

A FORMAL AND SEMANTIC RECONSTRUCTION OF CARIBAN
POSTPOSITIONS

By

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A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Linguistics
and the Robert D. Clark Honors College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts

June 2019

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Jordan A.G. Douglas for the degree of Bachelor of Arts
in the Department of Linguistics to be taken June 2019.
Title: A Formal and Semantic Reconstruction of Cariban Postpositions

Approved: _____

Spike Gildea

With at least 25 attested languages in the family, the Cariban Language Family is found from Columbia to French Guiana to the Brazilian Amazon. Through a historical reconstruction that looks at 15 language in the family, this work examines the lexical class of POSTPOSITION—a word class that conveys spatiotemporal and grammatical information. Each language in the family has between 50-150 attested postpositions, many of which were relatively unexamined previously. While many have assumed that postpositions in the family were monomorphemic in nature, this work finds that the majority of the postpositions are in fact bipartite in nature— having either an opaque stem or a relational noun stem with a postpositionalizing suffix. While this bipartite nature of postpositions was observed for four opaque stems and 4 suffixes previously (Derbyshire 1999), this work finds that there are 13 reconstructable suffixes and 72 stems and monomorphemic postpositions—in addition there are multiple suffixes and stems that are limited to a single language. Through this work, the understanding of Cariban postpositions is now fundamentally changed. Monomorphemic postpositions tend to give information about grammatical relations (dative, ergative, addressee, etc.) as well as certain narrow locative meanings, such as

the superessive. The stems give information about the ground by which an action occurs, such as a flat surface, a container, or liquid. Given that new postpositions are formed by putting suffixes on relational nouns (typically body parts), the opaque stems are likely to be old, semantically bleached relational nouns. However, in some languages, nominalized verbs are beginning to take postpositionalizing suffixes.

(1) Tiriyo *notonna* 'behind (invisible)' from *noto(mi)* 'to block vision' (Meira 2006)

notami + *-na* > *notamĩna* > *notamna* > *notanna* > *notonna*

Suffixes combine with a stem to give the path relative to the ground, such as ablative and allative (i.e. English 'to', 'via', 'from', 'at', etc.). Of the reconstructed suffixes, there are a number of suppletive suffixes, with multiple allative, perlative, ablative, locative, and inessive suffixes. Each suffix lexicalized with different stems in different languages; in individual languages, no modern stem is attested as being able to occur with more than one suffix of each semantic category.

(2) Ye'kwana *kwa-ka* Waimiri *ka-ka* Macushi *ka-ta* Wayana *kwa-ta*

'ALL liquid' 'ALL liquid' 'ALL liquid' 'in a port'

(Cáceres forthcoming) (Bruno 2003) (Abbott 1991) (Tavares 2005)

Further still, some of these suffixes, such as **po*, are attested as monomorphemic and also as a stem.

(3) Wayana *po* 'on (supported)' (Tavares 2005:171)

po-lo 'along on' (Tavares 2005:315)

uh-po 'on top of' from *upu* 'head' (Tavares 2005:171)

uh-po-lo 'along on top of' from *upu* 'head' (Tavares 2005:318)

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Professor Spike Gildea for his guidance, his patience, and his introduction of the Cariban language family to me. I would like to thank Professor Don Daniels and Professor Emerita Louise Bishop for serving on my thesis committee. I would like to thank Professors Eric Pederson and Scott DeLancey for our riveting discussions of semantic change. I would like to thank Sérgio Meira for his excellent work that spurred my thoughts and analysis. I would like to thank my family, Ruby, Parker, and Juliet, for supporting me through it all. I would like to thank all of the friends and coworkers and strangers who have offered their support and their ears in my excited attempts to explain my work and research. Lastly, I would like to thank you for taking the time to read this thesis, the culmination of hundreds of hours of my life. It truly means a lot to me.

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1 Introduction, Existing Literature, and Methodology

1.1 Introduction

Numbering anywhere from 25 to 40 languages, the **Cariban language family** is one of the largest in South America. The family has languages in Colombia, Venezuela, the three Guianas (British Guiana, Suriname, and French Guiana), and parts of the Brazilian Amazon. While many of the languages of the family have been eliminated via contact with European colonists and the neo-colonial nation states of South America, many more remain to this day. Several of the early sources that exist on the Cariban family come from Christian missionaries and their translations of the Bible. In the last century, more work has been done by linguists in providing detailed grammatical descriptions of the languages. Comparative and reconstructive work also began on the family starting in earnest in the 1990s with the work of Desmond Derbyshire, Spike Gildea, B.J. Hoff, and Sérgio Meira. While this work has been instrumental in the general understanding of the languages and **Proto-Carib**, efforts have been focused on comparative **phonology**, **morphosyntax** of the verbal system, and the person-marking system of the family. Little to no work has been done either within any individual grammar of a language or within the family as a whole in **comparative reconstruction** of either the **morphology** or **semantics** of **postpositions** within the family.

In the Cariban family, postpositions are a subclass of **adverbials** that relay information about space and time (Meira 2004:141). In this, postpositions are similar to the English preposition, though they instead come after the word that they are referring to. Unlike English, the languages of the Cariban family use exclusively postpositions to give information about relative location in space and time. There has been great effort

given to postpositions within grammatical descriptions of a language by Derbyshire (1985) for Hixkaryana, by Meira (2006) for Tiriyo, and by Cáceres (forthcoming) for Ye'kwana. Meira also wrote on a subset of postpositions known as mental state postpositions that exist predominantly in Tiriyo as well as several other languages in the family (Meira 2004).

1.2 Literature Review (Formal and Comparative Literature)

Comparative work for the Cariban family began in earnest in the 1970s through the 1990s. These early attempts at classifications of the family led to the idea of four main branches: the Guina Branch, the North Amazonian Branch, the Central Branch, and the South Amazonian Branch, as well as **Panare**, which constituted a branch of its own (Derbyshire 1998:24). These classifications were based on limited data, which led to many reclassifications throughout the years, with the most recent and authoritative reclassification having occurred in 2012 by Gildea. In this reclassification Gildea posits four branches and leaves three languages without families.¹ Early comparative work focusing on the features of the family and not classifications of the languages was exemplified by Derbyshire in his chapter “Carib” in Dixon’s *The Amazonian Languages*. In “Carib”, Derbyshire discusses the family’s phonology, morphology, and **syntactic alignment** (Derbyshire 1998).

¹ Gildea 2012 presents the following reclassification: the **Parukotoan Group**, the **Pekodian Branch**, the Venezuelan Carib Branch, and the Guinan Carib Branch. Gildea does not place several language groups into branches: **Apalaí**, **Waimirí Atroarí**, or **Yukpa** (Gildea 2012).

Besides the classification of languages in the family, much of the comparative work on the Cariban family would be centered around the family's phonology. The best **phonological reconstruction** came from Meira and Franchetto in their attempt to test the interconnectedness of the Southern (geographically speaking) Cariban languages. In this work, Meira and Franchetto provide convincing evidence of a Proto-Carib **phonemic inventory** of: *p, *t, *k, *m, *n, *r, *w, *y, *a, *e, *i, *ī, *ô, *u, and *o.² Perhaps most striking about this work is the conclusion that Proto-Carib did not have any **fricatives**—but rather that all fricatives that exist within contemporary languages were once stops that had been fricativized via proximity to **palatalizing** elements (Meira and Franchetto 2005:49). Meira and Franchetto's claims on *ī, *ë, and *o were reexamined by Gildea, Hoff, and Meira (2010), with many of the examples of *ī and *o being reclassified as *ë, which merged with *ī or *o in the majority of the languages. Around the same time, Meira, Gildea, and Hoff (2010) also tackled **ablaut** in the family and its role in complicating comparative work. Ablaut is a phenomenon where specific pairs of vowels, different depending on the language, exist in variation with each other.³

² All characters correspond to their respective **IPA** values with the exception of r, *ī, and *ë, which represents modern reflexes of r, ɾ, ɹ, or l (depending on the language); ī; and ə respectively. The Cariban family has had many different systems to write out the **phonemes** of the different languages. The use of ī and ë became popularized by the advent of ASCII. As such, they will be the forms used in this work, except in the case of language specific examples, which will default to the writing system used by each author for the language in question. For more on the **orthographies** of the different languages, please refer to Appendix A.

³ This ablaut is caused in part by the *y- 'REL' which appears to have been grammaticalized onto the roots of several of the proto-stems.

The only major look at comparative Cariban postpositions came in Derbyshire's "Carib". While focusing mainly on the syntactic qualities of postpositions, Derbyshire also posits that there is a set of monosyllabic postpositional **stems** that denote general conceptualizations of space (i.e. liquid, flat surface, open area, and enclosed space) along with a small set of **suffixes** denoting either **locative**, **allative**, or **ablative** status relative to the aforementioned general conceptualizations of space (Derbyshire 1998:58-59). This stemmed from his work on **Hixkaryana** and his subsequent experience editing of the grammars of Apalaí, **Macushi**, and **Waiwai**. In his grammar of Hixkaryana, he gives the first detailed descriptions of the semantics of postpositions—which he refers to as relators (Derbyshire 1985:15-21, 86-92, 205-219). After Derbyshire, much of the work on postpositions within the family, either for a single language or comparatively, were quite scant. One such grammar, that of **Ikpéng**, has only three pages dedicated to the entire class of postpositions (Pacheco 1997:69-72). Other grammars had dedicated sections to postpositions but did not list all of the postpositions that were available or gave several conflicting definitions of postpositions at different points throughout their grammars.⁴ Such is the case with the grammar of **Dekwana** by Hall (1998). Some nonacademic materials also serve as the only primary data on languages in the family. Such is the case with **Akawaio** and its English-Akawaio dictionary (Stegman and Hunter 2014).

⁴ While it is not expected that a grammar would include all of the words of a language, it is expected that a grammar would include the members of a closed class of words, especially those that denote how space and time are fundamentally discussed in the language.

It was with Meira that postpositions began to again receive attention by linguists. First, they were discussed at length within Meira's (2006) "Approaching Space in Tiriyó Grammar." In this work, Meira provides a level of detail in the semantics of postpositions that had not been seen since Derbyshire's work on Hixkaryana. It went further though, using the **Topological Relations Picture Series (TRPS)** to understand the subtle distinctions between the semantic differences of postpositions within **Tiriyó** (Meira 2006). Meira also gives the **synchronic** sources of several of the postpositions. To this day, it remains the gold standard for description of the semantics of both the class of postpositions and the semantic domain of space in general within the family. Meira (2004) also offered comparative work on what he called mental state postpositions, a subset of postpositions within the family that are more abundant in Tiriyó. Meira described in detail the existence of mental state postpositions in Tiriyó and their functions in other languages, finding several of these mental state postpositions that could be reconstructed to Proto-Carib.

Other notable works on postpositions include Courz's grammar and dictionary of **Kari'na of Suriname**, in which Courz gives an extensive set of postpositions in Kari'na of Suriname and semantic descriptions. Courz goes one step further by providing both synchronic sources of postpositions in Kari'na as well as languages in which he has found a **cognate** postposition (Courz 2007:97-103). Cáceres' (forthcoming) "Asymmetries in Path expression in Ye'kwana," provides a similar level of detail as found in Meira (2006).

Outside of detailed sources discussing specific languages, the remaining work on postpositions comes within grammars of languages. Of this work that has been done

on postpositions, most has been centered around postpositions within the context of the grammatical descriptions of specific languages. Within these grammars, there is generally little semantic description of postpositions. The only truly comparative work on postpositions occurred within Derbyshire (1998), Meira (2004), and somewhat with Courz (2007).

This work seeks to address the gap in comparative Cariban postpositional research. It will show that postpositions across the family exist either as simple mono or bisyllabic postpositions or as stems with **postpositionalizing suffixes**, solidifying and expanding upon Derbyshire's (1998) claims. It will show that many of these suffixes are cognate and can be reconstructed to Proto-Carib. It will also show that many of these suffixes are **suppletive** in nature. It will show that stems can be reconstructed into **"ancient" stems** (i.e. stems that exist in most languages that have relatively the same meaning in all of the languages), **"old stems"** (i.e. stems whose origins are unknown but that are not as widespread as ancient stems), and **"new" stems** (i.e. stems whose more recent origins can be traced, usually to a nominal source). The distinction between old stems and ancient stems is arbitrary. I encountered a substantial amount of work on about 15 of the 25 languages that we know of in the family.

There is also a lack of phylogenetic work and classification. While Gildea (2012) and others have done some work with subgroupings, such as the Parukatoan Group with Katxuyana, Waiwai, and Hixkaryana, there is still a substantial lack of understanding of the familial structure of the Cariban family. As such, it is difficult to determine if many of these old and ancient stems do reconstruct to the proto-language. It could be that the ancient stems are the stems that are actually reconstructable to the

proto-language and that the old stems are stems that reconstruct to a subgrouping of that language. It could be that the old stems are as widespread as the ancient stems but that they perhaps have not showed up in the texts of the languages that they are not attested in. It could be that the old stems are found in all of the other languages that have not yet been described. We do not know. I do not know. As such, the use of the terms ancient stem and old stem act as a hodge-podge tailoring of the quilt of proto-Carib. Further discussion of methodological distinctions between these stems is had in Section 1.6 below.

1.3 Literature Review (Semantic)

In looking at the meanings of postpositions, it is important to discuss the theoretical framework in which the semantic analysis takes place, as this work not only looks to identify root nouns for stem cognate sets, but further, it looks to find original meanings for suffixes and stem-suffix pairs based on the extent of stem-suffix pairings in languages today. Since cognate forms sometimes have different meanings, a review of the conceptualization of the change of semantic roles over time is necessary. Specifically, the issues at play are the merging of different meanings, the splitting of one meaning into different meanings, the expansion or extension from one domain to another, and how Cariban postpositions are created.

Before discussing different types of spatiotemporal domains, first the information that postpositions give must be better understood. Meira (2004) discusses the category of postposition throughout the family, which is a potential syntactic issue. While nouns, verbs, and particles have clear syntactic properties that distinguish them from each other and from other words-types in the family, postpositions have a harder

time. Essentially, postpositions belong to a larger syntactic group which Meira refers to as adverbials, as many of these words convey information that adverbs do (i.e. information about space, time, and manner). However, they also convey information that adjectives do and information that adpositions do in English and other languages (Meira 2004:135-140). In order to disambiguate these words with different functions but syntactic similarity, Meira breaks the macro-category of adverbial into two distinct subcategories: adverbs (non-argument taking adverbials) and relators (argument taking adverbials). Relators are then subdivided into deverbals and postpositions (Meira 2004:140). It is these postpositions, as Meira defines them, that will be examined herein.

The first theoretical framework that needs to be understood is **Ground and Path** Theory. In Ground and Path theory, the Ground is that which an event occurs on. This can be thought of as a background or as a stage. The Path is the type of spatiotemporal relation that an object has relative to the Ground. To demonstrate these two concepts, let us turn to a football game. The game is tied and into penalty kicks. In this scene there is a kicker, a ball, a keeper, and a goal. First, before the kick, the ball is sitting on the grass. Here, and wherever the ball is for the rest of the example is the ball's **Location** (Luraghi 2014:102). Note that even if the ball is moving, we can freeze time and it will always occupy some finite Location. In this instance, the ball is the object, the pitch is the Ground, and the Path is static location. When the kicker goes to kick the ball, once it begins to move it leaves its **Origin or Source**, which is the original static location on the pitch. Now, one could describe it as coming off of the pitch. When an object is leaving a location this motion is referred to as **Ablative** (English 'from'). The ball is

now heading toward the goal. As it travels along the pitch it is going along a **Path** (**spatiotemporal domain**). It is neither leaving its Origin nor has it arrived at its **Direction** (i.e. the back of the net, where the movement will end). An object that is in motion along its Path is engaging in **Perlative** motion (English ‘along, via’. As the ball is entering the net, it is arriving at its destination, which can also be thought of as an endpoint. An object that is in motion that is arriving at its destination is engaging in **Allative** motion (English ‘to’).

In examining the football example above there are a few important observations to note. First, there is the idea of **atelic** nature of both Location and Path (spatiotemporal domain). This is important, as this allows for a **morpheme** expressing either meaning to be extended to be used to mean the other (Luraghi 2014:102-103).

This can be seen in (2) and (3).

(2) Luna is in the house.

(3) Luna is walking in the door.

In (2) and (3), the same preposition *in* is used to convey Location and Path. In (2), Luna is located within the house and is unmoving. The Ground is the house and the Path is static location. In (3), Luna is walking through a doorway, with no mention as to a start or an end. Here, the Ground is the containment of Luna by the house and the Path is movement into the container (perlative). Thus, the same morpheme *in* can have the multiple meanings of ‘contained static location’ (locative) and ‘into contained location’ (illative).

The idea of the collapsing of spatiotemporal domains is not limited to just Location and Path. For example, direction and location also combine.

(4) John is at the football pitch.

(5) John kicks the ball at the net.

In (4) *at* refers to a place, without any comment as to containment (cf. *in* of (2)), in which the noun subject is statically located. In (5) *at* refers to the direction in which the ball is being kicked and the ultimate goal for the ball, which is also a static location. Thus, there is a collapse of the location and direction.

In addition to the collapsing of two spatiotemporal domains, extensions of an adposition's meaning can also happen through metaphor. This is important in understanding the mental state postpositions that the family has. The use of adpositions to describe emotional states is not a novel thing to the Cariban family. In English, prepositions are used all of the time to describe emotions. One can be *in a fit of rage* or they can be *on the up and up*. Now, rage is not a physical location; it is an emotion. Yet, English uses the language of space to describe that which exists in one's head. The distinction between this and the Cariban languages is that in the Cariban languages there are postpositions that on their own have the meaning of 'angry', 'jealous', or 'knowing'. They do not require a subordinate noun in order to express the same meaning (e.g. *in a fit of rage*; *on the up and up*). They do not need metaphor. Instead, the postposition carries the meaning of 'angry' and has the NP in that mental state as a subordinate noun.

The last type of semantic, and syntactic, process that must be understood is the process of **grammaticalization**. Vital to that process is reanalysis. Reanalysis is when, due to a word being used in a given context in a high enough frequency, it undergoes a semantic change that is related to this high usage context. This new meaning is then

extended to other like contexts. Reanalysis of a word is a process that is hotly debated. As DeLancey (1997) puts it, adpositions are created via either the reanalysis of **serial-verb constructions** or of relator nouns (DeLancey 1997:12). It is the latter of the two that I focus on in this work, as this is how postpositions in the Cariban Family were formed. In addition, several of the original postpositions grammaticalized into postpositionalizing suffixes. At any rate, the process is much the same. The (future) adposition is used with a particular morpheme with high frequency, which then leads speakers to extend the use of this serial verb or relator noun to other, related instances to the high occurrence pairing. This, over time, will lead to a spread of uses of the serial verb or relator noun that are different from the original use of the verb or noun. It often leads to a loss of the original use of the verb or noun. In these cases, the verb or noun is then reanalyzed to have a new meaning that can be deduced by the current usage of the verb or noun (DeLancey 1997: 8-9).⁵ This exact process has occurred within English:

“For example, in the English relator noun construction *on top of NP*, *top*, while clearly a noun in origin, is un-nounlike in several respects. It lacks an article, and it cannot pluralize: we can say *on top of all the houses*, with *top* as a relational noun, or *on the tops of all the houses*, with *top* as an ordinary noun, but we cannot pluralize the relational noun: **on tops of all the houses*. Note that *top* in its relational noun use is already semantically bleached, in that *the top*

⁵ This assumes that there are quality records that preserve the change from meaning A to meaning B. With enough time, the original meanings may not be recoverable, as is often the case in the Cariban family. However, an approximation can be had with enough reflexes.

of NP necessarily refers to a specific part of the object, while *on top of* NP simply refers to whatever side of it is uppermost at the moment. (E.g. if a refrigerator is lying on its back, something resting on the door, which is the uppermost surface, is *on top of the refrigerator*, but is not *on the top of the refrigerator*)." (DeLancey 1997:10)⁶

DeLancey argues that this same process is what occurs in most instances of adpositional creation.

Within the Cariban language family, little to no comparative work has been done in the comparative semantics of spatiotemporal postpositions. With the grammar of each language, some room is given to the semantics of postpositions and space synchronically in the respective language—though this is often limited to a one-word translation into a corresponding English, Spanish, or Portuguese preposition whose meanings are rarely, if ever, the exact same. To highlight the issue of translation equivalents, one needs to look no further than English and Spanish. In (6), the English *at*, *in*, and *on* are all translated as being equivalent to the Spanish *en*.

- (6) a. English *She is **at** the beach.* b. Spanish *Ella está **en** la playa.*
 *She is **in** the car.* *Ella está **en** el auto.*
 *She is **on** the couch.* *Ella está **en** el sofá.*

The above examples show how what may be expressed with one word in one language may require multiple words in another. In (6), it is a three-to-one correspondence. This

⁶ Relator nouns in English include: *top*, *bottom*, *front*, *side*, and *back*. Note that all of these are body parts.

makes one-to-one translation equivalents without examples of use difficult to employ for semantic reconstruction.

Switching back to the work of those who discuss the semantics of postpositions in the Cariban family, the most detailed of these are the grammar of Hixkaryana by Derbyshire (1985 and the semantic descriptions of space in Tiriyó by Meira (2006), and in **Ye'kwana** by Cáceres (forthcoming). As mentioned above, all three of these authors took time discussing and distinguishing specific usage examples of the postpositions in the respective languages that they were examining. For example, Meira (2006) highlights the difference in usage between *tao* and *awë*, both of which ostensibly mean *in* or *inside*. However, through the use of the Topological Relations Picture Series, Meira is able to show that *awë* denotes a greater degree of containment than *tao* does (Meira 2006:328).

In regards to comparative semantic work within the family, Derbyshire did discuss the idea that there is a small set of postpositions with general meanings such as 'liquid', 'open area', 'flat surface', and 'enclosed space', that existed in a paradigm of locative, ablative, and allative (Derbyshire 1998:43, 58-59). With this, however, Derbyshire limited his scope to that of Hixkaryana, **Macushi**, **Apalaí**, and Waiwai.⁷ He did not get further into the rest of the many postpositions that exist within Hixkaryana nor in the other languages of the family.

The other main comparative work that discusses the semantics of postpositions in the family is Meira's (2004) article on mental state postpositions. For this, Meira

⁷ By this I mean that the examples listed in the **cognate sets** provided by Derbyshire were limited to these languages.

provided a cognate set of the **desiderative** postposition **te*, and showed that while these postpositions exist in other languages within the family, that except for **te*, there are not enough to create a rich list of cognate sets (Meira 2004). The postpositions **poko* (Gildea 1998:199)⁸ and **wɨya* (Gildea 1998:122) and the postposition/suffix **pe/me* were also reconstructed previously by Gildea (Gildea 1998:138). The second of has been almost entirely reanalyzed as a marker of grammatical functions. Gildea gives further comparative information and analysis about **wɨya* in latter publications (Gildea 2003:6-7).

To recap, there are three major ideas that need to be understood about the semantics of Cariban postpositions. First, there is Ground and Path Theory. Of the different paths, there are four overarching spatiotemporal domains, those being Location, Path, Origin/Source, and Goal/Direction. Regarding adpositions, most adpositions can have multiple meanings; either across two different spatiotemporal domains or extension into metaphorical meanings, such as the conveyal of emotions. Lastly, there is the idea of grammaticalization and reanalysis, where high co-occurrence morphemes lose their original meanings and then get reinterpreted as having a different meaning.

Looking more narrowly to semantics within the Cariban family and how they relate to postpositions, we see that little work has been done on semantic descriptions of postpositions. Usually, there is only a simple, narrow translation that is given for a postposition. Derbyshire, Meira, and Cáceres, however, provide a greater degree of

⁸ Reanalyzed in 3.2 as **pëkë*.

detail than others in regards to semantic descriptions. In the comparative realm, Derbyshire is the first to present the idea of postpositions that exist within a paradigm of abstract spatiotemporal spaces with a basic ablative-locative-allative paradigm. Meira furthers the comparative discussion with his inclusion of mental state or experiencer postpositions as a distinct subtype of postposition. This leaves a great deal of room in the semantic realm of the discussion and description of comparative Cariban postpositions. It is the aim of this work to track the semantics of postpositions within the family. Particularly, this paper will look at the semantic change of postpositional suffixes and stems. It must be acknowledged though that this goal will not be achieved here. Instead, this work will begin the process of tracing those original semantic forms. It will lay foundations which can then be built on later.

1.4 Source Base

In the last two sections, we reviewed the existing literature on the Cariban family, including the formal, comparative, and semantic literature. Additionally, we reviewed the different semantic domains and how meaning varies both between and within languages and how meaning can change over time. In this section, I discuss the sources for this work and some of the complications that come with data collection.

The Cariban language family, while having some documentation, still has many languages which are either undescribed or under-described. In gathering data for this comparative work both linguistic sources (primarily grammars) and dictionaries and wordlists were used. Among these sources there were common themes that either facilitated or made the examination of postpositions more difficult. One commonality

across both sets of sources was the identification of central vowels, which are at times, inconsistent.

Besides grammars, dictionaries were the most commonly utilized source. Dictionaries, while being incredibly useful tools for documenting languages and for more casual communication, are less useful in understanding words that are not nouns or verbs, and they are especially poor at conveying information about spatial relations. This is especially true when the dictionaries are more akin to bilingual word lists that give translation equivalents. Spatial relations are the subject of a substantial amount of study and debate, as spatial conceptualizations and words to describe these conceptualizations vary widely among speakers and among languages. In addition to the difference of meaning conveyed by words between languages, multiple, seemingly disparate meanings can be expressed by the same word in the same language.

In a similar way, the meaning of *in* in English can be quite different to many of the words that denote locative containment (inessive) in the Cariban languages. While there are occasionally examples of use with sentence-level translations, the overwhelming majority of entries do not have any examples given. As such, there is no way to know for sure if the listed meanings are indeed the most basic forms of the listed word, or if they have a meaning related to one of the many other meanings of the word. There are dictionaries that confound the **inessive** meaning of (7) and the **illative** meaning of (9), which we know based on the examples that they give of how the words are used. This leads to some issues with semantic reconstruction. However, they can still be tied together into cognate sets via their formal representations and with the meanings inferred from the more detailed descriptions.

The issues stemming from linguistic materials are same than those of non-linguistic materials. There is often a lack of examples in use of postpositions and a lack of examples in dictionaries and wordlists that make a one-word translation difficult if not impossible to know the meaning of the word. This is compounded with inconsistent use of terminology, such as the use of *in* and *into* interchangeably to denote ‘illative’ while also using *in* to denote ‘inessive’. These issues can be addressed through diachronic morphological analysis and the assumption that the intricacies of the meanings will be similar between the languages with and without higher-definition description. Unfortunately, there are also issues with the level of detail given in the examination of postpositions within the linguistic literature on Cariban languages. The largest issue from linguists comes from the amount of detail that they gave to postpositions in their descriptions of individual languages. For many linguists, the focus of their time and energy went to other features of the languages, such as the verbs or phrase structure.

There are two common complications that occur with the others. The first, and most frequent, is that the author will list the most frequent postpositions with the most general meanings. The other postpositions that exist with more specific meanings are then found scattered throughout the paper in the various examples used for describing other aspects of the language, so it is necessary to examine every example for potential data points. This is true for Macushi and Dekwana. The other way in which this manifests is the listing of many polysemous meanings with no discussion in the postpositions section; other times, this same polysemy is simply spread across many different examples scattered throughout the source. This adds time to data collection,

but still leaves uncertainty with regard to the meanings of forms. This, in turn, leads to difficulty in semantic reconstruction. This is true for the Macushi, Dekwana, Ikpéng, **Kuikuro**, and Waimiri. Ikpéng, Kuikuro, and Waimiri also simply attest very few postpositions in their source bases as a whole.⁹

1.5 Methodology and Data Collection

I now review and explain my methodology for this work, going over: data collection, morphological analysis, the comparison of phonological forms, phonological reconstruction, the comparison of semantic forms, and semantic reconstruction.

In regards to data collection, the first step was identifying the primary sources for data collection. This was a somewhat simple process, as the only readily available sources are grammatical descriptions (i.e. grammars) of specific languages within the Cariban language family. There were a few other sources that were used, those being comparative works and dictionaries. After I collected my primary sources, I next had to read through each of them. For the dictionaries, it was a process of going through each word and looking for part of speech and the meaning. If a word was identified as a postposition, then I recorded the form of the word, the language I found it in, the source and page number, the meaning, any semantic notes for the postposition,¹⁰ and any

⁹ This is distinct from the complication listed above as it is not that these languages only have a small amount of postpositions listed in one area and then the rest elsewhere, but rather, they have a small amount of postpositions in their entirety.

¹⁰ Semantic notes include information such as “this is typically used to denote a position relative to two other positions and is typically used in discussion of canoes.”

possible sources for the form.¹¹ For grammars, I read through the postposition section of the grammar first, if it existed, notating the same information as I would for dictionaries. However, upon completion of that, I would start from the beginning of the grammar and look at all data examples that were given. Through this process, I found many postpositions that authors did not include in their postposition sections.

Morphological Analysis

After the data was collected, I conducted a synchronic **morphological analysis** of the postpositions. To do this, I compiled all of the postpositions of a language and put them together along with their given meanings. In doing this, I found many stems and suffixes with distinct, discernable meanings, as well as a number of non-compositional or monomorphemic postpositions. Take the following two sets from Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985:211, 218) for example:

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------|----------------------|------|-----------------|---------------------|
| (10) | <i>awxawo</i> | ‘on the slope’ | (11) | <i>akratawo</i> | ‘in front of’ |
| | <i>awxaka</i> | ‘onto the slope’ | | <i>akrataka</i> | ‘to front of’ |
| | <i>awxaye</i> | ‘from off the slope’ | | <i>akrataye</i> | ‘from in front of’ |
| | <i>awxaha</i> | ‘along the slope’ | | <i>akrataha</i> | ‘past the front of’ |

In (10) and (11) we can see two different sets of words. Immediately upon looking at the translations, we can see that (10) involves positions relative to a slope and (11) involves positions relative to ‘the front’ of a given point of reference. It is also clear that there are four distinct positions being expressed: location (‘on’ and ‘in’), direction

¹¹ Depending on the source, the author may have included a possible origin of the form. For example, Meira (2006:319) stated that the source of Tiriyo’ *enpatao* ‘in front of’, was likely from *enpata* ‘face’.

(‘onto’ and ‘to’), source/origin (‘from off’ and ‘from’), and path (‘along’ and ‘past’). In comparing the four words in (10) and in (11) respectively, we see that they have two clear parts:

(12)	<i>awxa</i>	<i>-wo</i>	‘on the slope’	(13)	<i>akrata</i>	<i>-wo</i>	‘in front of’
	<i>awxa</i>	<i>-ka</i>	‘onto the slope’		<i>akrata</i>	<i>-ka</i>	‘to the front of’
	<i>awxa</i>	<i>-ye</i>	‘from off the slope’		<i>akrata</i>	<i>-ye</i>	‘from in front of’
	<i>awxa</i>	<i>-ha</i>	‘along the slope’		<i>akrata</i>	<i>-ha</i>	‘past the front of’

Given that *awxa* appears in all words with ‘slope’ and *akrata* appears in all words with ‘front’, we can conclude that these are the respective meanings for these morphemes. We see four distinct positions being expressed in each of the sets. It is not coincidental then that *-wo* aligns with location, *-ka* with direction, *-ye* with source/origin, and *-ha* with path. Indeed, this is how these morphemes are then defined. My goal was to conduct this type of analysis for every postposition in every language of the family.

Comparison of Phonological Forms

After conducting synchronic morphological analysis, I then conducted a comparative **morphophonological** analysis. To do this, I took both the isolated stem and suffix morphemes and compared them against the morphemes from the other languages, putting related morphemes together in cognate sets. For guidance in this, I worked off of the preexisting Proto-Carib sound changes and phonological inventory that was developed by Meira and Franchetto (2005) along with the modifications made by Gildea, Hoff, and Meira (2010).

Phonological Reconstruction

Upon completion of these cognate sets, I then had to reconstruct a proto-phonological form. This is done by looking at the sound changes attested already in the family, as well as looking at the logical sound changes that can occur given the articulatory properties of different sounds. For example, $*t > s$, tx , or x is a commonly attested sound change if the $*t$ was followed by a $*e$ or $*i$, which cross-linguistically are known as palatalizing vowels. The change of $*p > h$ is also a commonly attested change in the family, and thus, is not unexpected. More discussion of the reconstructions is below in the following Chapters.

While it is true that there has been some phonological reconstruction of proto-Carib, the reconstructions in Meira et al. were based on only 7 languages and those in Gildea et al. were of only 1 phoneme. As such, there is still much of proto-Carib phonology and subsequent sound changes that is not well understood. That means that in this paper a great number of unattested sound changes must be posited. When this occurs, when possible I look further to see if the apparent change is seen in the language in other instances. Usually this involves the use of Sérgio Meira's Toolbox lexical databases.

To highlight this process, let us sneak a look at *rye* in Hixkaryana. *rye* is the Hixkaryana **reflex** of $*ir\ddot{e}$. In order to arrive at *rye*, I posit that the $*i$ palatalized the $*r$, while the $*\ddot{e}$ **assimilated** to the $*i$ via **vowel harmony** before the $*i$ dropped (i.e. $*ir\ddot{e} > *ir\ddot{e} > *ire > rye$).¹² While Meira and Franchetto already observed that the conditioning

¹² Instead of the typical use of the grapheme *j* to denote the palatal approximate, the grapheme *y* is used in this work for reconstructed forms. This is due to the

environment for *ry* in Hixkaryana is before a front vowel (i.e. **r > ry / _e, i*), they had not encountered examples of the change following a front vowel. This then led to me searching the lexical database of Hixkaryana (as compiled by Sérgio Meira) for a number of different forms. I searched for *ero*, which was also well attested. I then searched for *rya* and found interesting results. First, there were very few examples (less than 20). Of these, the majority had a **front vowel** that had been deleted via **syllable reduction**, were borrowings from Portuguese, had a preceding front vowel that could be responsible for the change, or were onomatopoeic. The instances of *era* were almost all borrowings or onomatopoeic as well. There were no instances of *ira*, as the grapheme *e* in Hixkaryana can be used to represent both [i] and [e]. The absence of this possible sequence suggest that a sound change must have removed the pattern from the Lexicon, but it does not conclusively ‘prove’ anything, as the absence could be a coincidence. If the **ë* to *e* sound change generally happened following *ry*, then we would expect an abundance of *e* following *ry*, which we do find. However, we do not have evidence that this is from **ryë* as opposed to **rye* or **ryi*. Further research is required. While not all previously unattested changes will get the same degree of investigation as this one, this is the process by which such posited changes are checked, usually documented with brief remarks.

prevalence of the use of the grapheme *j* to denote the fricative [x] in many of the languages of the Cariban family and the shared distribution of the [x] and [j] sounds. While it is true that Apalaí uses the *y* grapheme for the [ɨ] vowel, the distribution of that vowel is more easily discernible than that of [x] and [j].

Comparison of Semantic Forms and Semantic Reconstruction

Upon completion of the phonological reconstruction, the semantic forms of these words must be compared with each other. This involves looking at all the members of the cognate sets and comparing their contemporary meaning. From that, I can then try to deduce what the original meaning was for the proto-stem, proto-suffix, and proto-stem-suffix pair. In doing this, I look first at the frequency of shared meaning across the languages examined. If a form has the same meaning in fourteen of the fifteen languages, it is likely that the fifteenth language is a new development as opposed to the fourteen languages all independently making the same development. This is a clear argument from economy, which while not the best metric to base reconstructions on, is one of the best measures available without a clear phylogenetic classification of the Cariban family. Other sources' meanings can be determined via a reconstruction of a spatiotemporally basic form based on known metaphors by which semantic roles shift.¹³ The reasoning for having the semantic reconstruction occur after the formal reconstruction is that phonological forms are subject to more predictable and consistent change than semantic forms. Even with high amounts of phonological variation, the shifts that do occur are much easier to both explain and understand, as they are rooted in articulation and acoustic values, as opposed to the potentially infinite variations in meaning and conceptualizations of space, time, and the world around us, each potentially unique to each speaker or group of speakers.

¹³ For more on this, see the discussion of existing literature of semantic role change in Luraghi (2014) or in 1.2 Literature Review (Semantic) above.

In regards to the semantic reconstructions herein, it should be made clear that the explanations of change from the original form are almost entirely ad hoc explanations. They are stories that correct Meaning A to Meaning B, Meaning C, Meaning D, etc. This is because there are very few, if any, examples where metaphorical extension or change is occurring. For example, let us examine some of the meanings of **pëkë* (for a full discussion, see Chapter 3). In examining the meanings of this postposition, it becomes immediately clear as to what its source semantic value was: adhesion-attachment. This is seen with the modern reflexes of ‘on (adhesion)’, ‘on pole shape’, ‘attached to’, ‘hanging on to’, and ‘tied to’. It is important to note that there is not vertical support in the source meaning. Now, one of the other meanings that we see for this postposition is ‘addressee’. As there is no direct documentation of this change, we must hypothesize how this change occurred. Both potential paths require metaphor. The first comes from the ‘adhesion’ meaning. The usage scenario is throwing mud at a flat surface, such as a wall. The mud sticks to the wall. From here, one could imagine talking to someone as throwing words at them. The other possible path comes by way of two other attested meanings. The first is ‘about/occupied with’. This is a metaphorical extension of thoughts being attached to the mind of a person. From here, this can be reanalyzed as an oblique marker, as the topic of thought or discussion is not obligatorily given. Once it is an oblique marker, it could then be reanalyzed further as a dative marker, which is the attested semantic reflex. From the role as a dative marker, it would then be a simple case of narrowing to get ‘addressee’. Both paths are possible.

Many of the postpositions are found in word lists, which give no context, and the others are found within examples where whichever metaphorical extension the

postposition uses is so ingrained that it is the new synchronic meaning. When there are examples of this metaphorically change occurring that is visible, it will be noted. Elsewise, one should assume that any semantic reconstruction in which change of meaning occurs (vis-a-vis economic argumentation for the source) is speculative, which can nonetheless hopefully provide a basis for future work with more data.

1.6 Subgroupings

A major obstacle to proto-Carib reconstructions is the lack of reliable subgroupings. While some subgroupings do exist they tend to be small, with the two most certain groupings (i.e. Parukotoan and Pekodian) containing three languages each. One of the largest groupings, Venezuelan Carib, has only three subgroupings and 7 languages. It is also relatively flat. There is a lack of phylogenetic work on the family and under-description on most of the languages. Because of this, the time-depth of reconstructions is difficult to ascertain. While not seen in the main body of this work, some of the reconstructions in Appendix H can be traced only as far as an established subgrouping. When this occurred, the appropriate subgrouping was listed. (14) shows the subgroupings present in this work as reflected by the languages examined, using the subgroupings as described in Gildea (2012). Languages examined herein bolded.

(14)

Parukotoan Group	Pekodian Group	Nahukwa Group
a. Katxuyana	a. Bakairí	a. Kuikuro
b. Waiwai Subgroup	b. Arara Group	b. Kalapalo
i. Waiwai	i. Arara	
ii. Hixkaryana	ii. Ikpéng	
Venezuelan Carib (Subfamily)		
Pemóng–Panare Group	Mapoyo–Tamanaku Group	
a. Pemóng	a. (†) Kumaná	
i. Kapóng (Akawaio)	b. Mapoyo-Yawarana	
ii. Macushi	c. (†) Tamanaku	

- iii. Pemón
- b. **Panare**
- Guianan Carib**
 - a. **Kari'nja**
 - b. **Ye'kwana (Ye'kwana Dialect, Dekwana Dialect)**
 - c. **Taranoan**
 - i. **Tiriyo**
 1. Akuriyo
 2. **Tiriyo**
 3. Trio
 - ii. Karihona
 - d. **Wayana**
- Apalaí**
- Waimirí Atroarí**
- Yukpa
- Japrería

Based on (14), there are 9 top-level subnodes in the family, with 4 of those nodes being languages that have not been put into any particular group. 7 of these top-level nodes are represented herein.

