


Linguistic evidence and Tupi-Guarani/Cariban contacts in the Eastern Guianas:  
Wajãpi **kasi** 'be strong', **pipi** 'father's sister' and **kasuru** 'pearl'  
Evidências linguísticas e contato Tupi-Guarani/Carib nas Guianas orientais:  
Wajãpi **kasi** 'ser forte', **pipi** 'irmã do pai' e **kasuru** 'pérola'

Fernando O. de Carvalho 

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Museu Nacional. Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil

**Abstract:** This brief paper proposes a Cariban etymology for the Wajãpi (Tupi-Guarani) verb **-kasi** 'be strong', which has been incorrectly suggested as being of Tupi-Guarani provenance. It is proposed that the source language for this diffusion event was Apalai, and not Wayana, as is usually claimed when the issue of the Cariban influx into Wajãpi is addressed. Two other Cariban loans are discussed, **pipi** 'father's sister' and **kasuru** 'pearl', and in these cases as well, it is shown that diffusion from Apalai, not Wayana, is the more likely scenario. Implications of the findings are discussed.

**Keywords:** Etymology. Language contact. Tupi-Guarani languages. Cariban languages.

**Resumo:** Este breve trabalho propõe uma etimologia Carib para o verbo **-kasi** 'ser/estar forte' da língua Wajãpi (Tupi-Guarani), que já foi incorretamente tratado como tendo uma origem Tupi-Guarani. A língua identificada como fonte do empréstimo é o Apalai, e não o Wayana, como é usualmente proposto quando o influxo de elementos Carib em Wajãpi é considerado. Dois outros empréstimos de línguas Carib são considerados: **pipi** 'irmã do pai' e **kasuru** 'pérola', e também nestes casos argumentamos que difusão a partir da língua Apalai é o cenário mais provável. Algumas implicações destas propostas são discutidas.

**Palavras-chave:** Etimologia. Contato linguístico. Línguas Tupi-Guarani. Línguas Carib.

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Corresponding author: Fernando O. de Carvalho. Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Museu Nacional. Departamento de Antropologia. Quinta da Boa Vista. Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil. CEP 20940-040 (fernaoorphao@gmail.com).

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## INTRODUCTION

Although a number of lexical and grammatical parallels between Tupian (almost exclusively, Tupi-Guarani) and Cariban languages have been pointed out in the literature (most notably in Rodrigues, 1985), there has been very little in the way of careful historical linguistic investigation of the nature and significance of these parallels (see Meira & Muysken, 2017; Rose & Renault-Lescure, 2008; Rose, 2012 for exceptions). This brief paper offers a modest contribution in this direction, by advancing a Cariban etymology for the Wajãpi verb *-kasi* 'be strong', and by illustrating the methodological standards that should be applied for the rigorous investigation of language contact involving Tupi-Guarani and Cariban languages, moving beyond the programmatic and sketchy suggestions advanced in the pioneering work of Rodrigues (1985).<sup>1</sup>

### WAJÃPI *-KASI* 'BE STRONG' << APALÁI *KASE* 'FAT, GREASE'

Based on Wajãpi *kasi* 'be strong', Jensen (1998, p. 501) postulated a Proto-Tupi-Guarani (PTG) etymon *\*kasí*, with the same meaning. The etymon in question is proposed nowhere else in the comparative literature on Tupi-Guarani (TG) languages (e.g., Lemle, 1971; Schleicher, 1998; Mello, 2000), and, as I argue below, for good reason, as it is not of PTG provenance. Nonetheless, we can go beyond merely stating a foreign origin for this term. In fact, more specific claims about the nature of Tupi-Guarani/Cariban contacts in the eastern Guianas can be motivated on the basis of a carefully proposed etymology for this term.

