

Denominal verbs in Panare (Cariban)

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Abstract

This paper describes the process of verb formation from nominal stems in Panare (Cariban). Similar processes have been described in other Cariban languages: Tamanaco (Gilij 1782), Pemón (Armellada 1943; Álvarez, 1996), Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985), Makushi (Abbott 1991), and Surinam Carib (Hoff 1968). Different verbalizing suffixes were identified, with various degrees of productivity: (a) *-të*, *-ka*, *-kë*, *-pa*, and *-ma* form transitive verbs; (b) *-ta*, and *-mĩ* are used to form intransitive verbs; (c) *-tama*, *-tëmĩ*, *-pumĩ*, *-pamĩ*, *-kepĩ*, *-kejka*, *-kamĩ* and *-ñemĩkĩ* may be the product of a combination of suffixes (d) *-po*, *-pima*, and *-ka'mu* are among the least frequent therefore being considered idiosyncratic suffixes. A distinction is made between processes of suffixation with such verbalizers and cases of incorporation.

Key words: Cariban, Panare, morphology, verbalizers, derivation.

Verbos denominales en panare (Caribe)

Resumen

En este trabajo se describe el proceso de formación de verbos a partir de raíces nominales en panare. Procesos similares han sido descritos en otras lenguas caribes: tamanaco (Gilij 1782), pemón (Armellada 1943; Álvarez 1996), hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985), makushi (Abbot 1991) y caribe surinamés (Hoff 1968). Se identificaron distintos sufijos verbalizadores con varios grados de productividad y se clasificaron en cuatro grupos: (a) Sufijos que forman verbos transitivos *-të*, *-ka*, *-kë*, *-pa*, y *-ma*. (b) Sufijos que forman sólo verbos intransitivos

-*ta* y -*mĩ*. (c) Posibles combinaciones de sufijos -*tama*, -*tẽmĩ*, -*punĩ*, -*pamĩ*, -*kepĩ*, -*kejka*, -*kamĩ* y -*ñemĩkĩ*. (d) Otros sufijos menos frecuentes considerados idiosincrásicos -*po*, -*pĩna*, y -*ka'mu*. Se diferencia entre procesos de sufixación con dichos verbalizadores y casos de incorporación.

Palabras clave: caribe, panare, morfología, verbalizadores, derivación.

Introduction

Caribbean languages exhibit many different derivational processes, among which the formation of verbs from noun stems seems to be a very productive one. The process of denominal verb formation in Panare is described in this paper. Similar processes have been described in other Caribbean languages, such as Tamanaco (Gilij 1782), Pemón (Armellada 1943; Álvarez, 1996), Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985), Makushi (Abbott 1991), and Surinam Carib (Hoff 1968).

In the preliminary section of her *Diccionario Ilustrado Panare-Español, Índice Español-Panare*, Mattei Muller (1994) includes information, among other things, about the nominal and verbal morphological characteristics of the language. In the section on verb morphology, she explains her reasons for including, along with the meaning and the valence, the gerund and the negative forms for each verb, because they show the alternation of certain syllables (which are part of the root) with the glottal stop. In the same section she introduces the notion of the existence of different classes of intransitive verbs according to the morphological processes involved: (a) primary intransitive verbs, (b) secondary intransitive verbs, formed from transitive roots to which detransitivizing prefixes are added, and (c) denominal intransitive verbs, derived from nouns, which are frequently accompanied by verbal formants.

Mattei Muller neither establishes a similar classification for transitive verbs nor goes deep into the analysis of the denominal intransitive verbs and the kinds of formants that might be part of them. Furthermore, the two examples of denominal verbs she presents do not show much about the systematicity of the process involved, but are used to show the complexity of other aspects of the verbal system. This paper is an attempt to give a full description of the process of formation of denominal verbs in

Panare, including transitive verbs and a classification of the formants involved.

2. Denominal verbs in other Cariban languages

Gilij (1782) is one of the first descriptions of a Cariban language (Tamanaco) and also the place where the first mention is made of derivational processes whereby verbs are created from nouns through the addition of certain suffixes: *-po*, *-ma*, *-ka*, and *-ta*. In fact, he makes the radical statement that "... from each noun a verb can be formed" (152).