As discussed with the division of stem-types, ancient and old stems act as a stand-in for this lack of reliable subgroupings, with ancient stems being widespread enough that they likely reconstruct back to the proto-language and old stems being up in the air as to whether or not they reconstruct. Both ancient and old stems do differ from new stems in that their stems are opaque in their origins. To give a definite, numerical distinction between ancient and old stems, ancient stems are stems that are attested in 5 of the 9 top-level subnodes and old stems are stems that are present in 4 or less of the top-level subnodes.

1.7 The Appendices

This work contains a number of supplementary appendices that give a clear presentation of the data discussed herein. Appendix A presents the orthographical

systems that are used by each language and present a reference for readers so that they can know what each grapheme represents phonologically. This is important, as the orthography of each language was respected and used. This is an intentional choice made so that a speaker of any of the languages examined herein will be able to read their language(s) in their own writing system. With that being said, I would like to address some graphemes that lead to readability issues. First, there is the glide [j]. This sound is represented with the graphemes *j* (typically in non-Spanish speaking countries) and *y*. The glottal fricative [h] is represented by the graphemes *j* (typically in Spanish speaking countries), *h*, *ʻ*, and in Kari'na, an acute accent on the preceding letter (e.g. *ù* represents [uh]). The central mid vowel [ə] is represented by *i*, *ë*, and *ö*.¹⁴ The central high unrounded vowel [i] is represented by *i*, *ï*, *ü*, *y*, and *#*. These differences in representation can lead to confusion by a reader looking for standardization. For the purposes of historical reconstruction, I have used *y* to represent [j], *ë* to represent [ə], *ï* for [i], and *h* for [h] in an attempt to minimize confusion. All of this is illustrated in full in Appendix A.

Appendix B gives every postposition that was examined and discussed for this work. These postpositions are sorted into tables based on the suffixes (or lack thereof) that they take, stems taking language-specific suffixes have their own table.

Appendix C gives the cognate sets for reconstructable postpositionalizing suffixes. Appendix F serves as the corresponding cognate sets for reconstructable

¹⁴ In historical works, it has been represented with *ô* as well.

postpositional stems. In contrast, Appendices E and D give the non-cognate postpositionalizing suffixes and postpositional stems, respectively.

Appendix G serves as a glossary of terms used for this work. It is created as a glossary that assumes little to no prior knowledge of linguistics. This is done in the attempt to make this work as accessible as possible.

Lastly, Appendix H gives minor reconstructable forms. These are reconstructable forms that have only a few attested reflexes in the modern languages. Due to the constraints of time, these reconstructions were given only a first pass in regards to the reconstruction of their formal and semantic forms. The reconstructions in Appendix H should be thought of as a starting point.

2 Postpositionalizing Suffixes

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 explores the existing literature on the Cariban language family and on spatiotemporal domains and semantic reconstruction. Discussing also the source base for this work and the methodology implemented throughout the analysis of postpositions. Chapter 2 examines the suffix portion of Cariban bimorphemic postpositions. Section 2.2 discusses the syntactic issue of discriminating between suffixes and **monomorphemic** postpositions. Section 2.3 presents the 13 postpositionalizing suffixes in their respective cognate sets. For each of these suffixes, I will provide both a formal and semantic reconstruction of the proto-form.

2.2 Suffixes vs. Monomorphemic Postpositions

In looking at postpositions in the Cariban family, one comes upon an immediate issue—namely: what exactly makes up a postposition? After conducting a morphological analysis, this becomes a bit clearer. Postpositions appear to be primarily comprised of stems, which incode a reference point or ground, combined with a suffix, which gives a spatiotemporal position or path relative to that ground. Typically, there are synchronic sets of these postpositions. For example, take Waiwai’s liquid set: *kwaw* ‘in liquid’, *kwaka* ‘to liquid’, *kway* ‘from liquid’. Here we see the clear stem of *kwa* and the suffixes *-w*, *-ka*, and *-y*. However, these are not the only suffixes that exist. In fact, there are 13 suffixes that I was able to reconstruct across the 15 languages examined herein. This is not to say that these 13 suffixes are found in every one of the 15

languages examined, rather I treated here those that are found in at least two different languages.¹⁵

One issue that does arise in the reconstruction of these suffixes is the syntactic question as to whether or not they are indeed suffixes at all or rather just postpositions that give a noun a spatiotemporal position. The answer to this question is complicated. In this, I follow the lead of DeLancey, among others, in grammaticalization theory. It is my belief that these suffixes are old postpositions that either are undergoing or have undergone the process of grammaticalization. This is best illustrated with **ke* and **po*. With **ke* ‘instrumental’, has a reflex in every language examined. In most of these languages it is a monomorphemic, free postposition that encodes ‘instrumental.’ In three languages, however, it is said to be a suffix. While it is unclear what makes it a suffix in Katxuyana and Kuikuro, as it is simply written as such, in Kari’na of Suriname *ke* is seen both as an instrumental monomorphemic postposition, but then also as a suffix *-ke*. This suffix *-ke* has an entirely different use, that being the similarative. This can be seen in *eneke* ‘looking similar to,’ from the verb *ene* ‘to see’ (Courz 103).

In regards to **po*, it appears as a monomorphemic postposition in most languages. In most languages it also appears as a suffix, though typically with the same meaning as it has in its free form (i.e. vertical support with contact). The way that we can tell that in these languages that it is acting as a suffix is from two different methods.

¹⁵ This is true with the exception of Ye’kwana and Dekwana, which are dialects of the same language. While both dialects are distinct enough that they are often treated as separate languages (and named accordingly), a feature that is shared by *only* these two languages is not considered for the purposes of this work to be a feature that is being reconstructable.

The first of these is a phonological reduction of the preceding stem. Such phonological reduction is common throughout the family and is usually conditioned by suffixation but not sequences of words. The reduction happens consistently across the family with the final syllable of the stem reducing to either the **voiceless glottal** fricative or the glottal **stop** in the first syllable in linear order. The second way that we can tell that these are suffixes is if we see the stem attested without the suffix. Both of these are seen in Wayana with *aktuhpo* ‘up the river of, north of’, *aktuhpona* ‘to up the river’, and *aktuhpoi* ‘from north’ (Tavares 296, 324). The ‘h’ in the stem *aktuh* is also almost certainly a result of phonological reduction, as this is where the glottal sounds in the languages tend to emerge from. Insofar as I was able to deduce, *aktuh* is not attested in Wayana, which prevents us from knowing for certain. However, the postposition *uhpo* ‘on top of’ does definitively show this, as the stem for the postposition is *upu* ‘head’.

(1) $upu + -po \rightarrow upupo \rightarrow uppo \rightarrow uhpo$

Further though with *uhpo* is that it can take a second suffix *-lo*, making the postposition *uhpolo* ‘along on the top of’. More so this suggests that they are suffixes. This is because postpositions take nominal arguments, *uhpo* is not a noun, and *-lo* is not a postposition. Because of these facts, we can conclude that *uhpolo* is not a **postpositional phrase (PP)** but rather a postposition unto itself.

The last measure that we can take in order to determine the difference between a monomorphemic postposition and a suffix is whether or not the morpheme appears to be **derivational** or **collocational**. Derivational suffixes by their nature should appear on a ‘limited’ number of nouns, while a collocational monomorphemic postposition would

be able to co-occur with a larger variety of nouns. This is not to say that collocational monomorphemic postpositions do not have a limit on the types of words that they can co-occur with, but rather that within the Cariban family, a derivational suffix appears on less nouns than a collocational monomorphemic postposition will co-occur with nouns. Said another way, a derivational suffix can only occur with a handful of nouns, which here are referred to as stems. Collocational monomorphemic postpositions can occur after many more nouns as they take these nouns as subordinate NPs. A derived postposition would also take on a new object vis-a-vis a noun and a collocational monomorphemic postposition, which would take the noun as its object. That is, an NP that is within a PP does not required the noun to be possessed. A noun with a suffix that derives a postposition still requires an object (which will look like a possessor of the noun). The best way to determine if a morpheme is a derivational suffix or a collocational monomorphemic postposition is to analyze its distribution within example sentences. Unfortunately, for many of the postpositions examined herein, there are no such examples available, as many postpositions were found only in lists.

A prime example of derivation at work is Tiriyo's *notonnao* 'behind, invisible' from *noto(mi)* 'to block vision'. Here, we see both clear change in the stem with the addition of *-na* and *-o*, with reduction of the stem's final syllable and the assimilation of the *m* to *n*. This derives a new meaning from a verb to create a postposition. Tiriyo also has a nominal example of this with *ena* 'lying with' from *eena* 'throat', where there is a clearly derived new meaning that then can take an argument.¹⁶

¹⁶ The loss of vowel length is due to syllable stress patterns and should be disregarded for the purposes of this example.

It is from these methods that we are able to determine whether a morpheme is a suffix or a monomorphemic postposition.¹⁷ Predominantly, the suffixes discussed in 2.3 appear as suffixes only. Some of them (notably **ke* and **po*, and **ta*) also have reflexes as monomorphemic postpositions. In most instances, however, if there is a monomorphemic reflex of one of these suffixes some language also has a suffixal form as well (again, depending on the language, **ke*, **po*, and **ta*). There are also non-compositional postpositions which are discussed in Chapter 5. Section 2.3 is dedicated to reconstructing the phonological and semantic forms of the 13 cognate sets of postpositionalizing suffixes.¹⁸

2.3 Postpositionalizing Suffixes Cognate Sets

Section 2.2 discusses the difference between postpositionalizing suffixes and monomorphemic postpositions. Section 2.3 reconstructs the phonological and semantic forms of the 13 cognate postpositionalizing suffixes found within the languages examined. First the four allative suffixes are examined. Second, the two perlative suffixes. Next, the ablative suffix. Then the two static locative suffixes. These are followed by the two inessive suffixes. Finally, the instrumental suffix is examined. The existence of such a high degree of suppletion, especially among the allative suffixes, is noteworthy. Focusing on the allatives: insofar as the available literature indicates, there is no clear distinction between the allatives. Some languages, such as Hixkaryana, has

¹⁷ For a full list of non-compositional postpositions please see Appendix B Tables 1 and 2.

¹⁸ A full table of all cognate suffixes can be found in Appendix C. For a list of non-cognate suffixes, please see Appendix E.

multiple allatives, perlatives, and locatives. It is clear that within an individual language, a stem takes a specific allative suffix or a specific perlative suffix. What stems go with what suffixes does seem to be language-specific, with the greatest stem-suffix reconstruction being **po-na* with 12 of the 15 languages having the reconstructed pair. A stem can take **ka* in one language and **kəkē* in another. Perhaps there were distinctions in the proto-language. Perhaps there are distinctions in the modern reflexes. At this point, it is unclear as to what those distinctions are.

***ka ‘allative’**

The **ka* ‘allative’ suffix is one of the most common suffixes comparatively, appearing in 12 of the 15 languages examined and 7 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 1 **ka*

Guianan	Ye’kwana	k	a	‘locative/allative’
Guianan	Dekwana	k	a	‘locative/allative, locative’
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	k	a	‘allative’
Apalaí	Apalaí	k	a	‘allative’
Guianan	Tiriyó	k	a	‘allative’
Waimirí Atroarí	Waimiri	k	a	‘allative’
Parukatoan	Katxuyana	k	a	‘allative’
Parukatoan	Waiwai	k	a	‘allative, comparative’
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	k	a	‘allative’
Venezuelan	Panare	k	a	‘allative, locative, comparative’
Venezuelan	Akawaio	k	a	‘allative, locative, perlative, dative, benefactive, ablative’

Guianan	Wayana	k		‘allative’
Pekodian	Ikpéng	k		‘locative’

**ka* is immediately reconstructable in all languages except Wayana and Ikpéng. In these languages, there is the loss of the final **a*, which is expected, as both of these languages synchronically drop final-vowels.

- (2) **ka* > *-ka* (Ye'kwana, Katxuyana, Apalaí, Tiriyó, Waimiri, Panare, Dekwana, Waiwai, Kari'na of Suriname, Hixkaryana, Akawaio)
> *-k* (Wayana and Ikpéng)

The semantic reflexes are also quite consistent. The only variation that appears to happen is a locative-allative merger in several languages—movement going to an endpoint, results in location at the endpoint, so a merger with the locative is unsurprising. The merging of a perlocative and allative follows the same logic as the merging of an ablative and perlocative. As for the dative and **benefactive** meanings that are seen in Akawaio, it is also a common progression for spatial goal to extend to recipient (like English *to*). Goal encodes movement to an endpoint. A dative argument is the recipient endpoint of the movement of an item. A beneficiary is the endpoint of an action done for the benefit of another participant, acting as its endpoint. As for the ablative meaning that comes in Akawaio as well, I do not have a good explanation. It appears once in *enta* ‘from (temporal), from then on’. It exists within a set of three, the others being *entai* ‘over, bigger’ and *entau* ‘in front of, beyond, yonder’. In Akawaio, the *-i* typically denotes ablative, but in this case the ablative has shifted to a comparative meaning. It could be that there was a shift of the allative to fill the spot of the ablative for this postposition set. This could occur if the use of the allative was

uncommon and the speakers no longer thought of *entai* as ablative, but rather comparative.

***na ‘allative’**

This **na* ‘allative’ suffix is the most common reconstructable suffix, appearing in every language examined, though in different states. In Ikpéng, it exists as a free morpheme. In Waimiri, it is seen only in the suffix *-naka* ‘allative’. As both **na* and **ka* have allative meanings, I see this as a case of semantic reinforcement, where the original allative suffix used, *-na*, lost the metaphorical weight of meaning, leading to speakers to add another suffix with the same meaning. This happens enough until this is reanalyzed as one suffix *-naka*. For some languages, such as Kari’na of Suriname, both *-na* and *-naka* exist, with no clear phonological motivation. In Tiriyo, it also primarily coexists with another allative suffix, though there are instances of it on its own as well. In Tiriyo and Apalaí, **na* also appears as the part of the stem of words as they are used for postpositions, but not on their nominal forms (i.e. the **na* is seen in the postpositional stem without any analytical meaning but not on the synchronic source of the stem). Specifically, I am referring to a development seen within Apalaí with the postpositions *aryhnaka* ‘out, outside’ and *aryhnao* ‘in the open’. The source of these postpositions is *ary* ‘leaf’. The *-na* in each of these words appears to have no meaning, as *-ka* denotes the allative and *-o* the locative. Yet, *-na* exists for both of these postpositions. While we might expect in Apalaí to see it within *aryhnaka*, we do not for *aryhnao*, as reinforcement is not at play here. This suggests to me that the old allative *-na* was used so often with this stem that it was reanalyzed as part of the stem in the context of postpositions. It is found in 7 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

*Table 2 *na*

Pekodian	Ikpéng	ĩ	n	a			‘dative, allative’
Guianan	Wayana		n	a			‘allative’
Venezuelan	Panare		n	a			‘allative, locative’
Venezuelan	Macushi		n	a			‘allative’
Venezuelan	Akawaio		n	a			‘allative’
Guianan	Ye’kwana		n	a			‘against, locative’
Guianan	Dekwana		n	a			‘locative’
Nahukwa	Kuikuro		n	a			‘locative’
Apalaí	Apalaí		n	a			‘allative’
Guianan	Tiriyó		n	a			‘allative’
Waimirí Atroarí	Waimiri		n	a	k	a	‘superessive’ ¹⁹
Parukatoan	Katxuyana		n	a			‘allative’
Parukatoan	Waiwai		n	a			‘allative, locative’
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana		n	a			‘allative’
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname		n	a	(k)	(a)	‘allative/locative’

The **n* and **a* reconstruct automatically in all languages. The only issues at play with this cognate is Ikpéng *ina* ~ *na* reflex, which unlike the other reflexes, is a monomorphemic postposition and not a suffix. This indicates that **na* was likely a postposition first that then grammaticalized into a suffix in nearly all languages. The loss of either of these vowels at the start of a word is completely unattested and not

¹⁹ This suffix is seen in one postposition *tyhnaka* ‘over, above, on’. These all have the commonality of a superessive position. The ‘on’ meaning does have the added meaning of vertical support, which is likely from the allative origin.

readily explainable. Instead, it would seem that this is an idiosyncratic additions to the original **na*. The *ina* form appears when the postposition has a nominal object. The *na* form appears when the postposition has a pronominal object, indicated by a pronominal prefix.

Semantically, the **na* suffix clearly has an allative meaning. The change from allative to locative or a merger of allative to locative. What is interesting about the instances of locative-allative merger or allative to locative shift is the consistency and commonalities of the type of locative. In almost all instances, there is a meaning of ‘against’ that is found with the locative, such as in Ye’kwana. This to me indicates a focus on the allative on the contact that occurs within the coding of direction that is not found in the other allative suffixes. This seemingly inherent contact that exists with this allative then explains the superessive meaning found in Waimiri, as that is simply a location coming from above, with contact. So instead of horizontal support you have vertical support, which is just a shift of perspective.

***këi ‘allative’**

The **këi* ‘allative’ suffix is one of the less common suffixes, appearing in 4 of the 15 languages examined.²⁰ This suffix appears in 2 of the top-level subnodes.

²⁰ For all examples save for the Tiriyó, there is the possibility that this form is actually **kë* and **-ye*, as in all languages with **këi* except Tiriyó, the **ye* > /i/ (see discussion of **ye*). For the Tiriyó reflex then, it is possible that the *-e* suffix when combined with a **kë* caused a raising of both vowels into the *-kii* reflex seen here. While this is still theoretically possible, there are other examples of the *-e* suffix with words ending in *ë* that do not have this change occur, leading me to believe that this is indeed a separate form. Specifically, there are the forms *pëe* ‘from, after’ and *awëe* ‘on, astride of’.

Table 3*këi

Guianan	Ye'kwana	k	ö	i	'locative/allative'
Venezuelan	Akawaio	k	ï	i	'allative'
Venezuelan	Macushi	k	î	i	'allative' ²¹
Guianan	Tiriyó	k	ï	i	'allative'

The Ye'kwana reflex reconstructs automatically, as it underwent no changes from the proto-form. The Macushi *î* is a result of a systemic merger of **ë* to *î* in Macushi (Gildea et al. 2010:99). Akawaio is attested as having gone to /i/ and thus is expected (Gildea et al. 2010:115). The Tiriyó reflex is a bit harder to explain, as it is attested as having **ë* remain *ë*. This reflex can be reconciled if they had **ë* raise in assimilation with the **i*. However, Tiriyó has a good deal of words with both the *ëi* and *ii* sequences in the same environments, thus leading to this proposed change likely being irregular.

- (3) **këi* > *-kõi, -kwi* (Ye'kwana and Akawaio)
 > *-kîi, -kïi* (Macushi, Akawaio, and Tiriyó)

On the semantic side of things, there is a clear allative proto-meaning, with 3 of the 4 languages having the suffix encode only allativity. In Ye'kwana there is a joint locative-allative meaning.

²¹ It should be noted that this suffix is not productive in Macushi, but rather, it was found on a single postposition, *winîkîi* 'direction of, toward', from the stem *winî* 'in the direction of'.

*këtyë ‘allative’

The *këtyë ‘allative’ is one of the less common reconstructable suffixes, occurring in 5 of the 15 languages examined. This suffix appears in 3 of the 9 top-level subgroups.

Table 4 *këtyë

Parukatoan	Katxuyana	k	o	s	o	‘allative’
Parukatoan	Waiwai	k	o	s	o	‘allative’
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	k	o	s	o	‘allative’
Pekodian	Ikpéng	k		tx	i	‘allative’
Nahukwa	Kuikuro			t	i	‘allative’

For all languages except Kuikuro, we see an initial palatalization of the *t from the *y, an attested change (Meira and Franchetto 2005:140-41) and the retention of the *k.²²

For Katxuyana, Waiwai, and Hixkaryana, the *i is lost during this palatalization process. This particular change is not attested for any of these languages previously. These languages also show the expected *ë to o (Gildea et al. 2010:99). Ikpéng is also expected to have this change, however, the *ë reflex appears to have been lost. This is a merger of the *y and *ë, a previously attested change (Meira et al 2010). It is curious that the first *ë is also lost in Ikpéng, but that loss can be attributed to idiosyncratic syllable reduction. The Kuikuro reflex is the last of the reflexes that needs to be reconciled. The initial *kë loss can be explained via syllable reduction—as with the

²² The specific palatalization that occurs is attested for Hixkaryana and Ikpéng. Waiwai and Katxuyana are latter examined by Meira and the same reconstruction is given (Meira et al. 2010:503).

Ikpéng reflex this would either need to be idiosyncratic or an extremely old instance of syllable reduction as there is no trace of the noun that triggered this reduction.²³ There is also the issue of the loss of the **ë*, as the expected reflex is *e* (Gildea et al. 2010:98). The *i* reflex is expected here as well, with the previously attest **te* > *ti* in Kuikuro (Meira et. al 2010).

- (4) **këtyë* > **kësë* > *-koso* (Katsuyana, Waiwai, Hixkaryana)
 > **tyë* > **tee* > *-ti* (Kuikuro)
 > **ktyë* > **kty* > **kti* > *-kxi* (Ikpéng)

Semantically, all reflexes have the same meaning of allative, and thus, we can conclude that the proto-meaning was allative.

**irë* ‘perlative’

The postpositionalizing suffixes **irë* ‘Perlative’ has 4 reflexes. It is found in 3 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 5 **irë*

Guianan	Wayana	i	l	ë	‘perlative (through)’
Venezuelan	Akawaio		r	ö	‘locative (adjacent)’ ²⁴
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana		ry	e ²⁵	‘perlative’
Parukatoan	Waiwai		r	i	‘prolative’

²³ While one may be inclined to believe that the **kë* segment in **këi* and **këtyë* to be cognate, the **këi* reflex for Tiriyo makes this incredibly unlikely. For more on this, see the **këi* reconstruction and footnotes (above 44-45).

²⁴ Stegman uses ‘i’ for [ə] and ‘u’ for [ī]. Because of the confusion that can occur between the the IPA symbols for high vowel and Stegman’s symbols for high vowels, this work instead uses Fox’s orthography, by which ‘ö’ is used for [ə] and ‘ī’ for [ī].

²⁵ This is not a phonemic *e* but rather an orthographic one. In Hixkaryana, **e* and **i* merged.

The Wayana suffix reconstructs immediately. The other languages lose the initial **i*. In Hixkaryana, we see the **i* palatalize the **r*, giving **irë*, and the **i* is then subsequently lost. **r > *r̥* is attested by Meira and Franchetto before **i* (Meira & Franchetto 2005:152), however this is the first time that the palatalization is attested from a preceding *i*. In a search of the Hixkaryana lexical database, there were no instances of *ira* and almost no instances of *era*, with almost all attributed to onomatopoeias or borrowings from Portuguese. We now have motivation for **ira > rya*. The **ë* to *e* in Hixkaryana is then an assimilation of the **ë* to the palatalized **rhotic**, which is also previously unattested.²⁶ This then explains the Waiwai reflex, which has the **ë* undergo **progressive vowel harmony** before the word-initial **i* is dropped. The Akawaio reflex only has the loss of the word-initial **i*.

- (5) **irë* > *-ilë* (Wayana)
 > **irë* > **ryë* > *-rye* (Hixkaryana)
 > **iri* > *-ri* (Waiwai)
 > *-rö* (Akawaio)

As far as the semantic roles, we see two reflexes of perlocative, one of **prolative**, and one of locative. At first glance, this would suggest a perlocative meaning, as the majority of suffixes have the perlocative meaning. I believe that this first assessment is a correct one. The other reflexes can be reached through metaphorical extension. The

²⁶ These changes still need further research. While I did conduct a cursory examination of the Hixkaryana lexical database, it is cursory. Further, in-depth work needs to be done to both confirm this change in Hixkaryana more generally, but then also check this against other languages to see if there are similar changes that occur.

prolative ‘by means of’ or ‘via’, can easily be connected back to the ‘through’ path expression through the conceptualization of distance that needs to be traveled as being a three dimensional medium which then is traveled through by the use of some sort of tool or vehicle. For the locative reflex found in Akawaio, the explanation is about as simple. First, there is the type of locative position that this suffix asserts in Akawaio: it is not a general locative, but rather it denotes an adjacent location, or a location that is next to the point of reference. Given the shared atelicity of location and path and their common cross-linguistic merging, it would not be out of line for them to merge here. This is then just a merging of the ‘movement by or past’ perlocative meaning with the ‘located next to’ locative meaning.

***ro ‘perlocative’**

The **ro* ‘perlocative’ suffix is one of the less common of the reconstructable suffixes with 4 of the 15 languages having a reflex. It is found in 2 of the top-level subnodes.

Table 6 **ro*

Guianan	Wayana	l	o	‘perlocative (along)’
Venezuelan	Macushi	r	o	‘perlocative’
Venezuelan	Akawaio	r	o	‘locative’
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	r	o	‘ablative’

All reflexes reconstruct immediately. Semantically we see perlocative is the dominant semantic reflex by numbers, with 2 of the 4 being perlocative. From that, we see an ablative meaning, which as discussed previously, path has a tendency to merge with.

The same is true for path and location, as is seen in Akawaio. With Akawaio specifically, there is a general lack of description, rendering further analysis difficult.

***këkë ‘perlative’**

The *këkë ‘perlative’ suffix is the least common of the 13 comparatively reconstructable suffixes, appearing in only 2 of the 15 languages examined. It is found in 2 of the top-level subnodes. In both of the languages in which it does appear, however, it is quite productive.

Table 7 *këkë

Guianan	Ye’kwana	k	ö	k	ö	‘perlative’
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	k	o	k	o	‘perlative’

The Ye’kwana reflex reconstructs automatically. The Hixkaryana reflex follows the attested unconditional change from *ë to o that occurs in all instances in the language (Gildea et al. 2010:99).

- (6) *këkë > -kökö ~ -kö ~ -chökö (Ye’kwana)
 > -koko (Hixkaryana)

There is no semantic role change in this suffix.

***ye ‘ablative’**

The *ye ‘ablative’ suffix is one of the more common suffixes in the languages examined, appearing in 11 of the 15 languages. It is found in 4 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 8 *ye

Guianan	Ye’kwana,	j	a	i	‘perlative’
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Guianan	Ye'kwana ₂	i			'perlative'
Guianan	Dekwana	i			'ablative'
Guianan	Wayana	j	e		'ablative'
Apalaí	Apalaí	y	e		'ablative/perlative'
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	y	e		'ablative'
Parukatoan	Waiwai	y			'ablative'
Parukatoan	Katxuyana	y	e		'ablative' ²⁷
Guianan	Tiriyó		e		'perlative'
Venezuelan	Macushi	i			'ablative/perlative'
Venezuelan	Akawaio	i			'prolative, ablative, superessive'
Venezuelan	Panare	i			'ablative'

The Katxuyana, Apalaí, and Hixkaryana reflexes all automatically reconstruct as **ye*.

The loss of **y* in the morpheme initial position is unattested thus far (for suffixes) and marks an instance of irregular **aphaeresis** in Tiriyó. The **e* to \emptyset seen in the rest of the languages is not greatly attested but the **apocope** of the **e* is an attested irregular change in Kuikuro and Ikpéng (Meira and Franchetto 162). Given the high frequency use of this morpheme, it is more likely that irregular changes would occur. This change reconciles the Wayana (as the *e* is optional) and Waiwai reflexes. The remaining reflexes all have the **y* reinterpreted as a [i] following its diphthongization of the preceding syllable. This process is previously attested in Tiriyó and Macushi (Meria and Franchetto 2005:156) The Ye'kwana *-jai* /hai/, while listed as an allomorph of *-i*,

²⁷ Occasionally there is also a perlative meaning.

cannot be reconciled with the other reflexes in the cognate set, and thus is considered non-cognate. Likely, the *ja* segment is another morpheme that has lost any meaning.²⁸

- (7) **ye* > -*ye* (Katsuyana, Apalaí, Hixkaryana)
> -*e* (Apalaí, Tiriyo)
> -*y* (Waiwai, Wayana)
> -*i* (Macushi, Panare, Dekwana, Ye'kwana, Akawaio)

For the semantics of this suffix, there is also a relatively simple reconstruction. All but two of the reflexes have a meaning of 'ablative'. Both of the reflexes without an ablative meaning, those being the reflexes of Ye'kwana and Tiriyo, have a perlative meaning. This perlative-ablative conflation is seen in Katsuyana, Apalaí, Macushi, and Akawaio, suggesting that the merging of the semantic roles of perlative and ablative is common throughout the family. This does make a great deal of sense, as path is often merged with the three more basic spatiotemporal positions (i.e. location, source, and direction). Path is connected in spatiotemporal conceptualization to source in that, in order for motion to occur from a source it must inherently have path, so it makes sense that these are combined. Another interesting reflex is Akawaio, which has the prolativ, which is another expression of path, but then also the **superessive**. This meaning almost certainly comes through the path-location merging discussed above, as moving over something (the typical way that humans move with their bodies or with vehicles over

²⁸ This non-cognate *ja* could very well be a reflex **po*, as the linking of **po* and **ye* is attested, and it is the main way of deriving ablative postpositions in Macushi (Abbott 1991:112). It would then follow that this is a like innovation.

land or water) would inherently put someone in a superessive position relative to the ground.

***wë ‘locative’**

The *wë ‘locative’ suffix is one of the most common reconstructable suffixes, with 12 of the 15 languages examined having a reflex. It is found in 4 of the top-level subnodes. This is also the most unstable suffix phonetically.

Table 9 *wë

Guianan	Ye'kwana	w	ö	‘locative’
Guianan	Dekwana	w	ö	‘locative’
Guianan	Tiriyó	w	ë	‘locative’
Parukatoan	Katxuyana	w	o	‘locative’
Parukatoan	Waiwai ²⁹	w	(o)	‘locative’
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	w	o	‘locative’
Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname	w	o	‘locative (general area)’
Guianan	Wayana	u		‘locative’
Venezuelan	Panare	w	o	‘locative, allative, ablative’
Venezuelan	Akawaio	u		‘locative, allative, dative’
Apalaí	Apalaí		o	‘locative’

The *w reconstructs for all reflexes except Apalaí, Wayana and Akawaio. The loss of *w before *o* is attested in Tiriyó (Meira and Franchetto 2005:153) and it is also attested prior in Apalaí with *w- ‘1S_A’ > Ø (Gildea Personal Communication). This seems to be

²⁹ The -w ~ -wo alternation is a synchronic alternation, with -wo being found only on stems that end with a *t*.

likely, as existing databases have no instances of ‘wo’ for Apalaí. The **wë* > *w* is a commonly attested result of apocope. From here, the **w* is then reinterpreted as the vowel *u*, which reconciles the Wayana and Akawaio reflexes, assuming that they behave in the same manner as other languages in the family (Meira and Franchetto 2005:153). The **ë* follows the expected sound changes in all languages except Akawaio, Panare, Waiwai, Wayana (Gildea et al. 2010:98-100). The Akawaio and Wayana can be explained through syllable reduction. The Waiwai reflex could be a case of irregular apocope, the exact cause of this change is unclear. The Panare reflex is also irregular and has no explanation at this time.

- (8) **wë* > *-wö* (Ye’kwana, Tiriyo, Dekwana)
 > *-wo* (Panare, Waiwai, Kari’na of Suriname, Hixkaryana, Katxuyana)
 > *-w* (Waiwai)
 > *u* (Akawaio, Wayana)
 > *o* (Apalaí, Tiriyo)

Semantically, the form reconstructs quite cleanly to ‘locative’ without more specificity than existence coming from the suffix. In Panare, there is also an allative and ablative meaning. The connection of allative and locative and the connection of ablative and locative has already been had with **na*. Akawaio then has reflexes of allative and dative. Like with Panare, the allative-locative merger has already been had with **na*. The dative meaning almost certainly comes out of the allative meaning. The tie between allative and dative has already been discussed at length.

***po ‘locative (vertical support and contact)’**

The **po* ‘locative (contact)’ suffix is an interesting one. It is clearly a suffix in many languages. However, it is also a monomorphemic postposition in these languages. Further, there are several languages where it is solely a monomorphemic postposition. All instances of this as a monomorphemic postposition and all instances of it being used as a suffix can be found in Appendix B in Tables 1 and 5 respectively. It is found in 6 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 10 **po*

Suffixes Taken

Guianan	Wayana	p	o	‘locative’	<i>-na, -le, -lo</i>
Nahukwa	Kuikuro	p	o	‘locative’	
Apalaí	Apalaí	p	o	‘locative’ ³⁰	<i>-na, -e</i>
Guianan	Tiriyó	p	o	‘locative’	<i>-na, -e</i>
Venezuelan	Macushi	p	o	‘locative’	<i>-i, -ro, -na</i>
Venezuelan	Akawaio	p	o	‘locative’	<i>-i, -ro, -rĩ</i>
Venezuelan	Panare	p	o	‘locative’	<i>-na, -i, -in/-ñ</i>
Parukatoan	Waiwai	p	o	‘comparative’	<i>-na, -y, -ri, -ro (-na-ro)</i>
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	h	o	‘locative’	<i>-ye, -ha, -rye, -na, -rĩ</i>
Parukatoan	Katxuyana	h	o	‘locative’	<i>-ye, -na</i>

³⁰ Found in *tapo*, *tapoe*, and *tapona*. It is uncertain as to whether *tapo* is the stem or if *ta* is the stem with an added *-po*. These postpositions all belong to a set about relative location to a hammock (i.e. in, out of, and into a hammock, respectively). The actual word for hammock is not given, as these postpositions were found in a word list.

Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname	p	o	'locative'	-na, -ro
Guianan	Ye'kwana	j	o	'locative, allative/locative'	-i, -na
Guianan	Dekwana	h	o:	'locative'	-na
Pekodian	Ikpéng	p		'locative'	

**po* readily reconstructs immediately in all languages, except Ikpéng, given that the Hixkaryana Ye'kwana, Dekwana, and Katxuyana reflexes of **p* to *h* are previously attested (Meira and Franchetto 135). Ikpéng retains the **p* but loses the final **o*, which has not been attested previously.

- (9) **po* > *po* ~ *pa* (Katxuyana, Kuikuro, Apalaí, Macushi, Tiriyo, Panare,
Waiwai, Kari'na of Suriname, Akawaio)
> *ho, jo* (Ye'kwana, Katxuyana, Dekwana, Hixkaryana)
> *-p* (Ikpéng)

In looking at the semantics of **po*, we see that the reflexes all carry the meaning of 'locative', which is about as broad of a meaning that can exist (with the exception of Ye'kwana, which has an allative-locative merger, the semantics of which have already been discussed). In the languages that have suffixal forms of **po*, the meaning encoded is that same as the monomorphemic form. As such, the following will be a discussion of the monomorphemic reflexes and their respective semantics. For these, the common meaning shared by all forms is vertical support. 'At', or a general location near or adjacent to the referent without comment on degree of containment or contact, is also present for the majority of reflexes (5 of 11). Other locative meanings, such as inessive or an allative-locative merger, are also present in some of the reflexes. From this, we

can see that there is a common thread of ‘on’, or locative contact with vertical support. Many, if not most, of the languages also exhibit a tendency to have their reflex of **po* take on a more general locative meaning, which is exactly as Meira glosses it in Tiriyó, which is an interesting peculiarity of this morpheme (Meira 2006:335).

***të and *ta ‘inessive’**

The next suffix is likely actually two different suffixes: **të* and **ta*. There is conflicting evidence pointing to the two being the same suffixes. Both have inessive meanings and while the **të* is only a suffix, **ta* may be a suffix or a stem. That being said, there are no instances of **ta* with the **të* suffix. However, as the sound changes of the **ë* are documented and attested throughout the family such that the instances of ‘ta’ being a reflex of **të* being impossible,³¹ I have decided to consider them separate proto-forms at this time, though I want to believe that they came from the same source.³² The **të* ‘inessive’ suffix is one of the more common reconstructable suffixes, appearing in 8 of the 15 languages examined herein. It is found in 4 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 11 *të

Guianan	Ye’kwana	t	o ~ ö ³³	‘locative’
Guianan	Dekwana	d ~ t	ö	‘locative’

³¹ See Gildea et al. 98-100 for more on the evolution of **ë*

³² While it is true that all of these forms have an inessive meaning, a few of them have a slightly more refined inessive meaning. Wayana’s reflex as the specificity of ‘in a permanent location’. Macushi has the specificity of ‘located in a large place’. Tiriyó has the more precise meaning of ‘in/on an enclosed space). Perhaps with data from more languages or and more semantic information these two morphemes can be further sussed out.

³³ These appear to be in free variation with each other. There are only two examples thus far, however, and thus more data is needed to determine whether or not this is free variation or a conditioned change.

Guianan	Tiriyó	t	ë ³⁴	‘locative’
Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname	t	o	‘inessive’
Nahukwa	Kuikuro	t	e	‘inessive’
Apalaí	Apalaí	t	o	‘locative’
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	t	o	‘locative’
Parukatoan	Katxuyana	t	o	‘locative’

The **t* reconstructs for all reflexes except the Dekwana [d] ~ [t] alternation, which is explainable through attested intervocalic voicing (Meira and Franchetto 140). The **ë* reconstructs automatically in Tiriyó, Ye'kwana and Dekwana, as expected (Gildea et al 98). The variations in Tiriyó are result of synchronic ablaut. The **ë* to *o* and **ë* to *e* are the expected changes, thus completing its reconstruction (Gildea et al. 98-99).

- (10) **të* > *-të* (Ye'kwana, Dekwana, Tiriyó)
> *-dö* (Dekwana)
> *-to* (Ye'kwana, Katxuyana, Apalaí, Kari'na of Suriname, Hixkaryana)
> *-te* (Kuikuro)

**ta* has 8 reflexes that are predominately monomorphemic postpositions or postpositional stems. It is found in 4 of the 9 top level subnodes.

Table 12 **ta*

Suffixes it Takes

Guianan	Wayana	t	a	‘containment’	<i>-u, -k</i>
Guianan	Ye'kwana	t	a	‘locative’	<i>-wö, -ka, -nno</i>

³⁴ There are multiple instances of a *to* reflex. This occurs only when the stems ends with an ‘a’. In these cases, there appears to be the following synchronic rule: *-të* → *-to* /a__.

Guianan	Dekwana	d	a	‘locative’	-’ka
Nahukwa	Kuikuro	t	a	‘containment’	
Venezuelan	Macushi	t	a	‘locative’ ³⁵	-pa, -i, -pi’
Parukatoan	Katxuyana	t	a	‘inessive’	-wo, -wi, -ye, -ka
Parukatoan	Waiwai ³⁶	t	a	‘locative’	
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	t	a	‘inessive’	-po, -ro, -ka

The **a* reconstructs in all reflexes. The **t* reconstructs in all instances except for Dekwana. The Dekwana reflex occurs in intervocalic environments, an attested trigger for this change (Meira and Franchetto 140).

(11) **ta* > *-ta* (Wayana, Ye’kwana, Katxuyana, Kuikuro, Macushi, Waiwai, Kari’na of Suriname)

> *-da* ~ *-da:* (Dekwana)

Unlike the other locative suffixes, such as **po* and **wë*, **të* and **ta* exhibit behavior past that of simple locatives in many instances, instead conveying information specifically denoting that the subordinate object is ‘in’ the ground as specified by the stem (Kari’na of Suriname, Kuikuro, and Wayana). Given the inessive meaning found in several of the suffixes for both **të* and **ta*, I believe that the original semantic role of **të* was ‘inessive’. Seeing the use of **ta* as a stem, it is likely that it was originally a noun meaning ‘container’. The other, solely locative, suffixes would have then

³⁵ There is one instance of this suffix denoting allativity, *kata* ‘into/onto liquid’ (Abbott 1991:112).

³⁶ There is a synchronic, conditioned variation of this reflex, *-a*. This form is realized when following an [n] (i.e. /ta/ → [-a] / n__).

undergone a series of semantic bleaching, upon which the manner of location was lost over time.