Setting aside the problematic postulation of PTG *\*s* (see e.g., Carvalho, 2022), the simple absence of cognates of this form elsewhere in the family precludes its reconstruction at the PTG level, a fact that, however, has not been a deterrent to the proposal of internal etymologies. Grenand's (1989) Wajãpi-French dictionary gives the meaning 'force, fort' [strength, strong] for Wajãpi *kasi*, and exemplifies its use with the very frequent expression *nekasi* 'Je n'ai pas de force, je suis faible' [I don't have strength, I'm weak].<sup>2</sup> She proposes an internal etymology for the form, one having *ka* 'graisse' [fat] as its base, further adding that the Wajãpi associate having body fat with physical strength (Grenand, 1989, p. 221). In Grenand (1989, p. 204), *kasi* is given under *ka* 'graisse, être gras' [fat, be fat], as a derivative. Needless to say, the proposed etymology is problematic, as Wajãpi *ka* is a reflex of PTG *\*-kap* 'fat' (Jensen, 1984, p. 33), and *-si*, in *-kasi*, remains, in any case, unaccounted for. Finally, the presence of the coronal fricative *s* in any Wajãpi wordform constitutes in itself an indication of its foreign status (e.g., *kisɛ* 'knife', likely from Nheengatu; Jensen, 1984, p. 121),<sup>3</sup> as the PTG affricates have either *h* or  $\emptyset$  in the Wajãpi varieties (Carvalho, 2022).

It has been assumed that Wayana is the main source for Cariban loanwords attested in Wajãpi, one of the few Tupi-Guarani languages (alongside Zo'é and Teko/Emerillon) spoken in the Guianas (see e.g., Grenand, 1980; Jensen, 1984; Rodrigues, 1985). Grenand (1980, pp. 27-28) considers Galibi to be the more important source of Cariban loanwords into Wajãpi, followed, in order of importance, by Wayana and then by Apalái, the later being explicitly described as having only a minor influence (Grenand, 1980, p. 27). Later, in an often-cited appraisal of lexical and

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<sup>1</sup> In addition to the sources cited throughout the text, this paper relies on the author's fieldwork on both Wajãpi (Tupi-Guarani) and Apalái (Cariban).

<sup>2</sup> The expression in question is formed by prefixing the pre-vocalic allomorph *n-* of the (verbal) negator prefix, plus the Set II (or stative) first person singular prefix *ɛ-*. The Wajãpi also employ the expression *nekasi* with the meaning 'I am hungry' (author's field notes). For the notion of 'Set II' person marker, see the overview in Jensen (1998).

<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, *kisɛ* 'knife' is considered 'an old word' by majority of younger Wajãpi speakers, which use instead *marija*, itself a (likely) loan from a Cariban language.

grammatical similarities noted among Tupi-Guarani and Cariban languages, Rodrigues (1985, pp. 392-393) claims that Wayana is the source of the most obvious Cariban loanwords found in Wajãpi.

Although no published study claims a Cariban provenance for Wajãpi *kasi* 'be strong', this is certainly the most plausible hypothesis, though, as far as a solid contact etymology is concerned, it constitutes merely a starting point. I propose that the Apalai noun *kase* 'grease/fat (n.)' is the ultimate source of the Wajãpi form under scrutiny. The semantic latitude between 'grease/fat', in the source form, and 'be strong', although not trivial, agrees with what Grenand (1989, p. 221) reports on the associations between body fat and strength for the Wajãpi. In any case, this disparity in meaning will be discussed in greater detail, along with other formal details on the Cariban side of the proposed etymology.