Armellada (1945) is also one of the first descriptions of Pemón where an explicit mention is made of derivation of verbs from nouns through the addition of suffixes. Two of these suffixes are said to be verb stems: *-ma* and *-te* "... this particle **te** is probably the same verb *te*, to go, which in various cases appears with the meaning of "verify actions" (167). The other verbalizing suffixes are *-ta*, *-ka*, and *-pa*. Semantically, the suffixes *-ma*, *-te*, and *-pa* convey the idea of actively making what the noun means, while *-ta* expresses the idea of neutrally making the meaning of the noun; *-ka*, on the other hand, conveys the idea of taking away or destroying what the noun means: *morok* 'fish' > *moro-ma* 'to fish', *epik* 'medicine' > *epik-te* 'to cure', *enu* 'eye' > *enu-pa* 'to teach', *eperu* 'fruit' > *eperu-ta* 'fructify', *kara* 'root' > *kara-ka* 'to uproot' (165-168).

Hoff (1968) is a thorough description of the phonology and morphology of Surinam Carib. In this work there is a very rich section on what he calls transposition to the verbs. He makes a distinction between transposition to the intransitive verbs, which takes place by suffixation with: *-ta*, *-na*, *-da*, *-wa*, *-pamĩ*, *-nopamĩ*, and *-mamĩ*, and transposition to the transitive verbs, which is achieved through suffixation with *-to*, *-ma*, *-ka*, *-no*, *-do*, *-ga*, *-ro*, *-ko*, *-ndo*, *-pa*, *katĩ*, and *-nopĩ*. Examples of the first type are: *a:ri* 'foliage' > *a:ri:na* 'to bud', *wa:re* 'song' > *wa:reta* 'to sing', *ewa:rumĩ* 'darkness' > *ewa:ruma:mĩ* 'to grow dark'. Examples of the second type are: *ixko:nĩ* 'dirt' > *ixkondo* 'to make dirty', *epe:tĩ* 'price' > *epe:ma* 'to buy', *to:ri* 'story' > *to:ripa* 'to tell someone a story', *mo:rĩ* 'noise, rumble' > *mo:rĩka* 'to cause to rumble'. Hoff also makes statistical considerations, and states that *-xto*, *-ma*, and *-ka* have the highest numerical proportions. Semantically, he claims that the members of the intransitive transposition category may be defined as: (a) to become, (b) to produce by oneself or for oneself,

(c) to get, obtain that which is designated by the noun. The members of the transitive category may be defined as: (a) to cause to become, (b) to make produce, to produce for another, (c) to give, provide with, (d) to handle, to apply to something that which is designated by the noun. He further discusses the suffix *-ka* and concludes that perhaps it is better to regard it as the verb *ka* 'to take away, to remove' that enters into compounding, just as other verbs do. In this sense, this verb *ka* can appear either in compounding: *Tipu:puru ekī:ka se man* 'He wants to remove the thorns from his foot, or independently: *Ipandari ekī.rī ka se man* 'He wants to remove the thorns of its branch'. If we compare Surinam Carib with other Cariban languages, one cannot fail to notice that Hoff lists a number of suffixes that is far larger than the ones listed by other authors for the other languages. Most probably this is due to the fact that Hoff lists as different suffixes what are really allomorphs of one and the same suffix, as seems to be the case of: *-ta~na~da*; *-ka~ga*; and *-to~no~do~ndo* (232-241).

Derbyshire (1985) is a presentation of the syntax of Hixkaryana and of its relevance for typological approaches. However, included in this work are a number of appendices which cover several aspects of the morphology. In the appendix on verb stem formation, he lists those processes by which verb stems are derived from nouns. A distinction is made between processes that create intransitive stems by adding suffixes to possessed noun stems and processes that create transitive verb stems by adding suffixes to noun stems. Among the former we have *-ta*, as in *-onu* 'eye of' > *-onta* 'to be awake', and *-nta* or *-na*, as in *-amusunu* 'weight of' > *-amusna* 'to be heavy'. Among the latter we have *-ma* and *-ha* 'BENEFACTIVE' as in *woku* 'drink' > *-wokha* 'to give a drink to someone', and *-ohtxe* 'medicine' > *-ohtxema* 'to heal'; *-to*, *-hto*, and *-mto* 'BENEFACTIVE INVOLVING LABOR', as in *-yho* 'plantation' > *-yhoto* 'to make a plantation for'; *-rye* and *-mrye* 'PRODUCTIVE' as in *-kamsukuru* 'blood of' > *-kamsukrye* 'to make bloody'; *-ka* and *-nka* 'MALEFACTIVE, REVERSATIVE' as in *-kamsukuru* 'blood of' > *-kamsuhka* 'to make someone bleed'. Derbyshire further claims that if a transitive stem is formed by one of these processes, it still may become intransitive by the addition of one of the detransitivizing prefixes. (221-223).