***ke ‘instrumental’**

*ke ‘instrumental’ appears as a monomorphemic postposition in the languages examined. However, in three languages it is said to be a suffix as well. It is only seen to have some visible change of meaning or of the morphology of a word, however, in Kari’na of Suriname, where as a suffix it takes on a **similarative** meaning and as a monomorphemic postposition it carries the original meaning of instrumental. As a suffix, *ke is found in 3 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 13 *ke

Parukatoan	Katxuyana	k	e	‘instrumental’ ³⁷
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname ³⁸	k	e	‘instrumental, similarative’ other idiosyncratic meanings (below)
Nahukwa	Kuikuro	k	i	‘instrumental’

The only language with a sound change attested is Kuikuro, where there is a reflex of -*ki*, which is the expected change of **e* in Kuikuro (Meira and Franchetto 2005:162).

- (12) **ke* > *ke* (Katxuyana, Kari’na of Suriname)
> *ki* (Kuikuro)

³⁷ While the Katxuyana meaning is listed as instrumental, it is not clear what the actual use of this form is. The Katxuyana *-ke* appears in one postpositions, *tí’ke* ‘having the same size, distance, or quality (similarative)’. This is akin to the Kari’na of Suriname suffixal meaning.

³⁸ It is clear, outside of semantic change that *ke* is a suffix in Kari’na of Suriname due to the postposition *ùke* ‘with the head of’ from *upu* ‘head’ because of the syllable reduction that happens to the *upu* stem, as syllable reduction does not occur with postpositions but rather only with suffixes.

The only reflex that sees a change from the original meaning of ‘instrumental’ is that of Kari’na of Suriname. This reflex presents several different meanings: ‘instrumental’, ‘similarative’, as well as several idiosyncratic meanings discussed below. As for the change of semantic roles from instrumental to similarative, we can understand this change through the idea of instruments performing actions and the idea of instruments being objects. Through this frame, we see instruments are objects that perform actions. This logic then can be extended to all objects, including leaves and tails and sounds. The action that these objects perform is existence, by and large (though they may be able to be used for other actions as well). Thus, if an object is performing an action as indicated by these non-traditional instruments, then they must be functioning similar to them. They must be similar. Through this, the change from instrumental to similarative comes about. An example of this change comes with the postposition *etake* ‘in sound similar to’, which is a combination of *eta* ‘sound’ and *-ke*. There are two idiosyncratic meanings that are developed with *-ke*. First, there is *amonòke* ‘not quite far enough’ from *amonopy* ‘miss’. I have no ready explanation for this form. Then there is *atòke* ‘hateful to’ from *atoky* ‘sting, prick’. This can be understood through the idea of stings and pricks being tools for hating someone.

3 Monomorphemic Postpositions

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2, we reviewed the concept of the postpositionalizing suffixes, which were old monomorphemic postpositions that have grammaticalized into suffixes. In this Chapter, we step back to examine the reconstructable monomorphemic postpositions in the family. In 3.2 are the most common of these monomorphemic postpositions that can be reconstructed. Smaller cognate sets can be found within Appendix H.

3.2 Reconstructable Monomorphemic Postpositions

***pëkë ‘adhesion-attachment’**

The **pëkë* monomorphemic postposition is found in every language examined.

It appears in 7 of 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 14 **pëkë*

Guianan	Wayana	p	ë	k	ë	‘about’
Guianan	Tiriyó	p	ë	(k)	(ë)	‘on (adhesion)’
Guianan	Dekwana	h	ö	k	ö	‘living with, about’
Guianan	Ye’kwana	j	ö	k	ö	‘on(to)’
Apalaí	Apalaí	p	o	k	o	‘on (adhesion), about, in/on pole shape, occupied with’
Parukataon	Katxuyana	p	o	k	o	‘about, occupied with’
Parukatoan	Waiwai	p	o	k	o	‘about, occupied with, attached to, holding on to’
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	h	o	k	o	‘occupied with, locative, about’
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	p	o	k	o	‘over, against’

Waimirí Atroarí	Waimiri	p	y	k	y	‘because’
Venezuelan	Akawaio	p	ï	‘		‘addressee, allative, about, on, with (living with), in order to’
Venezuelan	Macushi	p	î	‘		‘at, to (dative)’
Venezuelan	Panare	p	ë	‘		‘about, at, upon, concerning’
Pekodian	Ikpéng	p	o	k		‘in, living with’
Nahukwa	Kuikuro	h	e	k	e	‘ergative, static ablative, about/concerning/occupied with/perspective, cause’

The Wayana and Tiriyo reflexes reconstruct immediately. The Panare reflex also reconstructs after syllable reduction of **k* to the glottal stop, though with no clear motivation. The Dekwana and Ye’kwana reflexes reconstruct with the weakening of **p* to *h*, also attested in Hixkaryana and Kuikuro in the initial position of the morpheme (Meira and Franchetto 135). Katxuyana, Hixkaryana, Waiwai, Kari’na of Suriname, and Ikpéng all reconstruct with the **ë* shifting to the expected *o* (Gildea et al. 99). Waimiri and Macushi all have the expected **ë* to *ï* change (Gildea et al. 99), with Akawaio and Macushi also experiencing final syllable reduction of **kë*, like Panare. The Kuikuro reflex also has the expected **ë* to *e* change (Gildea et al. 99).

- (1) **pëkë* > *pëkë* (Wayana, Tiriyo)
- > *pë(kë)*, *pë’* ~ *pë(j)* (Tiriyo, Panare)
- > *pëk* (Wayana)
- > *jökö* (Ye’kwana), *hökö* (Dekwana)
- > *poko* (Katxuyana, Apalaí, Waiwai, Kari’na of Suriname)
- > *hoko* (Katxuyana, Hixkaryana)

> *pok* ~ *wok* (Ikpéng)

> *pyky* (Waimiri)

> *pî'* (Macushi, Akawaio)

> **peke* > *heke* (Kuikuro)

In looking at the semantics of the reflexes of *pëkë, there is a wide variety of different meanings, some of which are more conceptually basic, and other of which are more grammatical. While these meanings will all be discussed at length, Figure 1 gives a visual representation of the semantic change of this postposition.

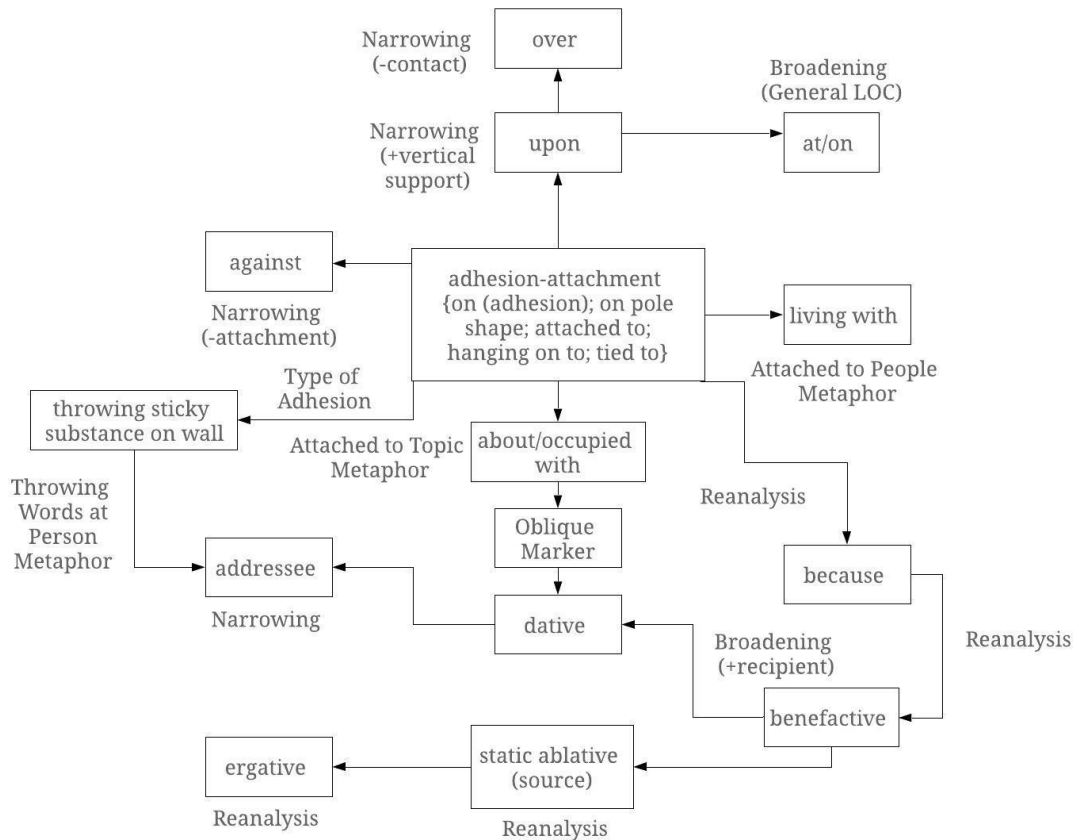


Figure 1 *pëkë Diachronic Semantic Map

In examining the meanings of this postposition, it becomes immediately clear as to what its source semantic value was: adhesion-attachment. This is seen with the modern

reflexes of ‘on (adhesion)’, ‘on pole shape’, ‘attached to’, ‘hanging on to’, and ‘tied to’. It is important to note that there is not vertical support in the source meaning. **pëkë* undergoes many different extensions from this original meaning. The clearest of these extensions come in the spatial domain. The meaning of ‘against’ is a case of narrowing with the loss of the ‘attachment’ part of the original meaning, leaving horizontal support. A different path of change comes with the ‘upon’ meaning, which gives the addition of vertical support. From there, a narrowing occurs with the loss of contact to give the ‘over’ meaning. Also changing from ‘upon’ is the broadening of the meaning to simply mean ‘statically located (without containment)’. Returning to the original meaning, there is the metaphorical extension of being attached to the people that one lives with. This gives the meaning of ‘living with’.

Another modern semantic reflex is ‘addressee’. There are two different potential paths of change to this reflex, both of which I will discuss. The first comes first from the idea of throwing a sticky substance, such as mud, at a wall or other horizontal surface, which it could stick on. This would be a clear use of the ‘adhesion’ meaning of **pëkë*. From here, there could be a metaphorical extension of this to words being thrown at a person and sticking to them and their thoughts. The other potential path of change comes through the attested and widespread change of ‘adhesion-attachment’ to ‘about/occupied with’. This change comes through the metaphorical extension of thoughts being attached to one’s brain when they are being thought of. From here, there would need to be reanalysis of the ‘about/occupied with’ as an oblique argument marker (unattested intermediary stage) and then further reanalysis from the oblique marker to a dative marker, which is another attested reflex. After reaching the dative meaning, there

would then be narrowing to the ‘addressee’ meaning. Rewinding back to the source meaning, there is another path of change. The ‘because’ meaning comes from a reanalysis of the ‘location’ meaning found in the source domain. This extension is seen in English, among many other languages, with sentences such as ‘At the firing of the cannons, the city walls fell’. In these sentences, the temporal location of the event is then reanalyzed as a cause, as once there is a temporal location, an event, such as the firing of cannons, can be the location at which another event occurs. This can be reanalyzed as the cause of the event. This same logic allows for a marker of cause to mark a beneficiary of an action, as they by benefiting from an event can be seen as an indirect cause of the action (Luraghi 2010:129). This beneficiary meaning can also broaden to give the source of a dative meaning, giving an alternative path of change.

The last meanings to be reconciled are those of Kuikuro’s *heke* ‘ergative, static ablative’. While a dative can be a source of an ergative construction, this seems unlikely given the paths of change to the dative as discussed above, as given the dual meaning of ‘ergative’ and ‘static ablative’, it is likely that the ergative, being further from the original semantic value of the proto-postposition, comes from the ‘static ablative’ meaning. This idea of agents being the sources of events is well attested (Luraghi 2010:144). The ‘static ablative’ meaning is hard to place, but it could have arisen from the aforementioned ‘beneficiary’ meaning or from the ‘cause’ meaning, as both of these meanings act as sources or origins from which an event occurs (Luraghi 2010:128).

***pëkërë ‘behind (antessive)’**

**pëkërë* is a monomorphemic postposition that has four reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 15 *pëkë-rë

Guianan	Tiriyó	p	ë	k	ëë	r	ë	‘after, following’
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	p	o	k	o	r	o	‘nearest to, next to’
Venezuelan	Macushi	p	î	k	î	r	î	‘up to, following’
Venezuelan	Akawaio	p	ï	k	ï			‘behind, after’

All reflexes reconstruct, given the known changes of *ë (Gildea et al. 98-99), with two caveats. The Tiriyó reflex gains vowel length for the medial syllable and the exact cause of this is uncertain. The Akawaio reflex undergoes apocope of the *rë, which is the same sequence that is attested to undergo apocope in 6 other languages (Meira and Franchetto 152).³⁹

- (2) *pëkë-rë > pëkëë-rë (Tiriyó)
 > pîkîrî (Macushi)
 > piki (Akawaio)
 > pokoro (Kari'na of Suriname)

In looking at the meanings of these reflexes, we see that the majority of them are denoting an antessive location, either in a static locative sense (‘before’), a relative or temporal sense (‘after’), or in a non-static locative sense (‘following’).

³⁹ That is, if the *rë is part of the stem at all. It is hypothesized that it is instead the emphatic particle that has been incorporated within the stems of the attested cases of apocope, which then could also be occurring here (Meira and Franchetto 152). That is, *pëkë-rë ‘adhesion-attachment + -emphatic particle’. While this is a strong formal argument, there is also the matter of semantics. The semantics of the reflexes of this stem all have meanings that appear to be distinct from those of *pëkë, which then argues against the emphatic particle hypothesis (i.e. antessiveness does not have any clear link to adhesion-attachment).

***marë ‘comitative (inclusive)’**

The **marë* monomorphemic postposition has five reflexes. It appears in 4 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 16 **marë*

Guianan	Wayana	m	a	l	ë	‘comitative (inclusive)’
Venezuelan	Akawaio	m	a	r	ï	‘comitative’
Apalaí	Apalaí	m	a	r	o	‘comitative’
Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname	m	a	r	o	‘comitative’
Waimirí Atroarí	Waimiri	m	a	n	y	‘comitative, and, too’

The Wayana reflex reconstructs immediately. The Akawaio, Apalaí, Kari'na of Suriname, and Waimiri reflexes all undergo the attested **ë* changes (Akawaio and Waimiri **ë > ï, y*; Apalaí and Kari'na of Suriname **ë > o*). The only other change that needs to be explained is the **r* to *n* in Waimiri, which does not have any clear motivation other than the change of **r > n*. This relationship of *r ~ n* is seen in Panare and Wayana which could then be a shared innovation that Waimiri has.

- (3) **marë > malë* (Wayana)
 > mari (Akawaio)
 > many (Waimiri)
 > maro (Apalaí and Kari'na of Suriname)

All of the reflexes carry the meaning of ‘comitative’. The Wayana reflex has the added meaning of ‘inclusive’. This is part of a contrastive inclusive-exclusive set in Wayana. As none of the other languages make such a distinction (at least none is listed in the

source material), this is the basis of the reconstruction of **marë* as ‘committative (inclusive).

***akërë ‘committative (exclusive)’**

**akërë* is a monomorphemic postposition that appears in 8 of the 15 languages examined herein. It appears in 3 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 17 **akërë*

Venezuelan	Macushi	y-	a	r	a	kk	î	r	î	‘committative’
Venezuelan	Akawaio				a	k	ï	r	ï	‘committative’
Venezuelan	Panare	y-			a	j				‘committative’
Guianan	Wayana				a	k	ë	l	ë	‘committative’
Parukatoan	Katxuyana				a	k	o	r	o	‘committative’
Parukataon	Hixkaryana	y-			a	k	o	r	o	‘committative’
Parukatoan	Waiwai				a	k		r	o	‘committative’
Guianan	Dekwana	d-			a	k	ö			‘committative’

None of the reflexes automatically reconstruct from **akërë*. The Macushi reflex has the noncognate *ra* element. The Macushi reflex has the **ë* undergo the expected shift to *î* (Gildea et al. 99). It also gains an extra *k*, which is likely gemination due to prosody. Hixkaryana, Katxuyana, and Waiwai all have **ë > o*, as is expected (Gildea et al. 99). This change alone gives the Hixkaryana reflex. The Waiwai reflex is achieved by the loss of the **o* between the **k* and **r*. This is unattested at the present time though it is possible that this is an instance of syllable reduction. The Wayana maintains the **ë*, as expected (Gildea et al. 98). The Akawaio reflex also has **ë > ï*, as expected (Gildea et al. 98). The Dekwana reflex maintains the **ë* as expected (Gildea et al. 98), however it

does experience unconditioned apocope of the **rë*, which is attested in Panare, though it is previously unattested in Dekwana (Meira and Franchetto 152). The Panare reflex undergoes the most severe changes, as it experiences reduction of **kë* to *j*.⁴⁰

- (4) **akërë* > **akiri* > *yarakkîrî* (Macushi)
 > *a'kiri* (Akawaio)
 > *akëlë* (Wayana)
 > *yakoro* (Hixkaryana, Katxuyana)
 > *akro* (Waiwai)
 > *dakö* (Dekwana)
 > *yaj* (Panare)

The meaning of every reflex is the same: committative. As discussed with **marë*, due to the distinction within Wayana between an inclusive and exclusive committative and the prevalence of both forms across the family (though both found in the same language in only Apalaí and Akawaio), I believe this is historically ‘committative (exclusive)’.

***te ‘desiderative’**

**te* is a monomorphemic postposition that has reflexes in 11 of the 15 languages examined. It appears in 5 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 18 **te*

Guianan	Wayana				s	e	‘desiderative’
Apalaí	Apalaí				s	e	‘desiderative’

⁴⁰ With such a high degree of reduction it may seem suspect to include the Panare reflex in this cognate set. The reflex is included because it fits semantically and it can be reasonably reconstructed from the proto-form with normal sound changes within the family.

Guianan	Tiriyó				s	e	‘desiderative’	
Guianan	Dekwana				s	e	‘desiderative’	
Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname				‘	s	e	‘desiderative’
Venezuelan	Macushi	j	u	‘	-s	e	‘desiderative’	
Parukatoan	Waiwai				x	e	‘desiderative’	
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana				x	e	‘desiderative’	
Parukatoan	Katxuyana				tx	e	‘desiderative’	
Waimirí Atroarí	Waimiri				s	y	‘desiderative’	

**e* reconstructs in all languages except Waimiri. Waimiri has not been examined previously and thus the behavior of **e* is unknown, but the **e* > *i* has been attested only in Panare thus far besides one instance of vowel harmony in Yukpa (Meira and Franchetto 160). At this time there are no explanations for this change. The **t* > *s/_e* reflexes in Macushi, Hixkaryana, and Tiriyó are all previously attested and expected (Meira and Franchetto 141). Assuming that the other languages where the **t* palatalizes into an alveolar fricative, post-alveolar fricative, or post-alveolar affricate follow the same palatalization pattern as all of the languages examined by Meira and Franchetto, then in all of the other languages, **t* can be reconciled.

- (5) **te* > *se* (Wayana, Apalaí, Tiriyó, Dekwana, Kari'na of Suriname)
- > *ju'se* (Macushi)
- > *xe* (Waiwai, Hixkaryana)
- > *-sy* (Waimiri)
- > *txe* (Katxuyana)

As all reflexes have the meaning ‘desiderative’, this reconstructs as the original meaning.

***wara ‘similarative’**

*wara is a monomorphemic postposition with 7 reflexes. It appears in 4 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 19 *wara

Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	w		a	r	a				‘similarative’
Parukatoan	Katxuyana	w		a	r	a				‘equative’
Parukatoan	Waiwai	w		a	r	a				‘similarative’
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	w	y	a	r	o				‘similarative’
Venezuelan	Macushi	w		a	r	a	n	t	î	‘similarative’
Venezuelan	Akawaio	w		a	r	a			i	‘similarative’
Waimirí Atroarí	Waimiri	w		a	t	a	‘			‘similarative’

The Katxuyana, Kari’na of Suriname, and Waiwai reflexes construct automatically. Waimiri, Macushi, and Akawio reflexes all reconstruct as well, though they have extra non-cognate elements on the end of their respective stems. The Waimiri reflex further has **r > t*, which is unexpected. The Hixkaryana reflex has a noncognate *y* which cannot be explained, as well as a shift from **a* to *o*, which while attested in instances of anticipatory vowel harmony in the language, has no ready explanation at this time (Meira and Franchetto 159).⁴¹ The Akawaio *i* element, Machushi *ntî* element, and the Waimiri ‘ element are all noncognate.

- (6) *wara > wara (Katxuyana, Waiwai, Kari’na of Suriname)

⁴¹ It has been suggesting to me that this could be related to the **y*- 3rd person marker (Gildea Personal Communication), though the exact nature of this *y* in Hixkaryana is at this time unknown.

> *wata-* ' (Waimiri)

> **waro* > *wyaro* (Hixkaryana)

> *wara-i* (Akawaio)

> *wara-ntî* (Macushi)

In looking at the meanings that are given by these reflexes, we see the most common of these reflexes is ‘similarative’. An equative meaning is also found in Katxuyana, which is either a narrowing or an alternative label for the same concept.

***wiya ‘dative’**

**wiya* is a monomorphemic postposition that is highly grammatical in nature. It has reflexes in 12 of the 15 languages examined. It appears in 5 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 20 **wiya*

Parukatoan	Katxuyana	w	(i)	y	a	‘benefactive, ergative, causee’
Parukatoan	Waiwai	(w)		y	a	‘dative’
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	(w)		y	a	‘dative’
Venezuelan	Panare	u		y	a	‘dative’
Venezuelan	Akawaio	u		y	a	‘ergative’
Venezuelan	Macushi			y	a	‘dative, conditional, when, if’
Guianan	Tiriyó			j	a	‘dative’
Waimirí Atroarí	Waimiri			y	a	‘ergative, dative’
Apalaí	Apalaí				a	‘ergative, dative’
Guianan	Dekwana	w	ö			‘dative’

Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname	:w			a	'dative'
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The Katxuyana reflex reconstructs automatically. The optionality of the Katxuyana *i* shows that Katxuyana is currently undergoing reduction of the **wi* syllable, which has already occurred in Waiwai and Hixkaryana and is a previously attested change in Hixkaryana, both of which keep the **w* (Meira and Franchetto 166). This has also occurred in Panare and Akawaio, which had **wi* > *u* through syllable reduction, which is previously attested in Panare (Meira and Franchetto 153). Macushi, Tiriyó, Waimiri, and Apalaí lose the **wi* syllable altogether, likely from syllable reduction as evidenced from the aforementioned examples, though irregular aphaeresis could also be occurring. Dekwana experiences a shift of **i* to *ö*, for which I have no current motivation. **ya* reconstructs in all languages except Apalaí, Kari'na of Suriname, and Dekwana. Apalaí loses the **y*, which is akin to the loss of the **y*- 'REL', which Apalaí did lose. The Kari'na of Suriname also loses the **y*, though in this instance intervocalically. This is unattested and unexpected, though it could be explained through analogy to the loss of the **y* in Apalaí, as with most words ending with a vowel, the **y* in Apalaí would also be in an intervocalic environment the majority of the time, though this would be across word boundaries. The Dekwana reflex experiences unconditioned apocope of the **ya* syllable.

- (7) **wiya* > *wiya* (Katxuyana)
 > *wya* (Katxuyana, Waiwai, Hixkaryana)
 > *wa* (Kari'na of Suriname)
 > *uya* (Panare, Akawaio)

> *ya* (Macushi, Waimiri), *ja* (Wayana, Tiriyo)

> *a* (Apalaí)

> *wö* (Dekwana)

The meanings of the reflexes of this stem are scattered and highly grammatical. The most common of these meanings by far is ‘dative’, though ‘ergative’ and ‘conditional’ meanings are also found. Any sense of an original spatial meaning has been lost at this point in time. The reanalysis from the dative to the ergative is explained in detail in Gildea 2003:5-7.

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, the most widespread reconstructable monomorphemic postpositions were examined. Monomorphemic postpositions are postpositions that take no postpositionalization suffixes. Most of these postpositions have modern reflexes that convey meaning regarding grammatical relations. There are two commitative postpositions, one inclusive and one exclusive. There is also a widespread mental state postposition in **te* ‘desiderative’. Smaller cognate sets can be found within Appendix H. Next will be Chapter 4, which will cover postpositional stems, which are morphemes that require postpositionalizing suffixes to function as postpositions. These stems can be either opaque in their original meaning with no synchronic source or transparent, with a synchronic source in at least one language

4 Postpositional Stems

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1 we reviewed the concepts of Ground and Path, with Ground describing the ‘background’ that an object exists relative to in some manner and Path describing the spatiotemporal relationship between the object and the ground. We also discussed the topic of grammaticalization and how free morphemes over time can become bound suffixes. In Chapter 2, we reviewed the reconstructable suffixes that exist across the Cariban family, all of which express the Path that objects take. Further, we discussed the difference between monomorphemic (i.e. non-compositional) postpositions and compositional postpositions, with compositional postpositions being comprised of a stem that expresses the ground and a suffix that expresses the path. In this chapter, we will look more closely at the stems, and the kinds of ground they express. Many of these stems are in the bound morpheme phase of grammaticalization—existing only as postpositional stems that can occur with one or more postpositionalizing suffixes. For each language the inventory of stems is different and cognate stems may be bound in one and free in others (and thus able to serve in other parts of speech).

In order to better understand and express these changes, I have sorted the stems into four distinct categories: ancient stems, old stems, new stems, and language specific stems. As the goal of this work is to reconstruct widespread postpositions in the family little time will be given to the language specific stems. It is also important to note that while most of the stems in the family take suffixes, there are some stems in some languages that have no discernable suffixes so that today they appear to be themselves

monomorphemic postpositions. These are typically ancient stems, old stems, or language specific stems.⁴² An ancient stem is a stem that is pervasive across the languages of the family, with the ancient stems herein having reflexes in at least 9 of the top-level family nodes. Ancient stems have no clear source, but a fairly consistent form and meaning and they are often monomorphemic. An old stem is a stem whose origin is unclear but that appears in fewer languages than ancient stems (i.e. that appear in at least 2 of the top-level family nodes). Such stems are not attested outside of postpositions. A new stem is a stem that we know the origin of, as it is still a noun either in the language that is being examined, or in another related language. Generally speaking, the new stems have more specific meanings vis-a-vis old and ancient stems.⁴³ These distinctions are graphically represented in Figure 2 below.

	Only In Postposition	Origin Unclear	Widespread	Breadth of Meaning
Ancient	Y	Y	Y	Y
Old	Y	Y	N	Y
New	N	N	Y/N	N

Figure 2 Cariban Postpositional Stem Classifications

These classifications are meant as a comparative classification rather than a language-specific one. This issue comes to the forefront with new and old postpositions. Many of the new postpositions have a synchronic source in only a fraction of languages in which there are cognates for the stem. In such instances, the reconstructed form is considered

⁴² A full list of non-compositional postpositions please see Appendix B Tables 1 and 2.

⁴³ For a full set of postpositional cognate stems, please see Appendix F. For a full list of non-cognate suffixes, please see Appendix D.

here to be new, as the forms have not been lexicalized so far as to have lost all semblance of the original meaning.

4.2 Ancient Stems

In looking at ancient stems, they all share the commonalities of being pervasive across the family, having no clear source, being fairly consistent across the reflexes in form and meaning, and having fairly broad meanings. In this paper we have already examined several of these ancient stems. We examined **ke*, **po*, and **të*, both of which are in the process of grammaticalizing into suffixes. This was also seen in Macushi's *ka* 'allative', which is the last vestige of **ka* as a postposition with all other reflexes already being suffixes. As I have already discussed **ina*, **ka*, **ke*, **po*, and **ta* in Section 3, they will not be discussed here.

***kuwa 'liquid'**

The **kuwa* stem has reflexes in 14 of the 15 languages examined and 7 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 21 **kuwa*

Nahukwa	Kuikuro			k	u		a	'in liquid'	<i>kuati</i>
Apalaí	Apalaí			k	u		a	'[LOC] liquid'	<i>kuao, kuaka, kuae</i>
Parukatoan	Waiwai			k	w		a	'[LOC] liquid'	<i>kwaw, kwaka, kway</i>
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana			k	w		a	'[LOC] water'	<i>kwawo, kwaka, kwaye, kwaha</i>
Parukatoan	Katxuyana			k	u	w	a	'in liquid'	<i>kuwawĩ, kuwaka, kuwaye</i>

Guianan	Wayana			k	w		a	‘in liquid’	<i>k(u)wa, kwata, kwak</i>
Guianan	Ye’kwana			k	w		a	‘in liquid’	<i>kwawö, kwaka, kwai</i>
Guianan	Dekwana	h	a	k			ö	‘[LOC] liquid’	<i>hakökö</i>
Pekodian	Ikpéng			g	w		a	‘[LOC] liquid’	<i>gwaktxi</i>
Venezuelan	Macushi			k			a	‘[LOC] liquid’	<i>ka, kata, kapai</i>
Venezuelan	Akawaio			k			a	‘[LOC] liquid’	<i>kau, ka’, kapai</i>
Venezuelan	Panare	(j)		k			o	‘[LOC] liquid’	<i>(j)koka</i>
Waimirí Atroarí	Waimiri			k			a	‘[LOC] liquid’	<i>ka, kaka</i>
Guianan	Tiriyó	h		k			a	‘in water’	<i>hkao, hkaka</i>

The Katxuyana reflex reconstructs automatically. While this form is the only one that maintains the full **kuwa*, all languages except Ikpéng retain the **k*, and in Ikpéng **k > g* intervocalically, with the postposition usually following a vowel-final noun. There is also a lack of epenthesis attested anywhere in the family. Furthermore, the Katxuyana *kuwa* is said to reduce to *kwa* when it takes person-marking prefixes (Gildea Personal Communication). In Kuikuro, Apalaí, and Ikpéng reflexes experiences reduction of the **w* through syllable reduction (Meira and Franchetto 153). The Waiwai, Hixkaryana, and Ye’kwana reflexes also experience the loss of **w*, with the *u* being used in their orthographies in this position to represent the [w]. The Macushi, Akawaio, Waimiri, Tiriyó, Panare, and Dekwana reflexes all undergo loss of the **uw*. There is no

previously attested reason for this change to occur. The Tiriyó, Panare, and Dekwana reflexes all have a glottal [h] before the *k, with the Dekwana reflex having a *ha* before the *k. These are most likely noncognate elements, with the aforementioned Dekwana *ha* looking suspiciously like the final syllable of **tuna* ‘water, river’. The Panare reflex has **a* go to *o*. This is not an attested change in Panare and has no clear explanation. The Dekwana *ö* is completely unexpected and irregular.

- (1) **kuwa* > *kuwa* (Katxuyana)
 > *kwa* (Wayana, Ye’kwana, Waiwai, Hixkaryana)
 > *gwa* (Ikpéng)
 > *kua* (Wayana, Kuikuro, Apalaí)
 > *ka* (Macushi, Waimiri, Akawaio)
 > *hka* (Tiriyó)
 > **ko* > (*j*)*ko* (Panare)
 > **kö* > *hakö* (Dekwana)

Semantically, these forms all specify that the ground is water or liquid, leading to its reconstruction as ‘liquid’.

**ya* ‘container’

The **ya* stem has reflexes in 10 of the 15 languages examined and 5 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 22 **ya*

Venezuelan	Macushi		y	a	‘inside, in (open place)’	<i>ya, yai, yapai, yapí</i>
Venezuelan	Panare		y	a	‘on, in, inside, when, during’	<i>ya,, yawo, yaana, yaanapa’ke, yaka,</i>

						<i>-yìn ~ -yan ~ -yen</i>
Venezuelan	Akawaio		y	a	‘in’	<i>ya’, yau, yapai, yai</i>
Pekodian	Hixkaryana		y	a	‘in, on’	<i>yawo, yaye, yaka, yaha, yarye</i>
Pekodian	Waiwai	(h)	y	a	‘in, to live with’	<i>yaw, yay, yari, yaka</i>
Guianan	Wayana		(j)	a	‘inside of’	<i>(j)a, jau, ailë, jak</i>
Nahukwa	Kuikuro			a	‘in’	<i>ata, ati</i>
Apalaí	Apalaí			a	‘in (small container)’	<i>ao, ae, aka</i>
Guianan	Tiriyó			a	‘in(side)’	<i>aka, ae</i>
Guianan	Dekwana ⁴⁴			a	‘locative, when, where’	<i>awö, aka</i>

The Macushi, Panare, Hixkaryana, Akawaio, and Wayana reflexes reconstruct automatically. The Waiwai reflex also reconstructs, though it has what is likely a noncognate glottal fricative at the start of the word, as no other language has any sign of another syllable in that position. The Kuikuro, Apalaí, Tiriyó, and Dekwana reflexes all undergo the aphaeresis of *y. It should be noted that Wayana is also beginning this process of the loss of *y, with the *j* being optional in Wayana.⁴⁵

- (2) *ya > ya (Macushi, Panare, Waiwai, Hixkaryana, Akawaio), (j)a (Wayana)
> a (Kuikuro, Apalaí, Tiriyó, Dekwana)

⁴⁴ The transcriptions of Dekwana sources were incredibly varied. Based on the phonemic realizations of this morpheme in sister languages, the non-glottalized and non-lengthened instance of this morpheme was chosen as the reflex, with other instances being resultant of other factors, such as rhythm for vowel length. The other allomorphic variations of this reflex can be found within its the *ya correspondence in Appendix F.

⁴⁵ The *j* is optional when it is acting as a monomorphemic postposition (Tavares 2005:298). It must be excluded when with the *-ilë* suffix (Tavares 2005:302).

The semantics of the reflexes are quite consistent, with the most common reflexes denoting 'inside'. Some of the reflexes have expanded to a more general 'locative' function, such as the Hixkaryana reflex, which includes both the 'inessive' and 'on' meanings, or Dekwana, where the meaning has expanded to fit a more general locative meaning. A few languages add some specificity as to the type of container of the location, but keep the inessive meaning. The reflex of 'where' found in Dekwana can be thought of as a metaphorical extension in which locations are containers that objects may be in. The Waiwai reflex 'to live with' is an extension of living in the company of another person, metaphorically treating the person as a container. For some, there is an expansion from beyond the realm of the physical to that of the temporal, with the reflexes of 'when' and 'during'. The same metaphorical extension is seen in both, with the thought process being that of envisioning time in terms of discrete units, which are then objects, which in turn contain the different events and happenings that occur during that time can be thought of as occurring within that container (Heine and Kuteva 2002:205). This is also seen in English in sentences such as 'On hearing the alarm, we left the building.'

4.3 Old Stems

In looking at old stems, they all share an unknown origin and exist as bound morphemes. They are generally less widespread than ancient stems. As a general tendency, most of the mental state postpositions and grammatical postpositions either are or contain old stems.

***ëpo ‘top’**

The *ëpo stem has the reflexes in 11 of the 15 languages examined herein. It occurs in 3 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 23 *ëpo

Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	y-	o ~ e	h	e	‘above, comparative base’	<i>eho ~ oho, yoho, - ohoye, -ohokoso, - ohokoko</i>
Parukatoan	Waiwai		e	p	o	‘above’	<i>epoy, epona, epori</i>
Parukatoan	Katxuyana	y-	o	h	o	‘by the top of’	<i>yohoye</i>
Venezuelan	Panare	y-	a	p	a	‘on top of, over’	<i>yapaya ~ yapaye</i>
Venezuelan	Macushi	y-	e	p	o	‘down/below, up/above’	<i>yepoi</i>
Venezuelan	Akawaio		e	p	o	‘above’	<i>epoi</i>
Guianan	Tiriyó		e	p	o	‘above, over’	<i>epoena(ka), epoena(kii), epo, epona, epoe</i>
Guianan	Wayana		e	p	o	‘above’	<i>epo, epoi</i>
Guianan	Dekwana		e	h	o	‘comparative base’	<i>ehode'kö, ehodato</i>
Guianan	Ye'kwana		ö'	j	oi	‘above’	<i>ö'joiye, ö'joiyakökö</i>

There are no reflexes that reconstruct immediately. The Katxuyana and Hixkaryana reflexes both have the first *ë > o and the *p > h. The later of the two changes is weakening that is attested in Hixkaryana in an intervocalic environment, which I propose is also occurring in Katxuyana (Meira and Franchetto 135). *ë > o is also expected. One of the Hixkaryana forms shows an unexpected *o > e. Given that it is in only one of the forms and that the o vowel is still seen, I believe that this is synchronic variation. The Panare reflex is expected in regards to the two instances of a. The only

attested changes of **e > a* occur as a result of ablaut when the word in question has a *j* prefix, which is the case here (Meira and Franchetto 160). The second *a* in the Panare reflex then would be resultant of progressive vowel harmony. The Ye'kwana reflex shows the expected **ë > ö* and **p > h*. The glottalization of the *ö* is without explanation. Lastly, the **o* undergoes diphthongization from the **y* from the **ye* suffix, resulting in /oi/. However, the **ye* is retained, instead of the typical loss through reanalysis that typically occurs with diphthongization, such as in Tiriyo and Macushi, where **y* is reanalyzed as an *i*, which then triggers the diphthongization (Meira and Franchetto 156). The *y*- segments are the relational prefix.

- (3) **ëpo > epo* (Wayana, Tiriyo, Kari'na)
 > epoe (Tiriyo)
 > yepoi (Macushi), *epoi* (Akawaio)
 > epoy (Waiwai)
 > yapaye (Panare)
 > eho (Hixkaryana, Dekwana) *> yohoye* (Katxuyana, Hixkaryana)
 *> *ëho-ye > *ëhoiye > ö'joiye* (Ye'kwana)

In looking at the meanings of these reflexes, the overwhelming majority of them have the meaning of 'above'. Two are used in comparison which is of no surprise to any English or Indo-European speaker, as height is often used as a measure of comparison. In Panare we see an 'over' and 'on top of' meaning develop. The difference between above and over, at least in my mind, is minute. Both are still discussing an object existing in a point in space that is higher on a vertical axis. 'on top of', then, is removing the prerequisite of non-contact. Ye'kwana has the meaning 'by the top of',

which is the same position spatially (higher on the vertical axis), but instead there is an encoding of path. The Tiriyo ‘enough (satisfactive)’ comes from a frame of reference of filling an object, perhaps a belly. The object will be filled to a certain point until it is deemed satisfactory. For a stomach, this would be eating until you are full. As there is an increase in the vertical axis with filling a container, we have the connection. This is then abstracted to be used in other contexts, such as needs or emotions or experiences being containers as well. Thus, we can say that the original semantic form for this stem is ‘top’.

***uwapo ‘ahead of’**

The **uwapo* stem has 6 reflexes. It occurs in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 24 **uwapo*

Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname		u	w	a	p	o	‘before’	<i>uwapo,</i> <i>uwaporo</i>
Guianan	Wayana		u	w	a	p	(o)	‘ahead of’	
Guianan	Ye’kwana		o	w	a	j	o	‘ahead, behind’	
Guianan	Dekwana		o	w	ā	h	o	‘before’	
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	(y)-		w	a	h	o	‘first, leading, going in, front of’	<i>ywahoro</i>
Guianan	Tiriyo			w	a	p	o	‘before, ahead of, first’	

The Kari’na of Suriname and Wayana reflexes reconstruct immediately. The Ye’kwana and Dekwana reflexes both have the expected **p > h* as well as **u > o* which is irregular and unattested previously. Hixkaryana has the expected weakening of **p > h* discussed above, with the seeming addition of **u > j*. This change is completely

unattested, though it may yet be cognate. There are four words that start with the *juw* segment in Hixkaryana and no words that start with the *uw* segment in existing databases.⁴⁶ All of these words also have obligatory objects, suggesting that this is the *y- ‘REL’. This suggests that in Hixkaryana **yuw* > *yw*. The Tiriyo reflex has the loss of the **u* at the beginning of the word. This could have occurred via a merger of **u* with **w* in this instance do to their similarity in articulation. Both are unattested changes.

