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Possessive marking strategies in Mehináku (Arawak)

Estratégias de marcação possessiva em Mehináku (Arawak)

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ABSTRACT: In this paper, I describe the possessive constructions in Mehináku, highlighting the types of strategies found in the language, so far, to express possession relationships. I present two major types of possession constructions: (i) nominal (also known as attributive) possession, and (ii) predicative possessive constructions, which involve both the use of nouns and verbs. Regarding nominal possession, Mehináku, like other Arawak languages (PAYNE, 1991; AIKHENVALD, 1999), recognizes a split between inalienably possessed and alienably possessed nouns, expressed through the attribution of different morphemes to these nouns. Inalienable nouns, for example, receive fewer morphological formatives, including only the marks of person and agreement with possessor and number, whereas alienable nouns can occur without the presence of an obligatory possessor. In this case, they will carry, in addition to the morphological formatives that appear in the inalienable nouns, specific morphemes of alienable possession. Predicative possession constructions, in turn, are formed mainly by juxtaposition, but also by other strategies, such as prefixing the attributive morpheme *ka-* (*k-*, before vowels) to the noun or verb; or through the suffixation of the existential morpheme =*waka*, among other possibilities.

KEYWORDS: Nominal possession; Predicative possession constructions; Mehináku language

RESUMO: Neste trabalho, descrevo as construções possessivas em Mehináku, evidenciando os tipos de estratégias encontradas na língua, até o momento, para expressar relações de posse. Apresento dois grandes tipos de construções de posse: (i) a posse nominal, também conhecida como posse atributiva, e (ii) as construções possessivas predicativas, que envolvem tanto o uso de nomes quanto de verbos. No que tange à posse nominal, o Mehináku, assim como as demais línguas Arawak (PAYNE, 1991; AIKHENVALD, 1999), reconhece uma cisão entre nomes inalienavelmente possuídos e alienavelmente possuídos, expressa através da atribuição de diferentes morfemas a estes nomes. Os nomes inalienáveis, por exemplo, recebem menos formativos morfológicos, incluindo-se apenas as marcas de pessoa e concordância com o possuidor e número, ao passo que os nomes alienáveis podem ocorrer sem a presença de um possuidor obrigatório. Neste caso, portarão além dos formativos morfológicos que figuram nos nomes inalienáveis, também morfemas específicos de posse alienável. As construções de posse predicativas, por sua vez, são formadas sobretudo por justaposição, mas também por outras estratégias, como a prefixação do morfema atributivo *ka-* (*k-*, antes de vogais) ao nome ou verbo; por meio da sufixação do morfema existencial =*waka*, dentre outras possibilidades.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Posse nominal; Construções possessivas predicativas; língua Mehináku

1   Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe the main strategies for marking nominal and verbal possession in the Mehináku language. The methodology used in this research includes the collection of natural speech data, carried out during my fieldwork between the years 2016 to 2019, and its subsequent linguistic treatment, in terms of translation, transcription and glossing of the data. The collections were carried out in the Utawana village, due to its proximity to the city of Gaúcha do Norte, Mato Grosso, which reduced the costs of access and permanence in this community. The examples were translated with the help of the speakers, especially Yatapi, Waxamani, Yutá, Kauruma and Wayeru Mehináku, whom I thank in advance. I also carried out data collection in the city of Campinas (São Paulo), on the arrival of the aforementioned indigenous people to this city.

Data collection comprised two steps: (i) recording samples of natural speech, including stories, songs, and excerpts from everyday dialogues and (ii) lexical and grammatical data elicitation. Regarding the samples of natural speech, I collected about 20 traditional stories, from which I use some excerpts in this paper, indicating the name of the story in parentheses at the end of the example.

Elicitation was based on lexical questionnaires for specific elicitation purposes, as suggested by Samarin (1967), Kibrik (1977), Payne (1997), Vaux and Cooper (1999), Dixon (2007), among others. I also considered the suggested questions included in *The Language Descriptive Studies Quiestionnaire* (COMRIE; SMITH, 1977), and in the questionnaires for typological studies, made available by the Department of Linguistics at the Max Planck Institute (www.eva. mpg.de). Some elicitations were also made based on research questions that emerged during the development of the research.[1]

To achieve these goals, the article is divided as follows: in section §2, I briefly introduce the Mehináku language and people; in section §3, I present examples of analysis of the attributive nominal possession and, in section §4, I present examples of possessive predicates and the forms of expression of possession in these predicates, such as juxtaposition and the use of existential and attributive morphemes.

2   The language and the Mehináku people

According to Gregor (1982), the Mehináku (or *imiehünaku*, as these people call themselves) Indians of central Brazil are one of several peoples living along the Xingu River, one of the great tributaries of the Amazon. The Mehináku people, speaking the Mehináku language, are inhabitants of the cultural area known as the Upper Xingu (in Mato Grosso State, Brazil), and are part of a large complex of peoples who share many similarities – especially in relation to culture – but have distinct languages and histories (ISA, 2006).

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[1] The elicited data is marked with (E) after the example. Data taken from Personal Reports are marked with (PR) and data taken from stories are marked with the name of the story and its translation (*e.g.*, *Ui* 'snake': snake story).

According to Corbera Mori (2008), unlike some other indigenous peoples, in the case of the Mehináku there is a close correlation between the number of the population and the number of speakers: all members of the Mehináku villages speak their mother tongue. Men over 60 are usually monolingual, speaking only the indigenous language. Similarly, older women speak only Mehináku. Some younger women understand Portuguese but speak very little. Many young men, by contrast, speak Portuguese with some fluency. However, when they go out to sell handicrafts in cities like Campinas, São Paulo, and Brasília, among others, they like to speak in their own language.