It is plausible to assume that Apalai *kase* 'grease/fat (n.)' is somehow related to the series of Panare *kaʔ*, *kat*; Bakairi *gadi*; Kuikúro *kati*; Hixkaryana *kati*, all given under the meaning 'grease/fat' in Meira & Franchetto (2005, p. 185). These suggest a Proto-Cariban (PC) etymon *\*kati* (see Gildea & Payne, 2007, p. 46), formally and semantically identical to Proto-Taranoan (PT) *\*kati* 'fat' (Meira, 2000, p. 156).<sup>4</sup> Wayana, which the published literature considers the most likely source for Cariban loans in Wajãpi, has *kat(i)*, with the final vowel being often dropped (Camargo et al., 2009, pp. 71-72).<sup>5</sup> Thus, on the one hand, if the Wayana form in question is assumed as a source for Wajãpi *kasi* 'be strong', one would be left with the unexplained shift *-ti >> -si* in the adapted loanword; if, on the other hand, Apalai *kase* 'grease/fat (n.)' is advanced as the source, a full contact etymology, taking care, as it should, of the origins of the source form as well, would have to explain how Apalai *kase* 'grease/fat (n.)' could fit in the series formed by reflexes of PC *\*kati* 'fat'. As we show below, this is indeed possible.

PC *\*-ti* is regularly reflected as *-ti* in Apalai, as shown by the language's reflexes for a sample of PC etyma including this particular syllable: PC *\*-peti* 'thigh', *\*-weti* 'feces (possessed allomorph)', *\*-poti* 'beak' (Gildea & Payne, 2007, pp. 56-61) > Apalai *-peti*, *-eti*, *-poti*. On more general phonological grounds, PC *\*i* is not among the vowels yielding spirantized or affricate reflexes of PC *\*t* in daughter languages (see Meira & Franchetto, 2005). In sum, Apalai *-kase* cannot be a direct reflex of PC *\*kati* 'fat'. Note that Apalai is not alone in this regard, as other languages of the family, in particular those of the Circum-Roraima region, present comparable forms: Akawaio *kasi*' [*kasi?*] 'someone or something fat or thick' (Stegeman & Hunter, 2014, p. 166) and Pemon *kasek* 'grasa' [grease/fat] (Armellada, 1943, p. 210). Formal developments other than regular (phonetically conditioned) sound change are needed for relating Apalai *kase* 'grease/fat' and PC *\*kati* 'grease/fat'.

A hypothesis that goes a long way towards accounting for the formal problem just mentioned, as well as for the semantic disparity between 'grease/fat (n.)' and 'be fat/be strong', appeals to analogical reshaping of the Apalai reflex of PC *\*kati* 'grease/fat' on the basis of the adverbial<sup>6</sup> construction derived by the *\*ti-* and the suffix *\*-se*. For Proto-Taranoan, for instance, Meira (2000, p. 156) reconstructs both *\*kati* as a noun meaning 'fat', and the adverbial *\*tikatine*, noting that the latter is "obviously derived" from the former. Meira (2000, pp. 115-116) reconstructs three proprietive ('having') adverbializers for PT, all with the same circumfix structure but differing in the form of the suffixal element: *\*ti- -ke*, *\*ti- -ne*

<sup>4</sup> The Taranoan languages form a low-level branch of the Cariban language family, and include Tiriyo, Akurió and Carijona/Karihona (see Meira, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Tavares (2006, p. 138) analyzes the final *-t* as one of the possessive suffixes found throughout the Cariban family.

<sup>6</sup> 'Adjectives' and 'adverbs' are not formally distinguished in most Cariban languages, with most adjectival notions being expressed within the same lexical class expressing predicate modifiers (Gildea, 2012, pp. 455-459). For this reason, I use 'adjective', 'adverb' or 'adjective/adverb' interchangeably in the body of the text.

and *\*ti-* *-ce*. In the case of the Taranoan languages, the first is the most productive strategy, while the other two seem a bit more lexicalized. Such constructions are found throughout the family (see e.g., Derbyshire, 1999, p. 50), usually involving the affixation of these markers to a base noun, and resulting in a wordform whose meaning is that of 'having' or 'being characterized by' the referent of the relevant base noun.<sup>7</sup> Some examples from Apalaí are given in (1), based on E. Koehn and S. Koehn (1986):<sup>8</sup>