- (4) **uwapo* > *uwapo* (Wayana, Kari'na of Suriname)
 > *wapo* (Tiriyo)
 > **uwaho* > *owajo* (Ye'kwana, Dekwana)
 > (*y*)*waho* (Hixkaryana)

The meanings of these reflexes all denote an object being ‘before’ or ‘ahead of’ the referent. This has extended in some languages to indicate relative position in an order (‘first’ and ‘leading’), referring to that which is in front. In Ye'kwana, the meaning has generalized and expanded to denote that this is located before or behind the referent.

From this, I reconstruct the original meaning of this stem as ‘ahead of’.

***uwarë ‘in sight of’**

The **uwarë* has 6 reflexes. It occurs in 3 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 25 *uwarë

Guianan	Wayana	(u)	w	a	l	ë	‘knowing of’ ⁴⁷	
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⁴⁶ One of these four words is a compound verb, *yweronihyama* ‘teach traditions’, which has the initial *ywero* ‘know’. The two remaining words are *ywenyeke* ‘not know’ and *ywaho* ‘in front of’.

⁴⁷ According to the grammar of Wayana, the word *walë* means ‘uncertainty’ while the word (*u*)*walë* means ‘knowing of’ (Tavares 2005:171).

Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname	u	w	a	r	o	'with..being fully aware of, with...as a powerless observer'	<i>uwaroro</i>
Guianan	Tiriyó		w	aa	r	ë	'know'	
Apalaí	Apalaí		w ~ u	a	r	o	'know'	
Parukatoan	Waiwai		w	e	r	o	'in sight of, know'	
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	y	w	e	r	o	'know'	

The Wayana reflex reconstructs immediately, as does the Kari'na of Suriname reflex with the attested **ë > o* change (Gildea et al. 99). Indeed, all of the reflexes have the expected **ë* changes (Gildea et al. 98-99). The Tiriyó, Apalaí, Waiwai, and Hixkaryana reflexes all lose the initial **u*. This appears to be the same loss seen in **uwapo* (pg 86). The Waiwai and Hixkaryana reflexes both have **a > e*, which is unexpected and which has no ready explanation at this time.

- (5) **uwarë* > (*u*)*walë* (Wayana)
> *waarë* (Tiriyó)
> *uwaro* (Kari'na of Suriname)
> *waro ~ uaro* (Apalaí)
> **uwero* > *ywero* (Hixkaryana)
> *wero* (Waiwai)

The reflexes of this stem all have meanings regarding 'knowing'. In Waiwai, we see the origin of this knowledge, with the meaning of 'in sight of'. This idea that seeing is knowing can also be found in English, with phrases such as "I see," "I want to make sure we see eye to eye," and "I don't quite see you," to name a few. From this, the

Kari'na of Suriname reflex can be understood, as a reportative (i.e. ‘with...as a powerless observer) is someone stating what they know or what they observe.

***wena ‘posterior location (behind, following)’**

The *wena stem has 6 reflexes. It occurs in 3 of 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 26 *wena

Parukataon	Katxuyana	w	e	n	a	‘following’	<i>wenaye</i>
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	w	e	n	a	‘behind, following’	<i>wenarye</i>
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	w	e	n	à	‘after, following, from’	<i>wenàpota</i>
Venezuelan	Macushi	w	e	n	a	‘on account of, by means of’	<i>wenai</i>
Venezuelan	Akawaio	w	e	n	a	‘beside’	<i>wenai</i>
Guianan	Tiriyó	w	e	n	a	‘after, last’	<i>wenae</i>

All reflexes reconstruct immediately with the following exception. The Kari’na of Suriname reflex having one additional note needed. The Kari’na reflex has a glottal fricative indicated as coming after the *a*. This appears only for the Kari’na reflex and thus is considered to be non-cognate, though it could be that there was another syllable that was reduced with the addition of postpositionalizing suffixes. This glottal fricative is not seen with the suffix unless syllable reduction has occurred. If the later is true, we unfortunately do not know that that syllable would look like at this time without more data points.

- (6) *wena > wena (Hixkaryana, Katxuyana, Tiriyó, Macushi, Akawaio)
 > wenà (Kari'na of Suriname)

The various meanings of the reflexes all point to a posterior location, which is either static ('behind', 'after') or moving ('following'), except with the Akawaio reflex 'beside'. There is an extension to relative position with 'last'. In Macushi there is also a metaphorical extension from 'following' to 'on account of'. This same extension is seen in English with tricks. One can *do it by means of a trick* or *do it by following a trick* or *do it by following instructions*. That is what is happening in Macushi. The 'beside' meaning is less clear, as there was not an example to go along with the listed meaning. I do not have a ready explanation for this change of meaning at this time.

4.4 New Stems

In the previous section we examined the Old Postpositional Stems, stems that appear in fewer languages than the Ancient Stems and that typically have a more specific type of spatiotemporal meaning. In examining the differences between the Old Stems and New Stems, the primary difference between the two is that New Stems have a known source. Typically, this source is attested in one or two languages but not in all of the languages where the form appears as a stem. Thus, New Stems are defined as: stems that share the commonality of having a known origin, either synchronically or comparatively.

**reti* 'horn'

The **reti* stem has eight reflexes that come from 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 27 **reti*

Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname			r	e	`	'on top of'	<i>rèta, rètaka</i>
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Parukataon	Waiwai ₁ ⁴⁸	m-	e-	r	e	t	‘the top of’ from ‘horn’	<i>meretwo, meretkoso, meretñi</i>
Parukatoan	Waiwai ₂			r	e	t	‘upstream’ from ‘upper part’	<i>retwo, retkoso</i>
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana			ry	e	t	‘the top of’	<i>ryetwo, ryetkoso, ryetkoko</i>
Guianan	Tiriyó ⁴⁹			r	e	h	‘top/summit of’ from ‘horn, top, head’	<i>rehtë, rehkii, rehtënaka, rehtënakii</i>
Guianan	Ye’kwana			d	e	’	‘on top of, over’	<i>de’wö, de’kõi, de’køkö</i>
Guianan	Dekwana			d	e		‘upon’	<i>dewö</i>

The Waiwai reflex has the noncognate *me-* morpheme. In all uses of **reti* as a postpositional stem, the final syllable reduces before postpositionalizing suffixes, giving the expected change. Additionally, in Hixkaryana the **r > ry/_e*, as expected from. Ye’kwana and Dekwana also show the expected change of **r > d* in the word-initial position (i.e. **r > d /#_*).

- (7) **reti* > *reh* (Tiriyó), *rè* (Kari’na₂)
> *ret* (Waiwai₂) > *ryet* (Hixkaryana)
> *meret* (Waiwai₁)
> **deti* > *de’* (Ye’kwana)
> *de* (Dekwana)

⁴⁸ The *me-* segment appears to be cognate with the Kari’na of Suriname postposition *emèta* ‘[LOC] precipice area of’.

⁴⁹ Also has the synchronic source noun *reti* ‘horn, top, head’.

Semantically speaking, the reflexes of this stem all have close meanings both to each other and to the origin of the stem, that being ‘horn’. A common semantic extension from ‘horn’ is ‘top’, as they mark the highest point on an animal with horns. On humans, **reti* marks the ‘crown’ or highest point on the standing body. This top meaning can be extended to be the summit or precipice of something, as the top of a mountain or hill. The largest extensions semantically are Ye’kwana’s ‘over’ meaning, which is simply something being located on the top of something without contact; and Waiwai’s ‘upstream’ meaning. This later meaning is connected in that that which is upstream is oriented as something that is above or on top of, which do readily connect to a horn. The association with a river cannot be readily explained at this time.

***ënu-pata ‘face’**

The **ënu-pata* stem is actually a compositional stem. It consists of two parts, **ënu* ‘eye’ and **pata* ‘place of’. The reason that it is included as its own stem is because **pata* does not have reflexes except in Wayana, Ye’kwana, and Dekwana.. However, it does have reflexes in several more languages within **ënpata* ‘face’, such as with Macushi. It occurs in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes as a postpositional stem.

Table 28 **ënu-pata*

Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	o	m	p	a	t	a	‘facing, opposite, the face of’ from ‘the face of’	-ye, -ka
Guianan	Wayana	e	m	p	a	t	a	‘in front of’	-u, -k
Guianan	Tiriyó	e	n	p	a	t	a	‘in front of’ from ‘face’	-o, -e, -o-na-ka, -o-na-kii

In Hixkaryana and Wayana **n > m* when before a bilabial stop (i.e. **n > m /_p*). The correspondences for **ë* are all as expected given the ablaut from the **y-* ‘REL’ prefix, which would appear on these nouns due to their nature as being obligatorily possessed (Meira and Franchetto 160).

- (8) **ënu-pata* > **ënpata* > *enpata* (Tiriyó)
 > *empata* (Wayana)
 > *y-ëmpata* > *-ompata* (Hixkaryana)

The source semantic form of this stem is ‘face’, which is itself a compound meaning ‘place of the eyes.’ This compound as a noun is found in many languages in the family, though its use of the postposition is limited to these two subgroupings. The meanings all have a common thread of being ‘in front of’ the object NP. This is seen in Spanish *frente* ‘forehead’ and *enfrente* ‘in front of’. There are also the meanings of opposite and facing, both of which come from the ‘in front of’ meaning.

***mika ‘back’**

The **mika* stem has seven reflexes. It occurs in 3 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 29 *mika

Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	y-	n		k	a		‘on the back of’ from ‘back’	<i>ynkànaka,</i> <i>ynkànapota,</i> <i>ynkànàwo,</i> <i>ynkapo, ynkaràna</i>
Guianan	Wayana		m	(i)	k	a	h	‘behind’	<i>m(i)kahpo,</i> <i>m(i)kahpoi,</i> <i>m(i)kahpona</i>
Parukatoan	Waiwai		m		k	a		‘behind, on (the back of)’ from ‘upper back’	<i>mkaw, mkay,</i> <i>mkasi</i>

Parukatoan	Hixkaryana		m		k	a		‘top of, exterior surface of’	<i>-mkawo, -mkaye, -mkakoso, -mkaha</i>
Guianan	Ye’kwana		n		k	a		‘back of’	<i>nkawö, nkaköi, nkakökö, nkayedö, nkayekökö</i>
Guianan	Tiriyó		n		k	a		‘behind’ from ‘back’	<i>nkae, nkaenaka, nkaenakii</i>
Nahukwa	Kuikuro	i-	n		g	i		‘behind’	<i>ingi</i>

No reflexes immediately reconstruct. All reflexes lose the **i* between the **m* and **k* through the beginning of syllable reduction. This gives the Wayana, Waiwai, and Hixkaryana reflexes. The existence of **i* is evidenced by the optional usage of the vowel in the Tiriyó source noun and Wayana reflexes. This indicates reduction, as the **i* is likely to reduce in this environment. Further, as discussed with **kuwa*, there is a lack of evidence supporting the existence of epenthesis in the Cariban family. The Kari’na of Suriname reflex has the noncognate *y*- segment. The Wayana reflex also has a noncognate element with the *-h* (**s* in Wayana) segment. All the remaining then have the expected assimilation of **m > ŋ* before the velar stop (i.e. **m > ŋ / _k*). The Kuikuro reflex also show **k > g* following the nasal, another expected change in Kuikuro (Meira and Franchetto 139). Then, there is the addition of the noncognate *i*- element before the **n*. Finally, the **a > i* change is unexpected. While progressive vowel harmony would make sense given the addition of the noncognate *i*- element, there are a large amount of words with the *iCa* sequence, including *inga* as a sequence. Given this, there is no explanation at this time.

(9) **mika >> mikah* (Wayana)

> *(mi)ka* (Tiriyó)

> *mka* (Waiwai, Hixkaryana)

> *nka* (Ye'kwana, Tiriyo)

> *ynkàna* (Kari'na of Suriname)

> *ingi* (Kuikuro)

The source of this stem can be found in almost all of the languages synchronically from the word for 'back'. From this, we can reconstruct the original meaning as 'back', with the almost universal extension to 'on the back of' appears to use a quadruped back as the model for the 'top' meaning kept. The meaning of 'exterior surface', is less expected, but as the back is part of the exterior surface of a person, it could be seen as an extension of the original meaning.

***nota 'to block vision'**

The **nota* stem has three reflexes. It is found within 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes. It is also the first stem presented herein with clearly verbal origins.

Table 30 *nota

Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname	n	o	t	a					'(unseen) behind'	
Venezuelan	Akawaio	n	o	t	a					'behind'	-u
Guianan	Tiriyo ₁	n	o	t	a	(m)	(i)			'to block vision'	
Guianan	Tiriyo ₂	n	o	t	o	n		n	a	'behind, invisible'	-na-o, -na-ka, -na-kii

The different reflexes of this stem all present as being the same formally as the proto-stem except for the Tiriyo *notonna*, which I believe is the old **na* suffix that has been attached to the stem's source to make it a viable postpositional stem. The Tiriyo reflex

comes from a nominalized form of the verb while the others use the bare verb stem (i.e. *-mi* ‘nominalizer’). The double *n* at the end of the word is from the assimilation of the verbal form’s *m*, which is an unattested change. The **a > o* is then an instance of progressive vowel harmony.

The proto-semantic form for this stem is ‘to block vision’. The synchronic source of this stem is the verb ‘to block vision’ in Tiriyo with no synchronic sources in Kari’na of Suriname nor Akawaio. However, all forms have the meaning of ‘behind’, with Tiriyo having the extra meaning of ‘invisible’ and Kari’na of Suriname specifying that the object is ‘unseen’. From these latter two meanings we see the more direct connection to the original meaning. The behind meaning is then a logical extension of not being seen, as that which is typically unseen to a person in their everyday lives is that which is behind them. In Akawaio, the original meaning of ‘not visible’ is lost so that the logical entailment is all that remains.

***poti ‘beak, tip’**

The **poti* stem has four reflexes.⁵⁰ It is found in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 31 **poti*

Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	p	o		t	a	‘mouth of’	<i>potàwo</i>
Guianan	Waiwai	p	o		t	a	‘entrance’ from ‘entrance’	<i>potaw</i>
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	h	o	(h)	t		‘front position’	<i>hotwo, hotkoso, hohtye, hotkoko</i>

⁵⁰ The choice of reconstructing a **i* comes from the existence of an *i* in the Tiriyo synchronic source noun.

Guianan	Tiriyó	p	o		h		‘the beak/tip/front of’ from ‘beak/tip’	<i>pohtë, pohkii, pohtënaka, pohtënakii</i>
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None of the reflexes immediately reconstruct. The Tiriyó reflex experiences syllable reduction of $*ti > h$ with the addition of postpositionalizing suffixes. All reflexes keep the $*p$ except for Hixkaryana. The Hixkaryana $*p > h$ and $*i > \emptyset$ are attested and expected (Meira and Franchetto 135). The h that appears with the ablative postposition *hohtye* is difficult to reconcile. It is the case that some languages in the family to have idiosyncratic glottal fricative insertion for the coda position (Gildea Personal Communication). However, this still leaves the issue of the *hty* consonant cluster, as the language is not attested as having a 3 segment consonant cluster. However, Hixkaryana does have a palatalized rhotic *ry*, which is written as a digraph. Given the lack of 3 segment consonant clusters, it is likely that this is an instance of a palatalized *t*. Further phonetic work needs to be done to confirm this explanation. For Kari’na and Waiwai there is a seeming change from $*i > a$. There is no clear reason nor explanation for this change.

- (10) $*poti > poh$ (Tiriyó)
 $> pota$ (Waiwai, Kari’na of Suriname)
 $> ho(h)t$ (Hixkaryana)

The synchronic nominal source is attested in all the languages in which the postpositional stem it is found, those sources referring to the lips or beak of an animal, this extends to simply meaning the mouth of something in Kari’na of Suriname, the entrance of something in Waiwai, or the front position in Hixkaryana.

***upu ‘head/top’**

The **upu* stem has 5 reflexes. It is found in 3 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 32 *upu

Apalaí	Apalaí		p	ū		t	o	‘close’	
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	u	‘					‘head of’ from ‘head of’	<i>ùta, ùtaro, ùrèwo, ùrèta, ùke</i>
Guianan	Wayana	u	h					‘on top of’	<i>uhpo, uhpolo</i>
Parukatoan	Katxuyana		p	u				‘the top of’ ⁵¹	<i>puhana, puhoye</i>
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana		h	u	h			‘the direction of river’ ⁵²	<i>huhona, huhoye, huhyaka, huhyaye</i>

The Kari’na of Suriname and Wayana reflexes undergo syllable reduction with the addition of the postpositionalizing suffixes. The Apalaí, Katxuyana, and Hixkaryana reflexes all experience irregular aphaeresis of **u*. This change gives the the Katxuyana reflex. The Apalaí reflex has the noncognate *-to* element. The Hixkaryana reflex undergoes the expected change of **p > h* (Meira and Franchetto 135). Finally, the Hixkaryana reflex has the noncognate *-h* element.

- (11) > **upu* > *upu* (Wayana₂, Kari’na₂)
 > *ù* (Kari’na₃), *uh* (Wayana.)
 > *pu* (Katxuyana) > *pūto* (Apalaí)
 > **hu* > *hu(h)* (Hixkaryana)

The meanings of all of the reflexes are pretty consistent, most of them dealing with an object being ‘on’ the top of something. Apalaí’s reflex has the meaning of

⁵¹ Found once, in which the referent was a river.

⁵² Found with both upstream and downstream examples.

close, which can be thought of as an object being located relative to one's head being close to that person. The Kari'na of Suriname reflexes about being in the head of someone (with *ùta*) or in their conscious shows a connection between someone's head and their mind, which is a connection found in many languages, including English. The Hixkaryana meaning of being located either upstream or downstream could be connected through the idea of headwaters. This may be a case of homophony or some other form of semantic shift that I am unable to account for. At any rate, most languages have a synchronic source noun of 'head', and as such, the original meaning of this stem is 'head/top'.

***mota 'shoulder'**

The **mota* stem has 6 reflexes. It is found in 4 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 33 **mota*

Parukatoan	Hixkaryana		r	o-	m	o	t	a			'on the shoulder of' from 'shoulder'	<i>romotawo</i>
Parukatoan	Waiwai				m	o	t	a			'[LOC] the shoulder' from 'shoulder'	<i>motaw, motaka</i>
Venezuelan	Panare				m	a	t	a			'behind' from 'shoulder'	
Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname				m	o	t	a			'on the shoulder of' from 'shoulder'	<i>mota, motàwo</i>
Apalaí	Apalaí				m	o	t	y	e		'greater, above'	

Guianan	Wayana	a	h-		m	o	t	a			‘in the area behind, in between, in the area beside’	
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The Waiwai and Kari’na of Suriname reflexes immediately reconstruct. The Hixkaryana and Wayana reflexes both have noncognate prefixes that have been incorporated into the stem. The Panare reflex has the **o* undergo anticipatory vowel harmony. The last reflex on this branch, that being Apalaí, does not have the vowel harmony of Panare, but rather has the addition of the noncognate *ye* element, from the **ye* suffix that has been incorporated into the stem. As to why this addition deleted the **a* is unclear, as this is not the environment for syllable reduction.

- (12) **mota* > *romota* (Hixkaryana)
 > *ahmota* (Wayana)
 > *mota* (Waiwai, Kari'na of Suriname)
 > *mata* (Panare)
 > *motye* (Apalaí)

The meanings of these reflexes are fairly consistent and in all but two of the languages there is the synchronic source noun ‘shoulder’. For these languages, the meaning is directly related to a position relative to the shoulder, which suggests they are relatively recent additions to the group of postpositional stems. For Panare, there is a shift to mean ‘behind’, which is the relative position of shoulders relative to the center of the body. This meaning is shared in the Wayana reflex, which also has the meaning of ‘between’, which requires one to think about both shoulders and an object being located in that space.

5 The Residue

In the last four chapters, we have examined Cariban Postpositions. In Chapter 1, the necessary methodological processes were discussed; the semantic, comparative, and historical literature on the Cariban Family was reviewed; and the basic structure of Cariban Postpositions being a sometimes bipartite lexical class was given. In Chapter 2, we examined postpositionalizing suffixes and how they behave as a morphological category and as a semantic unit conveying information about the path of an event. In Chapter 3, we turned to monomorphemic postpositions, those postpositions that are able to act without the aid of the a suffix, and showed the types of meanings that these postpositions typically carry. We finished our examination in Chapter 4 by examining postpositional stems and how they act as a semantic unit conveying the ground of an event. These stems can be divided two distinct categories: opaque (ancient, old) and transparent (new) in origin. The distinction between ancient and old stems within the opaque stems serves as a stop-gap for the lack of clear phylogenetic subgroupings. Yet, even with this analysis and these distinctions, there is still much that we do not know about Cariban Postpositions.

In the previous chapters, there has been no discussion of reconstructable pairings of postpositional stems and suffixes. This is because it is unclear as to whether or not these pairings are reconstructable. Some pairings appear to be reconstructable, such as **po-na* (12/15 languages examined), **ta-ka* (11/15), **kuwa-ka* (10/15), and **po-ye* (10/15). However, after these four, reconstructable pairings fall off quite quickly. One of the more widely attested reconstructable pairings is **po-ro*, which only appears in 4 of the 15 languages examined. This is in contrast with stems or suffixes being

reconstructable on their own but with different suffixes, which appears to be what typically happens. At this point, it is unclear as to what motivates the use of one suffix with one stem and a different suffix with another stem. It is clear though that once a stem and suffix pairing occurs in a language that these two will never be split in twain nor a substitute given. Perhaps more phylogenetic work will unveil a correlation between stem and suffix pairings and their ability to be reconstructed.

What is also unclear about Cariban Postpositions is their origin. Specifically, the origin of the opaque stems, the monomorphemic postpositions, and the postpositional suffixes. Of these, the opaque stems have the simplest origin: they are nouns or verbs who have had their meanings semantically bleached through lexicalization of the noun or verb as a postpositional stem. The monomorphemic postpositions are harder to explain. It could be the case that they are just that: postpositions. However, there are some monomorphemic postpositions that can also take suffixes. Almost always, it is the static locative meaning that is monomorphemic for these postpositions and a suffix is brought to add a dynamic meaning (e.g. *po* and *pona*, *poye*, *poro*, etc.). For these postpositions, it could be the case that there was a postpositionalizing suffix that has been reduced to a zero. This does then beg the question as to why a new suffix was not given to replace the old one that had been reduced. In an attempt to answer this, I would posit that if the morpheme was oblique and no longer used as a synchronic noun or verb that it would no longer need to the suffix to delineate the morpheme's lexical class and thusly a new suffix was never assigned. At this point it is unclear and more data is needed to make a definitive determination. Lastly, there is the matter of the suffixes. These are more likely than not old postpositions that have undergone

grammaticalization as new morphemes have become postpositions. This is evidenced by morphemes such as **po* and **ta*, which are observed as undergoing the change from monomorphemic postposition to postpositionalizing suffix, such as seen in Wayana. Whether or not these were originally postpositions or whether or not they were at one time nouns that underwent the same processes that are seen today is unclear and is a question that we will likely never have an answer to.

Appendix A: Orthography

Of the fifteen Cariban languages examined in this work, each possesses an orthography that is influenced and shaped by the nation-state in which it resides, in addition to language-specific differences. The largest of these differences is that of languages in the Portuguese-speaking Brazil and the Spanish-speaking Venezuela, Columbia, etc., as these languages affect the phonemic value of <j>. This appendix serves as a means to understand the orthography of the languages examined in this report via an orthography to IPA reference guide. The reason that this approach was chosen as opposed to converting all languages to a standard orthography of my own creation is due to accessibility and anti-colonialism. Many of the languages examined in this work have not had historically a written form to their languages nor high literacy rates. As time continues to march on this is fortunately changing. It is my desire for people of who speak these languages to be able to read this work and to be able to read their language in its own orthography in a hope that this makes the information more accessible to them.⁵³

Akawaio (Steman and Hunter 2014:2)

Consonants: k /k/, m /m/, n /n/, p /p/, r /r/, s /s/, t /t/, w /w/, y /j/, ‘ /ʔ/

Vowels: a /a/, e /e/, i /i/, i /ɛ/, o /o/, u /u/, u /ɨ/

Apalaí (Koehn and Koehn 1986:120-121)

Consonants: h /ʔ/, j /j/, k /k/, m /m/, n /n/, p /p/, r /r/, s /s/, t /t/, w /w/, x /ʃ/, z /z/

⁵³ For the purposes of this work, orthography will be depicted in the following way. First, the orthographic mark (letter, grapheme, etc.) will be given without any punctuation or the like surrounding or modifying it. Then, the phoneme in IPA will be given within forward slashes (/).

Vowels: a /a/, e /e/, i /i/, o /o/, u /u/, y /i/, ã /ã/, ã /ẽ/, ã /ĩ/, õ /õ/, ù /ũ/, ÿ /ÿ/

Dekwana (Hall 1998:214-216)

Consonants: t /t/, d /d/, ʔ /ʔ/, s /s/, sh /ʃ/, ch /tʃ/, m /m/, n /n/, ñ /ɲ/, r /r/, w /w/, y /j/, h /h/

Vowels: a /a/, e /e/, i /i/, o /o/, u /u/, ü /i/, ö /ə/, a: /a:/, e: /e:/, i: /i:/, o: /o:/, u: /u:/, ü: /i:/, ö: /ə:/

Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985:205-219)

Consonants: h /h/, k /k/, m /m/, n /n/, r /r/, ry /rj/, s /s/, t /t/, tx /tʃ/, w /w/, x /ʃ/, y /j/

Vowels: a /a/, e /e/, i /i/, o /o/, u /u/

Ikpéng (Pacheco 1997:21)

Consonants: g /g/, k /k/, l /l/, m /m/, n /n/, ng /ŋ/, p /p/, r /r/, t /t/, tx /tʃ/ ~ ʃ/, w /w/, y /j/

Vowels: a /a/, e /e/, i /i/, ï /i/, o /o/, u /u/

Karina of Suriname (Courz 2007:37)

Consonants: ʰ /h ~ ʔ/, j /j/, k /k/, m /m/, n /n/, p /p/, r /r/, s /s/, t /t/, w /w/

Vowels: a /a/, e /e/, i /i/, o /o/, u /u/, y /i/

Katxuyana (Schuring n.d.:5)

Consonants: ʔ /ʔ/, h /h/, k /k/, m /m/, n /n/, p /p/, r /r/, ry /rj/, s /s/, t /t/, tx /tʃ/, w /w/, y /j/

Vowels: a /a/, e /e/, i /i/, o /o/, u /u/, ï /i/, aa /a:/, ee /e:/, ii /i:/, oo /o:/, uu /u:/, ïï /i:/

Kuikuro (Mara Ferreira Dos Santos 2007:30-31)

Consonants: k /k/, l /l/, m /m/, n /n/, ng /ŋ/, nh /ɲ/, nkg /ŋg/ p /p/, s /s/ t /t/, ts /ts/,
w /w/, ɟ⁵⁴

Vowels⁵⁵: a /a/, e /e/, i /i/, ü /i/, o /o/, u /u/

Macushi (Abbott 1991:140-143)

Consonants: p /p/, t /t/, k /k/, ‘ /h/, m /m/, n /n/, r /r/, w /w/, y /j/

Vowels: i /i/, e /e/, a /a/, î /i/, o /ɔ/, u /u/, ii /i:/, ee /e:/, aa /a:/, îî /i:/, oo /ɔ:/, uu
/u:/

Panare (Payne and Payne 2013:41-43)

Consonants: ‘ /ʔ/, ch /tʃ/, j /h/, k /k/, m /m/, n /n/, ñ /ɲ/, p /p/, r /r/, s /s/, t /t/, w
/w/, y /j/

Vowels: a /a/, e /e/, i /i/, o /o/, u /u/, ë /ə/, ï /i/

Tiriyó (Meira 2006:312-313)

Consonants: j /j/, k /k/, m /m/, n /n/, p /p/, r /r ~ ɾ/, s /s ~ ʃ/, t /t/, w /v/

Vowels⁵⁶: a /a/, e /e ~ ε/, i /i/, o /o ~ ɔ/, u /u/, ï /i ~ ɯ/, ë /ə ~ ʌ/, aa /a:/, ee /e: ~
ε:/, ii /i:/, oo /o: ~ ɔ:/, uu /u:/, ïï /i: ~ ɯ:/, ëë /ə: ~ ʌ:/

Waimiri (Bruna 2003:32-42)

Consonants: ‘ /ʔ/, b /b/, d /d/, dj /dʒ/, h /h/, i /j/, k /k/, m /m/, n /n/, nj /ɲ/, r /r/, s
/s/, t /t/, tx /tʃ/, w /w/, x /ʃ/

Vowels: a /a/, e /e ~ ε/, i /i/, o /o/, u /u/, y /i/, aa /a:/, ee /e:/, oo /o:/, yy /i:/

⁵⁴ This is listed as a phoneme in Kuikuro by Santos. It does not appear in any of the postpositions examined herein nor does it have an associated grapheme.

⁵⁵ Long vowels are also attested however Santos does not say how they are denoted.

⁵⁶ Payne and Payne indicate that vowel length is indicated by doubling of the vowel grapheme.

Waiwai (Hawkins 1998:148-151)

Consonants: c /t͡ʃ/, h /h/, k /k/, m /m/, n /n/, ñ /ɲ/, p /p̰/, r /r/, r̥⁵⁷, s /s/, t /t/, w /w/,
x /ʃ/, y /j/

Vowels: a /a/, e /e/, i /i/, î /ĩ/, o /o/, u /u/, aa /a:/, ee /e:/, ii /i:/, îî /i:̃/, oo /o:/, uu
/u:/

Wayana (Tavares 2005:9-15)

Consonants: h /h/, j /j/, k /k/, m /m/, n /n/, p /p/, r /r̄/, t /t/, w /w/,

Vowels: a /a/, e /e ~ ε/, i /i/, o /o ~ ɔ/, u /u/, ï /ĩ/, ë /ə/,

Ye'kwana (Cáceres forthcoming:5-7)

Consonants: ʔ /ʔ/, ch /t͡ʃ/, d /d/, j /h/, k /k/, m /m/, n /n/, ñ /ɲ/, s /s/, t /t/, w /w/, y
/j/

Vowels: a /a/, e /e/, i /i/, o /o/, ö /ə/, u /u/, ü /ĩ/

⁵⁷ From Hawkins' work, this grapheme (Hawkins 1998:149): "is formed with the blade of the tongue and is an alveopalatal with popped lateral release. It clusters in word-medial position before all the relaxed consonants except /h/ and after all of the same consonants except /p/." Insofar as I am aware, this consonant does not appear in any of the postpositions examined herein. Hawkins does not give an IPA equivalent. This differs from r, which Hawkins describes (Hawkins 1998:149) as: "an alveolar with popped lateral release. It is somewhat similar to /l/ in Portuguese except that the release is not gradual but popped. It clusters in word-medial position before all the relaxed consonants and after all of them except /p/. It does not cluster with any of the tense consonants." Again, insofar as I am aware, only r exists within the postpositions examined herein.

Appendix B: Cariban Cognate Postpositionalizing Suffixes and Corresponding Stems

Table 1: Locative Postpositions Without a Discernable Suffix

Postposition	Language	Stem Origin	Postposition Meaning
<i>a</i>	Apalaí		To; By; About (Dative); Concerning
<i>ahmota</i>	Wayana	*rēmota 'shoulder'	In the area behind; in between; in area beside of
<i>aina</i>	Karina	<i>aina</i> 'head'	In the hands of
<i>airi</i>	Akawaio		Near
<i>akoda</i>	Ye'kwana		Aside
<i>akoxi</i>	Apalaí		Toward
<i>ameta</i>	Wayana		Down the river of; South of
<i>awa'de ~ awa:'de</i>	Dekwana		Before
<i>awiri</i>	Akawaio		During; With; Through
<i>awonsi'ki</i>	Akawaio		From
<i>chökö</i>	Ye'kwana		By river site
<i>do'nö</i>	Dekwana		Down; Below
<i>ejàta</i>	Karina	<i>ajàta</i> 'armpit'	Under the armpit of
<i>ekata</i>	Karina	<i>akata</i> 'space between legs'	In the care of
<i>ekosa</i>	Karina		With; Near
<i>empata</i>	Karina	<i>ompata</i> 'face'	Before the eyes of; In the face of; In front of
<i>ena</i>	Karina		In the arms of
<i>ena</i>	Wayana	*ëna 'lap, bosom'	In the middle of (supported)
<i>epinë</i>	Tiriyó		Below; Under
<i>eho ~ oho</i>	Hixkaryana		Greater than
<i>epo</i>	Karina		Above

<i>epo</i>	Wayana		Above
<i>etone</i>	Apalaí		Other side of
<i>etonie</i>	Apalaí		Across from
<i>hja ~ hna</i>	Wayana		In the sun
<i>hüdü</i>	Dekwana		After; Afterwards; Later
<i>ina</i>	Wayana		Adjacent; Belonging
<i>ingi</i>	Kuikuro		Behind
<i>ino</i>	Apalaí		From
<i>wyino</i>	Karina		From; Belonging to
<i>(j)a</i>	Wayana		Inside of
<i>jüdöna</i>	Ye'kwana		Outside
<i>ka</i>	Macushi		In liquid; On liquid
<i>ka</i>	Waimiri		In (liquid)
<i>ka</i>	Waiwai		(For) now
<i>kae</i>	Kuikuro		LOC ⁵⁸
<i>ko</i>	Akawaio		From
<i>kuptälë</i>	Wayana		Following
<i>kuroko</i>	Apalaí		Through; Around
<i>lopta</i>	Wayana		Deep in
<i>mata</i>	Panare	<i>mata</i> 'shoulder'	Behind
<i>mero</i>	Karina		At the time
<i>m(i)ta</i>	Wayana	* <i>mīta</i> 'mouth'	In the mouth of
<i>mna</i>	Wayana		Outside; without
<i>mönse</i>	Dekwana		Behind
<i>mota</i>	Karina	<i>mota</i> 'shoulder'	On the shoulder of

⁵⁸ A more definitive meaning is unclear. Appears to be a general locative and was glossed as such. The one use of this form was with the object of the postposition being a finger.

<i>na</i>	Waiwai		To by; To at
<i>na</i>	Wayana		In boundless location
<i>nña</i>	Ye'kwana		At; To ⁵⁹
<i>nota</i>	Karina		(Unseen) Behind
<i>ö'joiye</i>	Ye'kwana		Above
<i>yapaya/e</i>	Panare		On top of; Over
<i>o'koro'no</i>	Akawaio		Under (water)
<i>o'nö</i>	Ye'kwana		Under
<i>o'no~wo'noro</i>	Akawaio		Under
<i>opinë</i>	Wayana		Under
<i>opikai</i>	Wayana		Under (non contact, possibly unseen)
<i>pa'ne</i>	Akawaio		In groups of
<i>pata</i>	Wayana		In the place of
<i>pehna</i>	Wayana		In (area of) the forehead of
<i>heke</i>	Kuikuro		Ergative
<i>hökö</i>	Dekwana		Committative; About
<i>hoko ~ hok</i>	Hixkaryana		Occupied with; About; LOC
<i>pë(kë)</i>	Tiriyó		On (adhesion-attachment)
<i>-pë'</i>	Panare		About
<i>pë(j) ~ -pë(j)</i>	Panare		At; About; Upon; Concerning
<i>pëk ~ pëkë</i>	Wayana		About ⁶⁰
<i>pî'</i>	Akawaio		To (Dative); Toward; In order to; About; On; With; For (Dative)
<i>pikî</i>	Akawaio		Behind; After
<i>pî'</i>	Macushi		At (Dative); To (Dative)

⁵⁹ The origin of this word is cited to have a synchronic ethnonymic origin.

⁶⁰ This semantic reflex of 'about' in Ye'kwana comes through metaphorical extension from *pëkë "attached-adhesion." Because of this origin, it is placed with the other reflexes of *pëkë and not with the non-locative postpositions.

<i>pok ~ wok</i>	Ikpéng		In
<i>poko</i>	Apalaí		On (adhesion); About; In pole shape; On pole shape; Occupied with
<i>poko</i>	Karina		Over; About
<i>poko ~ hoko</i>	Katxuyana		About; Occupied with
<i>poko</i>	Wawai		About; Occupied with; Attached to; Holding on to
<i>jökö</i>	Ye'kwana		On(to)
<i>pyky</i>	Waimiri		Because
<i>-pëkën</i>	Panare		After; Behind
<i>pëkëërë</i>	Tiriyó		After; Following
<i>pikîri</i>	Akawaio		Committative; Before; In front of; Cause
<i>pikîri</i>	Macushi		Up to; Following
<i>pokoro</i>	Karina		Nearest to; Next to
<i>ho</i>	Hixkaryana		In; At; On
<i>ho</i>	Katxuyana		LOC; Cause; Reason
<i>jo⁶¹</i>	Ye'kwana		At; To
<i>po</i>	Akawaio		On; Onto
<i>po</i>	Apalaí		In flat place; On flat place
<i>po</i>	Karina		In; At; On
<i>po</i>	Macushi		In; On
<i>po ~ -po</i>	Panare		On; In; At
<i>po</i>	Tiriyó		General locative
<i>po</i>	Waiwai		At; On
<i>po ~ mo</i>	Wayana		On

⁶¹ In Ye'kwana, “j” is used to indicate /h/, which is a common allophone of /p/ across the family and a common reflex of *p. Because of this, *jo* is listed with the other reflexes of *po, instead of in alphabetical order.

<i>poñtya</i>	Panare		Over; On top of
<i>poyero</i>	Waiwai		Benefactive (for the sake of; because of)
<i>pu ~ to</i>	Apalaí		Close
<i>ranme</i>	Tiriyó		Close to
<i>ro</i>	Waiwai		Until
<i>roro</i>	Waiwai		Along
<i>ta</i>	Karina		In
<i>ta</i>	Macushi		In enclosed space; On enclosed space
<i>ta ~ -ta</i>	Panare		In; Inside
<i>ta</i>	Waimiri		In
<i>to</i>	Waiwai		By; At
<i>tany</i>	Waimiri		From
<i>upino</i>	Karina		Under
<i>wadödö</i>	Dekwana		Toward
<i>wece</i>	Waiwai		Toward; To get ⁶²
<i>wenje</i>	Tiriyó		Close to
<i>winî</i>	Macushi		In the direction of
<i>wo</i>	Panare		From
<i>won</i>	Akawaio	<i>won ~ yon</i> 'wrapper, cover, holder'	Around
<i>(w)ya</i>	Wawai		To; By
<i>ya ~ ya'</i>	Macushi		Inside; In; To; Conditional; When; If
<i>ya ~ -ya ~ -cha ~ ya'</i>	Panare		On; In; Inside; When; During
<i>ympa</i>	Karina	<i>ympa</i> 'shoulder blade'	On the shoulder blade of
<i>ynkàna</i>	Karina	<i>ynkàna</i> 'back'	On the back of
<i>ynta</i>	Karina	<i>ynta</i> 'mouth'	In the mouth of

⁶² The “to get” meaning is listed but not given in an example.

yöö'höhe	Dekwana		After
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Table 2: Non-Locative Postpositions With No Discernable Suffixes

Postposition	Language	Postposition Origin	Postposition Meaning
<i>ahitso</i>	Kuikuro		Portuguese <i>simultaneamente</i>
<i>ake</i>	Kuikuro		Committative
<i>a'kö ~ aka</i>	Dekwana		Committative
<i>akëlä</i>	Wayana		Committative (Exclusive)
<i>a'kiri</i>	Akawaio		Committative
<i>akoro ~ yakoro</i>	Hixkaryana		Committative
<i>akoro</i>	Katxuyana		Committative
<i>akro</i>	Waiwai		Committative
<i>yaj ~ -yaj</i>	Panare		Committative
<i>yarakkîrî</i>	Macushi		Committative
<i>dakö</i>	Dekwana		Committative
<i>apokupe</i>	Karina		With pleasure for
<i>a'tai</i>	Akawaio		When
<i>da'me ~ dame</i>	Dekwana		Instrumental
<i>eile</i>	Wayana		Odiative (Angry at)
<i>eire</i>	Tiriyó		Irascitive (Angry; Wild)
<i>enkuume</i>	Tiriyó		Difficultative (Hard)
<i>e'nei</i>	Dekwana		Because
<i>epo</i>	Tiriyó		Satisfactive (Enough)
<i>e'sentai</i>	Macushi		Unequal
<i>ewaaje</i>	Tiriyó		Appreciative (Admire)
<i>he ~ se</i>	Wayana		Desiderative
<i>he ~ ze</i>	Bakairi		Desiderative
<i>ju'se</i>	Macushi		Desiderative

<i>se</i>	Apalaí		Desiderative
<i>`se</i>	Karina		Desiderative
<i>se</i>	Tiriyó		Desiderative
<i>tě</i>	Panare		Desiderative ⁶³
<i>te'xy ~ we'xi</i>	Waimiri		Desiderative
<i>txe</i>	Katxuyana		Desiderative
<i>xe</i>	Hixkaryana		Desiderative
<i>xe</i>	Waiwai		Desiderative
<i>hko</i>	Apalaí		Equitive (as much)
<i>hkotano</i>	Apalaí		By the way
<i>hkoty</i>	Apalaí		Do not even want to
<i>horĩ</i>	Hixkaryana		Purpose
<i>ĩna~na</i>	Ikpéng		Dative
<i>inha</i>	Kuikuro		Benefactive
<i>ino</i>	Tiriyó		Apprehensive (Afraid of)
<i>ja</i>	Tiriyó		Dative
<i>ja</i>	Wayana		Ergative; Dative
<i>uya</i>	Akawaio		Ergative
<i>uya ~ -uya</i>	Panare		Dative
<i>`wa</i>	Karina		For; To (Dative)
<i>wi'ya ~ wya</i>	Katxuyana		Benefactive; Ergative; Marks causee
<i>(w)ya</i>	Hixkaryana		To (dative); By
<i>ya ~ ia</i>	Waimiri		Ergative; To
<i>jako</i>	Karina		When; During; While
<i>jàta</i>	Karina		Equitive Conditional (as if 3.SG were)

⁶³ In Panare, the desiderative is a verb and not a postposition.