In her description of Makushi, Abbott (1991) treats derivational processes of verb formation as cases of incorporation of

nominal elements into the verb, as she assumes that the derivational suffixes themselves are verb stems. She thus argues that in the verb *tīrī* 'give, put' we have the same stem as in the suffix *-tī*, which occurs frequently with noun roots to form intransitive verb stems, as in *epī* 'cure' > *yepī'tī* 'to cure', and *ese* 'name' > *ese'tī* 'to give a name to someone'. She also argues that the REVERSATIVE suffix *-ka* may be derived from *mo'ka* 'to take out', as in: *pī'pī* 'skin' > *pī'ka* 'to peel, unskin', and *we* 'feces' > *aweka* 'to defecate'. On the other hand, the suffix *-pa*, which functions in the flexional system as a causative marker, also occurs with some nominal roots to form transitive stems, as in *yenu* 'eye' > *yenu'pa* 'to teach', and *mai* 'bitter thing' > *mai'pa* 'to make something bitter'. Only the suffixes *-ta* and *-ma* are not treated as verb stems, but as plain derivational suffixes. The former is attached to nouns to form intransitive verb stems, as in *kaiwan* 'fat' > *kaiwanta* 'to be fat', and *no'pī* 'wife' > *ano'pīta* 'to be married, be wifed'; the latter is a general verbalizing suffix used with (mostly) loan words to form transitive or intransitive verb stems: *komi* 'cold' > *ekomī'ma* 'to have fever', *uweiyu* 'my light' > *weyu'ma* 'to illumine. (126, 127).

In his attempt to prove the previous misinterpretation of cases of vowel elision as the random appearance of thematic syllables in Pemón Taurepán, Álvarez (1996) discovered the existence of several verbalizing derivational suffixes which are added to nominal or postpositional roots to create new verb themes:

Sin embargo, son muchas las instancias en las que sí puede realizarse una segmentación morfológica de un tema verbal en dos partes: una raíz nominal (o posposicional) y un sufijo derivativo verbalizador mediante el cual, se crea dicho tema verbal: [[piroto]ntō]v "abalear". Estos verbalizadores (*-tō*, *-ka*, *-ma*, *-ta*, *-pa*) podrían ser considerados sufijos temáticos, con una interpretación muy laxa del término, esto es, haciendo caso omiso de la vacuidad semántica que caracteriza, por ejemplo, a las vocales temáticas del latín. Pero la verdad es que tales sufijos son claramente derivacionales y, además de verbalizadores, ellos dan su aporte semántico específico, lo cual es particularmente evidente cuando a una misma raíz nominal se pueden añadir dos o más de estos sufijos (como es el caso de *pon-tō* "vestir" y *pon-ka* "desvestir", ambos formados con la raíz *pon* "vestido"). (Álvarez, 1996: 58).

3. The denominalizers in Panare

In the first place, we shall examine the most frequently appearing suffixes involved in this process. In the following lists of verbs the information will be presented as follows: under VERB, the full form of the verb stem will be given, which is one of the various possibilities given as entries in the dictionary. Under T the transitivity of the verb will be indicated, under VERB GLOSS a Spanish translation of the verb will be offered, under NOUN the noun stem is given, and under NOUN GLOSS we give a Spanish translation of the noun.