- (1) Proprietary modifying constructions in Apalaí
- (a) *t- iʔnapa -se* (adapted from E. Koehn & S. Koehn, 1986, p. 72)  
 NF poison -CMPL  
 'poisoned'
- (b) *t -apuʔ -se* (adapted from E. Koehn & S. Koehn, 1986, p. 88)  
 NF -mold -CMPL  
 'molded'
- (c) *t- onu -re* (E. Koehn & S. Koehn, 1986, p. 87)  
 NF- eye -ADJVZR  
 'seeing'
- (d) *ti- piti -e* (E. Koehn & S. Koehn, 1986, p. 87)  
 NF- wife -ADJVZR  
 'with wife'

The examples in (c) and (d) above illustrate the use of the 'adverbializer/adjectivizer' markers for deriving modifiers of nominal expressions (E. Koehn & S. Koehn, 1986, p. 87), while those in (a-b) exemplify the *ti-* ... *-se* construction, which, in Apalaí, has a slightly wider distribution than is the case with cognate constructions elsewhere in the family (E. Koehn & S. Koehn, 1986, pp. 48-49).

For the base noun 'grease/fat' specifically and derived adjectival formations, Apalaí uses the form *ti-kase-re* 'fat' for qualifying non-human referents (as in *majipuri tikasere* 'fat tapir'), and a derivative of *punu* 'body, flesh', *tu-punu-ne*, for the modification of nouns having human referents (as in *orutua tupunune* 'fat man'). The relationship between Apalaí *kase* 'grease/fat' and PC *\*kati* 'grease/fat' is here conceived according to Figure 1.

<sup>7</sup> But in Wayana, with 'fat' specifically, see another adverbial formation: *i-ka-phakë-anu* 'the fat one' (Tavares, 2006, p. 128; Camargo, et al., 2009, p. 39).

<sup>8</sup> I have retained the glosses used in E. Koehn and S. Koehn (1986). The prefix *t(i)-* is apparently taken by the authors to be the same that codes a reflexive or correferential third person possessor in nouns, but in these cases its function, together with a suffix of varying shape (*-re*, *-se*, *-e*, *-ne*) consists in deriving either adjective/adverbs from nouns or non-finite verb forms. This explains the use of the glosses NF = 'non-finite', CMPL = 'complement' and ADJVZR = 'Adjectivizer' (see E. Koehn & S. Koehn, 1986, pp. 48-49 for a brief discussion of the differences between the Apalaí construction with *-se* and its cognate construction in Hixkaryana).

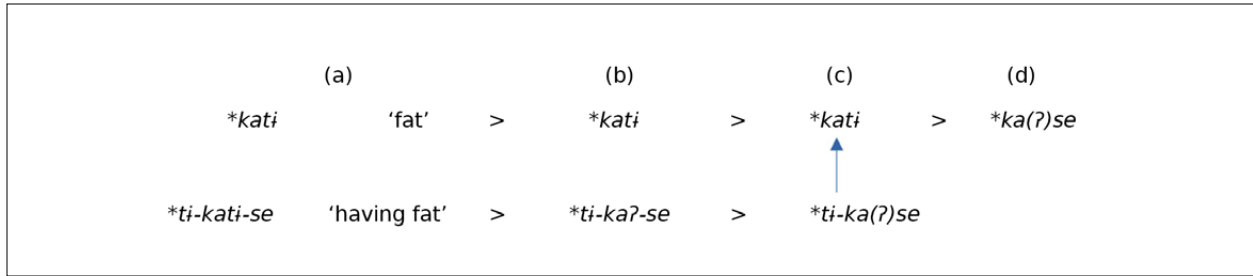


Figure 1. Proposed development for Apalai *kase* 'grease/fat'.