<i>kaisa</i>	Akawaio		Every ⁶⁴
<i>kaisarî</i>	Macushi		Up to; Equal
<i>kan</i>	Akawaio		Purpose; For
<i>katip(i)</i>	Wayana		Similarative
<i>kasa</i>	Akawaio		Similarative
<i>ka</i>	Macushi		Goal
<i>ka ~ -ka</i>	Panare		Instrumental
<i>kaxe</i>	Hixkaryana		Because
<i>ke</i>	Akawaio		Instrumental
<i>ke</i>	Apalaí		Instrumental; Because of
<i>ke</i>	Dekwana		Instrumental
<i>ke</i>	Hixkaryana		Instrumental; Cause
<i>ke ~ ge</i>	Ikpéng		Instrumental
<i>ke</i>	Karina		Instrumental
<i>ke</i>	Macushi		Instrumental
<i>ke ~ -ke</i>	Panare		Instrumental
<i>ke</i>	Tiriyó		Instrumental
<i>ke</i>	Waiwai		Instrumental
<i>ke</i>	Waimiri		Instrumental
<i>ke</i>	Wayana		Instrumental
<i>ke</i>	Ye'kwana		Instrumental
<i>keñe</i>	Waiwai		Having lots (of something)
<i>kenen ~ kenan</i>	Akawaio		Attributive
<i>kuptë</i>	Wayana		Each
<i>malë</i>	Wayana		Committative (Inclusive)

⁶⁴ Said to mean “every” as in “every day an action occurs.” Given the similarity to Macushi *kaisarî*, I believe that this is actually some sort of equitive postposition regarding distributed actions.

<i>many</i>	Waimiri		With; And; Too
<i>marĩ</i>	Akawaio		Committative
<i>maro</i>	Apalaí		Committative
<i>maro</i>	Karina		Committative
<i>ma're</i>	Macushi		Less than
<i>mahtukme</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>mahtumuru</i> 'buttocks'	Behind; Following ⁶⁵
<i>me</i>	Apalaí		Denominalizer
<i>me</i>	Hixkaryana		Denominalizer
<i>me</i>	Karina		Attributive
<i>me</i>	Katxuyana		Attributive
<i>me</i>	Tiriyó		Essive
<i>me</i>	Waiwai		Adverbializer
<i>me</i>	Wayana		Attributive
<i>pe</i>	Akawaio		Attributive
<i>pe</i>	Karina		Attributive
<i>pe</i>	Macushi		Denominalizer
<i>mënkën</i>	Panare		Equitive
<i>mexe</i>	Waiwai		Very desirable (desiderative)
<i>mĩto'pe</i>	Macushi		Because
<i>pai</i>	Macushi		Desiderative
<i>pak ~ wak</i>	Ikpéng		Committative
<i>pàme</i>	Karina		(Acting) Like
<i>pena</i>	Wayana		Hesitative
<i>pia</i>	Macushi		Dative
<i>püñë</i>	Tiriyó		Protective (Pity; Jealous)
<i>pino</i>	Apalaí		Protective (Cares for)

⁶⁵ Used with a moving object.

<i>pinwë</i>	Wayana		Protective (Caring for)
<i>pokon</i>	Akawaio		Committative
<i>pokonpe</i>	Macushi		Committative
<i>pune</i>	Wayana		Fitting
<i>rawîrî</i>	Macushi		Before
<i>samo</i>	Apalaí		Equal; Similar
<i>saaro</i>	Apalaí		Similarative
<i>sème</i>	Karina		In spite of
<i>tahaa</i>	Katxuyana		Among
<i>tîise</i>	Macushi		But; In spite up; Even though
<i>tîpo</i>	Macushi		After
<i>ton</i>	Macushi		Benifactive
<i>ülepene</i>	Kuikuro		After
<i>umpoj(e)</i>	Wayana		Cause
<i>uno</i>	Wayana		Fearful
<i>uriya'</i>	Akawaio		Because of; For the reason of; In place of
<i>`wamème</i>	Karina		Assembled into
<i>(u)walë</i>	Wayana		Cognisitive (Knowing of)
<i>wala</i>	Wayana		Around
<i>asewara</i>	Karina		Like each other
<i>owara</i>	Karina		The same on both sides (symmetrical similarative)
<i>wararo</i>	Karina		Fitting each case of; At every instance of; Completely corresponding
<i>wara</i>	Karina		Similarative
<i>wara</i>	Katxuyana		The same (Equitive)
<i>warantî</i>	Macushi		Similarative
<i>wara ~ wa</i>	Waiwai		Similarative

<i>waarë</i>	Tiriyó		Know
<i>wata'</i>	Waimiri		Similarative
<i>wadöi</i>	Dekwana		Benefactive
<i>wae</i>	Tiriyó		Superiorative (More)
<i>walë</i>	Wayana		Uncertainty
<i>waro ~ uaro</i>	Apalaí		Know
<i>uwaroro</i>	Karina		With...being fully aware; With...as a powerless observer ⁶⁶
<i>wyaro</i>	Hixkaryana		Like; In comparison to (similarative)
<i>wararo</i>	Hixkaryana		To the ultimate point of; As close as possible to
<i>warai ~ waraino</i>	Akawaio		Similarative
<i>wanmũura</i>	Akawaio		Ignorant; Without knowing about something; Unconsciously
<i>jwero</i>	Hixkaryana		Know
<i>wero</i>	Waiwai		Cognoscitive (know; in sight of)
<i>wantë</i>	Wayana		By one's will
<i>(w)apta</i>	Wayana		When; if
<i>wake</i>	Wayana		Be aware of; Wary of; Be against
<i>wenai</i>	Akawaio		Beside
<i>wenai</i>	Macushi		On account of; By means of
<i>jwenjeke</i>	Hixkaryana		Not know
<i>weñekari</i>	Waiwai		Ignorative (not know)
<i>wini</i>	Akawaio		Through; By way of; From
<i>wö</i>	Dekwana		Dative
<i>yaanapa'ke ~ - yaanapa'ke</i>	Panare		Among; During; Along
<i>ya'kijpe ~ -ya'kijpe</i>	Panare		Committative

⁶⁶ This is used as a reportative.

<i>yawîrî</i>	Macushi		According to
<i>ye'nen</i>	Macushi		Because
<i>yentai</i>	Macushi		Greater than

Table 3: Stems With *-na

Postposition	Language	Postposition Origin	Postposition Meaning
<i>aarena</i>	Tiriyó		To downstream
<i>aktuhpona</i>	Wayana		To up the river
<i>ampana</i>	Katxuyana		Within range
<i>anana</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>anaro</i> 'other, another'	To another place
<i>apatàpona</i>	Karina		Between
<i>atumna</i>	Waiwai		In the deep
<i>ejàtàpona</i>	Karina	<i>ajàta</i> 'armpit'	Against the armpit of
<i>ekatàpona</i>	Karina	<i>akata</i> 'space between legs'	Between the legs of; Towards the bifurcation of
<i>ènaka</i>	Karina	<i>èna</i> '(elbow) joint'	Into the (elbow) joint of
<i>epona</i>	Tiriyó		Fidelitive (Trust; Believe)
<i>epona</i>	Waiwai		To above
<i>koròna</i>	Karina		Below the surface (of)
<i>kutuhana</i>	Katxuyana		Upon; Up from
<i>m(ì)kahpona</i>	Wayana		To behind
<i>pokona</i>	Apalaí		Into pole shape; Onto pole shape
<i>hana</i>	Katxuyana		To (Allative); Portugese <i>para</i> ; <i>confiar</i>
<i>ho:na</i>	Dekwana		In
<i>hona</i>	Hixkaryana		To; Towards
<i>pana ~ -pana</i>	Panare		Towards
<i>pëna</i>	Panare		From
<i>-poin ~ -poñ</i>	Panare		To (distributed action); Over; Against; Along

<i>pona</i>	Akawaio		To; in; In the direction of; Onto; Until
<i>pona</i>	Apalaí		To (goal); Into flat place; Onto flat place
<i>pona</i>	Karina		Against
<i>pona</i>	Macushi		To; Into flat place; Onto flat place
<i>pona</i>	Tiriyó		To; Against
<i>pona ~ fona</i>	Waiwai		To at; To on; Lest; To; Trust; Blame; For fear that
<i>pona</i>	Wayana		Fidelitive (trust, believe); Allative (to)
<i>jona</i>	Ye'kwana		Against; At reach
<i>hya:naka</i>	Dekwana	<i>hya:n(a)</i> 'ear' + <i>a'ka</i> 'in'	In his ear
<i>huhona</i>	Hixkaryana		To the direction of upriver
<i>puhana</i>	Katxuyana		To the top of ⁶⁷
<i>ràna</i>	Karina		Admist
<i>owariràna</i>	Karina		Between two symmetrical sides of; Exactly in the middle of
<i>tapona</i>	Apalaí		Into hammock; Onto hammock
<i>to'na</i>	Ye'kwana		Against
<i>-yaana ~ yaana</i>	Panare		In; Among; During (space and/or time)
<i>-yan ~ -yen</i>	Panare		Move towards; In
<i>ynkaràna</i>	Karina		In the middle part of the bacak of

Table 4: Stems With *-ka

Postposition	Language	Postposition Origin	Postposition Meaning
<i>ahetaka</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>aheta</i> 'edge'	To the edge

⁶⁷ Referent in the example is specifically a river.

<i>ahomyaka</i>	Hixkaryana		(to) under
<i>ainaka</i>	Karina	<i>aina</i> 'hand'	Into the hands of
<i>aka</i>	Apalaí		Into small container; Onto small container; Inside
<i>a'ka</i>	Dekwana		In; Into; To; At
<i>aka</i>	Tiriyó		(Fuller) into
<i>akrataka</i>	Hixkaryana		To the front of ⁶⁸
<i>ametak</i>	Wayana		To down the river
<i>amrakataka</i>	Hixkaryana		To a position between ⁶⁹
<i>anaka</i>	Katxuyana		To the lap of
<i>antiina(ka)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>antiki</i> 'bottom, depth'	Deep into
<i>anwaka</i>	Ye'kwana		In(to) between legs
<i>anwa'ka ~ anwaka</i>	Dekwana		Among
<i>apëona(ka)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>apë</i> 'arm'	To near
<i>aporitonaka</i>	Karina		To next to
<i>aryhnaka</i>	Apalaí		Out
<i>a'sana'</i>	Akawaio		Into the midst of
<i>atakenaka</i>	Apalaí		In a row
<i>awarpanaka</i>	Waiwai		To the darkness; To the shade
<i>awëna(ka)</i>	Tiriyó		(Fuller) into
<i>awrutaka</i>	Hixkaryana		To midposition
<i>awxawo</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>awxari</i> 'slope of'	On to the slope
<i>do'taka</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>do'tadii</i> 'trunk of'	In(to) the middle
<i>ecihtaka</i>	Waiwai	<i>ecih</i> 'edge (of water)'	To the water's edge
<i>etxehtaka</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>etxehi</i> 'upright support, central pole of house'	At the side of

⁶⁸ Used with a nonmoving object.

⁶⁹ Assumed two entities.

<i>ekataka</i>	Karina	<i>akata</i> 'space between legs'	Into the care of
<i>ekataona(ka)</i>	Tiriyó		To near
<i>ekataponaka</i>	Karina	<i>akata</i> 'space between legs'	Towards the bifurcation of; To between the legs of
<i>ekontaka</i>	Karina		In the warmth of; Close to
<i>empatak</i>	Wayana		Into the area in front of
<i>enpataona(ka)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>enpata</i> 'face'	To the front of
<i>heta'ka</i>	Dekwana		In front of
<i>-ompatak</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>-ompatari</i> 'face of'	Opposite; Towards the face of
<i>ena'~enaka(n)</i>	Akawaio		For; To; About
<i>enjaona(ka)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>enja</i> 'hand'	Into the hands of
<i>yeñaka</i>	Panare	<i>eña</i> 'hand'	Benefactive
<i>enta'</i>	Akawaio		From; With regard to time; From then on
<i>epinëna(ka)</i>	Tiriyó		To below; Under
<i>epoena(ka)</i>	Tiriyó		To above; Over
<i>etaona(ka)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>eta</i> 'edge, rim'	To the margin/edge of
<i>hinaka</i>	Katxuyana		To below
<i>hiyaka</i>	Katxuyana		To the back; To behind
<i>hjak</i>	Wayana		To in the sun
<i>naka</i>	Hixkaryana		In(to) (sunlight)
<i>hyaka</i>	Hixkaryana		Benefactive; To (dative)
<i>(h)yaka</i>	Waiwai		To in; To with
<i>hnaka</i>	Apalaí		(To) between people or trees
<i>hnaka</i>	Hixkaryana		Negative Allative (To NEG NP)
<i>hpiĩina(ka)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>(h)piĩiki</i> 'anus'	To the back/rear of
<i>cheka</i>	Waiwai		To among
<i>htak</i>	Wayana		Into among

<i>htaka</i>	Apalaí		Into fire; Onto fire
<i>hta(ka)</i>	Tiriyó		Into (surrounded)
<i>inaka</i>	Waimiri		Dative
<i>i'si'na'</i>	Akawaio		Against ⁷⁰
<i>jak</i>	Wayana		To inside of
<i>jaka</i>	Ye'kwana		At the edge of; To the edge of
<i>jataka</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>jata</i> 'village'	In(to) village
<i>je'taka</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>jedü</i> 'face'	In(to) the front of
<i>je'waka</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>jedü</i> 'face'	At the water front; To the water front
<i>juuwëna(ka)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>putupë</i> 'head'	Onto (top)
<i>katpanaka</i>	Waiwai	<i>katpa</i> 'daylight' + <i>-n</i> NOMZR	To the daylight
<i>kirerwoka</i>	Katxuyana		To down ⁷¹
<i>hka(ka)</i>	Tiriyó		Into (water)
<i>(j)koka ~ -(j)koka</i>	Panare		Into (liquid)
<i>huhyaka</i>	Hixkaryana		To the direction of downriver
<i>ya'</i>	Akawaio		In
<i>ka'</i>	Akawaio		In (liquid)
<i>kaka</i>	Waimiri		Into (liquid)
<i>kuaka</i>	Apalaí		Into water; Onto water
<i>kuwaka ~ kwaka</i>	Katxuyana		To LOC (liquid)
<i>kwak</i>	Wayana		Into water
<i>kwaka</i>	Hixkaryana		Into (water)
<i>kwaka</i>	Waiwai		To liquid

⁷⁰ This is also said to be used to refer to a second person as a third singular person who is at the same time the second person, but it is not said to be a type of second person pronoun.

⁷¹ The referent is specifically a river.

<i>kwaka</i>	Ye'kwana		At (a) water mass; To (a) water mass
<i>kanahtaka</i>	Waiwai	<i>kanah</i> 'head'	Onto the top of
<i>kicicintaka</i>	Waiwai	<i>kicici</i> 'bad one' + - <i>n</i> POSN	To a closed place
<i>kiîwantaka</i>	Waiwai	<i>kiîwan</i> 'good one' + - <i>n</i> POSN	Into a clear place
<i>koro'ta'</i>	Akawaio		To; In the direction of
<i>lamnak</i>	Wayana	<i>lami</i> 'belly'	Into the center of
<i>mahyaka</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>mahtumuru</i> 'buttocks'	To the back of ⁷²
<i>makataka</i>	Waiwai		Under
<i>mapitaka</i>	Waiwai	<i>mapi</i> 'end'	Into the end
<i>mîmyaka</i>	Hixkaryana		Up to ⁷³
<i>mitiya ~ mitiyaka</i>	Panare		After; Beyond; Farther than; More than
<i>motaka</i>	Waiwai	<i>mota</i> 'shoulder'	Onto the shoulder
<i>mtaka</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>mta</i> 'mouth'	Into the mouth
<i>na'</i>	Akawaio		Through
<i>na'kwaka</i>	Ye'kwana		In(to) water
<i>nak</i>	Wayana		Into boundless space
<i>naka</i>	Apalaí		Into river; Onto river
<i>naka</i>	Katxuyana		To in
<i>na:'kwakwa~na:'kuka</i>	Dekwana		In the river
<i>nkaena(ka)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>(mî)ka</i> 'back'	To behind
<i>ynkànaka</i>	Karina	<i>ynkàna</i> 'back'	To the back of
<i>notonna(ka)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>noto(mî)</i> 'to block vision.'	To behind
<i>npona(ka)</i>	Tiriyó		Onto the back of

⁷² Used with a nonmoving object.

⁷³ Exterior location.

<i>o'koi'</i>	Akawaio		On
<i>ö'saka</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>ö'sadü</i> 'house of'	In(to) home
<i>-osnaka</i>	Hixkaryana		(To) under (assumed contact)
<i>hanaka</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>-hanari</i> 'ear of'	To the side of
<i>panaka</i>	Waiwai	<i>pana</i> 'ear'	To the side of
<i>patak</i>	Wayana		Into the place of
<i>piya'</i>	Akawaio		By; Toward
<i>pohëna(ka)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>poti</i> 'beak, 'tip'	To the top/beak/front of
<i>pòponaka</i>	Karina		To (being) down
<i>ra'</i>	Akawaio		In ⁷⁴
<i>rakataka</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>rakatarì</i> 'the middle of'	Into the middle of ⁷⁵
<i>rawëna(ka)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>ra</i> 'middle of body'	To the half of
<i>rehtëna(ka)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>retì</i> 'horn; top, head'	To the top/summit of
<i>rètaka</i>	Karina		On top of
<i>rena(ka)</i>	Tiriyó		To near
<i>:roowëna(ka)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>(pi)ro(pi)</i> 'chest'	Into the middle
<i>tahaka</i>	Katxuyana		To the middle of
<i>da'ka</i>	Dekwana		Toward me; In/at me
<i>ta'</i>	Akawaio		Allative ⁷⁶
<i>tak</i>	Wayana		Into
<i>ta'ka ~ taka</i>	Dekwana		In; At; Into
<i>taka</i>	Kuikuro		Evidentiality ⁷⁷
<i>taka</i>	Apalaí		Into large place; Onto large place
<i>taka</i>	Karina		Into

⁷⁴ Also said to mean 'with' though no example or context is given.

⁷⁵ Three or more entities.

⁷⁶ Said to be 'in', but the example given was allative in "went into the church."

⁷⁷ Listed simply as an evidentiality marker. It appears to be firsthand knowledge.

<i>taka</i>	Katxuyana		To in
<i>taka ~ -taka</i>	Panare		Towards; To the inside
<i>ta(ka)</i>	Tiriyó		Into
<i>taka</i>	Waimiri		To; Into
<i>taka ~ aka</i>	Ye'kwana		In
<i>tö'saka</i>	Dekwana		To his house
<i>tüponaka</i>	Karina		On top of
<i>tyhnaka ~ tohnaka</i>	Maimiri		Over; Above; On
<i>txenaka</i>	Katxuyana		To below
<i>wohyaka</i>	Katxuyana		For the sake of; To the side of ⁷⁸
<i>wö'taka</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>wö'tö</i> 'place to get off boat'	At port; To port
<i>wemüka</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>wenü</i> 'stomach'	In(to) stomach
<i>wenwaaka</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>wenü</i> 'stomach'	In(to) gut
<i>worotaka</i>	Katxuyana		To downstream
<i>wyinionaka</i>	Karina		In the direction of; To the side of
<i>yaka ~ -yaka</i>	Panare		To(ward) inside
<i>yntaka</i>	Karina		Into the mouth of; Interrupting
<i>yosnaka</i>	Hixkaryana		Small than; Less important than
<i>ýsaikèka</i>	Karina	<i>ýsai</i> 'lower leg'	Having the same lower leg as
<i>xawyaka</i>	Waiwai		Smaller than; Less than
<i>zokonaka</i>	Apalaí		Fraction of

Table 5: Stems With *-po

Postposition	Language	Postposition Origin	Postposition Meaning
<i>ahpo</i>	Wayana	<i>apì</i> 'back'	On the back of
<i>aktuhpo</i>	Wayana		Up the river of; North of

⁷⁸ This is likely a case of homophony.

<i>apopo</i>	Karina	<i>apo</i> 'arm'	On the arm of
<i>ë/etap(o)</i>	Wayana	<i>ë/etat(i)</i> 'hammock'	On the hammock of
<i>gepo</i>	Kuikuro		At the side of
<i>kòpo</i>	Karina		More than
<i>kutuho</i>	Katxuyana		On top of
<i>m(i)kahpo</i>	Wayana		Behind
<i>nnata'tajo</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>münatata</i> 'door'	At doorway; To doorway
<i>npo</i>	Tiriyó		On the back of
<i>parap ~ warap</i>	Ikpéng		In
<i>pato</i>	Tiriyó		To be aligned with
<i>rapàpo</i>	Karina	<i>ra</i> 'chest'	On the chest of
<i>tapo</i>	Apalaí		In hammock; On hammock
<i>tapo</i>	Karina		At; in the space of
<i>tupo</i>	Akawaio		After
<i>tùpo ~ kùpo</i>	Karina		On top of
<i>uhpo</i>	Wayana	<i>upu</i> 'head'	On top of
<i>owāho</i>	Dekwana		Before
<i>owajo</i>	Ye'kwana		Ahead; Before
<i>uwapo</i>	Karina		Before
<i>uwaporo</i>	Karina		Before
<i>uwap(o)</i>	Wayana		Ahead of
<i>wapo</i>	Tiriyó		Before; Ahead of; First
<i>waka</i>	Hixkaryana		To (allative) ⁷⁹
<i>yaka</i>	Hixkaryana		To; Into
<i>ynkapo</i>	Karina		At the back of
<i>yoho</i>	Hixkaryana		Bigger than; More important than

⁷⁹ Typically used with animate nouns with medial location.

<i>yopo</i>	Waiwai		Larger than; More than
<i>-ywaho</i>	Hixkaryana		First; Leading; Going in front ⁸⁰

Table 6: Stems With *-të and *-ta

Postposition	Language	Postposition Origin	Postposition Meaning
<i>amohtë</i>	Tiriyó		Upstream
<i>amoinche'da</i>	Dekwana		Near
<i>anato</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>anaro</i> 'other, another'	In another place
<i>aporito</i>	Karina		Beside; Next to; In a row
<i>apota</i>	Karina	<i>apo</i> 'arm'	In the arms of
<i>àta</i>	Karina		In the case of...being (Hypothetical Conditionality)
<i>ata</i>	Kuikuro		Portuguese <i>dentro</i>
<i>dako:da:</i>	Dekwana		Along side
<i>di'tö</i>	Dekwana		Beside; With; Next to
<i>diü'tö</i>	Ye'kwana		Next to
<i>ehodato</i>	Dekwana		Less than ⁸¹
<i>ekonta</i>	Karina		In the warmth of
<i>ha:dö</i>	Dekwana		With; Under
<i>jato</i>	Ye'kwana		On(to) the other side of
<i>kore'ta</i>	Macushi		Among
<i>kata</i>	Macushi		Into liquid; Onto liquid
<i>kwata</i>	Wayana		In a port
<i>mih̄to</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>m̄iti</i> 'circumference, horizon'	Near; Around
<i>myh̄to</i>	Apalaí		At the foot of
<i>pato</i>	Karina		In the direction of

⁸⁰ Used with a moving object.

⁸¹ Glossed as "less than," however, the translation gives it as "faster than."

<i>asepato</i>	Karina		In each other's direction
<i>opato</i>	Karina		On both sides; In both directions
<i>pato</i>	Tiriyó		Aligned with
<i>pohtë</i>	Tiriyó	<i>poti</i> 'beak, tip'	At the beak/tip/front of
<i>pūto</i>	Apalaí		Close
<i>pynto</i>	Karina		In the absence of
<i>rato</i>	Karina		Along; Beside
<i>rato</i>	Tiriyó		Parallel to
<i>rehtë</i>	Tiriyó	<i>reti</i> 'horn; top, head'	At the top/summit of
<i>rèta</i>	Karina		On top of
<i>ròta</i>	Karina		Inside
<i>unta</i>	Karina		Right next to
<i>ùrèta</i>	Karina	<i>upu</i> 'head'	On the head of; On top of
<i>ùta</i>	Karina	<i>upu</i> 'head'	In the head of; With a guilty conscience of
<i>wenàpota</i>	Karina		After; Following
<i>weto</i>	Karina		Attacking; Running toward
<i>woneto</i>	Karina		In the dream of
<i>ynkànapota</i>	Karina	<i>ynkàna</i> 'back'	Behind; At the backside of

Table 7: Stems With *-irë

Postposition	Language	Postposition Origin	Postposition Meaning
<i>ahetarye</i>	Hixkaryana		Along the edge of
<i>ahomyarye</i>	Hixkaryana		Passing under
<i>ailë</i>	Wayana		Through inside of
<i>awxari</i>	Waiwai	<i>awxa</i> 'side'	Along its side
<i>cheri</i>	Wawai		From among
<i>epori</i>	Waiwai		Motion by/through above

<i>(h)yari</i>	Waiwai		Motion by/through in/with
<i>hyarye</i>	Hixkaryana		Through ⁸²
<i>loptailë</i>	Wayana		Through deep inside of
<i>horye</i>	Hixkaryana		Along; Through
<i>poiri</i>	Akawaio		Nearby
<i>pori</i>	Waiwai		Motion by/through at/on
<i>ratari</i>	Waiwai		On top of
<i>warye</i>	Hixkaryana		From ⁸³
<i>wenarye</i>	Hixkaryana		Behind; Following
<i>yarye</i>	Hixkaryana		Through; Along

Table 8: Stems With *-ro

Postposition	Language	Postposition Origin	Postposition Meaning
<i>ka'taporo</i>	Akawaio		Near the edge
<i>polo</i>	Wayana		Along on
<i>poro</i>	Akawaio	<i>poropo</i> 'chest/breat' ?	At
<i>poro</i>	Karina		From; Since; Fitting
<i>poro</i>	Macushi		Over; Outside
<i>si'ki~si'kiri</i>	Akawaio		From; Since (From then on)
<i>taro</i>	Karina		Unto; Until; Able to
<i>uhpolo</i>	Wayana	<i>upu</i> 'head'	Along on the top of

Table 9: Stems With *-ye

Postposition	Language	Postposition Origin	Postposition Meaning
<i>ae</i>	Apalaí		Via small container; From small container; In; At; Through

⁸² Requires an animate object (human or animal).

⁸³ Typically used with animate nouns with medial location.

<i>ae</i>	Tiriyó		By; Along
<i>ai</i>	Ye'kwana		Through in
<i>apai</i>	Akawaio		From
<i>ahetaye</i>	Hixkaryana		From the edge of
<i>ahomyaye</i>	Hixkaryana		From under
<i>akrataye</i>	Hixkaryana		From in front of ⁸⁴
<i>aktuhpoi</i>	Wayana		From north
<i>ametai</i>	Wayana		From down the river
<i>amrakataye</i>	Hixkaryana		From between ⁸⁵
<i>anaye</i>	Katxuyana		From the lap of
<i>anetajai</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>aneija</i> 'another'	By other(s)
<i>awëe</i>	Tiriyó		On; Astride of
<i>awrutaye</i>	Hixkaryana		From midposition
<i>awxaye</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>awxari</i> 'slope of'	From off the slope
<i>do'tai</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>do'tadü</i> 'trunk of'	Through the middle
<i>enpatae</i>	Tiriyó	<i>enpata</i> 'face'	On the slope of
<i>entai</i>	Akawaio		Over; Bigger (ADJ)
<i>epoe</i>	Tiriyó		Above; Over
<i>epoi</i>	Akawaio		Above
<i>epoi</i>	Wayana		Away from above
<i>epoy</i>	Waiwai		Above
<i>-ohoye</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>oho</i> 'greater than'	Above; Over; From above
<i>yoheye</i>	Hixkaryana		Above
<i>etae</i>	Tiriyó	<i>eta</i> 'edge'	By the edge of; Along the edge of
<i>etxehtaye</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>etxehi</i> 'upright support, central pole of house'	From the side of

⁸⁴ Used with a nonmoving object.

⁸⁵ Assumed two entities.

<i>hanaye</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>-hanari</i> 'ear of'	From the side of
<i>hinaye</i>	Katxuyana		From below
<i>hiyaye</i>	Katxuyana		From the back; From behind
<i>hohtye</i>	Hixkaryana		From the front position
<i>hoye (ro)</i>	Hixkaryana		From
<i>hnaye</i>	Hixkaryana		Negative Ablative (from NEG NP)
<i>hyayae</i>	Hixkaryana		From ⁸⁶
<i>chey</i>	Waiwai		From among
<i>htae</i>	Apalaí		Via fire; From fire
<i>(h)yay</i>	Waiwai		From in; From with
<i>huyaye</i>	Hixkaryana		From the direction of downriver
<i>kawoye</i>	Katxuyana		From high; From up
<i>kentay</i>	Waiwai	<i>ken</i> 'mouth'	From the river's mouth
<i>kírerwoye</i>	Katxuyana		From down ⁸⁷
<i>kapai</i>	Akawaio		From in (water)
<i>kapai</i>	Macushi		Via liquid; From liquid
<i>kuae</i>	Apalaí		Via water; From water
<i>kuwaye</i>	Katxuyana		From LOC (liquid)
<i>kwai</i>	Ye'kwana		By (a) water mass
<i>kway</i>	Waiwai		From liquid
<i>kwaye</i>	Hixkaryana		From (liquid); Out of (liquid)
<i>koro'tapai</i>	Akawaio		From among
<i>mahtaye</i>	Hixkaryana		From back position
<i>mahyaye</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>mahtumuru</i> 'buttocks'	Behind; From behind ⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Needs animate object (human or animal).

⁸⁷ The referent is specifically a river.

⁸⁸ Used with a nonmoving object.

<i>meretñi</i>	Waiwai	<i>meret</i> 'horn'	From the top of
<i>m(i)kahpoi</i>	Wayana		Away from behind
<i>mĩmyaye</i>	Hixkaryana		Outside; Away from ⁸⁹
<i>motye</i>	Apalaí		Greater; Above
<i>nae</i>	Apalaí		Via river; From river
<i>namai</i>	Akawaio		Lest; Prevent from doing;
<i>napai</i>	Akawaio		From in
<i>naye</i>	Hixkaryana		Out of (sunlight)
<i>nakwai</i>	Dekwana		By means of the river
<i>na'kwai</i>	Ye'kwana		By water way
<i>naye</i>	Katxuyana		By in
<i>mkay</i>	Waiwai	<i>mka</i> 'upper back'	Behind
<i>-mkaye</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>-mkari</i> 'back of'	From the exterior surface of
<i>nkae</i>	Tiriyó	<i>(mĩ)ka</i> 'back'	Behind
<i>-ompataye</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>-ompatari</i> 'face of'	Opposite; Facing; From the face of
<i>-onatoye</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>owto</i> 'village'	From the area around the village
<i>-osnaye</i>	Hixkaryana		From under (assumed contact)
<i>pëe</i>	Tiriyó		From; After
<i>poe</i>	Apalaí		Via flat place; From flat place
<i>poi ~ woi</i>	Akawaio		By way of; From; From off of
<i>poi ~ pai</i>	Macushi		Via flat place; From flat place
<i>-poi</i>	Panare		From
<i>poye ~ hoye</i>	Katxuyana		Above; After; With; Portuguese <i>com</i>
<i>poy</i>	Waiwai		From at; From on
<i>joi</i>	Ye'kwana		Through
<i>huhoye</i>	Hixkaryana		From the direction of upriver

<i>puhoye</i>	Katxuyana		From the top of ⁹⁰
<i>piyapai</i>	Akawaio		Away from
<i>rakataye</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>rakatari</i> 'the middle of'	From the middle of ⁹¹
<i>rapai</i>	Akawaio		From in front of
<i>ryehtye</i>	Hixkaryana		From the top of
<i>tae</i>	Apalaí		Via large place; From large place
<i>tae</i>	Tiriyó		By; Along; On
<i>tai</i>	Ye'kwana		Perlative
<i>tahaye</i>	Katxuyana		From the middle of
<i>tapai</i>	Akawaio		From in
<i>tapai</i>	Macushi		Via enclosed space; From enclosed space
<i>tapoe</i>	Apalaí		Via hammock; From hammock
<i>taye</i>	Katxuyana		From in
<i>toye</i>	Katxuyana		Of
<i>txenaye</i>	Katxuyana		From below
<i>waye</i>	Hixkaryana		From ⁹²
<i>wenae</i>	Tiriyó		After; Last
<i>wenaye</i>	Katxuyana		Following
<i>winipai</i>	Akawaio		From
<i>wohyaye</i>	Katxuyana		By the side of
<i>worotaye</i>	Katxuyana		From downstream
<i>yai</i>	Akawaio		Through; By way of
<i>yai</i>	Macushi		At
<i>yapai</i>	Akawaio		From in

⁹⁰ The referent is specifically a river.

⁹¹ Three or more entities.

⁹² Typically used with animate nouns with medial location.

<i>yapai</i>	Macushi		Via open place; From open place
<i>yaye</i>	Hixkaryana		From
<i>yohoye</i>	Katxuyana		By the top of
<i>yu'woye</i>	Katxuyana		From the head of
<i>zomye</i>	Apalaí		Around

Table 10: Stems With *-wë

Postposition	Language	Postposition Origin	Postposition Meaning
<i>ahomyawo</i>	Hixkaryana		Under
<i>akratawo</i>	Hixkaryana		In front of ⁹³
<i>amrakatawo</i>	Hixkaryana		Between ⁹⁴
<i>anawi</i>	Katxuyana		On the lap of
<i>anmao</i>	Tiriyó		Under
<i>antawö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>yantadiü</i> 'island'	In(to) the center
<i>antiinao</i>	Tiriyó	<i>antiki</i> 'bottom, depth'	Deep in
<i>ao</i>	Apalaí		In small container; On small container
<i>apëo</i>	Tiriyó	<i>apë</i> 'arm'	Near
<i>aryhnao</i>	Apalaí		In the open; Outside
<i>arɯ</i>	Akawaio	<i>arɯ</i> 'clitoris'	Inside
<i>a'sanau</i>	Akawaio		Between
<i>àsàwo</i>	Karina	<i>àsa</i> 'neck'	In the region of the neck of
<i>awarpanaw</i>	Waiwai	<i>awarpa</i> 'dark' + <i>-n</i> NOMZR	In the dark
<i>awë</i>	Tiriyó		(Fuller) In(side)
<i>a:wö ~ awö</i>	Dekwana		In; When; Where
<i>awrutawo</i>	Hixkaryana		In midposition
<i>awxaw</i>	Waiwai	<i>awxa</i> 'side'	At its side

⁹³ Used with a nonmoving object.

⁹⁴ Assumed two entities.

<i>awxawo</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>awxari</i> 'slope of'	On the slope
<i>dawö</i>	Ye'kwana		Beside
<i>dawö</i>	Dekwana		When
<i>de'wö</i>	Ye'kwana	* <i>reti</i> 'top'	On the top of; To the top of
<i>dewö</i>	Dekwana		Upon
<i>do'tawö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>do'tadii</i> 'trunk of'	At the middle of; To the middle of
<i>ecihtaw</i>	Waiwai	<i>ecih</i> 'edge (of water)'	At the water's edge
<i>etxehtawo</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>etxehi</i> 'upright support, central pole of house'	At the side of
<i>ekatao</i>	Tiriyó		Near
<i>ekata ~ ekatau</i>	Wayana		In (area) nearby
<i>emètàwo</i>	Karina		At the precipice area of
<i>empata ~ empatau</i>	Wayana		In front of
<i>enpatao</i>	Tiriyó	<i>enpata</i> 'face'	In front of
<i>empatàwo</i>	Karina	<i>ompata</i> 'face'	In the face area of
<i>enao</i>	Tiriyó	<i>eena</i> 'throat'	Lying with
<i>enàsàwo</i>	Karina	<i>enàsa</i> 'throat'	In the throat area of
<i>enau</i>	Akawaio		Committative
<i>entau</i>	Akawaio		Yonder; In front of; Beyond
<i>erèwo</i>	Karina	<i>ere</i> 'liver'	In the liver area of
<i>eretaw</i>	Waiwai	<i>ereta</i> 'upper part of abdomen'	In the middle of
<i>esiwo</i>	Karina	<i>asipi</i> 'lip' = <i>osi</i> 'border' + <i>api</i> 'red color'	On the border area of
<i>ahetawo</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>aheta</i> 'edge'	At the edge
<i>etao</i>	Tiriyó	<i>eta</i> 'edge, rim'	On the margin/edge of
<i>hinawi</i>	Katxuyana		Below
<i>hiyawï</i>	Katxuyana		At the rear; Behind
<i>hkao</i>	Tiriyó		In (water)

<i>hnao</i>	Apalaí		Negative Conditional
<i>hnawo</i>	Hixkaryana		In the absence of; Without
<i>hotwo</i>	Hixkaryana		In front position
<i>hpiĩnao</i>	Tiriyó	<i>(h)piĩiki</i> 'anus'	At the back/rear of
<i>chew</i>	Waiwai		Among
<i>htao</i>	Apalaí		In fire; On fire; When; If
<i>htao</i>	Tiriyó		In (surrounded)
<i>hta ~ htau</i>	Wayana		Among
<i>(h)yaw</i>	Waiwai		In; With
<i>hyawo</i>	Hixkaryana		Committative ⁹⁵
<i>jau</i>	Wayana		Inside of
<i>jawö</i>	Ye'kwana		At the edge of water; To the edge of water
<i>juuwë</i>	Tiriyó	<i>putupë</i> 'head'	On (top)
<i>katpanaw</i>	Waiwai	<i>katpa</i> 'daylight' + <i>-n</i> NOMZR	In the daylight
<i>kau</i>	Akawaio		Into (water)
<i>kawö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>kaju</i> 'sky'	Up; High
<i>kawöö</i>	Dekwana		Up; Above
<i>kuao</i>	Apalaí		In water; On water
<i>k(u)wa</i>	Wayana		In water
<i>kuwawĩ</i>	Katxuyana		LOC (liquid)
<i>kwaw</i>	Waiwai		In liquid
<i>kwawo</i>	Hixkaryana		In (water)
<i>kwawö</i>	Ye'kwana		At (a) water mass; To (a) water mass
<i>kentaw</i>	Waiwai	<i>ken</i> 'mouth'	At the river's mouth
<i>kicicintaw</i>	Waiwai	<i>kicici</i> 'bad one' + <i>-n</i> POSN	In a closed place

⁹⁵ Requires an animate object (human or animal).