3.1. The suffix -të

The addition of the suffix **-të** to noun roots invariably produces transitive verbs, as shown in the examples presented in [01]:

[01]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
aapojtë	adornar con collar	t	aapojto	collar
ankajtë	trancar, acorralar	t	anka	palma moriche
arakojtë	adornar la cabeza de	t	arako	corona de palma
chïmajtë	abrir el camino de	t	chïma	camino
ĩmïjtë	poner cinturón ritual a	t	ĩmïjto	cinturón
katyajtë	poner guayuco a	t	katya	guayuco
napontë	proteger, abrigar	t	poto	nido, vestido
pontë	vestir	t	poto	vestido
ëntajtë	poner borde a objeto circ.	t	ënta	borde, ribete
paamëjtë	salar	t	paamë	sal
panarukujtë	adornar las orejas de	t	panaruku	adorno auricular
warejtë	cantar sobre algo	t	ware	canto
wontë	envolver, empacar	t	won	envoltura

According to Payne (1995), who identified it as (j)-tyë, this suffix means 'to provide X with N', since he speculates that it may be related to the verb *-jtu* 'give' (*itu* or *utu* in Mattei Muller, 1994).

3.2. The suffix -ka

In [02] we find examples of transitive denominal verbs formed by the addition of the suffix **-ka** to the noun:

[02]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
ajpëka	quitar semillas	t	yajpë	semilla

aweka	amanecer	t	we	luz
ejaaraika	quitar el machete a	t	ejaara	machete
eñaka	quitar algo de la mano	t	eña	mano
iipaka	desplumar, quitar pelo	t	iipo'	pelo
kēmisiñka	quitar el escalofrío	t	kēmisiñ	escalofrío
mechu'ka	manchar con sangre	t	mechuku	sangre
munka	extraer pus de	t	mun	pus
oweka	encandilar, deslumbrar	t	we	luz
ponka	desvestir	t	poto	vestido
pupuka	destapar	t	pupu	tapa
peetyaka	partir en dos	t	peetya	lado, mejilla
wonka	desenvolver	t	won	envoltura

Also reported in Tamanaco (Gilij 1782), Pemón (Armellada 1945), Surinam Carib (Hoff 1968), Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985) and Makushi (Abbott 1991), this suffix has been identified by Mattei Muller (1994) as "a derivational suffix which in combination with a noun forms a verb indicating deprivation or lack of something or someone". Payne (1995) reported it as a form related to the negative suffix *-j)ka* / *-ka* forming only transitive verbs meaning 'to deprive X of N' and considered it a reminiscence of the *de-* derivational prefix in English.

3.3. The suffix *-ta*

When the suffix *-ta* is added to a noun stem a new intransitive verb is formed, as shown in [03]:

[03]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
achaweña	transparentarse, dejar pasar luz	i	aweñ	luz
apêta	crecer plumas de alas	i	apê	ala
eñareeta	estar bajo efectos de un eñare	i	eñare	espíritu
iipata	crecer (cabello)	i	iipo'	cabello
i'yata	iniciarse como chamán	i	i'yan	chamán
kajta	engordar	i	katī	grasa
orī'ri'ta	tener irritación en la cara	i	orī'ri	irritación
pijta	tomar esposa, casarse el hombre	i	pi'	esposa
piyata	iniciarse como chamán	i	piyan	chamán
pupjêta	ponerse una cáscara o caparazón	i	pupjê	cáscara
pujta	sudar	i	puku	sudor
ri'ri'ta	ponerse rugoso; tener erupción	i	ri'risin	rugosidad
sujta	orinar	i	suku	orina
tamuta	tomar esposo, casarse la mujer	i	tamu	esposo
u'chiipata	crecer el cabello	i	iipo'	pelo
u'yata	dejar crecer el cabello	i	u'	cabeza

This suffix was described by Mattei Muller (1994) as having an inchoative meaning and was identified by Payne (1995) as meaning 'to acquire N'. It has also been reported in Tamanaco, Pemón, Surinam Carib, Hixkaryana and Makushi as an intransitive forming suffix by the authors already mentioned.

