Oct., 1949), pp. 232-235

Published by: The University of Chicago Press

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1263150>

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# GOAJIRO (ARAWAK) IV: TEXTS<sup>1</sup>

NILS M. HOLMER

UNIVERSITY OF LUND, SWEDEN

## Text I

Free translation of Text I

## Text II

Free translation of Text II

## Text I—The Old Woman's Ghost (AO)

1. a'unuši piamaši himo'on'u huma pe'-ke-ra huči'rua pəli'ku wa't'aməi [*they-went* (16.2) *two* (9.4) *girls* (from sing. himo'ol or himo'otsə) *in-order-to search* (17.3) *for* (22.3) *a-donkey very-far* (5.11)]. 2. nantaka' aka hirakuməi wane la' e'ka'aka wašin'əirua na'pula [*when-they-came* (24.2) *to* (22.3) *a* (9.3) *lake there-were* (20.1 (4), 24.2) *rich-people* (8.3) *opposite-them* (22.2 (4))]. 3. nasak'in'aka'aka na'tuma [*they-were-asked* (18.5, 24.2) *by-them* (22.5)]. 4. "han'ə kačəuni'ka hia?" nu'maka'aka [*whose daughters (are) you* (10.6 (1)) *he-said* (15.5)]. 5. "nučə waših. močohušihasa pa'u waših?" [(*we-are*) *his-children* (7.10, 7.12 (1)) *our-father does-not-recognize* (negative interrogative form; 19.3) *thy-eye* (7.12 (2 a)) *our father*]. 6. "ā nayata kačəka hia Emi'lio?" [*oh-yes* (25) *will-it-be-they* (10.2) *daughters* (7.10) *you* (10.1) *Emilio*]. 7. "ā nia aya" [*yes he* (10.1) *it-is*]. 8. "hiaka hahəčəhai ačiki puli'ku?" [*you* (10.1) *search* (15.1) *for* (22.1) *a-donkey*]. 9. "ā ya'siə kasə'ləi yaya." [*yes it-is-here* (20.1 (1)) *where-(they-)drink* (7.19 (6)) *here* (21.2)]. 10. "anata's wera-hawə'rəi wat'a'" [*it-will-be-good* (10.2) *that-we-shall-go-and-look-for-it* (14.1, 15.2) *tomorrow* (21.3)]. 11. a'unuši ya'lapa kaih-kaih ya'la [*they-went when-inclining* (24.2;

cf. kaih-kaih ya'la *the sun is low*) *the-sun* (7.6 (3)) *in-the-evening* (21.3)]. 12. alač'i hə'ətpəna wane amauyu [*they passed* (16.2) *past* (22.1, 22.2) *a cemetery*]. 13. nantaka'aka hulu'uməi luopko e'ka'aka tia hoyot'əi hən(əi) a'oha' aulak wane hintəih huma [*when-they-came into* (23.1, 23.2 (2)) *an-arroyo* (5.6, 7.6 (4)) *there-was that-one* (10.3) *sitting* (14.1) *in-order-to bathe* (17.3) *and* (24.1) *a boy with-her* (22.2 (2))]. 14. naša' wale-raka'aka hə'ətpa'a "kačəyas he' atap-(ə)ri'ska?" na'maka'aka [*when-they-let-her* (the donkey)-*ascend* (18.1 (3), 24.2) *past-(away from)-her* (22.1) *is-it-bearing-fruit?* (20.4 (1), 19.4) *also* (21.4) *the-cotupris* (a native tree) *they-said* (15.5)]. 15. kauktəs naulia [*she-was-silent from-them* (22.2 (5))]. 16. wayu'ya čə' e'rahā yo'luha'taka e'rahā na'maka'aka hən(əi) a'una' [*an-Indian* (19.4) *I-wonder* (19.4) *perhaps* (21.4) *would-it-be-a-devil* (10.2, 19.4) *perhaps they-said* (15.5) *as-they-went* (17.3)]. 17. nali'kiraka' aka i'punaməi nuhutu'ka'aka puli'kukaih na'ma' [*when-they-made-ascend* (18.1 (3)) *upward* (22.1) *he-fell* (24.2) *the-donkey* (m) *with-them* (22.2 (2))]. 18. nu'puna'kakairua nohoš atama' pəli'kukaih na'ma' [*when (they were)-below-him* (22.2 (6), 7.8 (2)) *he-did-not-rise* (19.1) *the-donkey with-them*]. 19. ohuita'či (ohuitahaši?) nu'punahe' [*they-came-out* (cf. 16.2, 16.6) *from-below-him* (22.2 (6), 23.1)]. 20. nairaka'ka'aka huməi tia ne'rakarpa'la (= nairakatpa'la?) nohotka' aka nerəi [*when-they-looked* (18.2) *for-her* (23.2 (2)) *that-one which-they-had-seen-before* (11, 16.2, 16.7) *she-was-not-there* (20.2) *they-saw* (15.1, 19.1)]. 21. kaimpuse'ekakairua naput'aka'aka puli'k'aih [*as-they-feared* (cf. kaimpuse'e *fear* (Spanish miedo)) *they-left* (24.2) *the-donkey*]. 22. nasana' təri'aka na'lə'əhai nawat'a'ka'aka pi'čpa'aməi [*they-took-away* (15.1) *the-mat* (cover; Spanish