The Mehináku people currently live in four villages: Uyaipiyuku, the largest among the four; Utawana, the second largest; Kaupüna and Aturua. The Utawana village is the closest to the urban perimeter, located about 35 kilometers from the city of Gaúcha do Norte (MT) and maintains a certain proximity to the Kaupüna and Aturua villages, so it is possible to move from one to the other more quickly, by car during the low river, or by boat during the flood period. Uyaipiyuku village, in turn, is the farthest of the four villages from the urban perimeter and is situated approximately 4 hours by boat from Utawana village.

Regarding Mehináku demography, there is no consensus among researchers on the exact current number of indigenous peoples of this ethnicity living in these villages, and the numbers may vary between 200 (MOSELEY, 2010), 300 (CORBERA MORI, 2011; 2012) and 350 (AWETÍ, 2014). In de Felipe (2020), I defended an approximate number of 400 people, but in a recent survey I conducted a recount, excluding from the total indigenous peoples of other ethnicities who live among the Mehináku (mainly because of marriages), and the total number of indigenous people suffered a sharp drop. The current number of indigenous people living in the four Mehináku villages is approximately 326 people (DE FELIPE, 2020, p. 26).

The Mehináku language belongs to the Arawak family. This family, also known as Aruák, is the largest linguistic family in South America (PAYNE, 1991; AIKHENVALD, 2001; RAMIREZ, 2001). In Aikhenvald's classification (1999b), the Mehináku, together with the Wauja and the Yawalapiti, is included in the Pareci-Xingu group, Xingu subgroup.

3   Nominal possession

I begin the presentation of the possession category in Mehináku by the constructions that involve the possession of nouns, also known in the literature as nominal possession or attributive possession (CHAPPELL; MCGREGOR, 1996). In this section I describe 16 types of constructions of nominal possession in Mehináku, taking into account three criteria: (i) the split between inalienable and alienable nouns, since each of these nouns, when they figure in possessive constructions, will carry a set of specific formatives; (ii) the type of possessive construction, which in this section will be attributive possession; and (iii) the types of possessor of these constructions, because there are morphological differences in the possessed nouns depending on the type of possessor they take.

The Mehináku language, like the other Arawak languages (PAYNE, 1991; AIKHENVALD, 1999b), recognizes a split between inalienably possessed and alienably possessed nouns, expressed through the attribution of different morphological formatives to these nouns. Inalienable nouns (i.e., those inherently possessed) will be assigned less morphological formatives, including

only the marks of person and agreement with the possessor and number, while alienable nouns – those that are not inherently possessed and which, although may appear in possessive constructions, can occur in the language without being necessarily associated with any possessor – will be assigned, in addition to the morphological formatives that appear in the inalienable nouns, by specific possession morphemes.

These two types of nouns will be characterized from their behavior in possessive attributive constructions. The definition of this type of possession that I use is the one proposed by Chappell and McGregor (1996), for whom the construction of Attributive Possession is one in which the possessor and the possessed item form a kind of possessive phrase, as in sentences like "Pedro's car" or "his book".

Furthermore, for the treatment of possessive attributive constructions, I consider types of possessive constructions that involve both pronominal and lexical possessors. I follow the proposal of Krasnoukhova (2012), who proposes four types of possessive attributive constructions, depending on the type of noun. For inalienable nouns, the author proposes the constructions: with a pronominal possessor of an inalienable noun (PRON.PSR INAL.N), as in (1), and with a lexical possessor of an inalienable noun (LEX.PSR INAL.N), as in (5). For alienable nouns, the following constructions are proposed: with pronominal possessor of an alienable noun (PRON.PSR AL.N), as in (9); and with the lexical possessor of an alienable noun (LEX.PSR AL.N), as in (13).

The Mehináku language, however, has a number of strategies that reflect changes in the types of morphological formatives that attach to alienable and inalienable nouns, when there is more than one possessor and when there is more than one noun being possessed, which is why I add to the proposal by Krasnoukhova (2012) twelve other types of possessive constructions, totaling the 16 proposals at the beginning of this section. For inalienable nouns, the additional constructs are as follows: with pronominal possessor of inalienable nouns (PRON.PSR INAL.NS), as in (2); with pronominal possessors of an inalienable noun (PRON.PSRS INAL.N), as in (3); with pronominal possessors of inalienable nouns (PRON.PSRS INAL.NS), as in (4); with lexical possessor of inalienable nouns (LEX.PSR INAL.NS), as in (6); with lexical possessors of an inalienable noun (LEX.PSRS INAL.N), as in (7) and with lexical possessors of inalienable nouns (LEX.PSRS INAL.NS), as in (8). The same logic applies to alienable nouns, as seen in Table 1 below:

Table 1 – Types of Possessive Attributive Construction

Inalienable Possessive Constructions	
[PRON.PSR INAL.N]	'his hand'
[PRON.PSR INAL.NS]	'his hands'
[PRON.PSRS INAL.N]	'their hand'
[PRON.PSRS INAL.NS]	'their hands'
[LEX.PSR INAL.N]	'Waxamani's hand'
[LEX.PSR INAL.NS]	'Waxamani's hands'
[LEX.PSRS INAL.N]	'Waxamani's and Paulo's hand'
[LEX.PSRS INAL.NS]	'Waxamani's and Paulo's hands'

Table 1 – Cont.

