Panare makes extensive use of morphological derivation among word classes. A set of processes involve **nominalization**, producing action nominalizations, participant nominalizations of various sorts, and abstract noun formations. Before discussing nominalizers, we present three denominalizers that all relate to the idea of “ownership”. (Section 5.1.2 discusses generalized AD-forming suffixes which may also occur on noun roots. Section 7.4 discusses verb-verb derivational affixes.)

### 4.1. “Possessive” Denominalizing Suffixes

There are three suffixes which occur exclusively on nominal roots to derive verbs concerned with ownership, i.e., possession or deprivation of an object or an attribute. Thus, these suffixes serve as another kind of test for whether a root is basically nominal or not (see section 3.1).

#### 4.1.1. ‘Deprive Of Noun’: -ka

The suffix -ka is probably related to the verb *enaka* ‘remove’. The suffix -ka can attach to any nominal that can conceivably be removed. For kinship and other terms denoting animate entities, the denominalization is translated ‘to kill,’ or ‘to leave without NOUN’:

1. \(\text{Ninój}kayaj \quad \text{kën.} \quad \text{n-unójko-ka-yaj kën} \quad \text{3DIR-paternal.gramma-VBLZ.DEPRIVE-PPERF1 AN.INVIS} \)
   
   ‘He, left him, without a paternal grandmother.’ (Or: ‘He killed/removed his paternal grandmother.’)

2. \(\text{Yím}kayaj \quad \text{kën.} \quad \text{y^-im-ka-yaj kën} \quad \text{1SG-father-VBLZ.DEPRIVE-PPERF1 AN.INVIS} \)
   
   ‘He left me without a father.’

Although the root *wëńki* in the following is different phonetically from the free form *wëńki* ‘woman’, doubtless the same verbalization process is operating here:
(3) Ni-wi’nki-ka-yaj yi-pij.
3DIR-woman-VBLZ.DEPRIVE-PPERF1 3-wife
‘His wife abandoned him.’

Often nouns are first possessed before taking the denominalizer -ka. This suggests that the possessive form of certain nouns is virtually the lexical form, or that a presumed verb ka ‘remove’ could take possessed nominal objects and only recently collapsed as a derivational affix onto already inflected nouns. In 4 the classifier ikï ‘domestic animal’ occurs in its possessed form ikïn:

(4) Nïkïnka-yaj kën.
n-i-ki-n-ka-yaj kën
3DIR-CL.domestic.animal-POSSES-VBLZ.DEPRIVE-PPERF1 AN.INVIS
‘He killed his domesticated animal.’

Other nouns that often are denominalized in this manner are body parts (5) and personal possessions (6 and 7):

(5) Miipa-ka-yaj amën.
m-ipo-ka-yaj amën
2-feather-VBLZ.DEPRIVE-PPERF1 2SG
‘You defeathered/dehaired it.’ (ipo = body hair or feathers)

(6) Nïkanowaikayaj
nï-kanowa-e-ka-yaj
3DIR-CL.vehicle-POSSES-VBLZ.DEPRIVE-PPERF1
‘He took his vehicle.’ (canoe, bicycle, etc.)

(7) Nëjpaaraikayaj.
n-ejpaaro-e-ka-yaj
3DIR-machete-POSSES-VBLZ.DEPRIVE-PPERF1
‘He took his machete.’

The meanings of some forms derived with -ka may not be exactly compositional in the modern language. For example, the derived form eñä-ka ‘remove hand’ does not mean that someone’s hand was cut off; rather that something was removed (perhaps grabbed) out of someone’s hand. In some related Cariban languages eñã(rï) refers to ‘contents in one’s hands’, and this straightforwardly yields the meaning of modern Panare eñä-ka, even if modern Panare eñã indicates ‘hand’.1

1 We are grateful to a reviewer for this observation. Regarding ex. 9, Jana Price lists the following entry for the verb yeñëaka: ‘to take out of someone’s hand, to accept, to take, to let go of, to take over someone’s work.’