Stage (a) above, likely characteristic of PC, has both the noun *\*kati* 'grease/fat' and the adverbial formation *\*ti-kati-se*, the latter with the meaning 'be fat' or 'having fat'. In a second stage, (b), *\*ti-kati-se* undergoes syllable reduction (Gildea, 1995), yielding *\*ti-kaʔ-se*. Moment (c) has a reanalysis of *\*ti-kaʔ-se* as *\*ti-kaʔse*, with the loss of the morphological boundary between the base noun and the suffix *\*-se*. Also necessary here in order to derive modern Apalai *kase* 'grease/fat' is the loss of the medial glottal stop, indicated by parentheses. The transition from stages (c) and (d) is crucially characterized by the analogical reshaping of *\*kati* on the basis of *\*ti-ka(?)se*, possibly fostered by the possibly analysis of *\*ti-ka(?)se* as part of the nominal possessive paradigm, given the polysemy of *\*ti-* as both the prefix found in a number of adverbial/adjective formations and the prefix marking a third person correferential possessor (*ti-kase-ri* 'his/her own fat'). The modern Apalai modifying construction *ti-kase-re* 'be fat, having fat', is certainly innovative, with *-re* being employed after *\*-se* was re-analyzed as part of the root.

Although the meaning 'be strong' of Wajãpi *kasi* matches most closely that of the adverbial *ti-kase-re* 'be fat', its form fits instead that of the base noun *kase* 'grease/fat'. Borrowing *kasi* from *-kase-* in *ti-kase-re* would have required Wajãpi speakers enough command of Apalai to be able to parse this adverbial form, extracting *-kase-* and adopting with it the derived meaning 'be fat', later extended to 'be strong'. At the present state of our knowledge about the nature of contacts between Wajãpi and Apalai speakers it is unclear whether this was characterized solely by the fleeting diffusion of a few open class items or unanalyzed wordforms, or whether, instead, a more or less stable bilingualism can be assumed. In any case, the participation of *-kase* 'fat' in the above-mentioned possessive paradigms in modern Apalai (*i-kase-ri* 'my fat', *a-kase-ri* 'your(SC) fat', *i-kase-ri* 'his/her fat', and so on) certainly offers a morphological model from which the root *-kase* 'fat' could be abstracted. Gaps in any proposed account will remain until more is known about this particular contact situation, but the contact etymology advanced here is certainly preferable to any purely internal etymology, and it should be provisionally accepted, unless an improved account is offered for the etymology of Wajãpi *kasi* 'be strong'.

## MEANING AND FORM, AND FURTHER APALAI LOANS INTO WAJÃPI

There are other cases for which Apalai, and not Wayana, offers the best candidate for the source of Cariban loanwords in Wajãpi. The form *pipi* is attested in Wajãpi as a term of address for the father's sister (Grenand, 1989, p. 360), and the term lacks cognates elsewhere among Tupi-Guarani languages (see Carvalho & Birchall, 2022). Although a form *pipi* is attested in both Wayana and Apalai as a kinship term, they have utterly distinct meanings in the two languages, and these differences show that Apalai, not Wayana, is the immediate source for Wajãpi *pipi*. Wayana *pipi* has the meaning "vocatif pour époux, époux de la soeur, frère aîné, fils aîné du frère (femme parlant) [vocative for husband,

sister's husband, older brother, brother's eldest son (woman speaking)]" (Camargo et al., 2009, p. 109). Apalai, on the other hand, has *pipi* as a vocative for father's sister (as well as to 'mother brother's wife'), used by both male and female ego (S. Koehn, 1975, p. 85), exactly as Wajãpi *pipi*. Despite being formally similar, Apalai *pipi* and Wayana *pipi* are likely not cognate, as evidenced by their meanings, and Wayana *pipi* is more probably a cognate of Apalai *piʔpi* instead, a vocative form used by women when addressing their elder brothers (E. Koehn & S. Koehn, 1995, p. 41). In fact, Wayana *pipi* itself has a 'phonetic variant' showing a glottal element: *pipih* (Camargo et al., 2009, p. 109). This glottal element is seemingly etymological, as it could be related to long vowels found in cognates of this form elsewhere, as in Tiriyó *piipi* 'older brother' (male and female ego) (Carlin, 2004, p. 140). In any case this makes Wayana *pipi/pipih* both formally and semantically independent from Apalai *pipi* 'father's sister, mother brother's wife', the latter in turn being the best candidate for the immediate source for Wajãpi *pipi* 'father's sister'.