Alienable Possessive Constructions	
[PRON.PSR AL.N]	'his bench'
[PRON.PSR AL.NS]	'his benches'
[PRON.PSRS AL.N]	'their bench'
[PRON.PSRS AL.NS]	'their benches'
[LEX.PSR AL.N]	'Waxamani's bench'
[LEX.PSR AL.NS]	'Waxamani's benches'
[LEX.PSRS AL.N]	'Waxamani's and Paulo's bench'
[LEX.PSRS AL.NS]	'Waxamani's and Paulo's benches'

Source: created by the author.

For convenience, in the following subsections I present these constructions in pairs, organized according to the type of possessor of each one. Thus, taking the inalienable possessive constructions as examples, I present together: constructions with a single pronominal possessor of only one inalienable noun (1) and more than one inalienable noun (2); constructions with more than one pronominal possessor of only one inalienable noun (3) and more than one inalienable noun (4); constructions with a single lexical possessor of a single inalienable noun (5) and more than one inalienable noun (6) and, finally, constructions with more than one lexical possessor of a single inalienable noun (7) and more than an inalienable noun (8). The same applies to constructions of alienable possession.

3.1 Constructions involving inalienable nouns

The inalienable nouns, in Mehináku, are those obligatorily possessed. This means that the items included in this class cannot occur (without manifesting morphological change) unless a clearly delimited possessor is present. From a semantic point of view, the terms for body parts, kinship terms and some items culturally very close to their owners, such as 'bow', 'lice', 'rope', 'path', 'porridge', etc., belong to the class of inalienable nouns (CORBERA MORI, 2011). Although these nouns are inherently possessed, there are cases where these nouns occur without the possessor, as I describe below.

3.1.1 Inalienable nouns when not possessed

The cases in which the inalienable nouns occur without the possessor generally refer to isolated or extreme episodes, in which it is necessary to refer to one of these nouns without being possible to associate them with a specific possessor, or to cases in which he is referring to objects very close to their possessors. There are three strategies found in Mehináku to indicate that a noun appears dispossessed: (i) the adjunction of the suffix {-i}; (ii) the change in vowel quality; and (iii) the change in stress position (CORBERA MORI, 2007; 2011).

The first strategy, as I mentioned, is to add the suffix -i to the dispossessed noun. This suffix, whose form reconstructed by Payne (1991) is *-tʃi, has received several nomenclatures in the linguistic literature, such as "non-possessed" (RICHARDS, 1973), "absolute" (PAYNE, 1991) and "impersonal" (AIKHENVALD, 2001). Here, I treat this morpheme as "non-possessed"

(NPOSS). This is the most common pattern for tagging dispossessed nouns in Mehináku, since other strategies, as shown below, are restricted to nouns with specific structures. There is a change of accent from the last syllable of the root of the noun not possessed to the penultimate syllable of the word possessed:

(1)	te'we-**i**	nu='tewe
	tooth-NPOSS	1SG=tooth
	'tooth' (someone's)	'my tooth' (E)

(2)	wɨ̞ʂɨ'ku-**i**	nɨ=wɨ'ʂɨku
	hand-NPOSS	1SG=hand
	'hand' (someone's)	my hand' (E)

(3)	kitsa'pa-**i**	ni=ki'tsapa
	foot-NPOSS	1SG=foot
	'foot' (someone's)	'my foot' (E)

The second strategy is to change the quality of the last vowel of the dispossessed word. Unlike the first strategy, whose occurrence is quite varied, the words that undergo this type of process have one characteristic in common: they all end with the central vowel [ɨ] when possessed. In addition, the accent is changed from the last syllable of the word of the form not possessed to the penultimate syllable of the word of the form possessed:

(4)	ti'w**i**	nɨ='tɨw**i**
	head.NPOSS	1SG=head
	'head' (someone's)	'my head' (E)

(5)	kana't**i**	nu=ka'nat**ɨ**
	mouth.NPOSS	1SG=mouth
	'mouth' (someone's)	'my mouth' (E)

(6)	kapiti'w**i**	nu=kapi'tɨw**ɨ**
	finger.NPOSS	1SG=finger
	'finger' (someone's)	'my finger' (E)

The third strategy is to change the stress position: inalienable nouns with an accent on the last syllable, when not possessed, will have an accent on the penultimate syllable, when possessed. A unique feature of these nouns is that they all end with [i]:

(7)	ki'ri	ni='kiri
	nose.NPOSS	1SG=nose
	'nose' (someone's)	'my nose' (E)

(8)	kɨʂa'pi	nɨ=kɨ'ʂapi
	lip.NPOSS	1SG=lip
	'lip' (someone's)	'my lip' (E)

(9)	na'i	nu='nai
	clothes.NPOSS	1SG=clothes
	'clothes' (someone's)	'my clothes' (E)

Carvalho (2015) provides a diachronic proposal for the treatment of nominal possession in Mehináku. The author proposes that the absolute forms of nouns, which in the language can be represented by one of the three strategies I showed above: {-i} suffixation (*eg*: te'we-i tooth-NPOSS 'someone's tooth' → nu ='tewe 1SG=tooth 'my tooth'); change in vowel quality (eg: ma'pi 'skin' → nu='mapɨ 'my skin') and change in accent position (eg: ki'ri 'nose' → nu='kiri 'my nose'), are due to historical changes that have transformed the absolute suffix *-tʃi > -i*, leading to the following developments:[2] (i) suffixation of *-i* plus change of accent to the right (PA *te'wetʃi > te'wei 'tooth'; (ii) change in vowel quality plus accent to the right (PA *ma'pɨtʃi > PM *ma'pɨi > PM *ma'pii > ma'pi 'skin'); and (iii) accent change to the right (PA *ki'ritʃi > PM *ki'rii > ki'ri 'nose').

