The lexicalization of verbal morpheme order in Baure (Arawakan)
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Arawakan languages have been classified as polysynthetic because of their very complex predicates. Aikhenvald (2001:171) claims that southern Arawakan languages tend to be more polysynthetic than their northern relatives. Ashéninca was for example reported to have up to 33 morpheme positions for one single verb (Wise 1986:581). Polysynthesis has struck the attention of many linguists (e.g. Evans 2002), and a number of strongly synthetic languages have been investigated. Unfortunately the majority of Arawakan languages have not been studied in enough detail that the character of their type of synthetic complexity could have been identified or understood very well (with a few exceptions: Aikhenvald 2003; Facundes 2000). The language investigated here is Baure, a Bolivian Amazonian language, belonging to the southern branch of the Arawakan family.
Baure words can also be quite complex, consisting of up to 10 morphemes, functioning on different syntactic and morphosyntactic levels. Verbs display at least three different levels of affix attachment. We can distinguish verb root, stem, and base. In addition there are two more levels of cliticization (cf. Figure 1). The verb root is the most basic lexical element of the verb. Certain affixes and incorporated morphemes may be attached to a root, which altogether form the stem. Further there are stem affixes, which altogether with the stem make up the verb base, the complete meaning unit of the verb to which aspectual and other base affixes are attached. In early analyses of Arawakan languages the variety of verbal suffixes was represented as position classes, but this linear model does not seem to take into account the reality of verbal morphology, because they do "not account for co-occurrence restrictions nor for the fact that one suffix may occur in the position sometimes occupied by two suffixes" (Wise 1986:581–3). Furthermore, the same affix may occur more than once in one verbal word or in different positions. The application of Payne's (1978:20) suggestion of semantic grouping is also problematic for Baure. A semantic group "valency" e.g. in Baure can be expressed by valency increasing and decreasing prefixes and suffixes, and some of them attach to the base, whereas others attach to the root or stem.
On each level of affix attachment of Baure verbs there are certain rules and orders in which affixes occur. Root suffixes occur in specific orders and combinations, while stem suffixes are mutually exclusive. Base suffixes again occur in certain orders and combinations. This basic principle may be distorted by the fact that sometimes base affixes have been lexicalized within the base. Then the affixes occur in a different order than predicted.
Taking one example, the base suffix *-wana* 'dep' (departitive) occurs as part of the verb base *nowana-* 'say goodbye (tell-DEP)'. Being a base suffix, no root suffixes would follow *wana* 'DEP', but since the morpheme has been lexicalized, it is reanalyzed as a root suffix. Therefore the durative suffix *-i* 'dur' may follow, as in (1). In (2) the durative suffix occurs in its usual place, as a root suffix, and *-wana* as a base suffix in contrast.
The main difference between affixes within the base and those attaching to the base is what is generally considered derivational versus inflectional morphology. As the result of a detailed analysis of Baure verbal morphology, this study will give a number of curious examples where seemingly inflectional affixes have lexicalized as part of verb bases, and thus how inflection can become derivation under these conditions.

Data:

(1) *ver pinowanoekpaw*.
ver *pi=no-wana-i-ko-pa-wo*
PERF 2SG=tell-DEP-DUR-ABS-GO-IPFV
'You already went to say goodbye to them all.'

(2) *nikonoewanaw*.
ni=kono-i-wana-wo
1SG=write-DUR-DEP-IPFV
'I write and leave.'

Figure 1: The structure of the verb word in Baure

personal proclitic (S)	base prefixes	VERB BASE					base suffixes	personal enclitics		clausal enclitics
		stem prefix	VERB STEM			stem suffixes				
	CAUS	ATTR	aktionsart prefixes	VERB ROOT	root suffixes CLF/ noun incorpo-ration APRX SUBJ DUR DISTR	APPL ABS PASS LK WTE RCPC	BEN DEP COS GO COME REP IRR IPFV PRFLX	O_2 (R)	O_1 (P)	

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