Many presumed Wayana loans in Wajãpi have the peculiarity of featuring a coronal fricative *s* (see e.g., Grenand, 1980, pp. 27-28; Rodrigues, 1985, p. 392). The problem is that outside of the context of a following or preceding *i* the fricative *s* was debuccalized in Wayana, but not in Apalai (Camargo, 1996; Tavares, 2006, pp. 19-20). Indeed, this has been explicitly pointed out in the literature as an important isogloss between the two languages (Camargo, 1996, pp. 20-21), and speakers seem to be well aware of this fact.<sup>9</sup> For these reasons, whenever a presumed Cariban loanword is found in Wajãpi, Apalai is a more plausible candidate source for the loanword than Wayana. A good example is found in Wajãpi *kasuru*, or, in the Upper Oyapock variety, *kasulu*, a form whose meaning is 'pearl'. Grenand (1989, p. 221) presents it as a Wayana loan, citing a Wayana source form *kahulu*, also with the meaning 'pearl'. Modern sources on the language confirm the form *kahulu*, but give a more encompassing meaning: *kahulu* 'rocaille, verroterie' [rockery, glassware] (Camargo et al., 2009, p. 67).<sup>10</sup> Here again, the proposed contact etymology faces a formal hurdle, as it is unclear why *h* would be adapted in Wajãpi as *s*, and once more the problem can be avoided by assuming a loan from Apalai instead: Apalai *kasuru* 'miçangas' [beads] (E. Koehn & S. Koehn, 1995, p. 25). Wajãpi preserves, for the meaning 'beads', the TG native form *moʔiri*, Apalai *kasuru* being thus adopted with the meaning 'pearl' only.

A cautionary note on any use of the *h* : *s* isogloss must be presented, however, and it relates to the chronology (and spatial diffusion) of the *\*s > h* development in Wayana. One cannot exclude, in principle, the possibility that Cariban loans in Wajãpi showing a coronal fricative were borrowed from Wayana before the operation of said change - or, at least, from a dialect of Wayana still not subject to the change. On both the spatial (dialectal) and chronological sides of the question there are, still, a number of open issues, a few of which will be commented upon here. In the end, however, none of the gaps in our knowledge seem to decisively affect the conclusions of the present paper.

Jackson (1972), who described Wayana as spoken in the Tapanahoni river, Suriname, notes that *s* and *h* have merged in the speech of some of the Wayana of this region, but that these remain nonetheless distinct for the majority of the individuals. This might suggest that some varieties of Wayana were not affected by the debuccalization of the coronal

<sup>9</sup> Camargo (1996) and Tavares (2006) differ in some aspects of their description of Wayana, and while some of these differences can be explained by reference to dialectal variation, others seem to result from analytical choices preferences or decisions by the linguists themselves. Note that while Camargo (1996) proposes an underlying fricative *s* for Wayana, Tavares (2006) opts for *h* instead. In any case, the distribution of the two attested allophones, [h] and [ʃ], is essentially the same in both accounts, and do not affect the arguments presented here.