Kinship terms, though they are also inalienable in Mehináku, have not appeared dispossessed in my corpus. In this sense, I agree with Ball (2007), who, when dealing with nominal possession in Wauja, Arawak's sister language of the Mehináku and with which this language shares a variety of similarities, states that inalienable nouns are maximally conceptual and may never appear outside of possessive constructions. Therefore, they never appear with the non-possessed suffix.

Furthermore, this division between three possible ways of indicating that a noun appears without a possessor, which includes segmental and suprasegmental strategies, is unusual for the Arawak languages, and further studies, with the other Xinguan languages, need to be done to verify whether this is a unique typological characteristic to the languages of this subgroup.

3.1.2 Inalienable nouns when possessed

After presenting the unpossessed forms of inalienable nouns, it is now necessary to deal with how those nouns behave when they are possessed. In these cases, which are the most frequent in the language, two types of possessors can be added to them. Pronominal possessors, represented by proclitics indicative of person, and lexical possessors, represented by proper nouns of animate possessors, such as people and animals, generally. As mentioned earlier, there are differences in morphological terms between inalienable constructions with a single possessor, and those with more than one possessor. The Table 2 below summarizes the behavior of morphological formatives attached to inalienable nouns in Mehináku:

In the following subsections, I present each of these examples in more detail.

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2 PA = Proto-Arawak and PM = Pre-Mehináku (CARVALHO, 2015, p. 128).

Table 2 – Attributive Possessive Constructions with Inalienable Nouns

	Constructions	Possessor	Proclitic	Noun	Sufix		
	Inalienable	Pronominal			pl	poss	Pl.3
1	PRON.PSR INAL.N	nu=	–	tai son. NPOSS	–	–	–
2	PRON.PSR INAL.NS	nu=	–		=nau/-tɨpe	–	–
3	PRON.PSRS INAL.N	ɨ=	–		–	–	-pa
4	PRON.PSRS INAL.NS	ɨ=	–		=nau/-tɨpe	–	-pa
	Lexical						
5	LEX.PSR INAL.N	Paulo	ɨ=	tewe-i tooth- NPOSS	–	–	–
6	LEX.PSR INAL.NS	Paulo	ɨ=		=nau/-tɨpe	–	–
7	LEX.PSRS INAL.N	Paulo and Etsiri	ɨ=		–	–	-pa
8	LEX.PSRS INAL.NS	Paulo and Etsiri	ɨ=		=nau/-tɨpe	–	-pa

Source: created by the author.

3.1.2.1 Constructions involving pronominal possessor of inalienable noun and inalienable nouns

In this type of construction there is a single possessor, and it is represented by the personal proclitics. These proclitics, which represent the pronominal possessor, are appended to the left of the noun, forming a construction of the pronoun-noun type, as shown below:

(10) 1SG: [**nu**=INAL.N]:

{ni=}	kiri	**ni**=kiri
	nose.NPOSS	1SG=nose
	'nose' (someone's)	'my nose' (E)

{nu=}	halapai	**nu**=halapa
	cheek.NPOSS	1SG=cheek
	'cheek' (someone')	'my cheek' (E)

{n=}	utɨtai	**n**=utɨtai
	eye.NPOSS	1SG=eye
	'eye' (someone's)	'my eye' (E)

(11) 2SG: [**pi**=INAL.N]:

{pu=}	tsukahapɨ	**pu**=tsukahapi
	kiss.NPOSS	2SG=kiss
	'kiss' (someone's)	'your kiss' (E)

{pi=}	tewe-i	**pi**=tsewe
	tooth-NPOSS	2SG=tooth
	'tooth' (someone's)	'your tooth' (E)

{p=}	utɨtai	**p**=utɨtai
	eye.NPOSS	2SG=eye
	'eye' (someone's)	'your eye' (E)

(12) 1PL: [**a**=INAL.N]:

{a=}	tsukahapɨ	**a**=tsukahapi
	kiss.NPOSS	1PL=kiss
	'kiss' (someone's)	'our kiss' (E)

{e=}	hekira-i	**e**=hekira
	forehead-NPOSS	1PL=forehead
	'forehead' (someone's)	'our forehead' (E)

(13) 2PL: [**ji**=INAL.N]:

{ji=}	hi-jã	**ji**=hi-jã
	breast-CLF.liquid	2PL=breast-CLF.liquid
	'breast milk' (someone's)	'your breast milk' (E)

{ju=}	wajalapi	**ju**=wajalapɨ
	vein.NPOSS	2PL=vein
	'vein' (someone's)	'your vein' (E)

{j=}	utɨtai	j=utɨtai
	eye.NPOSS	2PL=eye
	'eye' (someone's)	'your eye' (E)

(14) 3[3]: [**i**=N.INAL]:

{i=}	hi-jã	**i**=hi-jã
	breast-CLF.liquid	3=breast-CLF.liquid
	'breast milk' (someone's)	'his/her breast milk' (E)

{ɨ=}	heju	**i**=heju
	saliva	3=saliva
	'saliva' (someone's)	'his/her saliva' (E)

When there is more than one inalienable noun being possessed by a single possessor, the above structure is maintained, in terms of appending the pronominal proclitic, but the plural and collective morphemes are appended to the possessed nouns, as in the examples below, which illustrate the other cases:

(15) 1SG: [**nu**=INAL.NS=**nau**]:

{ni=}	tai	**nu**=tai=**nau**
	son.NPOSS	1SG=son=PL
	'son' (someone's)	'my sons' (E)

(16) 2SG: [**pi**=INAL.NS-**tipe**]:

{pɨ=}	tɨwu=tepu	**pi**=tɨwu=tepu-**tipe**
	head=CLF.under	SG=head=CLF.under-PL
	'bangs'	'your bangs' (E)