<i>kiîwantaw</i>	Waiwai	<i>kiîwan</i> 'good one' + <i>-n</i> POSN	In a clear place
<i>koro'tau</i>	Akawaio		While; As; At the same time; In front of; Among
<i>lamna ~ lamnau</i>	Wayana	<i>lami</i> 'belly'	In the center of
<i>mahtawo</i>	Hixkaryana		In back position
<i>mapitaw</i>	Waiwai	<i>mapi</i> 'end' <i>-ta</i> LOC <i>-w</i> (in)	In the end of
<i>meretwo</i>	Waiwai	<i>meret</i> 'horn'	At the top of
<i>mita ~ mitau</i>	Wayana		Hidden in the area of
<i>mîtwo</i>	Waiwai	<i>mî</i> 'base'	Near
<i>motaw</i>	Waiwai	<i>mota</i> 'shoulder'	On the shoulder
<i>motâwo</i>	Karina	<i>mota</i> 'shoulder'	On the shoulder area of
<i>romotawo</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>romotari</i> 'shoulder'	On the shoulder
<i>nao</i>	Apalaí		In river; On River
<i>na'kwawö</i>	Dekwana		Near the river
<i>nau</i>	Akawaio		In
<i>nau</i>	Wayana		By the side of; In boundless space ⁹⁶
<i>nawî</i>	Katxuyana		In
<i>nawo</i>	Hixkaryana		In (sunlight)
<i>mkaw</i>	Waiwai	<i>mka</i> 'upper back'	On (the back of)
<i>mkawo</i>	Hixkaryana		On top of
<i>-mkawo</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>-mkari</i> 'back of'	On the exterior surface of
<i>nkawö</i>	Ye'kwana		On the back of; To the back of
<i>ynkânawo</i>	Karina	<i>ynkâna</i> 'back'	On the back area of
<i>ynkânàwo</i>	Karina	<i>ynkâna</i> 'back'	In the back region of
<i>nnata'tawö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>münatata</i> 'door'	At door; To door
<i>notau</i>	Akawaio		Behind

⁹⁶ This is likely a case of homophony.

<i>notonnao</i>	Tiriyó	<i>noto(mi)</i> 'to block vision'	Behind; Invisible
<i>nwawö</i>	Ye'kwana		At the bottom of; To the bottom of
<i>u'wö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>yu 'judunña</i> 'river mouth'	At the top; To the top
<i>öjiwö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>öji</i> 'lip, beak, tip'	At the edge of water; To the edge of water
<i>önawö</i>	Ye'kwana	< * <i>önawö</i> 'in bosom'	On(to) bosom/lap
<i>-onatowo</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>owto</i> 'village'	In the area around the village
<i>önwawö</i>	Ye'kwana		In(to) hand
<i>-osnawo</i>	Hixkaryana		Under (assumed contact)
<i>hanawo</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>-hanari</i> 'ear of'	At the side of
<i>panaw</i>	Waiwai	<i>pana</i> 'ear'	At the side
<i>pasàwo</i>	Karina	<i>pasa</i> 'cheek'	In the cheek area of
<i>piyau</i>	Akawaio		Beside; At
<i>potaw</i>	Waiwai	<i>pota</i> 'entrance'	At the entrance
<i>potàwo</i>	Karina	<i>pota</i> 'mouth'	In the mouth region of
<i>pupiyau</i>	Akawaio		Under; Below (especially the surface of water)
<i>rakatawo</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>rakatarì</i> 'the middle of'	In the middle of ⁹⁷
<i>rau</i>	Akawaio		In front of
<i>rawì</i>	Akawaio		In front of; Before (spatial/temporal)
<i>rawë</i>	Tiriyó	<i>ra</i> 'middle of body'	In the half of; Halfway
<i>ràwo</i>	Karina	<i>ra</i> 'chest'	In the chest area of; In the middle of
<i>renao</i>	Tiriyó		Near ⁹⁸
<i>retwo</i>	Waiwai	<i>ret</i> 'upper part'	Upstream
<i>ryetwo</i>	Hixkaryana		On top of

⁹⁷ Three or more entities.

⁹⁸ Requires an element of fire.

<i>:rooweë</i>	Tiriyó	<i>(pi)ro(pi)</i> 'chest'	In the middle of; In the center of
<i>ruta'~rutau</i>	Akawaio		Among
<i>sidiwö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>sidi</i> 'glutes'	Immediately behind
<i>tahawï</i>	Katuxyana		In the middle of
<i>tao</i>	Apalaí		In large place; On large place
<i>tao</i>	Tiriyó		In
<i>tau</i>	Akawaio		In
<i>ta ~ tau</i>	Wayana		In
<i>tawï</i>	Katxuyana		In; When
<i>talihna ~ talihnau</i>	Wayana		In the open
<i>tawö ~ awö</i>	Ye'kwana		At; To
<i>tü'wö</i>	Ye'kwana		Around; Nearby
<i>txenawï</i>	Katxuyana		Below
<i>ùrèwo</i>	Karina	<i>upu</i> 'head'	In the crown area of; At the top
<i>wawo</i>	Hixkaryana		In; During; At the time of; With
<i>walipta ~ waliptau</i>	Wayana		In (area) behind
<i>wesèwo</i>	Karina		In the bottom area of
<i>wohyawï</i>	Katxuyana		Next to
<i>worotawï</i>	Katxuyana		Downstream
<i>wö'tawö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>wö'tö</i> 'place to get off boat'	At port; To port
<i>wo'wawö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>wö'dadii</i> 'root, origin, base of'	At the base; To the base
<i>yau</i>	Akawaio		In
<i>yawo</i>	Hixkaryana		In; On
<i>yawo ~ -yawo</i>	Panare		Inside; From inside; To Inside; During

Table 11: Stems With *-këkë

Postposition	Language	Postposition Origin	Postposition Meaning
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<i>anaijakökö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>aneija</i> 'another'	By other side
<i>aneiyekökö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>aneija</i> 'another'	Around
<i>anetajakökö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>aneija</i> 'another'	By other side
<i>dakökö</i>	Ye'kwana		By the side of
<i>de'kökö</i>	Ye'kwana	* <i>reti</i> 'top'	Over
<i>dü'tökö</i>	Ye'kwana		By
<i>hakökö</i>	Dekwana		In water/liquid
<i>hotkoko</i>	Hixkaryana		Past the front position
<i>jatakökö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>jata</i> 'village'	Around village
<i>je'wakökö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>jedü</i> 'face'	By the water front
<i>jüinkökö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>jümü</i> 'neck'	Around
<i>kankökö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>kanö</i> 'river mouth'	By river mouth
<i>mahtakoko</i>	Hixkaryana		Past back position
<i>ma'kökö</i>	Ye'kwana		By land
<i>mütökoko</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>müti</i> 'circumference, horizon'	(Departing from) near
<i>nkakökö</i>	Ye'kwana		Over
<i>nkayekökö</i>	Ye'kwana		By behind
<i>nkökö</i>	Ye'kwana		Following
<i>nnökö</i>	Ye'kwana		Along
<i>nwakökö</i>	Ye'kwana		Underneath
<i>-ohokoko</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>oho</i> 'greater than'	Passing above
<i>ö'joiyakökö</i>	Ye'kwana		By above
<i>o'kökö</i>	Ye'kwana		Underneath
<i>u'kökö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>yu'judunña</i> 'river mouth'	By the top
<i>-onatokoko</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>owto</i> 'village'	Along the area around the village
<i>ratokoko</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>-rari</i> 'front part of body'	Along the surface ⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Example given has the postposition used with a liquid surface.

<i>ryetkoko</i>	Hixkaryana		Along the top of
<i>sidichökö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>sidi</i> 'glutes'	(Further) behind
<i>tü'kökö</i>	Ye'kwana		Near
<i>wo'wakökö</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>wö'dadü</i> 'root, origin, base of'	By the base
<i>'ya'kwökö</i>	Ye'kwana		By mid part
<i>yawiyüökö</i>	Ye'kwana		Around

Table 12: Stems With *-këtyë

Postposition	Language	Postposition Origin	Postposition Meaning
<i>ati</i>	Kuikuro		Into
<i>awëna(kii)</i>	Tiriyó		(Fuller) into
<i>hotkoso</i>	Hixkaryana		To front position
<i>gwaktxi</i>	Ikpéng		(To) in (liquid)
<i>kuati</i>	Kuikuro		Into (liquid)
<i>mahtakoso</i>	Hixkaryana		To back position
<i>meretkoso</i>	Waiwai	<i>meret</i> 'horn'	To the top of
<i>mütkoso</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>mütü</i> 'circumference, horizon'	To (approaching) near
<i>mütkoso</i>	Waiwai	<i>müt</i> 'base'	To near
<i>-mkakoso</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>-mkari</i> 'back of'	On to the exterior surface of
<i>-ohokoso</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>oho</i> 'greater than'	To above
<i>-onatokoso</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>owto</i> 'village'	To the area around the village
<i>paraktxi~waraktxi</i>	Ikpéng		(To) in
<i>ratokoso</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>-rari</i> 'front part of body'	On to the surface ¹⁰⁰
<i>retkoso</i>	Waiwai	<i>ret</i> 'upper part'	Toward upstream
<i>ryetkoso</i>	Hixkaryana		On to the top of
<i>yohokoso</i>	Hixkaryana		To the edge of
<i>yu'koso</i>	Katxuyana		To the head of

¹⁰⁰ Example given has a liquid surface.

Table 13: Stems with *-këi

Postposition	Language	Postposition Origin	Postposition Meaning
<i>amohkii</i>	Tiriyó		To upstream
<i>antiina(kii)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>antiki</i> 'bottom, depth'	Deep into
<i>apëona(kii)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>apë</i> 'arm'	To near
<i>awonsi'kii</i>	Akawaio		From
<i>de'koi</i>	Ye'kwana	* <i>reti</i> 'top'	On top of; To the top of
<i>ehode'kô</i>	Dekwana		Less than ¹⁰¹
<i>ekataona(kii)</i>	Tiriyó		To near
<i>enjaona(kii)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>enja</i> 'hand'	Into the hands of
<i>enpataona(kii)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>enpata</i> 'face'	To the front of
<i>epinëna(kii)</i>	Tiriyó		To below; Under
<i>epoena(kii)</i>	Tiriyó		To above; Over
<i>etaona(kii)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>eta</i> 'edge, rim'	To the margin/edge of
<i>hpitina(kii)</i>	Tiriyó	(<i>h</i>) <i>pitiki</i> 'anus'	To the back/rear of
<i>jakoi</i>	Ye'kwana		At the edge of water; To the edge of water
<i>jatakoi</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>jata</i> 'village'	At village; To village
<i>juhkii</i>	Tiriyó	<i>putupë</i> 'head'	Onto (top)
<i>juuwëna(kii)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>putupë</i> 'head'	Onto (top)
<i>kankoi</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>kanö</i> 'river mouth'	At river mouth
<i>ma'koi</i>	Ye'kwana		To land
<i>mënkai</i>	Panare		Similarative
<i>nkaena(kii)</i>	Tiriyó	(<i>mi</i>) <i>ka</i> 'back'	To behind
<i>nkakoi</i>	Ye'kwana		On the back of; To the back of

¹⁰¹ The gloss given is “less than,” however, in the translation, *ehode'kô* means “more than.”

<i>notonna(kii)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>noto(mi)</i> 'to block vision.'	To behind
<i>npona(kii)</i>	Tiriyó		Onto the back of
<i>nwaköi</i>	Ye'kwana		At the bottom of; To the bottom of
<i>o'köi</i>	Ye'kwana		Under
<i>pohkii</i>	Tiriyó	<i>poti</i> 'beak, 'tip'	To the tip/beak/front of
<i>pohtëna(kii)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>poti</i> 'beak, 'tip'	To the tip/beak/front of
<i>ponsi'ki</i>	Akawaio		From
<i>rakui'</i>	Akawaio		Under ¹⁰² ; To
<i>rawëna(kii)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>ra</i> 'middle of body'	To the half of
<i>rehkii</i>	Tiriyó	<i>reti</i> 'horn; top, head'	To the top/summit of
<i>rehtëna(kii)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>reti</i> 'horn; top, head'	To the top/summit of
<i>rena(kii)</i>	Tiriyó		To near
<i>:rohkii</i>	Tiriyó	<i>(pi)ro(pi)</i> 'chest'	Into the middle
<i>:roowëna(kii)</i>	Tiriyó	<i>(pi)ro(pi)</i> 'chest'	Into the middle
<i>tü'köi</i>	Ye'kwana		Around; Nearby
<i>winîkii</i>	Macushi		Toward the direction of
<i>winîkui'</i>	Akawaio		Towards

Table 14: Stems With *-ke

Postposition	Language	Postposition Origin	Postposition Meaning
<i>aame(ke)</i>	Tiriyó		Odiative (Hate)
<i>amonðke</i>	Karina	<i>amonopy</i> 'miss'	'not quite enough for'
<i>antyke</i>	Karina	<i>antky</i> 'tail'	With the tail of
<i>arynke</i>	Karina	<i>aryn</i> 'leaf'	With the leaves of; Having the same leaves as

¹⁰² Under can be physically or metaphorically, as in, under the authority of something or someone.

<i>atòke</i>	Karina	<i>atoky</i> 'sting, prick'	Hateful to
<i>enpatake</i>	Karina	<i>ompata</i> 'face'	Having the face of
<i>eneke</i>	Karina	<i>ene</i> 'see'	Looking similar to
<i>enekero</i>	Karina	<i>ene</i> 'see'	More than enough resembling
<i>enuke</i>	Karina	<i>enu</i> 'eye'	With the eye of; Having the same eyes as
<i>etake</i>	Karina	<i>eta</i> 'sound'	In sound similar to
<i>hahnoke</i>	Hixkaryana		Near (spatial/temporal)
<i>pùke</i>	Karina	<i>pupu</i> 'foot'	Having the foot of; Having the same feet as
<i>pynke</i>	Karina	<i>pymy</i> 'neck'	Having the neck of; Having the same neck as
<i>tì'ke</i>	Katxuyana		Having the same size, distance, or quality (similarative)
<i>ùke</i>	Karina	<i>upu</i> 'head'	With the head of
<i>urake</i>	Karina	<i>ura</i> 'cry'	Crying the same way as
<i>wame(ke)</i>	Tiriyó		Not know
<i>waranòke</i>	Karina		Not fit for; Not suitable for
<i>wentameke</i>	Karina		In eating habits similar to

Table 15: Stems With a Non-Cognate Suffix

Postposition	Language	Postposition Origin	Postposition Meaning
<i>ahetaha</i>	Hixkaryana		Along the edge of
<i>ahomyaha</i>	Hixkaryana		Passing under
<i>akrataha</i>	Hixkaryana		Past the front of ¹⁰³
<i>amrakataha</i>	Hixkaryana		Passing between ¹⁰⁴
<i>awrutaha</i>	Hixkaryana		Past midposition
<i>awxaha</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>awxari</i> 'slope of'	Along the slope of
<i>etxehtaha</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>etxehi</i> 'upright support, central pole of house'	Along the side of; Past the side of

¹⁰³ Used with a nonmoving object.

¹⁰⁴ Assumed two entities.

<i>hnaha</i>	Hixkaryana		Negative Perlative (through NEG NP)
<i>kwaha</i>	Hixkaryana		Through (liquid)
<i>mahyaka</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>mahtumuru</i> 'buttocks'	Past the back of ¹⁰⁵
<i>mimiyaha</i>	Hixkaryana		Past ¹⁰⁶
<i>-mkaha</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>-mkari</i> 'back of'	Along the exterior surface of
<i>naha</i>	Hixkaryana		Through (sunlight)
<i>-osnaha</i>	Hixkaryana		Along under (assumed contact)
<i>hyaha</i>	Hixkaryana		Past ¹⁰⁷
<i>ainño</i>	Ye'kwana		From through inside (container)
<i>akanno</i>	Ye'kwana		From in
<i>diinña</i>	Ye'kwana		At someone's; To someone's
<i>otanña</i>	Ye'kwana		Towards
<i>pokoino</i>	Apalaí		Via pole shape; From pole shape
<i>yin/yen ~ -yin/-yen</i>	Panare		Through
<i>antajai</i>	Ye'kwana	<i>yantadi</i> 'island'	Among
<i>dü'se</i>	Ye'kwana		Next to
<i>eñexa</i>	Waiwai		From by; From at
<i>fonaro ~ ponaro</i>	Waiwai		Protective (mindful of)
<i>ponaro</i>	Karina		Against; Near to
<i>mkasî</i>	Waiwai	<i>mka</i> 'upper back'	Onto the back of
<i>ñixa</i>	Waiwai		From by; From at
<i>nkayedö</i>	Ye'kwana		Behind

¹⁰⁵ Used with a nonmoving object.

¹⁰⁶ Exterior location.

¹⁰⁷ Requires an animate object (human or animal).

<i>onwo</i>	Katxuyana		Cogniscitive (Know); In the eyes of
<i>rakataha</i>	Hixkaryana	<i>rakatarì</i> 'the middle of'	Through the middle of ¹⁰⁸
<i>ratoro</i>	Karina		In spite of
<i>tanyme</i>	Waimiri		From
<i>tapi'</i>	Macushi		Into enclosed space; Onto enclosed space
<i>tawo</i>	Katxuyana		Inside of
<i>tîpose</i>	Macushi		Until
<i>ùtaro</i>	Karina	<i>upu</i> 'head'	With guilt of
<i>waha</i>	Hixkaryana		Past; Through ¹⁰⁹
<i>wahoro</i>	Hixkaryana		First; Leading; Going in front of ¹¹⁰
<i>yaha</i>	Hixkaryana		Past
<i>wadödö</i>	Ye'kwana		Towards
<i>warantup</i>	Ikpéng		From in
<i>wyinompo</i>	Karina		From
<i>yapi'</i>	Macushi		Into open place; Onto open place
<i>yu'wo</i>	Katxuyana		At the head

¹⁰⁸ Three or more entities.

¹⁰⁹ Typically used with animate nouns with medial location.

¹¹⁰ Used with a moving object.

Appendix C: Cariban Postpositionalizing Suffixes

This appendix gives a comparative table of Cariban postpositionalizing suffixes. Due to formatting limitations and regulations, the tables have been turned into images which have subsequently been inserted into this section. For a full, searchable table, please consult the digital copy of this work on Scholar's Bank. This section will continue on the next page.

Table 1: Caribbean Postpositionizing Suffixes

Pruto Form	Wayana	Ye'hwana	Katxyana	Kulkuro	Apakai	Macushi	Tiriyó	Waimiri	Panare	Ikpéng	Dekwana	Waiwai	Karína of Suriname	Hixkaryana	Akwáwa
*ye	ABL -i(e) ~ -i ABL	-i ~ -iia PERL	*ye ABL; some PERL		*e ~ *ye ABL / FLML	*e PERL		-ka A.T.	-i ABL		-i ABL	-i ABL		-ye ABL	-i ABL SUPR
*ka	ALL -i ALL	-ka LOC/ALL	-ka A.T.		-ka ALL	-ka ALL		-ka A.T.	-ka LOC CMPR	-i LOC	-ka ~ -ka ~ -kwa LOC LOC/ALL	-ka ALL CMPR	-ka ALL	-ka ALL	-i ~ -ka(C) ALL PERL PERL PERL ALL
*ke	INSTR		-ke INSTR										-ke INSTR SMPL		
*kai	ALL	-kai LOC/ALL			-kai ALL	-kai ALL									-ai ALL & -ai

* Abbreviations used for this appendix: ABL (ablative), ALL (allative), COM (comitative), CMPR (comparative), DAT (dative), INE (inessive), INSTR (instrumental), LOC (locative, static), PERL (perative), PROL (prolative), SIML (simulative), SUPE (superessive)

* The has reflexes in every language examined. However, it most languages it is an independent position and not a suffix. Even within the languages where it is said to be a suffix, it is only in Karina of Suriname where this is fully illustrated, having meanings that are not only the instrumental source meaning of this morpheme but also similative meanings.

*të	INE		-to LOC	-te INE	-to LOC		-të LOC					-dë ~ -të LOC		-to INE	-to LOC	
*ta	INE	-ta INE	-ta LOC	-ta INE & -a LOC		-ta LOC ALL (once)						-da ~ -da: LOC	-ta ~ -a LOC	-ta INE		
*wë	LOC	-u LOC	-wo LOC		-o LOC		-wë ~ -o LOC					-wö(ö) LOC	-w/-'wo LOC	-wo/-'wo LOC (general area)	-wo LOC	-u LOC ALL DAT

Appendix D: Cariban Comparative Stems (Non-Cognate)

Root	Meaning	Language
<i>aame(ke)</i>	Odiative (hateful)	Tiriyó
<i>ah</i> (from <i>apī</i> ‘back of’)	On the back of	Wayana
<i>ahitso</i>	Simultaneously	Kuikuro
<i>ahomya</i>	Under	Hixkaryana
<i>airī</i>	Near	Akawaio
<i>akoxi</i>	Toward	Apalaí
<i>akrata</i>	Front of	Hixkaryana
<i>aktuh</i>	Position relative to upriver; North	Wayana
<i>amoinche’da</i>	Near	Dekwana
<i>amonò</i> (from <i>amonopy</i> ‘miss’)	Not quite far enough	Kari’na
<i>ampana</i>	Within range	Katxuyana
<i>anma</i>	Under	Tiriyó
<i>anta</i> (from <i>yantadii</i> ‘island’)	Center, Among	Ye’kwana
<i>anwa’de</i> ~ <i>anwa:’de</i>	Before	Dekwana
<i>apatà</i>	Between	Kari’na
<i>apokupe</i>	With pleasure for, Benefactive	Kari’na
<i>apori</i>	Beside, Next to, In a row	Kari’na
<i>aru</i> (from <i>aru</i> ‘clitoris’)	Inside	Akawaio
<i>àsa</i>	LOC neck of	Kari’na
<i>a’sana</i>	Between, Among	Akawaio
<i>àta</i>	Conditional	Kari’na
<i>atake</i>	In a row	Apalaí
<i>atò</i> (from <i>atoky</i> ‘sting, prick’)	Odiative (hateful)	Kari’na
<i>atumna</i>	In the deep	Wawai

<i>awarpana</i> (awarpa 'dark' + -n 'POSN' + -a LOC)	LOC the dark/darkness/shade	Waiwai
<i>awoni'ki</i>	Ablative	Akawaio
<i>awruta</i>	Midposition	Hixkaryana
<i>che</i>	Among	Waiwai
<i>do'ta</i> from <i>do'tadü</i> 'trunk of'	Middle	Ye'kwana
<i>düinña</i>	At/to someone's (possession)	Ye'kwana
<i>ejàta</i> (from <i>ajàta</i> 'armpit')	Under the armpit of	Kari'na
<i>ekon</i>	The warmth of, Close	Kari'na
<i>emèta</i>	LOC precipice area of	Kari'na
<i>èna</i>	LOC (elbow) joint of	Kari'na
<i>ene</i>	See ¹¹¹	Kari'na
<i>enkuume</i>	Hard (difficultative)	Tiriyó
<i>ereta</i> (from <i>ere</i> 'upper part of body')	The middle of	Waiwai
<i>e'sentai</i>	Unequal	Macushi
<i>esi</i> (from <i>asipi</i> 'lip' = <i>osi</i> 'border' + <i>api</i> 'red color')	LOC border	Kari'na
<i>eta</i>	Sound of	Kari'na
<i>etone</i>	Other side of	Apalaí
<i>etonie</i>	Across from	Apalaí
<i>etxeh</i> (from <i>etxehi</i> 'upright support, center pole of house')	The side of	Hixkaryana
<i>ewaaje</i>	Admirative	Tiriyó
<i>ge</i>	The side of	Kuikuro
<i>ha:dö</i>	Committative, Under	Dekwana
<i>hahnoke</i>	Near (spatial/temporal)	Hixkaryana
<i>hina</i>	Below	Katxuyana

¹¹¹ Normally a verb that is found in many of the languages examined, Kari'na allows *ene* to be combined with *-ke* to mean the similarative 'looking similar to.'

<i>hko</i>	Equitive	Apalaí
<i>hkotano</i>	By the way	Apalaí
<i>hkoty</i>	Do not even want to	Apalaí
<i>hnaka</i>	(to) Between people and/or trees	Apalaí
<i>hnao</i>	Negative conditional	Apalaí
<i>horì</i>	Purpose	Hixkaryana
<i>hpitina</i> (from <i>(h)pitiki</i> 'anus')	Back/rear of	Tiriyó
<i>hiidü</i>	After, Afterwards, Later	Dekwana
<i>hya</i>	LOC ¹¹²	Hixkaryana
<i>imo</i>	Different, Large, Variety of	Apalaí
<i>inha</i>	BENE	Kuikuro
<i>i'si'na</i>	Against	Akawaio
<i>jako</i>	When, During, While	Kari'na
<i>jâta</i>	As if 3.SG were	Kari'na
<i>kae</i>	LOC	Kuikuro
<i>kaisa</i>	Every	Akawaio
<i>kaisari</i>	Up to (spatial/temporal), Equitive	Macushi
<i>kanah</i> (from <i>kanah</i> 'head')	The top of	Waiwai
<i>katpana</i> (from <i>katpa</i> 'daylight' + <i>-n</i> 'POSN' + <i>-a</i> LOC)	LOC the daylight	Waiwai
<i>kaxe</i>	Because	Hixkaryana
<i>keñe</i>	Having lots (of something)	Waiwai
<i>kicicinta</i> (from <i>kicici</i> 'bad one' + <i>-n</i> 'POSN' + <i>ta</i> LOC)	LOC closed place	Waiwai
<i>kiiwanta</i> (from <i>kiiwan</i> 'good one' + <i>-n</i> 'POSN' + <i>ta</i> LOC)	LOC clear place	Waiwai
<i>kò</i>	Comparative base	Kari'na

¹¹² This is also used as the as of a benefactive postposition, a committative, a general ablative, and a perlative.

<i>kuptë</i>	Each	Wayana
<i>kuptëlë</i>	Following	Wayana
<i>kuruko</i>	Through, Around	Apalaí
<i>kutu</i>	Up, Top of	Katxuyana
<i>lam</i> (from <i>lami</i> ‘belly’)	In the center of	Wayana
<i>lopta</i> ¹¹³	Deep inside of	Wayana
<i>ma’</i>	LOC land	Ye’kwana
<i>mah ~ mahtu</i> (from <i>mahtumuru</i> ‘buttocks’)	Behind, following, the back of, in back position	Kari’na
<i>maka</i>	Under	Waiwai
<i>ma’re</i>	Less than	Macushi
<i>mapita</i> (from <i>mapi</i> ‘end’ + <i>-ta</i> ‘LOC’)	The end of	Waiwai
<i>mim</i>	Exterior location	Hixkaryana
<i>mīto’pe</i>	Because	Macushi
<i>mita</i>	Hidden in the (area) of	Wayana
<i>mitiya</i>	After, Beyond, Farther than, More than	Panare
<i>mna</i>	Outside; Without	Wayana
<i>motye</i>	Greater, Above	Apalaí
<i>n</i> ¹¹⁴	On the back of	Tiriyó
<i>na</i>	In boundless location	Wayana
<i>namai</i>	Permissive (lest, disallow, prevent from doing)	Akawaio
<i>nau</i>	By the side of	Wayana
<i>nña</i>	At/To	Ye’kwana
<i>nnata’ta</i> (from <i>münatata</i> ‘door’)	LOC door	Ye’kwana
<i>nnökö</i>	Along	Ye’kwana

¹¹³ The ‘ta’ could be *-ta* ‘inside of’. As there is no cognate, it is unclear if this is one word without a suffix or a stem with a suffix.

¹¹⁴ Appears once with the postpositional suffix *-po*.

<i>öji</i> (from <i>öji</i> ‘lip, beak, tip’)	Edge of Water	Ye’kwana
<i>o’koro’no</i>	Under water	Akawaio
<i>on</i> from <i>on</i> ‘eye’	Cognocitive	Katxuyana
<i>-onato</i> from <i>owto</i> ‘village’	Area around the village of	Hixkaryana
<i>ö’sa</i> from <i>ö’sadü</i> ‘house of’	House of	Ye’kwana
<i>önwa</i>	In(to) hand	Ye’kwana
<i>ota</i>	Unknown Meaning ¹¹⁵	Ye’kwana
<i>pak ~ wak</i>	Committative	Ikpéng
<i>pàme</i>	Acting Like, Similarative	Kari’na
<i>pa’ne</i>	In groups of	Akawaio
<i>pasa</i>	LOC cheek of	Kari’na
<i>pehna</i>	In (area of) the forehead of	Wayana
<i>pikiri</i>	Commit,before, in front of; cause	Akawaio
<i>pia</i>	Dative	Macushi
<i>pokon</i>	Committative	Akawaio
<i>ponsi’kī</i>	Ablative	Akawaio
<i>poñtya</i>	Over, On top of	Panare
<i>pòpo</i>	To (being) down	Kari’na
<i>poro</i>	From, Since, Fitting	Kari’na
<i>pune</i>	Fitting	Wayana
<i>pupiya</i>	Under, Below (water)	Akawaio
<i>pūto</i>	Close	Apalaí
<i>ranme</i>	Close to	Tiriyó
<i>ratarī</i>	On top of	Waiwai
<i>rato</i>	In spite of	Kari’na
<i>rawirī</i>	Before (temporal)	Macushi

¹¹⁵ Found in the postposition *otanña* ‘towards’.

<i>rena</i>	Near (with an element of fire)	Tiriyó
<i>rò</i>	In	Kari'na
<i>:ro~:roo</i> from (<i>pī</i>) <i>ro</i> (<i>pī</i>) 'chest'	The middle of	Tiriyó
<i>roro</i>	Along	Waiwai
<i>ruta</i>	Among	Akawaio
<i>samo</i>	Equal, Similar	Apalaí
<i>saaro</i>	Similarative	Apalaí
<i>sème</i>	In spite of	Kari'na
<i>sidi</i> (from <i>sidi</i> 'glutes')	Behind	Ye'kwana
<i>si'kī ~ si'kīrī</i>	Ablative (spatial/temporal), Since	Akawaio
<i>taha</i>	Middle of	Katxuyana
<i>tī'ke</i>	Similarative	Katxuyana
<i>tüise</i>	But, In spite of, Even though	Macushi
<i>tapo</i>	In/on hammock	Apalaí
<i>to'na</i>	Against	Ye'kwana
<i>tö'sa</i>	[LOC] House of	Dekwana
<i>tü</i>	Around, Nearby	Ye'kwana
<i>ülepene</i>	After (temporal)	Kuikuro
<i>un</i>	Right next to	Kari'na
<i>uriya'</i>	Because of, In place of	Akawaio
<i>wa</i>	LOC, during, with, at the time of	Hixkaryana
<i>wae</i>	More (Superiorative)	Tiriyó
<i>wala</i>	Around	Wayana
<i>walë</i>	Uncertainty	Wayana
<i>walipta</i>	In the (area) behind	Wayana
<i>'wamème</i>	Assembled into	Kari'na
<i>wantë</i>	By one's will	Wayana
<i>(w)apta</i>	When/If	Wayana

<i>wentameke</i>	In eating habits similar to	Kari'na
<i>wo</i>	Ablative	Panare
<i>won</i> (from <i>won</i> 'wrapper, holder, cover')	Around	Akawaio
<i>wō'ta</i> (from <i>wō'tō</i> 'place to set off boat')	LOC port	Ye'kwana
<i>wohya</i>	Side of	Katxuyana
<i>wohyaka</i>	For the Sake of	Katxuyana
<i>worota</i>	Downstream	Katxuyana
<i>wo'wa</i> from <i>wō'dadü</i> 'root, origin, base of'	Base of	Ye'kwana
<i>xawya</i>	Comparative Root	Waiwai
<i>yai</i>	At	Macushi
<i>yawiyü</i>	Unknown Meaning ¹¹⁶	Ye'kwana
<i>'ya'kwō</i>	Mid Part	Ye'kwana
<i>ympa</i> (from <i>ympa</i> 'shoulder-blade')	On the shoulder-blade of	Kari'na
<i>ÿsai</i> (from <i>ÿsai</i> 'lower leg')	Lower leg of	Kari'na
<i>zokonaka</i>	Fraction of	Apalaí
<i>zomye</i>	Around	Apalaí

¹¹⁶ This stem takes only *-kōkō* as a suffix, which together mean 'around.'

Appendix E: Non-Cognate Cariban Postpositionalizing Suffixes

Table 1: Non-Cognate Cariban Postpositionalizing Suffixes

Suffix	Meaning	Language
<i>-dödö</i>	ALL	Ye'kwana
<i>-ha</i>	PERL	Hixkaryana
<i>-jai</i>	LOC	Ye'kwana
<i>-kën</i>	EQUI	Panare
<i>-le</i>	ALL	Wayana
<i>-me</i>	Unknown	Waimiri
<i>-me</i>	INSTR	Dekwana
<i>-nen/-nan</i>	Changes INSTR to ATTRIB	Akawaio
<i>-nòke</i>	Unknown	Karina of Suriname
<i>-ntup</i>	ABL	Ikpéng
<i>-pa'ke</i>	PERL	Panare
<i>-pe</i>	BEN	Panare
<i>-pï'</i>	ALL	Macushi
<i>-pota</i>	LOC	Karina of Suriname
<i>-püa</i>	exLOC	Kuikuro
<i>-se</i>	LOC	Ye'kewana
<i>-sï</i>	ALL	Waiwai
<i>-wï</i>	LOC	Katxuyana ¹¹⁷
<i>-yedö</i>	LOC	Ye'kwana
<i>-yekökö</i>	LOC	Ye'kwana

¹¹⁷ Unlike in other languages, Katxuyana has two, contrasting locative suffixes that begin with 'w'. *-wo* is not the same as *-wï* in Katxuyana, which we know because of the existence of *tawo* 'inside of' and *tawï* 'in, when'. While other languages have two forms of the 'w' locative, they do not have the contrasting meaning that occurs with these two postpositions, thus making the Katxuyana *-wï* a unique innovation of Katxuyana.

Appendix F: Cariban Comparative Postpositional Cognate Stems

This appendix gives a comparative table of Cariban postpositionalizing suffixes.

Due to formatting limitations and regulations, the tables have been turned into images which have subsequently been inserted into this section. For a full, searchable table, please consult the digital copy of this work on Scholar's Bank. This section will continue on the next page.

Proto Form	Proto Meaning	WY	YK	KX	KK	AP	MA	TR	WM	PN	IK	DK	WW	KA	HX	AK
*akoya	Next to		<i>akoda</i> aside											<i>ekosa</i> near with		
*ameta	Position Relative to Kiver	<i>ameta</i> position relative to downriver south						<i>amoh</i> upstream								
*anV	Another		<i>ana ~ ane</i> ~ <i>anei</i> ~ <i>aneija</i> ~ <i>anetaja</i> <i>aneija</i> 'another' other (side) ²												<i>ana</i> <i>anero</i> 'other, another' another place	
*antiki	Tail Bottom Depth							<i>antina</i> <i>antika</i> 'bottom, depth' deep in						<i>any</i> <i>anyky</i> 'tail' the tail of		

¹ A note for reading this table. Due to the limitations of physical space, some words will split mid-word onto another line. When this occurs, it should be fairly obvious. When reading an entry of a reflex in a particular language, the way in which the reflex appears in postpositions will occur first (allomorphs denoted with a ~ between forms), followed then by an in-language source with translation (if available), and then lastly by the different meanings that the reflex has in the language. This is seen with Tiriyó *apê*:

apê 'arm'
near

If there are multiple meanings, then they will appear sequentially. In the event of there being more than one non-allomorphic reflex of a stem, then they will be separated by an ampersand.

Abbreviations used in this table are as follows: WY (Wayana), YK (Ye'kwana), KX (Katxuyana), KK (Kuikuro), AP (Apalai), MA (Macushi), TR (Tiriyó), WM (Waimiri), PN (Panare), IK (Ikpéng), DK (De'kwana), WW (Waiwai), KA (Karina), HX (Hixkaryana), AK (Akawaio).

² There are a large number of different stem forms of this reflex. The synchronic source is listed as *aneija*, though with the various different postpositional forms, it is unclear what the postpositional stem reflex truly is. There is clearly 'anV', with the V changing often with anticipatory vowel harmony.

*enu-pata ⁴	Face	in the middle of (supported)						ena 'throat' lying with					emasa 'throat' LOC throat of		
								<i>empata</i> 'face' in front of					<i>empata</i> 'face' before the eyes of in the face of		<i>empata</i> <i>-ompata</i> 'face of facing opposite the face of
								<i>witi</i> <i>yempata</i> ⁵ front lit. house face							
								<i>epinē</i> under, below							
*opinē	Under	in the middle of (supported)						<i>epo</i> above							<i>uāno</i> under
								<i>epo</i> above							<i>o'ho ~ wo,hero</i> under
*ēpo	Above	in the middle of (supported)						<i>yepoi</i> down,below w up/above							
								<i>epo</i> above, over & <i>epo</i> enough (satisfactory) & <i>epona</i> fidelitive							<i>epo</i> above
								<i>yepo</i> by the top of							<i>yeheye</i> above & <i>eho ~ oho</i> greater than base for movement based 'above' postps
								<i>o'ho</i> under							
								<i>epo</i> above							
*ra	Middle Part of Chest	in the middle of (supported)						<i>ra ~ rapā</i> the chest of amidst the middle of							<i>ra</i> under, in front of
								<i>ra</i> <i>ra</i> 'middle of body' the half of, halfway							<i>ra</i> under, in front of
															<i>ra</i> under, in front of
															<i>ra</i> under, in front of
															<i>ra</i> under, in front of
															<i>ra</i> under, in front of
															<i>ra</i> under, in front of
															<i>ra</i> under, in front of
															<i>ra</i> under, in front of
															<i>ra</i> under, in front of
															<i>ra</i> under, in front of

⁴ This stem is actually bipartite. First there is *ēnu, which is 'eye'. This is evidenced by its use in Katxuyana as knowing (or being in the sight of) and its use in Karina, where *empata* means 'in front of', 'in the face of', and 'before the eyes of'. *pata is also a stem unto itself, and can be found below.

⁵ Not actually a postposition, but it does show the cognate of the word 'face'.

*ko	Ablative									down ⁵								ko	ABL
*korepota	among	hita	among	hita	LOC fire when if	hita	LOC fire when if	hita	in (surrounded)	hita	in water	ka	LOC liquid	hita	LOC liquid			hita	front of among
*kuwa	LOC liquid	hita	among	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita
*ke	Instrumental	hita	among	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	ke	instrumental
*maré	Comitative (inclusive)	hita	among	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	maré	comitative
*mèh Vte	???	hita	among	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita		
*mila	Mouth	hita	among	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	mila	'mouth'
*miff	Base	hita	among	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	'circumference, horizon'
*na	LOC	hita	among	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	hita	na	na

⁵ With a river as a referent

	sunlight	in sun	LOC sunlight												LOC sum	LOC (in)
* <i>ʔuna kua</i>	River LOC liquid		<i>naʔwa</i> LOC water LOC water way		<i>na</i> LOC river								<i>na: ʔwa-na:ʔ</i> <i>ʔa</i> LOC river			
* <i>nʔwate</i>	Bottom		<i>nʔwa</i> bottom of										<i>wə:we</i> bottom of			
* <i>nʔota</i>	To block vision							<i>nʔotʔnaʔ</i> <i>nʔotʔnʔ</i> 'to block vision' behind, invisible					<i>nʔota</i> (insect) behind		<i>nʔota</i> behind	
* <i>wake</i>	Allative	<i>wake</i> congoctii ve											<i>wə:we</i> toward to get			
* <i>pata</i>	Place of Village	<i>pata</i> place of														
* <i>pato</i>	Alignmen t with															
* <i>po</i>	On (the top of) LOC (on At (the front of)	<i>po-mo</i> LOC (on supported)	<i>jo</i> at/to (LOC)	<i>po ~ ho ~</i> <i>ha</i> LOC cause reason	<i>po</i> in/on flat surface	<i>po</i> in on ABL	<i>po-pə</i> at on in						<i>ho:</i> LOC	<i>po</i> LOC (in, at, on)	<i>ho</i> LOC	<i>po</i> on
* <i>pəkte</i>	Adhesion - attachme nt	<i>pəkte-pəktə</i> about	<i>jəktə</i> on(to)	<i>pəktə ~</i> <i>həktə</i> about occupied	<i>pəktə</i> on (adhesion) about	<i>pəʔ</i> at to (DAT)	<i>pəʔ-ke</i> at upon	<i>pəktə</i> about because					<i>pəktə</i> over against	<i>pəktə</i> about occupied with	<i>həktə ~</i> <i>həktə</i> occupied with LOC	<i>pəʔ</i> DAT ALL about

7 I believe that the 'na' on the end of the word is the old *na, which while it is typically an allative, has been seen as a locative or as simply part of a stem, as is true with several words in Apalai.