3.4. The suffix *-ma*

In the examples given in [04] it is noticed that the suffix *-ma* is also associated to the formation of transitive verbs:

[04]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
ajpo'ma	dar olor a, condimentar	t	ajpësu	olor
amïsima	acompañar la comida con	t	amïsïn	guarnición
ka'ma	lubricar, engrasar	t	katï	grasa
munkoma	doler, causar dolor	t	munko	dolor
nka'ma	dar miedo	t	nkajto	miedo
rï'rï'ma	poner rugosa superficie de	t	rï'rïsin	rugosidad

It has been treated as a derivational suffix by most authors, but Armellada (1945) considers it to be a verb stem. Mattei Muller (1994) identified it as a derivational factitive suffix which changes intransitive verbs into transitive ones (see section 4) but its role in the formation of denominal verbs had not been stated in the literature on Panare.

3.5. The suffix *-pa*

Examples of transitive verbs formed by the addition of the suffix *-pa* are presented in [05]:

[05]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
anoëpa	pintar el cuerpo de	t	anoë	pintura corporal
anompa	pintar el cuerpo de	t	anoë	pintura corporal
eñajpa	tocar, palpar	t	eña	mano
wepa	alumbrar	t	we	luz

This derivational suffix has the cognate *-po* in Tamanaco and the same form *-pa* in Pemón, Surinam Carib, and Makushi.

3.6. The suffix *-mï*

The examples presented in [06] are some of the many intransitive denominal verbs formed by the addition of the suffix *-mï*:

[06]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
aepumī	hablar fuerte	i	aepu	bullá
ajpēmī	brincar, saltar	i	ajpē	brinco
ajpēsumī	exhalar perfume	i	yajpēsu	perfume
ajsumī	perfumar	i	yajpēsu	perfume
atyu'mamī	dar sombra	i	tyu'ma	sombra
aweñamī	calentar (el sol)	i	aweñ	luz del sol
chemakīmī	mentir	i	chemakī'	mentira
kēmīsīmī	tener escalofrío	i	kēmīsīn	escalofrío
munkomī	tener dolor	i	munko	dolor
u'mumī	supurar, tener pus	i	mun	pus
waremī	cantar	i	ware	canto

3.7. The suffix -kē

In the examples given in [07] we observe that there are also transitive verbs formed by the addition of the suffix **-kē** to noun stems:

[07]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
ameñkē	dibujar, pintar	t	yameñ	dibujo
aminkē	dibujar	t	yamin	dibujo
pu'kē	poner resina a	t	puku	resina, sudor

It was noticed that certain loan words become verbs by the addition of some of the already mentioned suffixes:

[08]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T
prenchama	planchar	t
kurajtē	curar	t
perejtē	prestar, pedir prestado	t
wentiyajtē	vender	t
perentya	aprender	i
perentyama	enseñar	i

4. Possible combinations of suffixes

In the following examples we shall examine what seems to be a series of combinations of some of the suffixes previously presented with members of the same group or different formants.

4.1. -tama

As stated by Mattei Muller, the suffix **-ma** is added to intransitive denominal verbs ending in **-ta** to create transitive ones, as shown in [09]:³

[09]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUNGLOSS	INTRANSITIVE
kajtama	engordar a	t	katī	grasa	kajt
pujtama	hacer sudar a	t	puku	sudor	pujta
kamujtama	dar calor a	t	kamuku'	calor	kamujta
karapatama	agriar, enranciar t	t	karapa	manteca	karapata

In [10] we present examples of this apparent double suffixation in non-denominal transitive verbs derived from intransitive ones:

[10]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	INTRANSITIVE
ko'chantama	adelgazar a	t	ko'chanta
ku'yatama	pintar de verde	t	ku'yata
mu'rutama	inflar	t	mu'ruta
orootama	provocar ampolla a	t	oroota
paaparata	aflojar	t	paaparata
pērējtama	cansar, fatigar	t	pērējta
pichiku'yatama	hacer un morado a	t	pichiku'yata
pichitama	aumentar el precio	t	pichita
sanojtama	cubrir de moho	t	sanojta
tuntama	dar amargor	t	atunta
u'peemu'natama	encanecer a	t	u'peemu'nata
u'saruntama	despeinar	t	u'sarunta
wachatama	envejecer a	t	wachata
ayeyintama	dar mal olor	t	ayeyinta

4.2. -tēmī

In [11] we have the two examples in which **-tēmī** is found in combination with a noun stem:⁴

[11]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
kēntēmī	tener mal olor	i	kēn	mal olor
kējētēmī	gritar	i	kēkēt	grito