<sup>1</sup> Parenthetic numbers in roman, given with the literal translations of these texts, make reference to the boldface sectional numbers of the preceding parts of the Goajiro (Arawak) study in IJAL volume 15: sections 1 to 5 in part I, pp. 45-56; sections 6 to 10 in part II, pp. 110-20; sections 11 to 25 in part III, pp. 145-57 (1949).

esterilla) *they-brought-it* (15.1; from alə'əha' as-they-ran (24.2) into-the-direction-of-the-house (23.1; pi'čpa'a probably equals the direction of the house)]. 23. na'kəhaka'akā nantaiwaya "kasap'əlahat čə era werəi?" [when-they-told-it (24.2) when-they-came (24.2) the-reason-why (7.6 (3), Note 46) I-wonder (10.7) perhaps (21.4) did-we-see-it (15.1)]. 24. "wayu auktsəra kasap'ulahatsa" [Indians (7.10) will-die (7.2, 16.5) is-why].

Free translation. 1. Two girls went to search for a donkey very far. 2. When they came to a lake, there were some well-to-do people in front of them. 3. They were greeted by them. 4. "Whose daughters are you?" one of them said. 5. "The children of our father. Do you not recognize our father?" 6. "Oh yes, would it be the daughters of Emilio?" 7. "Yes, it is he." 8. "Do you look for a donkey?" 9. "Yes, the place where it drinks is here." 10. "It may be better for us to go and look tomorrow." 11. They went (home) when the sun was inclining toward night. 12. They passed a graveyard. 13. When they came into an arroyo, they saw someone sitting down to bathe and a boy along with her. 14. When they made the donkey ascend (again from the arroyo), they said as they passed her, "Is the cotuprís bearing fruit yet?" 15. She did not answer them a word. 16. They said this as they went away to see if it was an Indian or a spirit. 17. When they made the donkey ascend upward, he fell with them. 18. As they were below the donkey, he did not rise with them. 19. They came out from under him (at last). 20. When they looked for her (the old woman), they did not see her anywhere. 21. As they got a fright, they left the donkey. 22. Taking away his cover (mat) and bringing it with them, they ran toward the house. 23. They told them when they came home (?), "Why, I wonder, did we see it?" 24. "Indians will die, that is why," (they answered).