*mota	Shoulder	<i>ahmota</i> in the area behind in between in the area beside of	<i>ta</i> in (permanent LOC)	<i>ta-a</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ma</i> greater above	<i>ta</i> LOC large place	<i>ta</i> in/on (enclosed space)	<i>ta</i> in(side)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ma</i> <i>ma</i> 'shoulder' behind	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> LOC (in)	<i>mota</i> <i>mota</i> 'shoulder' LOC the shoulder	<i>mota</i> <i>mota</i> 'shoulder' on the shoulder of	guilty conscience of crown of top of	<i>romota</i> <i>romotar</i> 'shoulder' the shoulder of			
*ta	In	<i>ta</i> in (permanent LOC)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta-a</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> in/on (enclosed space)	<i>ta</i> in(side)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> in (LOC)	<i>ta</i> LOC (in)	<i>ta</i> LOC the shoulder	<i>mota</i> <i>mota</i> 'shoulder' on the shoulder of	guilty conscience of crown of top of	<i>romota</i> <i>romotar</i> 'shoulder' the shoulder of			
*taih	Leaf	<i>taih</i> in the open				<i>aryh</i> <i>ary</i> 'leaf' out, in the open outside	<i>aryh</i> <i>ary</i> 'leaf' out, in the open outside										<i>aryh</i> <i>aryh</i> 'leaf' the leaves of						
*e ^s	DESID	<i>he-se</i> DESID			<i>tae</i> DESID	<i>se</i> DESID	<i>se</i> DESID	<i>tu se</i> DESID	<i>se</i> DESID	<i>te xy ~ we 'd</i> -y' DESID					<i>-se</i> DESID	<i>se</i> DESID & mex very DESID	<i>se</i> DESID DESID						
*tupo								<i>tupo</i> after (temporal)		<i>tyh-toh</i> over above on											<i>tupo</i> after		
*umYpoyer o		<i>umpoj(e)</i> cause															<i>poypoy</i> BENE for the sake of because of						
*uwapo	ahead of	<i>uwapo(o)</i> ahead of	<i>owajo</i> ahead						<i>wapo</i> before						<i>owaho</i> before	<i>se</i> DESID & mex very DESID	<i>se</i> DESID DESID			<i>uwapo</i> before	<i>(y)waho</i> first		

⁸ Bakairi also has the cognate desiderative, with the realization of *ze-he*. However, as Bakairi does not have any other cognate roots, it is not included on this table.

*wino	Afraid of	ino fearful				wino ¹⁰ from (a person)													
*ya	inside of	(ja) inside of	a in (LOC)	a in small container	ya-ya' inside, in (open place)	a in (side)			ya-cha-ya' on, in, inside when during		a'~a~a: da LOC when (awé) where (awé)	(h)ya in with	ya LOC (in/on)	ya LOC in					
*akeré	Comitative (exclusive) ¹¹	akélè comitative	akoro comitative		yaklór comitative				yaj comitative		aké-aka dabé comitative	akro comitative	yakoro-akor comitative	a'kír comitative					
*awírí	???				yawírí according to														
*entái	Over				yentái greater than														
*yeCVnen	Because				ye'nen because									e'nei because					
*enya	Hand					enja enja 'hand' LOC hands of			yehaka BENE										

¹⁰ This Apalaí *wino* is considered cognate with *ino* and *ino* because of the formal similarity with Tiriyó's *ino*, which is linked to Wayana's *ino* both formally and semantically. In thinking of the semantic similarity of *wino* to the other two, both of which involve and element of fear, and due to the constituent structure of Tiriyó, we know from Meira that the source of the fear is the object of the postposition *ino*. Thus, fear is coming from it, giving the ablative meaning found in *wino*.

¹¹ While certainly commitative, *yakéré being the exclusive commitative is less clear. The evidence for it being exclusive comes from Wayana, where there is *akélè* commitative and *malè* commitative (inclusive).⁷ Given that clusivity is something that is important in the Cariban family to note, it would not be surprising that there is a distinction between commitatives and clusivity levels. Further though, this would allow for a distinction between the two Wayana committatives, which otherwise do not have a distinction.

Appendix G: Glossary

Ablative: A linguistics term referring to movement away from an origin point.

Ablaut: A systematic variation of vowels in a word that gives differences of meaning.

An English example of this process can be found in certain Germanic words, such as: 'sing', 'sang', 'sung'.

Adposition: A linguistics term referring to a macro-category containing prepositions and postpositions.

Adverbial (Cariban): A class of words that give information that modifies in some way a noun or a verb. Can be thought of as a combination of adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions from English but combined into one class as they all behave in a like manner.

Agent: In semantics, the meaning of the term is highly contested, though it is generally agreed that an agent is the instigator of an action and acts in a voluntary manner.

Akawaio: A dialect of the Kapóng language of the Pemóng Group of the Pemóng-Panare Macro Group of the Venezuelan Branch of the Cariban Language Family. Spoken by the Akawaio people of Brazil, Guyana, and Venezuela.

Allative: A linguistics term referring to movement toward an endpoint.

Allophone: A speech sound that may be distinct in one language but that in a particular language is a realization of another sound, called a phoneme.

Alveolar: In linguistics, alveolar refers to a speech sound created with the alveolar ridge.

Ancient Stems: Regarding Cariban Postpositions, an ancient stem is a postpositional stem that exists in most languages that have relatively the same meaning in all of the

languages examined in this document. Ancient stems typically carry more general meanings than old stems.

Antessive: A linguistics term to an object preceding or being before another object.

Anticipatory Vowel Harmony: Vowel harmony in which a vowel changes to be harmonious with the vowel that follows it.

Apalaí: A language of the Cariban language family that has not yet been placed into any larger grouping. Spoken by the Apalaí or Aparai people of Brazil.

Aphaeresis: In historical linguistics, aphaeresis refers to the loss of a phoneme at the start of a morpheme.

Apocope: In historical linguistics, apocope refers to the loss of a phoneme at the end of a morpheme.

Assimilation: In historical linguistics, assimilation refers to a speech sound changing to be similar to or the same as another sound that is near to it.

Atelic: Without a natural end.

Bakairi: A language of Pekodian Branch of the Cariban Language Family. Spoken by the Bakairi people of Brazil.

Benefactive: Of or relating to a person, being, or object that benefits from an action. In linguistics, a benefactive morpheme marks the beneficiary of the clause.

Cariban Language Family: A language family in South America with at least 25 attested languages and present in Venezuela Columbia, the three Guianas ((British) Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana), Brazil, and the Caribbean (historically)).

Cognate: A linguistics term referring to aspects of two different languages of the same family that come from the same origin in a shared proto-language.

Cognate Set: The organization of cognates into groups for comparative linguistics.

Collocation: In linguistics, collocation refers to two or more morphemes co-occurring with each other with a higher than chance frequency.

Commitative: A linguistics term referring to two or more persons coexisting together. In English, the committative is denoted with the word ‘with’ (e.g. I am with her).

Comparative Reconstruction: The process and methodology of recreating a proto-language through comparison of existing languages. Proto-forms are marked with an asterisk (*).

Dative: A linguistics term referring to the R argument of a ditransitive verb, otherwise known as the ‘indirect object’.

Dekwana: A language of the Ye’kwana Group of the Cariban Family. Traditionally treated as a dialect of Ye’kwana, there is evidence that Dekwana is making its way to being a mutually unintelligible language. Spoken by the Ye’kwana people of Brazil and Venezuela.

Derivation: In linguistics, derivation is the process by which a morpheme has an element added to it, such as a suffix, that changes the part of speech of the morpheme.

Desiderative: A linguistics term referring to a morpheme or conjugation conveying information regarding wants, desires, and love.

Direction: In semantics, Direction is the point at which an object ends its movement.

Dissimilation: In historical linguistics, dissimilation is a sound changing to be less similar to an adjacent sound.

Ergative: Relating to the syntactic alignment of marking S and A arguments as the same.

Fortition: In historical linguistics, fortition refers to a ‘weak’ sound becoming a ‘strong’ sound. Typically, this refers to the degree of closure of the consonant.

Front Vowel: A vowel in which the tongue constriction occurs in the front of the mouth, relative to other vowels. The front vowels in the Cariban family are /i/ and /e/.

Fricative: A consonant created by the friction created by forcing air through a narrow channel created by two different points in the vocal tract.

Gemination: In linguistics, gemination refers to the lengthening of a consonant.

Glottal: In linguistics, glottal refers to a sound that is made with the glottis.

Grammaticalization: The process by which morphemes such as nouns become grammatical markers, such as a noun becoming a postposition or a postposition becoming a suffix.

Ground: In semantics, Ground refers to the localist idea that all actions and states can be described in terms of Ground and Path, with Ground referring to the ‘ground’ relative to which the action occurs, such as a container or a flat plane.

Hixkaryana: A language of the Cariban language family. Part of the Waiwai Subgroup of the Parukotoan Branch with sister language Waiwai. Hixkaryana is spoken by the Hixkaryana people of Brazil.

Ikpéng: A language of Arara Group of the Pekodian Branch of the Cariban Language Family. Spoken by the Ikpéng (also known as the Txikāo) of Brazil.

Illative: A linguistics term referring to an object entering a location of containment.

Inessive: A linguistics term referring to an object existing at a static location of containment.

IPA: International Phonetic Alphabet. A standard created and maintained by the International Phonetic Association, which seeks to have a one-to-one mapping of speech sounds to characters in an alphabet for the documentation, translation, and research of languages around the world.

Kari'na of Suriname: A language of the Cariban Family that is yet to be placed into a larger group or branch of the family. Spoken by the Kari'na people of Suriname, though there are other varieties of Kari'na spoken in many neighboring countries.

Katxuyana: A language of the Parukotoan Branch of the Cariban Language Family. Spoken by the Katxuyana and Xikuyana people in Brazil.

Kuikuro: A language of the Nahukwa Group of the Cariban Language Family. Spoken by the Kuikuro people of Brazil.

Language Family: A number of languages related to each other.

Location: In semantics, Location is the point where an object is at any given moment in space and time.

Locative: A linguistics term referring to a static location.

Macushi: A language that is part of the Pemóng Group of the Pemóng-Panare Macro Group of the Venezuelan Branch of the Cariban Language Family. Spoken by the Macushi people of Brazil, Guyana, and Venezuela.

Metathesis: In linguistics, metathesis refers to the transposition of sounds within a word or sound segments within a phrase.

Monomorphemic: Of or relating to being comprised of one morpheme. Differs from monosyllabic, as something that is monomorphemic may have more than one syllable but only one morpheme.

Morpheme: The smallest unit of speech that conveys semantic meaning.

Morphological Analysis: The process of breaking down words into their component morphemes based on comparative analysis.

Morphology: The study of the rules that govern the combination of morphemes into words.

Morphophonology: The study of intersection of morphology and phonology.

Morphosyntax: The study of and the rules that govern the combination of morphemes into words, clauses, and sentences.

New Stems: Regarding Cariban Postpositions, a new stem is a stem whose more recent origins can be traced, usually to a nominal source, in at least one of the languages examined in this document.

Noun Phrase (NP): A phrase that is headed by a noun.

Old Stems: Regarding Cariban Postpositions, an old stem is a stem whose origin is unknown but not as widespread as ancient stems in regards to the languages examined in this document. Old stems typically carry more specific meaning than ancient stems.

Origin or Source: In semantics, the point from which an object in the spatiotemporal realm begins movement.

Orthography: A writing system for a language.

Palatalization: A type of sound change, typically occurring to a consonant when near a high vowel or to a vowel near a palatal or palatalized consonant, that changes the place or manner of articulation of a consonant or the height and frontness of a vowel.

Panare: A language of the Cariban Family. It constitutes its own branch of the Pemóng-Panare Macro Group, which is in itself part of the Venezuelan Branch. Spoken by the Panare people of the Venezuelan Amazon.

Parukotoan Group: A group of three languages within the Cariban Language Family. The group can be divided into two subgroups: Katxuyana, comprised of Katxuayana, and the Waiwai Subgroup, which is comprised of Waiwai and Hixkaryana.

Path (Spatiotemporal Domain): In semantics, the spatiotemporal domain of Path is the manner in which an object moves in the spatiotemporal realm.

Path (Ground and Path Theory): In semantics, Path refers to the Path element of the Ground and Path Theory, which states that all actions and states can be described in terms of Ground and Path, with Path being the position and movement, or lack thereof, relative to the Ground in the spatiotemporal domain.

Pekodian Branch: A group of three languages in the Cariban Language Family. The branch has two different subgroups: Bakairi, comprised of only Bakairi, and the Arara Group, containing Arara and Ikpéng.

Perlative: A linguistics term referring to movement through, across, or along a reference point or object. Conveys information about the semantic domain of Path.

Phoneme: A distinct speech sound within a language's phonemic inventory that may or may not have several different realizations, known as allophones.

Phonemic Inventory: The inventory of a language's distinct sounds.

Phonological Reconstruction: The reconstruction of a proto-language's sound inventory and the sound changes necessary to explain change from that initial inventory to the inventories of the daughter languages in the family.

Phonology: The study of the sounds of a language, how they form an inventory for the creation of morphemes, how the sounds interact with one another, and how sounds can have multiple, different realizations depending on the environment of surrounding sounds, known as allomorphy.

Phrase Structure: Phrase structure is the way in which different phrases are structured in a language. Phrase structure is a syntactic property of a language.

Post-alveolar: In linguistics, post-alveolar refers to a speech sound that is created with the post-alveolar region of the mouth.

Postposition (Cariban): A word that comes after the noun that it modifies that conveys information about space, time, or grammatical relations.

Postpositional Phrase (PP): A postpositional phrase is a phrase with a postposition at its head.

Postpositionalizing Suffix: A suffix that changes a word, typically a noun, from its original part of speech into a postposition.

Progressive Vowel Harmony: Vowel harmony in which a vowel that occurs closer to the beginning of the word causes the next vowel in linear order to change in order to be in harmony.

Prolative: A linguistics term meaning ‘by means of’ or ‘via’.

Prosody: In linguistics, prosody refers to elements of speech that go beyond any individual phoneme and instead affect syllables, morphemes, words, clauses, and entire utterances.

Proto-Carib: The last common ancestor of the languages of the Cariban Language Family.

Proto-Language: The last common ancestor of a language family or any sub-family or group therein.

Reflex: In historical linguistics, a reflex is the contemporary realization of a proto-form in a language.

Rhotic: In phonetic linguistics, a rhotic is a type of consonant, depicted orthographically in the IPA as a variation of the letter 'r'. Rhotics are 'R-like' sounds.

Semantic Role: The role that a noun has in a clause and the meaning of that role.

Highly debated and contested as to how many roles truly exist and what definitions each role should have, some common roles include: agent, experiencer, patient, benefactor, recipient, instrument, and location. Localist semantics is rooted in the idea that all semantic roles can be thought of as metaphorical extensions of spatiotemporal domains and relations.

Semantics: The study of how words mean in languages.

Semantic Bleaching: In linguistics, semantic bleaching is the loss of semantic value from a morpheme over time, typically this occurs alongside grammaticalization.

Serial-Verb Constructions: Also known as verb serialization, serial-verb constructions are clauses where multiple verbs are strung together to form one clause.

Stem: The base of a word, that may or may not be comprised of multiple morphemes, that then takes suffixes, prefixes, or other affixes.

Similarative: A linguistics term meaning that a morpheme conveys meaning of something being 'similar to' or 'like' something else.

Stop: In linguistics, a stop is a speech sound in which there is a complete obstruction of airflow during the articulation of the speech sound.

Subessive: A linguistics term referring to an object existing below another object.

Suffix: A morpheme that is affixes to the end of a stem or word.

Superessive: A linguistics term referring to an object existing above another object without any contact.

Supine: A type of verbal conjugation denoting that an action or movement is occurring to complete the action of the verb. In the English sentence ‘I go to hunt’, ‘to hunt’ would be the supine.

Suppletion: Two or more word forms that are related in a language but that lack a cognate ancestor. An English example of this would be ‘go’ and ‘went’.

Syllable Reduction: In the Cariban language family, syllable reduction is the reduction of a syllable to the glottal fricative, the glottal stop, or the complete loss of a syllable that begins with an obstruent consonant that is followed by a syllable with another obstruent consonant.

Synchronic: Of or relating to a process or part of a language that is internal to that language.

Syntactic Alignment: The manner by which a language marks the grammatical roles of arguments in a clause. Specifically, Dixon’s alignment terms are assumed herein of S (single argument of an intransitive verb), A (“subject” of a transitive verb), O/P (“object” of a transitive verb), T (“direct object” of a ditransitive verb), and R (“indirect object” of a ditransitive verb). Syntactic alignment refers then primarily to the way in which a language marks the S argument in regards to the A and O/P arguments. There are two main alignments: Nominative-Accusative and Ergative-Absolutive. If the S and A are marked the same and the O/P is marked different, this is known as Nominative (S

+ A) -Accusative (O/P) alignment, which is English's alignment. If S and O/P are marked the same and A is marked different, this is known as an Ergative (A)-Absolutive (S + O/P). The Cariban languages are primarily Ergative-Absolutive.

Syntax: The study of the combination of words into clauses and sentences.

Tiriyó: A language of Tiriyó Subgroup of the Taranoan Group of the Cariban Language Family. Spoken by the Tiriyó people of Brazil and Suriname.

Topological Relations Picture Series (TRPS): A series of pictures denoting different objects in a spatiotemporal relation with other objects created by Dr. Melissa Bowerman and Dr. Eric Pederson for the eliciting the different ways that a language may convey information on spatiotemporal relations.

Typology: In linguistics, the study and classification of languages based on their functional features and their structures.

Voiceless: In linguistics, voiceless refers to a sound that is created without the vibration of the vocal folds.

Voicing: In historical linguistics, voicing refers to the change of a sound from being voiceless to voiced.

Vowel Harmony: In linguistics, vowel harmony refers to the process by which vowels change to be harmonious with the other vowels in the morpheme, word, or phrase, depending on the language. Which vowels are harmonious with which vowels is different depending on the language and the language family. Common determiners of harmony are frontness and height.

Waimirí Atroarí: A language of the Cariban family that has not yet been placed into any larger grouping. Spoken by the Waimirí Atroarí people of Brazil.

Waiwai: A language of the Waiwai Subgroup of the Parukotoan Branch of the Cariban Language Family. Spoken by the Wai Wai people of Guyana and Brazil.

Wayana: A language of the Cariban Language Family that has yet to be placed into a larger grouping or branch. Spoken by the Wayana people of French Guiana, Suriname, and Brazil.

Weakening: In historical linguistics, weakening refers to a sound going from a ‘strong’ sound to a ‘weak’ sound. Typically, this is related to the degree of closure of the sound with stronger sounds having a higher degree of closure.

Ye’kwana: A language of the Ye’kwana Group of the Cariban Family. Spoken by the Ye’kwana people of Brazil and Venezuela.

Yukpa: A language of the Cariban Family. Part of the Yukpa Group, comprised of Yukpa and Japrería. Spoken by the Yukpa people of Venezuela and Columbia.

Appendix H: Minor Reconstructed Forms

Throughout the process of creating and finding cognate sets for reconstructing Cariban postpositions, many sets were created. Of these sets, a large subset of them are comprised of only a few reflexes, which often are contained to subfamilies of the overall Cariban Family. These cognate sets are important and do need to be included, but they are not required for the main argumentation of this piece. As such, this appendix is where these forms have been put. It should be known that these are first passes at these reconstructions and that each deserves further research and attempts to find in the other languages where they are not currently attested in grammars.

Monomorphemic Postpositions

***akoya ‘next to, nearby’ (Guianan Subgroup)**

The **akoya* monomorphemic postposition has the two reflexes. It is found within the Guianan Subgroup.

Table 1: **akoya*

Guianan	Ye’kwana	a	k	o	d	a	‘aside’
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	e	k	o	s	a	‘near, with’

With this postposition, we see two primary changes: the **y* and the morpheme-initial **a*. The **a* is maintained in the Ye’kwana reflex. In the Kari’na of Suriname reflex, there is an *e*. Kari’na of Suiname has not been included in reconstructions of **y* previously, but in all attested changes of **a* to *e*, the cause has been ablaut, which the Kari’na of Suriname reflex is a good candidate for, given the morpheme-initial position. The **y* goes to *d* in Ye’kwana and *s* in Kari’na of Suriname via fortition, which is

attested in Kuikuro and Yukpa previously in an intervocalic, morpheme-medial position (Meira and Franchetto 156). These reflexes can be reconciled if that change is occurring here as well.

- (1) **akoya* > *akoda* (Ye'kwana)
 > **akosa* > *ekosa* (Kari'na of Suriname)

Both of the stems exhibit some meaning of adjacency, especially the adjacency of being 'next to' or 'aside' something. This leads me to believe that **akotya* means something like 'next to' as a stem. There is also the meaning of 'with', in a comitative sense, which corresponds to the frame of being located next to someone being located 'with' them.

****eire* 'odiative' (Guianan Subgroup)**

The **eire* monomorphemic postposition has two reflexes. It is found within the Guianan Subgroup.

Table 2: **eire*

Guianan	Tiriyó	e	i	r	e	'odiative'
Guianan	Wayana	e	i	l	e	'angry, wild'

Both reflexes reconstruct automatically.

- (2) **eire* > *eire* (Tiriyó)
 > *eile* (Wayana)

The semantics of these words are roughly the same, though the Tiriyó reflex does have the added meaning of being 'wild'. This metaphorical extension can be seen in English as well, where someone goes 'blind with rage', giving the meaning of losing control over oneself and one's senses due to anger. The same is occurring here.

***katipī ‘similarative’**

The **katipī* monomorphemic postposition has two reflexes. It is found in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 3: **katipī*

Guianan	Wayana	k	a	t	ī	p	(i)	‘similarative’
Venezuelan	Akawaio	k	a	s	a			‘similarative’

It should be noted that this is an instance that could very well be two different morphemes that both ask as similaratives. As it stands currently, there are a large number of changes that need to occur for these two to be cognate with each other. With that being said, here is their reconstruction. Neither reflex automatically reconstructs. The Wayana reflex has the **i* undergo anticipatory assimilation to *ī*, which is previously unattested. The Akawaio reflex experiences irregular apocope of **pī*. This is followed by the palatalization of **t* before the **i* and the subsequent reduction of **i* to **ī*. This exact change is unattested in Akawaio but attested in Hixkaryana (Meira and Franchetto 164). Then, there is the shift from **ī > a*, which is an instance of progressive vowel harmony that is previously unattested.

(3) **katipī > katip(ī)* (Wayana)

*> *kati > *kasi > *kasi > kasa* (Akawaio)

Both of these postpositions mean ‘similarative’. Thus, the proto-postposition does as well.

***wake ‘allative’**

The **wake* monomorphemic postposition has two reflexes. It is found in 2 of the 9 top-level subgroups.

Table 4: **wake*

Guianan	Wayana	w	a	k	e	‘cognocitive’
Parukatoan	Waiwai	w	e	c	e	‘toward, to get’

The Wayana reflex immediately reconstructs. The Waiwai reflex has the **a* undergo anticipatory vowel harmony. Then, the **k* palatalized before the **e*. This is an unattested change. While **k > tʃ* is attested once in the literature in Panare, this occurred with the **kj* segment (Meira and Franchetto 137). The **e* is known to palatalize **t* quite regularly (Meira and Franchetto 141), but not **k*. Thus, for this cognate set to hold, this unattested and irregular change would have to be accepted. Thus, this is a more speculative cognate set.

- (4) **wake > wake* (Wayana)
 > **weke* > *wece* (Waiwai)

Looking at the semantic reflexes, there is little cohesion. Waiwai’s meanings appear to be the most basic, having a degree of spatiotemporal description with the allative ‘toward’ and yet it also has the meaning of ‘to get’, which makes me question its status as a postpositional stem at all. However, this could simply be a matter of denotation or of homophony. Assuming an allative origin, we can see the cognocitive reflex of Wayana come from a mental framework of the acquisition of knowledge being an location in which one arrives to after moving toward it.

***umVpoyero**

The **umVpoyero* monomorphemic postposition has two reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 5: **umVpoyero*

Guianan	Wayana	u	m	p	o	j	(e)			‘cause’
Parukatoan	Waiwai			p	o	y	e	r	o	‘benefactive, for the sake of’

The **poye* reconstructs in both languages immediately. The Waiwai reflex experiences aphaeresis of **u* followed by aphaeresis of **mV*. Both of these changes are unattested. The Wayana reflex has syncope of **V* followed by apocope of **ro*. Both of these changes are also previously unattested. Another possible explanation is that the *um* in Wayana and the *ro* in Waiwai are non-cognate elements. This would remove the issue of unattested sound changes but add the issue of where these non-cognate elements came from.

- (5) **umVpoyero* > **mVpoyero* > *poyero* (Waiwai)
 > **umpoyero* > *umpoj(e)* (Wayana)

The semantic reflexes of this postposition both showcase the benefactive (dative) serving as the cause of an action as was discussed above, with Wayana having only cause as a meaning and Waiwai having the benefactive.

***watëtë ‘the act of running at something with the intent to attack it’ (Guianan)**

The **watëtë* monomorphemic postposition has three reflexes. It appears in the Guianan Subgroup.

Table 6: **watëtë*

Guianan	Ye’kwana	w	a	d	ö	d	ö	‘towards’
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Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	y	w	e	ny	e	k	e			‘not know’
Parukatoan	Waiwai		w	e	ñ	e	k	a	r	ï	‘not know’
Guianan	Tiriyó		w	a	m	e	k	e			‘not know’

No form reconstructs immediately. Hixkaryana has the seeming addition of $*u > j$. This change is completely unattested, though it may yet be cognate. There are four words that start with the jw segment in Hixkaryana and no words that start with the uw segment in existing databases. To me this suggests that this is a change that occurs, as for all but one of these Hixkaryanan words, except this one, has a /uw/ segment in another language’s reflex in the respective cognate set, suggesting to me that in Hixkaryana $*uw > jw$ in the word-initial position. The Hixkaryana reflex also has the $*n$ undergo palatalization before the $*e$, which is previously attested (Meira and Franchetto 148). The Waiwai and Tiriyó reflexes all lose the $*u$. This could have occurred via a merger of $*\underline{u}$ with $*\underline{w}$ in this instance do to their similarity in articulation, or via irregular aphaeresis of the $*\underline{u}$. Both are unattested changes. The Waiwai reflex also undergoes palatalization of the $*n$ before the $*e$, which as previously stated, is attested in Hixkaryana, but is previously unattested in Waiwai (Meira and Franchetto 148). The remaining $ar\ddot{i}$ in the Waiwai reflex has no ready explanation and appears to be non-cognate. The Tiriyó reflex reconstructs with the $*u$ loss and with the change of the first $*e > a$ and the change of $*n > m$. Both of these changes are unattested and have no ready explanation.

- (7) $*uwenyeke > *yweneke > ywenyeke$ (Hixkaryana)
 $> *wenyeke > *we\ddot{n}eke > we\ddot{n}ekari$ (Waiwai)
 $> *wemeke > wame(ke)$ (Tiriyó)

The reflexes all have the meaning of ‘not know’, and as such, the proto-form does as well.

***awĩri ‘perlative’ (Pemóng Subgroup of Pemóng-Panare of Venezuelan Subgroup)**

The *awĩri monomorphemic postposition has two reflexes. It is found within the Pemóng Subgroup of the Pemóng-Panare Group of Venezuelan Carib.

Table 8: *awĩri

Venezuelan	Makushi	y-	a	w	î	r	î	‘according to’
Venezuelan	Akawaio		a	w	ĩ	r	ĩ	‘during, with, through’

Both forms reconstruct immediately with the addition of the noncognate *y- ‘REL’ element in Macushi.

- (8) *awĩri > yawîrî (Macushi)
 > awĩri (Akawaio)

The original meaning of this postposition is ‘perlative’, which is seen in Akawaio’s ‘through’ meaning. From this, the Macushi ‘according to’ meaning comes out, as the person speaking is acting as the path to the information in which they are conveying. The ‘during’ meaning comes into play through the metaphor of time as a medium in which people can move through. ‘During’ describes the path through that medium. The ‘with’(committive) meaning comes from a coalescence of path and location. Once these have been fused together, the shift from location to committive is straightforward.

***yeCVnen ‘because’**

Guianan	Wayana					h	t	a	‘among’	<i>htau, htak</i>
Apalaí	Apalaí					h	t	a	‘[LOC] fire, when, if’	<i>htao, htae, htaka</i>
Guianan	Tiriyó					h	t	a	‘in (surrounded)’	<i>htao, htaka</i>

The **ta* reconstructs in all languages. In regards to the **po* syllable, the **o* is lost in all languages and the **p* is glottalized due to syllable reduction. It could be that in fact the **ta* is not part of the stem of **korepota* but rather that it is the **ta* ‘inessive’ discussed in Chapter 2. If this is indeed the case, then its addition would be a clear case of syllable reduction resultant of an added element. However, at least under currently familial classifications, this explanation would require four different instances of **ta* being added to the hypothetical **korepo* stem, which then lost their meaning independently of each other, but resulted in closely related meanings for all of the languages. This seems unlikely and thus it is assumed that these are all part of the same original stem. This does mean though that this reconstruction is more influenced by semantics than others. Clearly, the Macushi and Akawaio stems are cognate. I believe that the others are as well. With that cleared up, Wayana, Apalaí, and Tiriyó all experience either unattested and irregular aphaeresis of the first two syllables or have had the first three syllables undergo syllable reduction (a theoretical possibility), leaving only one syllable remaining for all three of the languages. At this time it is unclear. Macushi has **kore* reconstruct automatically while Akawaio has the **e* shift to *o* due to vowel harmony with the preceding *o*.

(11) **korepëta* > *kore'ta* (Macushi)

> *koro'ta* (Akawaio)

> *hta* (Wayana, Apalaí, Tiriyó)

Looking at the semantic reflexes, the most common of these reflexes is ‘among’. Tiriyo has the reflex of ‘in (surrounded)’, which I argue is simply a different way to describe the same spatial position, as to be ‘among’ people or any other kind of object is to have it all around oneself, or to be surrounded. Akawaio’s ‘front of’ meaning is a different conceptualization of among, which is also seen in English. Imagine a scene where an individual is standing slightly in front of a group of people who are in a line. In this instance, the person standing in front of the group is still ‘among’ the group when looking at them head-on, while they are also closer, leading them to be ‘in front of’ the others. Note how the Akawaio reflex *koro ’ta* has both the ‘front of’ and ‘among’ meanings. The Apalaí reflex of ‘[some type of location] fire’ can be found from a metaphorical extension of what happens when something is in fire—they are surrounded by flames. What is interesting, and harder to explain, is the conditional reflexes found in Apalaí and Akawaio. These forms are similar enough to each other formally that I included them as part of the same cognate set. This was also inspired in part by the semantics of the Apalaí *hta*, having both the proto-meaning of ‘among’ and the conditional meaning. It was also influenced by the Macushi and other Akawaio reflex, both of which suggest a great deal of sounds existing in the proto form outside of that which Wayana and the others have. Assuming that there is conciguity between these stems, the best metaphorical extension that I can see from the source meaning of ‘among’ to the meaning of conditional comes from seeing the different conditions that need to occur for an event to occur as being objects that surround an event in an abstract, linear way of thinking of time.

***ētena ‘below, under (subessive)’ (Parukatoan)**

The **ätena* has two reflexes. It appears in the Parukatoan subgroup.

Table 12: **ätena*

Parukatoan	Katxuyana		tx	e	n	a	‘below’	<i>txenawi, txenaye, txenaka</i>
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	o	s		n	a	‘under (assumed contact)’	<i>osnawo, osnaye, osnaka, osnaha</i>

Neither reflex reconstructs automatically. Both reflexes had the **t* palatalized before the **e*, which is attested in Hixkaryana (Meira and Franchetto 140). For Hixkaryana, the **e* is lost. Given the lack of glottalization of the *s*, this appears to have occurred around the time of the palatalization, which would be an irregular and unattested change.

Hixkaryana otherwise only has the expected **ë* > *o* change (Gildea et al. 99). Katxuyana retains the **e*, but loses the **ë* in an instance of irregular aphaeresis.

- (12) **ätena* > **ësna* > *-osna* (Hixkaryana)
 > **ëttxena* > *txena* (Katxuyana)

Both of the reflexes have a subessive meaning. As Katxuyana does not have the same level of specificity as Hixkaryana, this is the best semantic reconstruction possible.

****kawë* ‘up (superessive)’**

The **kawë* has two reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 13: **kawë*

Guianan	Dekwana	k	a	w	öö	‘up, above’	
Parukotoan	Katxuyana	k	a	w	o	‘high, up’	<i>kawoye</i>

The Dekwana reflex reconstructs automatically, with the exception of the development of vowel length for the **ë*, which is likely due to prosodic pressures, namely rhythm.

The Katxuyana reflex has the expected change from **ë* > *o* (Gildea et al. 99).

(13) **kawë* > *kawöö* (Dekwana)

> *kawo* (Katxuyana)

There are several different meanings seen in the two reflexes of this stem, those being ‘up’, ‘high’, and ‘above’, all of which indicate a superessive location of some sort.

None of them have an indication of an inherent source, path, or destination, leading to a static locative reading. As such, this form can be reconstructed as ‘up’, so as not to give the meaning of above covered by other stems discussed above and so as to not give an indication on relative position to another object, as both ‘up’ and ‘high’ have an implied ground of the ground, vis-a-vis above which would have any referent.

****kïrore* ‘below the surface’**

The **kïrora* stem has two reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 14: **kïrore*

Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	k	o	r	ò	n	a	‘below the surface of’	<i>koròna</i>
Parukatoan	Katxuyana	k	ï	r	e	r		‘down’	<i>kïrerwoye, kïrerwoka</i>

Neither stem reconstructs immediately. The Katxuyana reflex keeps **kïr*. The **o* undergoes anticipatory vowel harmony with the **e*. The **e* then is lost, either through unattested irregular apocope, or through syllable reduction with the addition of postpositionalizing suffixes. The Kari’na of Suriname reflex loses has the **i* experience

anticipatory vowel harmony with **o*. The **re* is reduced to a glottal fricative via syllable reduction with the addition of the noncognate element *-na*.

- (14) **kīrore* > **kīrere* > *kīrer* (Katxuyana)
 > **korore* > *koròna* (Kari'na of Suriname)

Both of the reflexes has some degree of subessive meaning. For the Katxuyana reflex, there is the meaning of down. The example it was taking from specifically had the referent as river, though it is unclear as to whether or not it can be used with other NPs. The Kari'na reflex is said to mean ‘below the surface of’ From these two, it seems that ‘below the surface’ is the best semantic reconstruction, as to be down beneath a river is to be under the surface of water.

***ko ‘ablative’**

The **ko* stem has two reflexes. It appears in 2 of the top-level subnodes.

Table 15: *ko

Venezuelan	Akawaio	k	o	‘ablative’	
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	k	ò	‘comparative base’	<i>kòpo</i>

Both reflexes reconstruct immediately, with the caveat that the Kari’na of Suriname reflex is said to have a glottal fricative after the *o*, indicating that there was at one point another syllable that was then reduced. While this may be true, there is not enough evidence to give a better reconstruction than **ko* at this time. Semantically speaking, the form reconstructs from ‘ablative’, as the ablative or other spatiotemporal domains are used in this family for conveying comparative information.

***mènVte**

The **mënVte* has two reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 16: **mënVte*

Guianan	Dekwana	m	ö	n	s	e	‘behind, <i>atrás</i> , <i>detrás</i> ’	
Venezuelan	Panare	m	ë	n			‘comparative base’	<i>mënkai</i> , <i>mënkën</i>

Neither reflex reconstructs immediately. Both reflexes retain **mën*. The Panare reflex then experiences the loss of the unknown vowel after the **n*, likely through syllable reduction with the addition of postpositionalizing suffixes. **te* would then have also been lost with the addition of these suffixes. The Dekwana reflex has the palatalization of the **t > s*, a change that is unattested in Dekwana but that is attested in five other languages in the family (Meira and Franchetto 141), which is then followed by the syllabic reduction of the **V*.

- (15) **mënVte* > **mënVse* > *mönse* (Dekwana)
 > **mënV* > *mën* (Panare)

The two semantic reflexes have completely disparate meanings of which I see no connection. As such, I have no semantic reconstruction at this time.

****na* ‘LOC sunlight’**

The **na* stem has four reflexes. It appears in 3 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 17: **na*

Parukatoan	Katxuyana		n	a	‘[LOC] sunlight’	<i>nawï</i> , <i>naye</i> , <i>naka</i>
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana		n	a	‘[LOC] sun’	<i>nawo</i> , <i>naye</i> , <i>naka</i> , <i>naha</i>
Venezuelan	Akawaio		n	a	‘in’	<i>na’</i> , <i>nau</i> , <i>napai</i>
Guianan	Wayana	h	n	a	‘in sun’	<i>hna</i> , <i>hnak</i>

All reflexes reconstruct immediately, with the exception of a stem initial glottal fricative in Wayana. Given that this exists only in Wayana and there is no evidence of another syllable in the other reflexes this is believed to be a noncognate element.

In looking at the semantics of these reflexes, we see that they are all related to being located in the sun, showing that sunlight is considered to be some sort of container, as it is in English. The Akawaio reflex means only ‘in’, having either lost the specificity through genericization or having kept the meaning, as the form comes from a dictionary with no examples given. Thus, the semantic form of this proto-stem is ‘LOC sunlight’.

***nVwate ‘bottom’ (Guianan Subgroup)**

The **nVwate* stem has two reflexes. It appears in the Guianan Subgroup.

Table 18: **nVwate*

Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname		w	e	s	e	‘bottom of’	<i>wesèwo</i>
Guianan	Ye’kwana	n	w	a			‘bottom of’	<i>nwawö, nwaköi, nwakökö</i>

This cognate set is based on the shared semantic value of each postposition and the correspondence of the **w*. This could be an instance of coincidence. That being said, here is how **nVwate* reconstructs. The Kari’na of Suriname reflex experiences irregular aphaeresis of the **nV*. The **a* undergoes anticipatory vowel harmony with the **e*. The **t* is palatalized by the **e*, becoming an *s*, which is unattested in Kari’na of Suriname, but is attested in the same environment for five other languages (Meira and Franchetto 141). The Ye’kwana reflex experiences irregular syncope of the vowel between **n* and

*w. Further, it loses the *te. This is likely due to syllable reduction with the addition of postpositionalizing suffixes.

- (16) *nVwate > *nwate > nwa (Ye'kwana)
 > *wate > *wete > wese (Kari'na of Suriname)

While neither of these stems have a synchronic source, they both have the same meaning 'bottom of'. As such, they the proto-semantic form can be reconstructed as 'bottom'.