4.3. -pumī

There is also the suffix **-pumī** found in some intransitive verbs, as shown in [12]:

[12]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
puruwēpumī	tener fiebre	i	puruwē	fiebre
sī'sī'pumī	tener picazón	i	sī'sīkī'	picazón
ta'kēmipumī	anunciar mal agüero	i	ijta'kēmin	mal agüero
tīna'kipumī	tener sed	i	tīna	agua
chesī'sī'pumī	toser	i	chesī'sīkī'	tos
oromaepumī	hablar una lengua	i	oromae	palabra

4.4. -pamī

The combination **-pamī** was found in the examples presented in [13]:

[13]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
peetya pami arrugarse (la cara)		i	peetya	mejilla, lado
karata pami ponerse duro		i	karatakī'	dureza

4.5. -kamī

There are also cases in which the form **-kamī** appears in combination with noun stems as in [14]:

[14]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
aweñkamī	amanecer, alborear	i	we	luz del día
kikirinkamī	ponerse brillante	i	kikirin	brillo

4.6. -kepī

This suffix was found in the following verbs as meaning 'to stop having N':

[15]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
ape'kepī	acabarse las frutas	i	ipeñ	fruta
kēnkepī	desaparecer mal olor	i	kēn	mal olor
sīirikepī	debilitarse	i	sīirī	fuerza

4.7. -kejka/-kijka

[16]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
sīirikejka	quitar fuerza a	t	sīirī	fuerza
panakejka	hacer mucho ruido	t	pana	oreja
munkokijka	quitar el dolor a	t	munko	dolor

4.8. -ñemikí:

Some intransitive denominal verbs can be changed into transitive ones by the addition of the form *-ñemikí*, as shown in the examples below:

[17]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
karatajpamí	ponerse duro	i	karatakí'	dureza
karatajpañemikí	endurecer a	t		
peetyaipamí	arrugarse (la cara)	i	peetya	mejilla
peetyaipañemikí	arrugar a	t		
kikirinkamí	ponerse brillante	i	kikirin	brillo
kikirinkañemikí	lustrar, pulir	t		

The productivity of this process is evidenced by the examples given in [18], where several intransitive non-denominal verbs are transitivized by the addition of one of the allomorphs of the form *-ñemikí*:

[18]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T
chiripamí	calentarse	í
chiripañemakí	calentar	t
e'yapamí	avergonzarse	í
e'yapañemikí	avergonzar, causar vergüenza	t
ípamí	secarse las plantas	í
ípañemikí	secar (palo y leña)	t
ĩ'nata'pamí	enfriarse	í
nata'pañemikí	refrigerar, enfriar	t
katajpamí	tener sabor ácido, agriar	í
katajpañemikí	acedrar, agriar	t
ojpamí	enloquecerse, delirar	í
ojpañemikí	enloquecer a, trastornar a	t
opijkaramamí	arrugarse (una persona)	í
opijkaramañemikí	arrugar	t
opimaamí	marearse	í
opimañemikí	marear	t
osunamí	tener mal aspecto; afligirse	í
osunañemikí	dar mal aspecto a; afligir	t
piyapamí	avergonzarse (alom. de e'yapamí)	í
piyapañemikí	avergonzar (alom. de e'yapañemikí)	t

5. Other suffixes

Less frequent suffixes such as *-po*, *-pima*, and *-ka'mu* were also observed. They have been considered idiosyncratic since

some of the verbs derived from these suffixes can be both transitive and intransitive depending on the context or they appear only once.

5.1. The suffix -po

[19]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
ëntapō	abrir la boca para hablar	i	ënta	boca

5.2. The suffix -pima

[20]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
ëntapima	abrir la boca o tapa	i	ënta	boca
tapima	abrir la boca de	t	ënta	boca

5.3. The suffix -ka'mu:

[21]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
apëka'mu	pegar brazos, lados	t	apë	brazo

It is important to observe that many of the transitive verbs formed through this process can also be detransitivized by means of a specific prefix:

[22]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
acheñaĵpa	tocarse, palparse	i	eña	mano
achichimajtë	encaminarse, concurrir	i	chima	camino
achichejtyë	nombrarse, denunciarse	i	iche'	nombre
achuwepa	alumbrar (con linterna)	i	we	luz
asaapojtë	adornarse con collares	i	aapojto	collar
asameñkë	dibujarse	i	ameñ	dibujo
asankajtë	trancarse, acorralarse	i	anka	palma
asarakojtë	adornarse la cabeza con	i	arako	corona de palma
asimijtë	ponerse el cinturón	i	imijto	cinturón
asonompa	pintarse el cuerpo	i	anoë	pintura corporal
asoweka	encandilarse	i	we	luz
ataweka	amanecer	i	we	luz
atu'chi'ka	perder cabello	i	u'	cabeza
echeñaka	caerse de la mano	i	eña	mano
ejpeetyaka	partirse en dos	i	peetya	lado, mejilla
ëjkatyajtë	ponerse el guayuco	i	katya	guayuco
ëjpaamëjtë	salarse	i	paamë	sal
ëjpanarukujtë	adornarse las orejas	i	panaruku	adorno auricular

ējchiipaka	perder pelo o plumas	i	ippo'	pelo, pluma
ējka'ma	ponerse grasoso	i	katī	grasa
e'mechu'ka	sangrar	i	mechuku	sangre
ē'napontē	abrigarse, cubrirse	i	poto	vestido
o'jponka	desvestirse	i	poto	vestido
o'jpontē	vestirse	i	poto	vestido
o'wontē	envolverse, cubrirse	i	won	envoltura
o'wonka	descubrirse	i	won	envoltura
ujpupuka	destaparse	i	pupu	tapa
u'munka	salirse el pus	i	mun	pus
ujpu'kē	pintarse con pintura	i	puku	resina, sudor
	pegajosa			

The observation of verbs and their nominal roots showed the existence of different verbalizing suffixes, which basically are added to the noun without implying important changes in the noun stem. These suffixes were identified and classified into the three following groups:

- a) Suffixes forming transitive verbs (-tē, -ka, -kē, -pa, -ma),
- b) Suffixes forming intransitive verbs (-ta, mī),
- c) Possible combinations (-tama, -tēmī, -pumī, -pamī, -kamī, -kepī, -kejka, ñemikī), and
- d) Other suffixes (-po, -pima, -ka'mu).

6. Allomorphs of the derivational suffixes

Some of the derivational suffixes presented so far exhibit variants which are the result of the operation a common phonological process:

[23a]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
eñaretya	Var. de eñareta	i	eñare	ser maléfico
oromaetya	empezar a hablar	i	oromae	palabra
peetya	dar fruta	i	ipeñ	fruta

[23b]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
achi'tyē	poner asas o colgaderas	i	achi'	asa, colgadera
chejtyē	nombrar	i	iche'	nombre
mentyē	dar celos	t	mentyēn	celos

In [23a] we observe that *-ta* presents an alternate form *-tya*, when there is /e/ in the noun stem. Likewise, *-tē* presents a

palatalized alternate form *-tyě* whenever /i/ or /e/ are found in the last syllable of the noun root as shown in [23b].

7. Denominal verbs interpreted as cases of incorporation

During the preliminary analysis of the data several verbs clearly derived from noun stems were originally interpreted as examples of the derivational process illustrated so far. A closer look and deeper revision of verbs showed they were the result of the incorporation of nouns to some verb stems, which is a different process and does not involve the addition of derivational suffixes (see Payne 1995 for a thorough discussion on noun incorporation in Panare).

As stated by Payne (1995), all the nouns found in these cases of incorporation are nouns of inalienable possession:

[24]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
eñatī	lavar las manos de	t	eña	mano
ěntatī	limpiarse boca o dientes	i	ěnta	boca
waepitī	limpiar el trasero de	t	wa	trasero
apěrėkėtė	cortar partes laterales	t	apė	brazo
ėwarėkėtė	cortar nariz o ángulo	t	ėwa	nariz
ijtarėkėtė	cortar pie de alguien/algo	t	ijta	pie, pata
panarėkėtė	cortar la oreja	t	pana	oreja
patarėkėtė	amputar ext. inferior de	t	pata	pie, pata
porėkėtė	cortar cordón umbilical	t	poowa	ombbligo
tarėkėtė	romper la boca de	t	ěnta	boca
ěntarėkėtė	romperse la boca	i	ěnta	boca
wanrėkėtė	cortar parte trasera de	t	wa	trasero, fondo
ėtikėtė	cortar cola a (animal)	t	yatīkėn	cola
punkėtė	cortar cabeza de	t	(i)pun	cabeza
u'kėtė	decapitar; envenenar	t	u'	cabeza
apėyare'ma	soltar los brazos de	t	apė	brazo
u'yajka	cortar el pelo de	t	u'	cabeza
ijtaku'na	estírar los pies de	t	ijta	pie