# TextII—The Lost Horses (The adventure of an Indian; AI)<sup>2</sup>

1. a'unəši səčirua amah waima pienčiški" amak'a polorsia mo'l(a) [he-went (16.2) for-them (22.3, 7.2) horses many (2.3) forty (9.1) horses (7.6 (3), 7.8) ten (9.4) mules (2.3)]. 2. a'unuši ščirua amak'a [he-went for (5.7) the-horses]. 3. antəši širakuməi wəika [he-came (16.2) to (22.3) water (7.6 (4))]. 4. e'šī wayu wašin'u [there-were (20.1 (4)) Indians (7.10) rich (8.3)]. 5. "anči hiairua wale'muyū" [have-come (16.2) you (10.1) friends (7.9)] 6. "pe'ke-č ščiru amah?" [(you-)search (16.4 or 16.5) for horses]. 7. "ya'siə ali'kala" [they-are-here (20.1 (1)) at-night (21.3)]. 8. "anatas a'unuli" [might-be-good (10.2) going (7.19 (4))]. 9. nantaka'aka širakhe wəika na'unaka'aka nučikwa čampuyalu' [when-they-went (24.2) a-second-time (cf. čikwaya, 21.4) to-his-house (21.2, 3.12 (Note 18), 2.2, 7.12 (1), 23.1)]. 10. nohots nuntəi anai amak'a [not he-came (19.1) by (22.2) the-horses]. 11. "nohots tantaī anai amak'a muhus'a mai tai sa'li ta'amai nohoš te'kaī sa'li ta'amai" [not I-came (19.1) by the-horses (is-)sad (8.1 or 16.2) very (21.4) my-heart (7.12 (2 a)) for my-horses (5.14, 7.12 (1)) not can-eat (19.1) for my-horses]. 12. "a'unəi hənəi pe'ke'ra wat'aməi" [let-people-go (14.1, 15.3 (5)) to search (17.3) far (21.2)]. 13. a'unaka'aka nai a'unəši nai piamaši numa nu'walakaih mo'la wane ne'ehe'na wane [when-they-went (24.2) for-them (?) they-went (16.2) for-them (?) two (9.4) with-him (22.2 (2)) his-brother (7.12 (4)) (mounted on)a-mule one (9.1, 10.9 (1)) mounted-on-a-horse the-other (10.9 (1))]. 14. nantaka'aka su'lu' wane wəi'e'ka wane wayu waši [when-they-came to (23.2 (1)) a-certain (9.3) water there-were (20.1 (4), 24.2) some (9.3) Indians (7.10) rich (8.3)]. 15. "nase wane wayu waši. harali čə wayu'kono wašin'ukali'rua?" [they-come (cf. se'č, 16.5) some Indians rich who (10.5 (1)) I-wonder (10.7) the Indians (5.6, 7.5) rich (7.6)]. 16. nantaka'aka širuku wəika "anči hiairua

<sup>2</sup> Parts of the story are supplied by AO.

wale-muyu" [*when-they-came to the-water have-come you friends*]. 17. "halihe-ši hiairua?" [*whence-are (10.6 (4)) you*]. 18. "hənaī pe'ke-ra čehe-ši Walawala wop-uhe" [*to search(for lost animals) (we)are-from (20.1 (2)) Walawala from-the-way (2.3, 23.1)*]. 19. "pe'ke-či (š)či-ru amah?" [*searching for horses*]. 20. "e's amah pa-rutayu polo's mo-la polo's" [*there-are (20.1 (4)) horses male (7.8 (1)) they-are-ten (9.4) mules they-are-ten*]. 21. "ya-səi səmahatə ka'alatəi aip'a'a. nohots werahəi mak'a. a'unuši waya halas ni'piaya wane wayu' wašir" [*they-are-here (20.1 (1)) with-their-animals people-passed (15.4) one-night not we-visited (19.1) the-place (7.6 (3)) went (16.2) we (10.1) where-is (10.6 (4), 10.7 or 24.2) his-house (7.12 (3 a)) a-certain Indian rich (8.3)*]. 22. "haraiih wayu' wašič'ia?" [*who(was) (10.5) the-Indian rich that-one (10.3 or 10.7)*]. 23. "učaī ni'pia ča-ya Ki-ho'l" [*over-there (21.2) his-house at (22.4) Ki-hol*]. 24. na'unaka'aka aip'a'a nantaka'aka čaməi Ki-ho'l širakuməi wane wəi [*when-they-went (24.2) they-came (24.2) to (22.4) Ki-hol to a-certain water*]. 25. tuwəika e-ka'aka wayu' hima'ali na'pula širaku wəika [*at-the-water (20.1; tuwəika for tə wəika, cf. tuwane, 10.9 (1)) there-were Indians young (7.19 (4)) opposite-them (22.2 (4)) near (22.3) the-water*]. 26. "anči hia wale-muyu" [*have-come you friends*]. 27. "halihe-ši hiairua?" [*whence-are you*]. 28. "čehe-ši wane mah Walawala. halas ni'pia wane wayu' wašir Sororori?" [*(we)are-from a-certain place Walawala where-is his-house a-certain Indian rich Sororori*]. 29. "uča- ni'pia" [*over-there (21.2) (is) his-house*]. 30. "kasa pia nunai?" [*what (10.5 (2)) (are) you to-him(by way of relationship; 22.2 (3))*]. 31. "nə-ləi waya" [*his-grandsons (7.12 (2 b)) we (10.1)*]. 32. čaihana waya atūkəi e-məi [*will(go)-there (16.6, 20.1 (2)) we to-sleep (14.1, 15.4) to-where-he-is (21.2)*]. 33. "hauya humaiwa waya" [*let-us-go (13.3, 25) with-you (22.2 (2)) we*]. 34. nantaka'aka numa'anaməi wayu' lakla [*they-came to-his-own (20.3) an-Indian old (8.4)*]. 35. "anči hia wa'irumuyu" [*have-come (16.2) you (10.1) friends (7.9)*].