3.1.2.2 Constructions involving pronominal possessors of inalienable noun and inalienable nouns

The second type of possessive attributive construction with inalienable nouns that I deal with is that involving more than one pronominal possessor. Among the proclitics that can function as pronominal possessors in Mehináku, only the third person {ɨ=} figure in this type of construction. I argue that the use of this morpheme as the only representative of more than one possessor has to do with the fact that it is also the only one in the language that does not have an autonomous form; the same prefix is used to mark the third singular and plural person. Thus, although other pronouns, such as {a=} '1PL' and {ji=} '2PL', also embrace the idea of more than one person as possessor in Mehináku, the language has developed another type of

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[3] There is no difference, in Mehináku, between third person singular and third person plural, which is why I represent it using only 3.

morphological marking, which employs one *or more* pronominal possessors, in order to eliminate the ambiguity that could generate the use of this proclitic in constructions of possession.

The morphological way to mark this difference between possessors in this language is the addition of the suffix {-pa} to the possessed inalienable nouns. These nouns then receive, in addition to the pronominal proclitic indicative of possessor, the suffix {-pa}, responsible for indicating that it is more than one pronominal possessor ('they'):

(17) 3: [**i**=INAL.N-**pa**]:

{i=}	hi-jã	**i**=hi-jã-**pa**
	breast-CLF.liquid	3=breast-CLF.liquid-PL.3
	'breast milk' (someone's)	'their breast milk' (E)

{ɨ=}	papa	**ɨ**=nɨzɨ[4]-**pa**
	father	3=father-PL.3
	'father' (someone's)	'their father' (E)

{in=}	itsu-pa-lu-i	**in**=itsu-pa-lu-**pa**
	daughter-EST-FEM-NPOSS	3=daughter-EST-FEM-PL.3
	'daughter' (someone's)	'their daughter' (E)

In cases where there is more than one item being possessed by more than one possessor, the plural morpheme corresponding to the item's animacy degree is added before {-pa}:

(18) 3: [**ɨ**=INAL.NS-**tipe/nau**-**pa**]:

{i=}	tana-i	**i**=tana-**tipe-pa**
	wing-NPOSS	3=wing-PL-PL.3
	'wing' (some animal's)	'their wings' (E)

{in=}	itsu-pa-lu-i	**in**=itsu-pa-lu=**nau-pa**
	daughter-EST-FEM-NPOSS	3=filha-EST-FEM-PL-PL.3
	'daughter' (someone's)	'their daugthers' (E)

In this case, the inalienable noun of the possessive attributive construction receives three formatives: a third-person proclitic, a plural marker suffix (human or non-human), and a third-person plural suffix.

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[4] Kinship terms such as 'father', 'mother', and 'brother' have irregular forms in their paradigmatic derivation.

3.1.2.3 Constructions involving lexical possessor of inalienable noun and inalienable nouns

The third type of possessive attributive construction with inalienable nouns is one that involves a single lexical possessor. In this type of construction there is the co-occurrence of the lexical and the pronominal possessor, forming a kind of redundancy for marking possessors. The pronominal possessor used to reaffirm the presence of the lexical possessor is the third person formative {i=}, as seen in the following examples:

(19) 3: [**LEX.PSR   i**=INAL.N]:

{i=}	kitsapa-i		**Etsiri**	**i**=kitsapa
	foot-NPOSS		Etsiri	3=foot
	'foot' (someone's)		'Etsiri's foot' (E)	

{i=}	kiɾi		**Etsiri**	**i**=kiɾi
	nose.NPOSS		Etsiri	3=nose
	'nose' (someone's)		'Etsiri's nose' (E)	

{ɨ=}	tewe-i		**Waxamani**	**i**=tewe
	tooth-NPOSS		Waxamani	3=tooth
	'tooth (someone's)'		'Waxamani's tooth (E)	

{ɨ=}	wɨ̧şɨku-i		**Waxamani**	**i**=wɨ̧şɨku
	hand-NPOSS		Waxamani	3=hand
	'hand (someone's)'		'Waxamani's hand' (E)	

It is possible to see from these examples that lexical possessors do not appear attached to inalienable nouns, as occurs with pronominal prefixes. What happens, in this case, is the retaking of the lexical possessor via a third-person pronominal prefix attached to the inalienable noun.

When there is more than one item being possessed by a lexical possessor, the structure is the same as when there was only the pronominal possessor, with the presence of the lexical possessor being the only difference between these types of construction:

(20) 3: [**LEX.PSR   i**=INAL.NS=**nau/tipe**]:

{ɨ=}	papa		**Paulo**	**i**=nɨşɨ=**nau**
	father		Paulo	3=father=PL
	'father (someone's)'		'Paulo's fathers' (E)	

3.1.2.4 Constructions involving lexical possessors of inalienable noun and inalienable nouns

The fourth and final type of attributive possessive construction involving inalienable nouns is one in which there is more than one lexical possessor in the construction. In this case, in addition to the third-person indicative proclitic {i=}, which we saw above with a single possessor, there will be the suffix -pa, responsible for indicating the third-person plural. As there are two possessors, it is necessary to point out the plural character of these possessors ("they"), which is why the suffix {-pa} is used:

(21) 3: [LEX.PSRS   **i**=N.INAL-**pa**]:

{i=}	hi-jã	**jamuku=nau i**=hi-jã-**pa**
	breast-CLF.liquid	child=PL 3=breast-CLF.liquid-PL.3
	'breast milk (someone's)'	'children's milk' (E)

{ɨ=}	heju	**Paulo Waxamani i**=heju-**pa**
	saliva	Paulo Waxamani 3=saliva-PL.3
	'saliva (someone's)'	'Waxamani's and Paulo's saliva' (E)

{ɨ=}	papa	**Paulo Waxamani i**=nɨşɨ-**pa**
	father	Paulo Waxamani 3=pai-PL.3
	'father (someone's)'	'Waxamani's and Paulo's father' (E)

Note that, in these cases, where there is more than one possessor, the inalienable noun is marked by both the third-person pronominal proclitic and the third-person pluralizing suffix, whose function is to indicate that the inalienable items are possessed by more than one possessor.