As with denominal verbs, these cases of incorporation also show their intransitive counterparts formed by the addition of the appropriate forms of the detransitivizing prefix:

[25]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T	NOUN	NOUN GLOSS
asapėrėkėtė	perder una parte lateral	i	apė	brazo
asijtarėkėtė	perder un pie o pata	i	ijtan	pie

asapēyare'ma	soltar brazos/lados	i	apē	brazo
asu'kētē	perder cabeza	i	u'	cabeza
atu'yajka	cortarse el pelo	i	u'	cabeza
asu'peetyaka	partirse la cabeza en dos	i	peetya	mitad
ēntarēkētē	romperse la boca o borde	i	ēnta	boca
asijtaku'na	estirar los pies	i	ijtan	pie
acheñaatī	lavarse las manos	i	eña	mano

The list given in [26] presents some of the verb stems to which certain nouns can be attached:

[26]

VERB	VERB GLOSS	T
arejkētē	cortar, mondar, podar	t
are'ma	sacudir, colgar, menear	t
ajka	cortar, afeitar	t
atī	lavar, limpiar	t
urukētē	cortar, quitar un pedazo de	t
rēkētē	cortar (sólo con incorporación)	t
īkētē	cortar, partir	t
peetyaka	partir en dos	t
ko'ka	lavar, limpiar	t
ku'na	halar, estirar, sobresalir	t

8. Conclusions

The process of verb formation from nominal stems in Panare has proven to be a very productive one and a relatively high number of denominalizers has been identified and classified into four groups: (a) transitive forming suffixes (*-tē*, *-ka*, *-kē*, *-pa*, *-ma*) among which the most productive ones are *-ka* and *-tē*, (b) intransitive forming suffixes (*-ta* and *-mī*), (c) combinations of suffixes (*-tama*, *-tēmī*, *-pumī*, *-pamī*, *-kamī*, *-kepī*, *-kejka*, *-ñemikī*), which exhibited low degrees of productivity, and (d) idiosyncratic suffixes (*-po*, *-pīma*, *-ku'na*). Some of these suffixes present allomorphs due to a general phonological process of assimilation of vocalic features (palatalization). It was also necessary to differentiate this process of suffixation with denominalizers from the process of incorporation of nouns to verb stems.

Notes

1. This paper presents partial results from a research project called "Descripción de Lenguas Caribes Venezolanas", funded by the Consejo de Desarrollo Científico y Humanístico of the Universidad del Zulia (Nº 1724.96). The author wishes to thank this university office for the promotion of scientific research. It is also important to acknowledge the invaluable contribution made by Dr. José Álvarez in the supervision and coordination of all the stages of this project and the opportune observations and corrections made to this paper.
2. The spelling system used in this paper is the one introduced by Marie-Claude Mattei Müller in her dictionary. The Panare phonemic inventory is relatively simple, as shown by the spelling, with values very close to those in Spanish, except when indicated; VOWELS: **a, e, i, o, u, ɛ** (mid, unrounded central vowel), **ɨ** (high, unrounded central vowel); CONSONANTS: **p, t, k, ʔ** (glottal stop), **s, ch** (alveopalatal affricate), **ɟ** (pharyngeal approximate), **m, n, ñ** (palatal nasal), **r** (lateral flap), **w, y**. Double vowels represent long vowels.
3. **Këntama** 'give bad smell' (from **kën** 'bad smell') is the only case found of a denominal verb ending in *-tama* which has no intransitive counterpart with the suffix *-ta*.
4. We have interpreted the form **këntëmĩ** 'to have bad smell' as the intransitive counterpart of **këntama** 'give bad smell'.

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