<sup>10</sup> Rodrigues (1985, p. 392) mentions a Wayana form <*kašuru*>. This has to be an error, as Wayana lacks a coronal fricative in this context. Since first-hand or primary sources are not given for any of the forms cited in Rodrigues (1985), the nature of the error and its origin cannot be identified.

fricative *s*. However, as noted by Tavares (2006, p. 23, fn. 17), whose grammar is based essentially on 'Brazilian' Wayana of the Paru river, the varieties of the Maroni (described by Camargo, 1996; Camargo et al., 2009) and of the Tapanahoni (described by Jackson, 1972) seem to retain *s* only when adjacent to *i*, that is, in the same context where this coronal fricative is found in the Paru variety, that dialect where the \**s* > *h* debuccalization seem to have come to completion. In any case, some of the earliest available materials on Wayana suggest that the varieties spoken in the Jari river - that is, those closer to the Wajãpi - were affected by the debuccalization of *s* quite early, which agrees with our assumption that any Wayana dialect working as a source for loans into Wajãpi would have lacked *s* in contexts other than of an adjacent *i*. The Wayana materials of Henri Coudreau were recorded on two occasions, first among the northernmost Wayana of the Maroni river (1887-1889), and then among the southern groups of the Jari river (1889-1890). A brief comparison of the materials, organized and published by Lucien Adam in Coudreau (1892), reveals that <*s*> and <*ch*> (the latter only before <*i*> and likely standing for IPA [ʃ]) in the northern dialect correspond to <*h*> in the Wayana of the Jari: 'Gras' [fat] <*capsac*> : <*i-capehac*>; 'Malade' [sick, ill] <*yétoumsac*> : <*étoumhac*>; 'Cheveux' [hair] <*yomset*> : <*yomhet*>; 'Chemin' [path] <*chima*> : <*hema*> (see Coudreau, 1892, pp. 16, 18, 43). Though Wayana dialectology still calls for a comprehensive and adequate treatment, including both the early written documents and the extant spoken varieties of the language, the facts as they stand seem at least compatible with the hypothesis that *bona fide* Wayana loans into Wajãpi should not be expected to have a coronal fricative, except when adjacent to *i*.

## CONCLUSIONS AND THE BROADER CONTEXT

The present work sought to contribute to a rather important topic in the regional history of the indigenous languages and peoples of South America, that of the contacts between speakers of Tupi-Guarani and Cariban languages. It has argued for a specific set of etymological associations at the phonological, morphological, and semantic levels. One also hopes that it has illustrated the potential held by careful and detailed etymological investigations of contact phenomena in general, and of the diffusion of loanwords in particular, which are often approached without the necessary rigour, if not in a dismissive manner, by researchers (see Boček, 2013; Mailhammer, 2013; Carvalho, 2017 for comments and examples).

The specific conclusion of interest to the indigenous history of the Guianas - that is, that Apalai, and not Wayana, constitute the main source of the Cariban influx in Wajãpi - is consistent with what is known about the history of the relevant populations. In their migration coming from the lower Xingu river (see Gallois, 1980, pp. 55, 58-59), the Wajãpi would have met the Apalai before meeting the Wayana, as the former once dwelled in a more southern location, closer to the main course of the Amazon river (e.g., Farabee, 1924, p. 221; Frikel, 1957, p. 512).<sup>11</sup> Although the statement of the close cultural proximity between Apalai and Wayana - a virtual *cliché* in the Cariban literature - does reflect a fact (Frikel, 1957, p. 527; Basso, 1977, p. 11), linguistic evidence and, in particular, careful historical linguistic work, can help cast further light on the different historical trajectories of these otherwise very similar Cariban-speaking populations. It remains to be seen whether more general claims about Wayana influence on Wajãpi (see e.g., Jensen, 1984, p. 132) will be vindicated or not, but one hopes that the present contribution has underscored the potential offered by etymological research in this particular domain.

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<sup>11</sup> The claim in Gallois (1980, p. 61, fn. 1) that the lower Jari populations identified under ethnonyms such as 'Tuare' or 'Aroaqui' were speakers of Arawakan languages will necessarily remain speculative, as no language material associated to these names exists; on the other hand, lower Paru groups such as the Aracaju were definitely Cariban, as shown by the language data available (see Loukotka, 1968, p. 202).

## ABBREVIATIONS

ADJVZR	adjectivizer
CMPL	complement
NF	non-finite
SG	singular

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