When more than one item is possessed by more than one lexical possessor, the above construction holds, but the plural morpheme (for human or non-human) is added before the third person plural morpheme:

(22) 3: [LEX.PSRS   **i**=INAL.NS-**tipe/nau**-**pa**]:

{ɨ=}	tewe-i	**Paulo Waxamani i**=tewe-**tipe-pa**
	tooth-NPOSS	Paulo Waxamani 3=tooth-PL-PL.3
	'tooth (someone's)'	'Paulo's and Waxamani's teeth' (E)

{ɨ=}	papa	**Paulo Waxamani i**=nɨzɨ=**nau-pa**
	father	Paulo Waxamani 3=father=PL-PL.3
	'father (someone's)'	'Paulo's and Waxamani's fathers' (E)

3.2 Constructions involving alienable nouns

Alienable nouns are those not necessarily possessed. In general, this property is recognized by the fact that such nouns, when not possessed, bear no mark and, when possessed, display a suffix characterizing possession. In Mehináku, this suffix is represented by {-la} and its allomorphs {-la ~ - le ~ -ɾa ~ -ṣa}. It is also possible, according to Corbera Mori (2011), that this type of possession is marked by lexically conditioned allomorphs, such as the change from oral vowel to nasalized vowel (V > Ṽ), from unstressed vowel to stressed vowel (V > 'V), in addition to the presence of a morpheme {Ø}. Following the example of what I did with inalienable nouns, I present below the eight types of attributive possession construction with alienable nouns in Mehináku. The Table 3 below summarizes the behavior of morphological formatives attached to alienable nouns in the language:

I present in the following subsections some examples of possessive construction involving alienable nouns.

Table 3 – Attributive possessive constructions with alienable nouns.

	Alienável	Pronominal					
1	PRON.PSR.AL.N	nu=	–		–	-la	–
2	PRON.PSR.AL.NS	nu=	–	uku 'arrow'	-tɨpe/-taku	-la	
3	PRON.PSRS.AL.N	ɨ=	–		–	-la	-pa
4	PRON.PSRS.AL.NS	ɨ=	–		-tɨpe/-taku	-la	-pa
	Lexical						
5	LEX.PSR.AL.N	Paulo	ɨ=		–	-la	–
6	LEX.PSR.AL.NS	Paulo	ɨ=		-tɨpe/taku	-la	
7	LEX.PSRS.AL.N	Paulo and Etsiri	ɨ=		–	-la	-pa
8	LEX.PSRS.AL.NS	Paulo and Etsiri	ɨ=		-tɨpe/-taku	-la	-pa

Source: created by the author.

3.2.1 Constructions involving pronominal possessor
of alienable noun and alienable nouns

When in a construction of attributive possession with a single pronominal possessor, an alienable noun will receive two formatives: a personal proclitic, responsible for indicating the possessor, and a possessive suffix, responsible for characterizing alienable possession. As with the inalienable nouns, there is a distinction in the alienable possession in relation to the third person.

(23) 1SG: [**nu**=AL.N-**la**]:

{n=}	uku	**n**=uku-**la**
	arrow	1SG=arrow-POSS
	'arrow'	'my arrow' (E)

(24) 2SG: [**pi**=AL.N-**la**]:

{p=}	ajupe	**p**=ajupe-**le**
	cotton	2SG=cotton-POSS
	'cotton'	'your cotton' (E)

(25) 1PL: [**a**=AL.N-**la**]:

{a=}	wapalakumã	**a**=wapalakumã-**la**
	pineapple	1PL=pineapple-POSS
	'pineapple'	'our pineapple' (E)

(26) 2PL: [**ji**=AL.N-**la**]:

{ji=}	tuwapi	**ji**=tsuwapi-**ra**
	straw.mat	2PL= straw.mat-POSS
	'straw.mat'	'your straw.mat' (E)

(27) 3: [**i**=AL.N-**la**]:

{**i**=}	teme	**i**=teme-**le**
	tapir	3=tapir-POSS
	'tapir'	'their tapir' (E)

In constructions where there is more than one alienable item being possessed by a single possessor, the plural suffix is added after the noun. In the case of alienable nouns, there is no distinction between plural morphemes according to the animacy of the referent, since possessed animate referents are always inalienable. The inanimate plural morphemes -*tipe* or collective, such as =*taku*, will be appended to alienable nouns:

(28) 1SG: [**nu**=N.AL-**tipe/taku**-**la**]:

{n=}	uku	**n**=uku-**tipe-la**
	arrow	1SG=arrow-PL-POSS
	'arrow'	'my arrows' (E)

{n=}	akãi	**n**=akãi=**taku-la**
	pequi	1SG=pequi=COL-POSS
	'pequi'	'my pequi plantation' (E)

3.2.2 Constructions involving pronominal possessor of alienable noun and alienable nouns

When there is more than one possessor of a single alienable noun, this item receives, in addition to the personal proclitic indicative of the possessor, also the suffixes indicating possession and third person plural:

(29) 3: [**i**=AL.N-**la-pa**]:

{i=}	kamalupɨ	i=kamalupɨ-**la-pa**
	clay.pot	3=clay.pot-POSS-PL.3
	'clay.pot (recently made)'	'their clay.pot' (E)

In constructions with more than one item being possessed by more than one possessor, in addition to the suffixes above, the plural is added:

(30) 3: [**i**=AL.AL-**tipe/=taku-la-pa**]:

{ɨ=}	uku	**in**=uku-**tipe-la-pa**
	arrow	3=arrow-PL-POSS-PL.3
	'arrow'	'their arrows' (E)

{ɨ=}	nukãi	**i**=nukãi-**tipe-la-pa**
	clay.pot	3PL=clay.pot-PL-POSS-PL.3
	'clay.pot (used)'	'their clay.pots' (E)

3.2.3 Constructions involving lexical possessor of alienable noun and alienable nouns

The third type of attributive possessive construction with alienable nouns is one that involves a single lexical possessor of a single item. What happens in this type of construction is the same as with inalienable nouns, with the difference that, for alienable nouns, it will be necessary to add the possession characterizing marker. Thus, in this type of construction there is the co-occurrence of the lexical possessor and the pronominal possessor, plus the suffix {-la} at the end of the possessed noun. The pronominal possessor used to reaffirm the presence of the lexical possessor is the one represented by the third person formative {ɨ=}, according to examples:

(31) 3: [LEX.PSR   **i**=N.AL-**la**]:

{ɨ=}	tuwapi	Tukuyari	**i**=tuwapi-**ɾa**
	straw.mat	Tukuyari	3=straw.mat-POSS
	'straw.mat'		'Tukuyari's straw.mat' (E)

In constructions with more than one noun possessed by a single lexical possessor, the plural or collective morpheme is also added:

(32) 3: [LEX.PSR   **i**=N.AL-**tipe/=taku-la**]:

{i=}	heṣetɨ	Mapɨ	**i**=heṣetɨ=**taku-la**
	peanut	Mapɨ	3= peanut=COL-POSS
	'peanut'	'Mapɨ's peanut fields' (E)

3.2.4 Constructions involving lexical possessor of alienable noun and alienable nouns

When there is more than one lexical possessor for a single item in the possessive construction, in addition to the third person prefix {i=}, which we saw above with a single possessor, there will be the suffix {-la}, indicative of alienable possession, and the suffix {-pa}, which indicates the third person plural:

(33) [LEX.PSR   **i**=AL.N-**la-pa**]:

{in=}	uku	Etsiri	Paulo	**in**=uku-**la-pa**
	arrow	Etsiri	Paulo	3=arrow-POSS-PL.3
	'arrow'	'Etsiri's and Paulo's arrow' (E)

Finally, when there is more than one item being possessed by more than one possessor, the corresponding plural morpheme is added after the possessed noun:

(34) [LEX.PSRS   **i**=AL.N-**tipe/=taku-la-pa**]:

{in=}	uku	Etsiri	Paulo	**i**=uku-**tipe-la-pa**
	arrow	Etsiri	Paulo	3=arrow-PL-POSS-PL.3
	'arrow'	'Etsiri's and Paulo's arrows' (E)

3.3 Nouns that cannot be possessed

Non-possessable nouns do not receive any kind of grammatical formation of possession, and include proper names of people (Atapulu, Waxamani, Wayeru, Tukuyari, Yawakumalu), of places (Campinas, Utawana, Kaupüna, Aturua), names of celestial stars (*kamɨ* 'sun', *keṣɨ* 'moon', *kalutɨ* 'star') and of divine entities (*Kuwamutɨ*, *Atuṣuwá*). Some of these nouns can only be possessed in purely pragmatic contexts, such as when drawing the sun in a school drawing, as *nu=kamɨ* 1SG=sun 'my sun (my sun drawing)'.

4   Possessive predicative constructions

Once the attributive possession constructions are presented, that is, those that involve the possession of nouns, it is also necessary to deal with the predicative constructions of

possession, which can be both non-verbal (involving nouns) and verbal. As with the attributive constructions I showed earlier, most predicative constructions are built from juxtaposition in Mehináku, and there are two main strategies: the first is simple juxtaposition, without any morphological marking, while the second is use of the attributive morpheme =*ka*, which as its name suggests, assigns the property "have x" to the construction.

Examples of non-verbal predicative possessive constructions of the first type are given below. Note that, in all cases, the =*pai* morpheme occurs, which attests to the predicative character of this formative, since in most non-verbal constructions it is used. Its occurrence is also quite recurrent, as it occurs with quantifiers (35), postpositions (36), numerals (37)-(38).

(35)   aitsa   amunuja=pai   papa   in=itsu-pa-lu=nau

        NEG   many=PFV   father   3SG=daugther-EST-FEM=PL

        'my father doesn't have many daughters' (PR)

(36)   amunau   ɨ=u=pai   ahantai   ata-pana

        chief   3=DAT=IPFV   small   tree-CLF.leaf-shaped

        'the chief has little money' (PR)

(37)   mipijama=pai   ui   ɨ=kanatɨ

        TWO=IPFV   snake   3=head

        'the snake has two heads' (*Ui* 'snake': story of the two-headed snake)

(38)   mipijamawaka=pai   papa   ɨ=tai,   kamajukula   in=itsu-pa-lu

        four=IPFV   father   3=son   três   3=daugther-EST-FEM

        my father has four sons and three daughters' (PR)

In non-verbal interrogative possessive constructions, only juxtaposition occurs, as shown below:

(39)   atsa-tsa=kala=pai   p=itsu-pa-lu=nau

        INT-REST=DUB=IPFV   2SG=SON-EST-FEM=PL

        'how many daughters do you have?' (PR)