36. "yaihana (yaihana?) waya atumpunəi ma'ana" [*(here)come (16.6 (?), 20.1 (1)) we to-sleep-on-the-way (18.5, 15.4) (at)your-own (20.1, 20.3)*]. 37. hašak'aha-si su-puna lumak'a [*they-went-down (16.2 (?)) under (22.2 (6)) an-arbor (lumah; 7.6 (3))*]. 38. "hi'ikaha səi na'pula wayu'kan. haukta saī wane an'er" [*bring (13.1) a-hammock for-them (22.2 (4)) the-Indians (7.5) kill its-life (4.1, 13.1 (6), 7.12 (2 a)) a (9.3) sheep*]. 39. aukta'aka an'etka ne'kəi [*they-killed (24.2) the-sheep (7.6 (4)) that-they-eat (14.1)*]. 40. "hauhe-r hu'unaka?" numaka'aka wayu-kaih lakla kaih [*what-time (21.3) you-go (19.4) he-said (15.5) the-Indian old (8.4)*]. 41. "a'une-n waya wat'a" [*shall-go (16.5) we (10.1) tomorrow (21.3)*]. 42. "haiha nemia. a'-is hamu su-lu' wop'uh" [*make (13.1 (2)) their-provisions (Spanish fiambre; 7.12 (3 a)) it-feels-bad (8.1) hunger on (23.2) the-way*]. 43. na'unaka'aka wat'ačō "pa'apa wa'anapahəi mo-la piamas. anataš nu'unəi wane hintəih mo-la suma maiku (maik-i) šimiahatə mo-laka [*when-they-went (24.2) in-the-early-morning (21.3) (they-said) bring(us) (13.3) that-we-borrow (14.1) mules (7.10) two (9.4) he-will-be-good (10.2) that-he-go (14.1) a boy (on) a-mule with-it (22.2 (2)) maize (5.14, Note 37) its-provender (7.12 (3 a)) the-mule (7.6 (2))*].

Free translation. 1. A man went to search for many horses, forty horses (and) ten mules. 2. He went for the horses. 3. He came to a water. 4. There were well-to-do Indians there. 5. "You have come, friends," (he said). 6. "(Are you) looking for horses?" 7. "They are (usually?) here at night." 8. "It is better for people to go (and search)." 9. They returned from the water and went back again to the man's house. 10. They had not found the horses. 11. "I have not found the horses, my heart is very sad for my horses, I cannot eat for my horses," (he said). 12. "Let people go and search far," (he said). 13. When they went for them, they went two, he and his brother, one riding on a mule, the other on horseback. 14. When they came to a certain

water, there were some well-to-do Indians there. 15. "There are some rich Indians coming: I wonder who the rich Indians are," (they said). 16. When they came to the water, (they said), "You have come, friends." 17. "Whence are you?" 18. "To search for lost animals. We are from the direction of Walawala." 19. "(You) search for horses?" 20. "There are ten male horses and ten mules." 21. "There were people passing here with their animals the other night. We did not visit the place. We went to where the house of a rich Indian is." 22. "Who is that rich Indian?" 23. "Over there is his house, at Kihol." 24. They went and came to Kihol, to a certain water. 25. At the water there were young Indians in front of them (near the water). 26. "You have come, friends," (they said). 27. "Whence are you?" (the young men asked). 28. "We are from a certain place, Walawala. Where is the house of a certain

rich Indian (whose name is) Sororori?" 29. "Over there is his house." 30. "In what relationship are you to him?" 31. "We are his grandsons." 32. "We will go and sleep at his place." 33. "Let us go with you." 34. They came to the place of an old Indian. 35. "You have come, friends," (the old Indian said). 36. "Here we are coming to pass the night at your place." 37. They dismounted (and went) into an arbor. 38. "Bring a hammock for the Indians. Kill a sheep," (the old Indian said). 39. They killed the sheep for them to eat. 40. "When are you leaving?" the old Indian said. 41. "We shall go tomorrow." 42. "Make provisions for them. One gets hungry on the way." 43. When they went early in the morning, (they said) "Let us borrow two mules. It may be better if a boy goes on a mule with corn to feed the mule." (The story, which was a very long one, was not finished.)