***opinë 'under'**

The *opinë stem has 6 reflexes. It appears in 3 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 19: *opinë

Guianan	Wayana		o	p	i	n	ë	'under'	
Guianan	Tiriyó		e	p	i	n	ë	'under, below'	<i>epinë, epinëna(ka), epinëna(kii),</i>
Parukatoan	Waiwai		u	p	i	n	o	'under'	
Guianan	Ye'kwana		o	'		n	ö	'under'	<i>o'nö, o'nökökö</i>
Guianan	Dekwana	d-	o	'		n	ö	'down, below'	
Venezuelan	Akawaio		o	'		n	o	'under'	

The Wayana reflex reconstructs automatically. The Tiriyó reflex experiences unexpected and unattested shift from *o > e in this word-initial position. It is not likely ablaut, as e ~ o ablaut is not previously attested in Tiriyó, The Waiwai reflex has initial *o > u, a change that is otherwise unattested and has no clear motivation. The final vowel shows the expected *ë > o change in Waiwai (Gildea et al. 99), but an unexpected o for Akawaio; the remaining reflexes are all the expected *ë (Gildea et al.

98-99). In Ye'kwana, De'kwana and Akawaio, the medial syllable, **pi*, reduces to a glottal stop. The Dekwana reflex also has an added /d/ at the beginning of the morpheme which is noncognate.

- (17) **opinë* > *opinë* (Wayana)
 > *epinë* (Tiriyó)
 > *o'nö* (Ye'kwana)
 > *do'nö* (Dekwana)
 > *o'no* (Akawaio)

All of the forms mean 'under'. Dekwana has the extra meaning of 'down', the direction that under is. Tiriyó has the added meaning of below, however in the semantic description, Meira does not distinguish between these two forms, stating that there is no implied space between the ground and the object, which is what one would expect from under, but not below. Thusly, I assume that this was given as a synonym.

****pinë* 'care'**

The **pinë* stem is a monomorphemic postposition with three reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 20: **pinë*

Guianan	Tiriyó	p	ï	n	ë			'pity, jealous'	
Apalaí	Apalaí	p	ï	n	o			'cares for'	
Guianan	Wayana	p	ï	n		w	ë	'caring for'	<i>pïnwë</i>

All of the reflexes readily reconstruct, given the known change of **ë* in Apalaí (Gildea et al. 99), and with a caveat regarding the Wayana reflex. The Wayana reflex has an

additional *wë* at the end of the stem is likely a non-cognate element that has no trace in either of the other reflexes. This would also explain the loss of the **ë* (through syllable reduction). This *wë* segment also greatly resembles the *-*wë* postpositionalizing suffix, which then could have been incorporated into the stem. This process would have had to occur quite some time ago as the contemporary reflex of **wë* in Wayana is *u ~ wa*.

- (18) **pinë* > *pïinë* (Tiriyó)
 > *pïnwë* (Wayana)
 > *pïno* (Apalaí)

The majority of the reflexes have the meaning of ‘caring for’ someone or something. This is also seen with the ‘pity’ and ‘jealousy’ meanings of Tiriyó, as both emotions require a degree of care. Thus, it is believed that the original meaning of this postposition was ‘care’.

***tïpo ‘superessive’**

The **tïpo* stem has three reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 21: *tïpo

Venezuelan	Macushi	t	î	p	o	‘after (temporal)’	<i>tïpose</i>
Venezuelan	Akawaio	t	u	p	o	‘after’	
Waimirí Atroarí	Waimiri	t	y	h		‘over, above, on’	<i>tyhnaka</i>

The Macushi and Akawaio reflexes immediately reconstruct. The Waimiri reflex has the second syllable undergo syllable reduction, losing the final **o* and having the **p* > *h*, with the addition of the postpositionalizing suffix *-naka*.

- (19) **tïpo* > *tupo* (Akawaio)

> *tîpo* (Macushi)

> *tyh* (Waimiri)

In looking at the semantics of these different reflexes, the most common is that of ‘after’, appearing in Akawaio and Macushi. Waimiri has a superessive reflex, with seemingly no distinction between superessive-contact and superessive non-contact. Assuming a local origin, the ‘after’ reflexes can be explained through a conceptualization of time as going up and down, with that which occurs above someone happening after them. The same metaphor would work for explaining the temporal ‘after’ being the origin for the superessive, though I do not believe that that was the chain of movement in this instance.

***wini ‘prolative’ (Pemóng Group of Pemóng–Panare Group of Venezuelan Carib)**

The **wini* stem has two reflexes. It appears in the Pemóng Group of the Pemóng–Panare Group of Venezuelan Carib.

Table 22: **wini*

Venezuelan	Macushi	w	i	n	î	‘in the direction of’	<i>winîkîi</i>
Venezuelan	Akawaio	w	i	n	ï	‘prolative/ablative’	<i>wini, winikwi, winipai</i>

Neither of these stems requires a formal change from the original form, suggesting that this is a new word in one of the languages that was borrowed into the other, or perhaps a word whose origin is outside of the family altogether. Assuming for a moment that it is a word from within the family, the meaning of this stem is quite simple to reconstruct. The more basic meaning of the two seen is the prolative meaning of Akawaio. From here, ‘in the direction of’ is indicating a path by which something can travel.

***wino ‘ablative’**

The **wino* stem has four reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 23: **wino*

Apalaí	Apalaí	w		i	n	o	‘from (a person)’	
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	w	y	i	n	o	‘from, belonging to’	<i>wyino, wyinompo, wyinonaka</i>
Guianan	Tiriyó			i	n	o	‘afraid of’	
Guianan	Wayana			u	n	o	‘fearful’	

The Apalaí reflex reconstructs immediately. The Tiriyó reflex reconstructs with the exception of the irregular aphaeresis of the **w*. The Kari’na of Suriname reflex reconstructs with the caveat of the *y*. This is an unexplained addition that is completely unexpected, as [w] is not a sound that undergoes palatalization, which would be the simplest explanation for the emergence of a [j] before a high vowel. The Wayana reflex keeps the **no* but either underwent reduction from **wi > u* (presumably from **wi > *wi̯ > u*, which is the expected path of reduction (Meira and Franchetto 153)) or assimilation of **i > u /w_*, followed by the subsequent aphaeresis of **w* or merging of **w* with *u*. With the later explanation, none of the proposed changes are previously attested. With the first explanation, the pathway of change is attested, though it is attested in syllable reduction, which would be unexpected here, as this is not the conditioning environment for syllable reduction. Given these difficulties with reconstructing the Wayana reflex, it must be considered if it is truly cognate or not. It is my belief that it is, due to the shared **no* and the non-phonemic consideration of the similarity of the semantic reflexes of these forms (discussed below).

- (20) **wino* > *wino* (Apalaí)
 > *wyino* (Kari'na of Suriname)
 > *ino* (Tiriyó)
 > *uno* (Wayana)

The origin of this stem's meaning comes from the ablative. Likely, this is from an old noun related to something that is scary, as it is used in both Tiriyó and Wayana to indicate a source of fear. Note that it is indicating the source however. Both Apalaí and Kari'na of Suriname still have the original ablative meaning. The 'belonging to' meaning found in Kari'na of Suriname comes from the idea that something that has its origin at a place is under the power, and therefore, authority, of that place (or person).

****entai* (Pemóng Group of Pemóng–Panare Group of Venezuelan Carib)**

The **entai* stem has two reflexes. It appears in the Pemóng Group of the Pemóng–Panare Group of Venezuelan Carib.

Table 24: **entai*

Venezuelan	Macushi	y-	e	n	t	a	i	'greater than'	
Venezuelan	Akawaio		e	n	t	a		'(distal) in front of, over, bigger'	<i>enta</i> , <i>entai</i> , <i>entau</i>

The Macushi reflex reconstructs immediately with the addition of the noncognate *y-.

The Akawaio then either had apocope of *i or a change in vowel quality from *ai to *a, which is also unattested.

- (21) **entai* > *yentai* (Macushi)
 > *enta* (Akawaio)

In looking at the meanings of these reflexes, we see that both are used in comparison with something that is either ‘greater’ or ‘bigger’, showing a link between the two concepts that is found in many cultures and languages. In the Akawaio reflex, there are also the meanings of something in front of the referent that is far away and something that is over the referent, showing a link between the perception of a superessive location and a distal location. It is likely that the original form was the distal meaning, which then was also associated with something high above a person or thing. From here, that which was higher was considered bigger. There are many examples of creatures and plants that are tall and bigger than humans within the South American continent that could fit this bill—such as trees. As discussed above, the link between that which is ‘big’ and that which is ‘great’ then explains the emergence of the Macushian meaning.

***yo ‘comparative root’ (Waiwai Subgroup of Parukatoan)**

The **yo* stem has two reflexes. It appears in the Waiwai Subgroup of Parukatoan.

Table 25: **yo*

Parukatoan	Waiwai	y	o	‘comparative root’	<i>yopo</i>
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	y	o	‘comparative root’	<i>yoho, yosnaka</i>

There are no changes in the meaning or in sound from the original meaning of this proto-stem. While I believe that there is an older source to this form, there is no evidence at this time to back this suspicion up.

***yopikai ‘under’**

The **yopikai* monomorphemic postposition has three reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 26: **yopikai*

Guianan	Wayana		o	p	i	k	a	i	‘under’
Venezuelan	Akawaio		o	‘		k	o	i	‘on’
Venezuelan	Macushi	y	o	‘		k	o		‘under’

This postposition reconstructs readily with a few caveats. The Wayana and Akawaio reflexes both lose the **y* through previously unattested aphaeresis. This change gives the Wayana reflex. The Akawaio and Macushi reflexes both have the **pi* undergo syllable reduction to the glottal stop triggered from the **k* syllable, an attested trigger for many of the other languages in the family (Meira and Franchetto 136). This reduction then causes progressive vowel harmony of the **a* > *o* in Akawaio and Macushi, thus giving the Akawaio reflex. The Macushi reflex then experiences irregular apocope of the **i* which lacks explanation at this time.

(21) **yopikai* > **yo'kai* > **yo'koi* > *o'koi* (Akawaio)
 > *yo'ko* (Macushi)

> *opikai* (Wayana)

The original meaning appears to be ‘under’, as it is the most common of the reflexes. The use of spatial measures for comparison is expected and discussed more above. The reflex that is harder to reconcile is the Akawaio ‘on’ reflex, as it is a literal opposite to the proposed original meaning. I believe that this change comes from a reinterpretation of the original conceptualization of spatial relations that was encoded in the original

word. If there is a horizontal surface, and something is under this surface, then surface is on the thing that is under it. It is possible that there was, likely through a misunderstanding, a change in what this postposition was referencing in discussing events.

New Postpositions

*anV ‘another’

The stem *anV has two reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

*Table 27: *anV*

Guianan	Ye’kwana	a	n	a	‘other (side)’ from ‘another’	<i>anai, anakökö, anajekökö</i>
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	a	n	a	‘another place’ from ‘other, another’	<i>anato, anana</i>

Both reflexes reconstruct immediately. At least, both reflexes do with one of the reflexes in Ye’kwana. There is some problem in reconstructing this stem, as it is quite unclear as to what the base reflex is in Ye’kwana. The synchronic noun in Ye’kwana is *aneija*, which would suggest that as the base. However, the synchronic noun in Hixkaryana is *anaro*. This leaves the only commonalities as *anV, with the second vowel being hard to tell. To complicate matters, the Ye’kwana reflex has the following different stems: *ana, ane, anei, anai, aneija, anetaja*. Sometimes, there appears to be vowel harmony at play, with the V assimilating to the following vowel in the suffix and at other times not. Because of these complications, I do not believe that this stem can be reconstructed further than *anV at this time. In looking at the semantics of these two reflexes, we see that both come from the root noun for ‘another’ in their respective

languages. Thus, we can reconstruct ‘another’ as the proto-semantic form for this stem. This does lead me to wonder if it is not a word from Ye’kwana that was then passed to Hixkaryana.

***amra ‘area between legs’**

The **amra* stem as 3 reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 28: **amra*

Guianan	Ye’kwana	a	n	w	a					‘in(to) between the legs’	<i>anwaka</i>
Guianan	Dekwana	a	n	w	a	‘				‘among’	<i>anwaka</i>
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	a	m	r	a	k	a	t	a	‘between’	<i>amrakatawo, amrakataka, amrakataye, amrakataha</i>

The Hixkaryana reflex reconstructs immediately with the addition of the noncognate **akata* morpheme, which carries the same meaning. The Ye’kwana and Dekwana reflexes unconditioned and unattested change of **r > w*. This change then spurns dissimilation of the **m > n*, which is previously unattested, giving the two reflexes. The change of **r > w*, while previously unattested and unconditioned, does have a clear and easy explanation: rhotics are difficult to produce. This is seen within American English with the popular cartoon series Looney Toons, where Elmer Fudd, a hunter, tries to kill Bugs Bunny. In doing this, he often says that he is, ‘hunting wabbits’. In looking at the existing lexical databases, there are no instances of a nasal followed by a rhotic in these languages, and only 3 instances of a rhotic at all, with many going either to the voiced alveolar stop *d*. This entire process is known as R-

labialization if it is a phonological change or rhotacism if it is a speech impediment.

(22) **amra* > *amrakata* (Hixkaryana)

> **amwa* > *anwa* (Ye'kwana, Dekwana)

The Ye'kwana reflex carries the original meaning of 'between the legs', which Hixkaryana has generalized to be 'between'. The Dekwana reflex can be understood through a conceptualization of the world such that standing between two or more people is seen not as being between those people but rather as being part of a coherent group with those people.

***akata 'area between legs'**

The **akata* has four reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

*Table 29: *akata*

Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	a	m	r	a	k	a	t	a	'between'	<i>amrakatawo,</i> <i>amrakataka,</i> <i>amrakataye,</i> <i>amrakataha</i>
Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname				e ~ a	k	a	t	a	'in the care of' from 'space between legs'	<i>ekata, ekataka,</i> <i>ekatapona,</i> <i>ekataponaka</i>
Guianan	Tiriyó				e	k	a	t	a	'near'	<i>ekatao,</i> <i>ekatanaka,</i> <i>ekatanakii</i>
Guianan	Wayana				e	k	a	t	a	'in (area) nearby'	<i>ekata, ekatau</i>

The Kari'na of Suriname reflex reconstructs immediately. The Hixkaryana reflex also reconstructs immediately, with the addition of the noncognate morpheme **anra*, which carries the same meaning as **akata*. The Wayana and Tiriyó reflexes then have the now

word-initial **a > e*, which is likely due to ablaut, which is attested previously for Tiriyo though not for Wayana (Meira and Franchetto 159).

- (23) **amrakata* > *amrakata* (Hixkaryana)
 > *akata* (Kari'na)
 > *ekata* (Wayana, Tiriyo)

The source noun for this stem is the noun meaning ‘area between the legs’. The Hixkaryana reflex keeps the between meaning, but loses the required points of legs. The Tiriyo and Wayana meanings keep the proximity of the original meaning, as that which is between one’s legs is inherently close to them. The Kari'na meaning is perhaps the furthest from the original meaning. It requires an conceptualization of that which is controlled by a person, as having something between one’s legs canonically would entail, is something that they have power over. From there, the person would then be able to care for the object in their care.

***antiki ‘tail’ (Guianan Subgroup)**

The stem **antiki* has two reflexes. It appears in the Guianan Subgroup.

Table 30: **antiki*

Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	a	n	t	y	˘				‘the tail of’ from ‘tail’	<i>antýke</i>
Guianan	Tiriyo	a	n	t	ï		i	n	a	‘deep in’ from ‘bottom, depth’	<i>antiinao,</i> <i>antiinaka,</i> <i>antiinakii</i>

Both reflexes reconstruct immediately in their synchronic nominal reflexes. The postpositional reflexes have a bit more explanation needed. The Kari’na of Suriname

reflex has reduction of the **ki* with the addition of the postpositionalizing suffix *-ke*, an previously attested change in many other languages in the family, though not Kari’na (Meira and Franchetto 137). The Tiriyó reflex also has this reduction with the addition of the postpositionalizing suffix *-na*, which is previously attested in Tiriyó (Meira and Franchetto 137). The *-na* suffix in Tiriyó is not productive. Rather, the suffix appears on the postpositional stem forms of several synchronic nouns in Tiriyó, having been incorporated into the stem in the postpositional form. The existence of the *i* in the Tiriyó is unexplained at this time and appears to be a noncognate element of unknown origin.

(24) **antikī* > *antỳ* (Kari’na of Suriname)

> **antikina* > *antiina* (Tiriyó)

Semantically, these all trace back to the word for tail. For the non-similarative Tiriyó and Waiwai meanings, we see a meaning relating to ‘in the deep’. This seems to be a metaphorical extension of the body frame model, with a tail hanging down off a body. If this were to occur in with a tail in water, then it would be going ‘in the deep’ of the water, which I believe is the source of this construction semantically.

***apë ‘arm’ (Guianan Subgroup)**

The **apë* stem has two reflexes. It appears in the Guianan Subgroup.

Table 31: **apë*

Guianan	Tiriyó	a	p	ë	‘near’ from ‘arm’	<i>apëo, apëonaka, apëonakii</i>
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	a	p	o	‘[LOC relative to] arm of’	<i>apopo, apota, apokupe</i>

Both reflexes reconstruct readily, given the attested changes of **ë* (Gildea et al. 98-99)

- (25) **apë* > *apë* (Tiriyó)
 > *apo* (Kari'na of Suriname)

The source of this stem is from the noun for ‘arm’. We see this meaning kept in the Kari'na of Suriname reflex. For Tiriyó, we see the meaning generalize to mean ‘near’. This is a conceptually basic semantic extension, as that which is within reach of one’s arms is near.

****awxa* ‘side, slope’ (Waiwai Subgroup of Parukatoan)**

The **awxa* stem has two reflexes. It appears in the Waiwai Subgroup of Parukatoan.

Table 32: **awxa*

Parukatoan	Waiwai	a	w	x	a	‘[LOC] side of’ from ‘side’	<i>awxari, awxaw</i>
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	a	w	x	a	‘the slope of’ from ‘slope’	<i>awxawo, awxaka, awxaye, awxaha</i>

Both reflexes reconstruct immediately. Given that both languages with reflexes are of the Waiwai Subgroup, the furthest that this stem can be reconstructed is to proto-Waiwai. While not yet attested in Katxuyana, if it were found, then this could be an innovation of the Parukotoan Group. Now, proto-Carib does not have any fricatives, meaning that any reflexes found outside of these two would likely spur the need for a new reconstruction that would show the change of the original stop consonant to the post-alveolar fricative that is seen here. The meanings are roughly synonymous. The likely origin is side, as most stems have a body part origin. The slope meaning likely rose from looking at hills or mountains, which at a distance, have sides that gradually

increase in incline, creating a slope-shape. This would then lead to reanalysis of the meaning to refer to that shape as opposed to a side.

***ëna ‘lap’**

The *ëna stem has two reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 33: *ëna

Guianan	Ye’kwana	ö	n	a	‘[LOC] bosom/lap of’	<i>önawö</i>
Parukatoan	Katxuyana	a	n	a	‘lap of’	<i>anawi, anaye, anaka</i>

Both reflexes readily reconstruct, given the expected and attested changes of *ë (Gildea et al. 98-100).

- (26) *ëna > öna (Ye’kwana)
> ana (Katxuyana)

The origin of this stem semantically is ‘lap’. Both reflexes keep this meaning. Ye’kwana’s reflex also has the meaning of ‘bosom’. It is unclear if this is the same word or an extension from the ‘lap’ meaning in the sense of holding a child to the bosom and having a child sitting on the lap have the same rough idea of nurturing or caring for a child.

***enatai ‘throat’ (Guianan Subgroup)**

The *enatai stem has four reflexes. It appears in the Guianan Subgroup.

Table 34: *enatai

Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	e	n	a	˘			s	a	‘[LOC] throat of’	<i>enàsàwo</i>
Guianan	Dekwana	a	n		n	a	i			‘middle, center’	

Guianan	Wayana	e	n	a							‘in the middle of (supported)’	
Guianan	Tiriyó	e	n	a							‘lying with’ from ‘throat’	<i>enaó</i>

None of the reflexes reconstruct immediately. The Kari’na of Suriname reflex experiences syllable reduction of **tai* with the noncognate *sa* element. This process is unattested in Kari’na of Suriname, but attested in many other languages in the family (Meira and Franchetto 140). The Wayana and Tiriyó reflexes both undergo irregular apocope of the **tai*. The Dekwana reflex is the most dubious of the members of this set. First, the **a* that follows the **n* is irregularly lost. This could have happened as the start of syllable reduction, though the exact motivation is unclear. From here, the **t* assimilation to the **n*, which is an unattested change. Lastly, the **e* experienced anticipatory vowel harmony with the **a*.

- (27) **enatai* > **entai* > **ennai* > *annai* (Dekwana)
> **enataisa* > *enàsa* (Kari’na of Suriname)
> *ena* (Wayana and Tiriyó)

The source of this stem is the noun meaning ‘throat’. Kari’na of Suriname keeps this original meaning. Wayana’s meaning ‘in the middle of (supported)’ is an exact description of the throat’s location relative to the center of the torso, and further, the support that the torso gives to the throat. The Dekwana ‘middle, center’ meaning follows this same logic. The Tiriyó meaning of ‘lying with’ is the most divergent semantically. This form baffles me. I have no good explanation for this change.

***enya ‘hand’**

The **enya* stem has four reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 35: *enya

Venezuelan	Panare	y-	e	ñ		a	-	-	‘benefactive’	<i>yeñaka</i>
Venezuelan	Akawaio		e	n		a			‘grammatical base’	<i>ena</i> , <i>enaka(n)</i> , <i>enau</i>
Guianan	Tiriyó		e	n	j	a			‘[LOC] hands of’ from ‘hand’	<i>enjao</i> , <i>enjaonaka</i> , <i>enjaonakii</i>
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname ₁		e	n		a			‘in the arms of’ from ‘hand’	
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname ₂		ai	n		a			‘in the hands of’ from ‘hand’	<i>aina</i> , <i>ainaka</i>

None of the reflexes immediately reconstruct. The Panare reflex’s *y-* element is a 1.SG prefix. The *-ka* suffix is also believed to be a noncognate element. Specifically, this is believed to be **ka* ‘allative’, which is connected at several points with the dative in the family (see the postpositionalizing suffixes chapter above). The Panare reflex experiences palatalization of **n* from the following **y*, which results in its subsequent loss. This change is attested in Panare when followed by *i*, which while not the same as [j] is quite similar, and thusly I assert that the same palatalization is occurring here (Meira and Franchetto 148). The same change appears to have happened for Tiriyó as well. The Kari’na of Suriname₁ and Akawaio reflexes both lose the remaining **y*. This is an unattested change that I believe is a merger of **y* with the preceding **n* due to the relative closeness in articulation of the two sounds. The Kari’na of Suriname₂ reflex also underwent this change and I believe that it is the source noun for the Kari’na reflex while also being a postposition unto itself (Courz 2008: 98, 101, 214). Assuming that I

am correct that *aina* is the synchronic source noun for *ena*, then there appears to be a synchronic variation between *ai* and *e* in Kari'na of Suriname.

- (28) **enya* > *enja* (Tiriyó), *yeñaka* (Panare)
 > *ena* (Kari'na of Suriname, Akawaio)
 > *aina* (Kari'na of Suriname)

The meanings of these reflexes are all relatively straightforward. Many of them have synchronic source nouns meaning ‘hand’, and have postpositional stem meanings related to objects being contained in the hands. This focus on the acquisition of an item then easily shifts to the dative and benefactive, which has already been discussed above.

***etikë ‘edge of water’**

The **etikë* stem has two reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 36: *etikë

Guianan	Ye'kwana		ch	ö	k	ö			‘by river site’	
Parukatoan	Waiwai	e	c	i	h		t	a	‘[LOC] water’s edge’ from ‘edge (of water)’	<i>ecihtaw</i> , <i>ecihtaka</i>

Neither reflex immediately reconstructs. Both reflexes have the **t* > *tʃ* change occur before the **i*. This is an attested change in Ikpéng, Panare, and Macushi, though it is previously unattested in these languages (Meira and Franchetto 141). The Waiwai reflex then has the **kë* undergo syllable reduction with the addition of the noncognate *ta* element, likely the **ta* suffix which has been incorporated into the postpositional stem and bleached of meaning. This process of syllable reduction is attested in other languages in the family, though it is unattested in Waiwai (Meira and Franchetto 137). The Ye'kwana reflex loses the **e* through irregular aphaeresis. Further, it has **i* > *ö*.

This could be explained through the start of syllable reduction or through anticipatory vowel harmony. At this point in time, it is unclear which process is at play.

- (29) *etikë > *etxikë > ecih (Waiwai)
 > *txikë > chökö (Ye'kwana)

This stem has a synchronic source in Waiwai, that being 'edge (of water)'. This meaning is has been specified within Ye'kwana to specifically be the side of a river.

However, given that the word for river and water are the same, I would be unsurprised if this could be used with any body of water.

***kapeta 'edge'**

The *kapeta stem has three reflexes. It appears in 3 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 37: *kapeta

Parukatoan	Hixkaryana		a	h	e	t	a	'the edge of from 'edge'	<i>ahetawo, ahelaye, ahetaka, ahetaha, ahetarye</i>
Venezuelan	Akawaio	k	a	'		t	a	'near the edge'	<i>ka'taporo</i>
Guianan	Tiriyó				e	t	a	'the edge of from 'edge, rim'	<i>etao, etae, etaonaka, etaonakii</i>

No reflex immediately reconstructs. The Akawaio reflex undergoes syllable reduction of *pe. The Hixkaryana reflex also has the glottalization of *p > h. This is an attested change in Hixkaryana in an intervocalic position with only one obstruent, *p, thus leading to the reconstruction of *p for this stem (Meira and Franchetto 135). It also has the irregular aphaeresis of *k, which currently lacks any motivation. The Tiriyó reflex undergoes irregular aphaeresis of *kap which currently lacks motivation.

- (30) **kapeta* > *ka'ta* (Akawaio)
 > **apeta* > *aheta* (Hixkaryana)
 > *eta* (Tiriyó)

In two of the three languages, the synchronic source of the postposition is the noun for ‘edge’ and the last language has the meaning of edge in the semantic reflex. This stem semantically reconstructs to ‘edge’.

***kenë ‘mouth’**

The **kenë* stem has two reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 38: *kenë

Guianan	Ye'kwana ₁	k	a	n		‘river mouth’ from ‘river mouth’	<i>kanköi,</i> <i>kankökö</i>
Guianan	Ye'kwana ₂	k	a	n	ö	‘river mouth’	
Parukatoan	Waiwai	k	e	n		‘[LOC] river’s mouth’ from ‘mouth’	<i>kentaw,</i> <i>kentaka</i>

Neither reflex immediately reconstructs. The Waiwai reflex undergoes irregular apocope of **ë*, though this could also be the start of syllable reduction with the introduction of postpositionalizing suffixes, as occurs with the Ye'kwana₁ (stem) reflex. The Ye'kwana₂ (source noun) as well as the Ye'kwana₁ reflexes both have **e* > *a* in an unmotivated and unattested change. It could be that the proto-form is actually **kanë* and that Waiwai had **a* > *e*, as both changes are equally as unmotivated and unattested. **e* was chosen as the original vowel as in the attested literature, **e* undergoes more changes than **a*, thus showing itself to be a less stable vowel that is more likely to be subject to change.

(31) **kenë* > *kanë* (Ye'kwana)

> *kan* (Ye'kwana)

> *ken* (Waiwai)

Both of these stems refer to the mouth of a river in their meaning. In Waiwai, there is a synchronic source of this stem from the word for 'mouth' while in Ye'kwana the synchronic source is the word for 'river mouth'. Given the inability to determine if the Ye'kwana form is literally 'river mouth' or if it is 'place where a river enters the ocean' and the tendency of the language family to use the body as a frame for talking about space and time, I reconstruct the semantic form as 'mouth'.

****mīta* 'mouth'**

The **mīta* stem has three reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 39: **mīta*

Guianan	Wayana		m	(i)	t	a	'in the mouth of'	
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana		m		t	a	'the mouth' from 'mouth'	<i>mtaka</i>
Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname	y	n		t	a	'in the mouth of' from 'mouth'	<i>ynta</i> , <i>yntaka</i>

The Wayana reflex reconstructs immediately.. The Hixkaryana reflex experiences syncope of the **i*, which is previously unattested. The Kari'na reflex requires the most change from the original form. First, it undergoes metathesis of the **m* and **i*, which is a previously unattested change. This is then followed by an assimilation of the **m* to the place of articulation of the **t*, which is also unattested.

(32) **mīta* > *m(i)ta* (Wayana)

> *mta* (Hixkaryana)

> **ĩmta* > *ynta* (Kari'na of Suriname)

All three of these stems have the meaning of being located in or relative to the mouth, with two of the languages have synchronic sources of meaning ‘mouth’. As such, this proto-stem has the semantic form of ‘mouth’.

***mĩti ‘base’ (Waiwai Subgroup of Parukatoan)**

The **mĩtimẽ* stem has two reflexes. It appears in the Waiwai Subgroup of Parukatoan.

Table 40: **mĩti*

Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	m	ĩ	t ~ h	‘near, around’ from ‘circumference, horizon’	<i>mĩhto, mĩtkoso, mĩtkoko, mĩthoye</i>
Parukatoan	Waiwai	m	ĩ	t	‘near’ from ‘base’	<i>mĩtwo, mĩtkoso</i>

The Hixkaryana (source noun) reconstructs immediately. The Hixkaryana and Waiwai postpositional stems both experience loss of the morpheme-final **ĩ*. In Hixkaryana, this is clearly from the addition of postpositionalizing suffixes, which this occasionally triggering syllable reduction, as seen with the *h* reflex of **t*. This is likely what is also occurring with the Waiwai reflex’s drop of the **ĩ*.

(33) **mĩti* > *mĩti* (Hixkaryana)

> *mĩt* (Waiwai and Hixkaryana)

> *mĩh* (Hixkaryana)

All three of the reflexes have a synchronic source, with those sources being ‘base’ and ‘circumference, horizon’. In just looking at the synchronic sources, it seems that the

‘base’ is the more basic of the meanings conceptually. From this, the meaning seems to have shifted within Hixkaryana to the shape of the base of a tree, which can then be applied to the roughly similar shape of the horizon. This type of metaphorical extension also explains the ‘around’ meaning of the stem in Hixkaryana. The ‘near’ meaning can be understood as if one is located in space in time relative to a base (in such a way as it is the point of reference) that they are inherently near the object in question. Thus, the semantic form this stem is ‘base’.

***pata ‘place of, village’ (Guianan Subgroup)**

The **pata* stem has two reflexes. It appears in the Guianan Subgroup.

Table 41: **pata*

Guianan	Wayana	p	a	t	a	‘place of’	<i>pata, patak</i>
Guianan	Ye’kwana	j	a	t	a	‘village’ from ‘village’	<i>jataka, jataköi, jatakökö</i>

The Wayana reflex reconstructs immediately. The Ye’kwana reflex experiences weakening of the **p > h* in the word-initial position, which is unattested previously in Ye’kwana, but it is attested in Hixkaryana and Kuikuro (Meira and Franchetto 135).

- (34) **pata > pata* (Wayana)
 > jata (Ye’kwana)

Both reflexes experience no change from the original meaning.

***pimi ‘neck’ (Guianan Subgroup)**

The **pimi* has two reflexes. It appears in the Guianan Subgroup.

Table 42: **pimi*

Guianan	Ye'kwana ₁	j	ü	m	ü	'neck'	
Guianan	Ye'kwana ₁	j	ü	n		'around' from 'neck'	<i>jünkökö</i>
Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname ₁	p	y	m	y	'neck'	
Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname ₂	p	y	n		'neck of' from 'neck'	<i>pynke</i>

Both synchronic source nouns (Ye'kwana₁ and Kari'na of Suriname₁) reconstruct immediately, with the previously unattested change in Ye'kwana but attested elsewhere in the family $*p > h$ change in the morpheme-initial position (Miera and Franchetto 135). Both of the postpositional stem reflexes have the loss of $*i$ and the assimilation of $*m > n$ with the addition of postpositional suffixes beginning with *k*. Specifically, the Ye'kwana reflex has the *-kökö* suffix (Cáceres forthcoming:6) and the Kari'na of Suriname reflex has the *-ke* suffix (Courz 2008:356). These are both previously unattested changes in the comparative literature. Both stems have a synchronic source noun of 'neck', with the only attested change of meaning being 'around', which is an extension of meaning focusing on the shape of the neck.

***mïpu 'foot'**

The **mïpu* stem has two reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 43: **mïpu*

Apalaí	Apalaí	m	y	h		'the foot of'	<i>myhto</i>
Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname ₁	p	u	p	u	'foot'	
Guianan	Kari'na of Suriname ₂	p	u	`		'foot of'	<i>pùke</i>

The Apalaí reflex reconstructs readily, with the caveat of the reduction of $*pu > h$ with the addition of postpositionalizing suffixes. The Kari'na reflexes have $*i > u$ through

anticipatory vowel harmony, a change which is previously attested once in the family in Bakairi (Meira and Franchetto 166-68). From here, the **m > p* through unattested assimilation, thus giving the Kari'na₁ reflex. The Kari'na₂ reflex is the result of syllable reduction through the addition of postpositionalizing suffixes.

- (35) **mipu > *mupu > pupu* (Kari'na of Suriname₁)
> pù (Kari'na of Suriname₂)
> myh (Apalaí)

Both reflexes have meanings related directly to 'foot', with Kari'na of Suriname having a synchronic source noun of 'foot'. As such, the original meaning of this stem is 'foot'.

***pana 'ear' (Waiwai Subgroup of Parukatoan)**

The **pana* stem has two reflexes. It appears in the Waiwai Subgroup of Parukatoan.

Table 44: *pana

Parukatoan	Waiwai	p	a	n	a	'the side' from 'ear'	panaw, panaka
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana	h	a	n	a	'the side of' from 'ear of'	hanawo, hanaka, hanaye

Both reflexes readily construct given the Hixkaryana **p > h* change, which is previously attested (Meira and Franchetto 135).

- (36) **pana > pana* (Waiwai)
> hana (Hixkaryana)

There is no change in meaning in either of the reflexes.

***piya 'ear'**

The **piya* stem has three reflexes. It appears in 2 of the top-level subnodes.

Table 45: **piya*

Guianan	Dekwana	h		y	a:	n	a	‘in the ear’ from ‘ear’	<i>hya:naaka</i>
Venezuelan	Akawaio	p	i	y	a			‘next to, adjacent’	<i>piya</i> , <i>piyapai</i> , <i>piyau</i>
Parukatoan	Katxuyana	h	i	y	a			‘behind, back, rear’	<i>hiyawī</i> , <i>hiyaye</i> , <i>hiyaka</i>

None of the reflexes immediately reconstruct. The Dekwana and Katxuyana reflexes both see **p > h* in the morpheme-initial position, which is previously attested in Hixkaryana but not Dekwana nor Katxuyana (Meira and Franchetto 135). The Dekwana reflex sees the merging of **i* with **y*. This is an unattested change, though the opposite merger of **y* with **i* has been attested before, showing that these sounds are not incompatible with each other (Meira and Franchetto 156). The *-na* element in the Dekwana reflex is believed to be noncognate, likely the **na* postpositionalizing suffix that has been incorporated into the stem and bleached of meaning.

(37) **piya > piya* (Akawaio)

> hiya (Katxuyana)

*> *pya > *pyana > hya:na* (Dekwana)

This stem has a synchronic source in Dekwana. The extensions from this original meaning of ‘ear’ seems to be straightforward, with most of the meanings referring to a location near or on the side of the referent. The Katxuyana reflex has unexpected meanings, in that they all refer to positions behind the referent. This can be understood

through the relative position of the ears to the eyes, which are seen across the family as being the front of a person, and which the ears exist behind.

***ra ‘middle of chest’**

The **ra* stem has five reflexes. It appears in 3 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 46: **ra*

Parukatoan	Hixkaryana ₁	r	a	-	k	a	t	a	‘the middle of’ from ‘the middle of (noun)’	<i>rakatawo,</i> <i>rakataye,</i> <i>rakataka,</i> <i>rakataha</i>
Parukatoan	Hixkaryana ₂	r	a						‘the surface of’ from ‘front part of body’	<i>rato, ratokoso,</i> <i>ratokoko</i>
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname	r	a	`					‘chest of, amidst, the middle of’ from ‘chest of’	<i>ràwo, ràto, ràna,</i> <i>ràro</i>
Guianan	Tiriyó	r	a						‘the half of, halfway’ from ‘middle of body’	<i>rawë, rawënaka,</i> <i>rawënakïi</i>
Venezuelan	Akawaio	r	a						‘under, in front of’	<i>ra’ , rau, rawï,</i> <i>rakui’</i>

The Hixkaryana₁ reflex has the noncognate element *-kata*. The Kari’na of Suriname reflex has the noncognate glottal stop. Otherwise, the reflexes all reconstruct immediately.

- (38) **ra* > *ra* (Tiriyó, Hixkaryana₂, and Akawaio)
- > *rakata* (Hixkaryana)
- > *ra’* (Kari’na₂)

The source of this stem is the word for ‘middle of chest’. In some languages this is given as ‘middle of the body’ or ‘upper part of the abdomen’. The meaning of ‘middle of’ being the most common form. The meaning of ‘half’ also appears as the middle of the body is the halfway point of a body on the vertical axis. The Akawaio ‘under’ and ‘in front of’ are harder to explain. The ‘under’ meaning could come from location of the liver relative to the skin. I do not have a good explanation for ‘in front of’.

***tarinV ‘leaf’**

The **tarinV* stem has three reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level subnodes.

Table 47: **tarinV*

Guianan	Wayana	t	a	l	i	h	‘in the open’	<i>talihna,</i> <i>talihnau</i>
Apalaí	Apalaí		a	r	y	h	‘out, in the open, outside’ from ‘leaf’	<i>aryhnaka,</i> <i>aryhnao</i>
Guianan	Kari’na of Suriname		a	r	y	n	‘the leaves of’ from ‘leaf’	<i>arynke</i>

All reflexes reconstruct readily with the following notes. All reflexes have the reduction of the final syllable through the addition of postpositionalizing suffixes. For Wayana and Apalaí, this reduces to the glottal fricative *h*. For Kari’na of Suriname, the final vowel is all that is lost. The Apalaí and Kari’na of Suriname reflexes also had irregular aphaeresis of the **t*. The Wayana reflex retains the **t* but does have the **i > i*, which while previously unattested occurring after a rhotic in Wayana, this is a previously attested environment for this change in Panare, Macushi, and Kuikuro (Meira and Franchetto 166).

(39) **tarinV* > **tarinV* > *talih* (Wayana)

> **arinV* > *aryn* (Kari'na of Suriname)
 > *aryh* (Apalaí)

The semantic reflexes of this stem, save for Kari'na of Suriname which is resultant of a combination with *-ke*, the effect of which is discussed above, both relay information about being located at an unenclosed space. This extends from the original meaning of leaf as leaves are inherently in an unenclosed space, canonical. Thus, if someone is located in some way near the leaves then they are outside or in an unenclosed space.

****yuCVputunnya* ‘river mouth’**

The **yuCVputunnya* stem has two reflexes. It appears in 2 of the 9 top-level nodes.

Table 48: **yuCVputunnya*

Guianan	Ye'kwana ₁	y	u	'	j	u	d	u	n	ñ	a	'river mouth'	
Guianan	Ye'kwana ₂		u	'								'top' from 'river mouth'	<i>u'wö, u'kökö</i>
Parukatoan	Katxuyana	y	u	'								'the head of'	<i>yu'wo, yu'woye, yu'koso</i>

Both of these reflexes occur from extreme apocope of the proto stem, reducing it to the first syllable in both instances, with the Ye'kwana reflex also experiencing aphaeresis of the **y*. This explanation is unsatisfying to me, as such extreme apocope seems unlikely. However, without greater knowledge of Ye'kwana, I will take the analysis of Cáceres as to *yu'judunña* being the source of *u'*, even though to me, especially with the meaning exhibited, it would make more sense for it to come from **putupë*.

- (40) **yuCVputunnya* > **yu'putunnya* > **yu'putunña*
> *yu'judunña* (Ye'kwana)
> *yu'* (Katxuyana)
> *u'* (YK)

Both reflexes have meanings of being 'on top of' something. Given the synchronic source noun of Ye'kwana, I believe that 'river mouth' is the original meaning of this stem.

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