Possessive predicative constructions built from the attachment of the attributive *ka*= (or *k*=, before themes starting with a vowel), in turn, can either be realized from the simple attachment of this morpheme to the noun or verb, or through the joint attachment of the attributive morpheme and the existential morpheme. In these cases, the attributive starts to indicate, as opposed to the private =*ma*, that x has y. In the following examples, I show examples with verbs (40) and nouns (41)-(45):

(40) pi=tseneʂu-la=nau   **k**=ija   ekeme-ju-ta=pai   natu=kani

      2SG=woman-POSS=PL   ATR=go   disgust-?-CAUS=IPFV   1SG=COM

      'Women in your village are disgusted with me' (*Alapü* 'water hyacinth': story of
      the woman who turned into water hyacinth)

(41) nu=**ka**=nu=pai

      1SG=ATR=wife=IPFV

      'I have a wife' (PR)

(42) nu=**ka**=tai=tai=pai

      1SG=ATR=son=DIM=IPFV

      'I have a little son' (PR)

(43) eté   tsitsa-ta=mija=wa   nu=**k**=iju=wa

      INTERJ   resembling-CAUS=POT=PFV   1SG=ATR=wife=PFV

      kata=wa=hã   p=uma=pai   i=piri=ku

      DEM=PFV=ENF   2SG=say=IPFV   3=BEN=DECL

      une   natu=wi=ku=hã   itʃuna   natu=wi=ku=hã

      person   1SG=REP=DECL=ENF   timbó   1SG=REP=DECL=ENF

      'Wow, I wish I had a wife just like that (pretty as timbó),

      You said.

      I'm the one,

      I am the timbó, (the timbó transformed into a woman said to him)'

      (Itxuna: timbó: History of the timbó who turned into a woman)

(44) aitsa   **k**=uleke=pei   nu=pɨna=naku=pai

      NEG   ATR=food=IPFV   1SG=house=inside=IPFV

      'there is no food at home' (PR)

(45) ʂa   jamuku-hi   aitsa   **ka**=nupɨna=pai=hã

      DEM   child-MASC   NEG   ATR=name=IPFV=ENF

      'that boy has no name' (CORBERA MORI, 2019, p. 1302)

As I mentioned earlier, it is also possible to construct an attributive sentence by using the existential =*waka* after the attributive. In these cases, the attributive seems to suffer reduplication, as shown below:

(46) ui   **ka=ka=waka**=pai   tewe

      snake   ATR=have=EXIST=IPFV   teeth

      'the snake has teeth' (*Ui* 'snake': story of the two-headed snake)

(47) pipiulu-kuma   pai   **ka=ka=waka**=pai   mapa

      bee-PROT   house   ATR=have=EXIST=IPFV   honey

      'the bee hive (house) has honey' (PR)

Finally, there are still some types of possessive predicative construction in Mehináku that, unlike the others presented above, could be considered verbal, because they seem to be constructed from the use of a verbal form whose value is equivalent to 'have/exist'. This form is *kuma*, which in all the data I have, is accompanied by the predicator =*pai* and at the beginning of sentences. Note, in (48), that *kuma* can still receive the impersonal formative *kina*, which seems to attest to its verbal treatment, since in general verbs receive the impersonal formative and the imperfective =*pai* at the same time. However, as I have only found examples of the use of *kuma* in elicited data and not in stories or accounts, I present it here together with the non-verbal possessive constructions. More data is needed to confirm its use as a possible predicative possessive construction.

(48) **kuma**=**pai**   mei=tsipie   pai=naku=hã

      have/exist=IPFV   ant(sp.)=PL   house=inside=ENF

      'there are many ants in the house' (PR)

(49) nu=nuka   amunuja   apapai=nei   mina=hã,

      1SG=kill   many   bug=PL   DUB=ENF

      kuma=**pai**   i=nihiti=ku=hã

      have/exist=IPFV   3=meat=DECL=ENF

      teme   i=nihiti,   araukuma   i=nihiti =ma

      tapir   3=meat   chicken   3=meat=REPET

      'I killed many animals (and now)

      there are several (types of) meat of them.

      Tapir meat, chicken meat' (PR)

(50) **kuma**=**kina**=**pai**   nakai   i=kahi=ku=hã

      have/exist=IMP=IPFV   party   3=COM=DECL=ENF

      'there are a lot of people at the party' (PR)

(51) awajulu-kuma=nau   mɨşa=pai-pa,
      fox=PROT=PL   scared=IPFV=PL.3

      kuma=**pai**   awajulu   putaka=naku=hã
      have/exist=IPFV   fox   village=inside=ENF
      'the dogs are scared
      (because) there are foxes here in the village' (PR)

5   Conclusion

In this paper, I have presented the main possession marking strategies in Mehináku, including those that involve only nouns (attributive possession) and those that involve the use of nouns and verbs in predicative constructions (possessive predicative constructions). Regarding nominal possession, Mehináku, like other Arawak languages (PAYNE, 1991; AIKHENVALD, 1999b), recognizes a split between inalienably possessed and alienably possessed nouns, expressed through the attribution of different morphemes to these nouns.

Inalienable nouns, for example, receive fewer morphological formatives, including only the marks of person and agreement with possessor and number, whereas alienable nouns can occur without the presence of an obligatory possessor. In this case, they will carry, in addition to the morphological formatives that appear in the inalienable nouns, specific morphemes of alienable possession.

Predicative possession constructions, in turn, are formed mainly by juxtaposition, but also by other strategies, such as prefixing the attributive morpheme *ka-* (*k-*, before vowels) to the noun or verb, or through the suffixation of the existential morpheme =*waka*, among other possibilities.

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