



# **A Grammar Sketch and Lexicon of Arawak (Lokono Dian)**

**Willem J. A. Pet**

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## Abstract

### A Grammar Sketch and Lexicon of Arawak (Lokono Dian)

Willem J. A. Pet

Arawak (Lokono Dian), an Amerindian language in the Arawakan language family, is relatively undescribed. The purpose of this study is to give a general, bottom-up sketch of Arawak. It starts with comments on the phonology, then discusses morphology and syntax, and ends with comments about discourse.

Typologically, Arawak is primarily a right-branching SVO language with postpositions. Most noun modifiers precede their heads, though heavy relative clauses follow. Question words, relative pronouns, and focused constituents appear at the left periphery of the clause.

Of particular interest is an asymmetry involving the distribution of a dummy verb in WH-movement constructions. Subjects, direct objects, time phrases, and locative phrases may be moved without otherwise affecting the structure of a sentence. Focusing or questioning a manner adverbial, or fronting of a negative verb, however, involves the obligatory insertion of a semantically empty dummy verb as the main verb.

This book is a revision of *Lokono Dian: The Arawak Language of Suriname: A Sketch of its Grammatical Structure and Lexicon*, the author's Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1987.

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This revised version would not have been possible without the help of Mary Ruth Wise, volume editor, and Judy Benjamin, compositor.

## Abbreviations

ACCOMP	accompaniment
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
art	article
ATTR	attributive
AWAY	directional: away
AUX	auxiliary
BACK	directional: back
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
COMP	complementizer
conj	conjunction
CONT	continuative/continuous/progressive
CONTR	contrastive
D	Dutch
DESID	desiderative
EPEN	epenthetic (for rhythm or syllable pattern)
EXPECT	expected
FUT	future
HABIL	habilitative
H/HUM	human
IMPF	imperfective
INCH	inchoative
INDIC	indicative
INFL	inflection
INTERJ	interjection
INSTR	instrument
IO	indirect object
LSAP	left sentential adjunction position
LOC	generalized location, at

M/MASC	masculine
n	noun
NESS	necessitative
NGEN	noun generalizer
NH	non-human
NM	non-masculine
num	number
OBJ	object
p	particle
PERF	perfect, perfective
PL	plural
PLACE	derive place noun from other noun
POSS	possessed
pp	postposition
PRES	present
PRIV	privative
pro	pronoun
PRO	pronominal
PRON	pronoun
quant	quantifier
qw	question word
rp	relative pronoun
SG/SING	singular
SP	Spanish
ST	Sranan Tongo
SUB	subordinate, nominalizer
SUBJ	subject
THING	nominalizer (an instrument)
tw	time word
UNEXP	unexpected
vd	verb ditransitive
vi	verb intransitive
vs	verb stative
vt	verb transitive
WH.OBJ/WH.O	object-relativizer
WH.SUBJ/WH.S	subject-relativizer



**Part 1**  
**Grammar**

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Arawak, known as *Lokono Dian* ‘people’s talk’ by its speakers, is the mother tongue of at least 700 Amerindians of Suriname, South America, and is also spoken by an undetermined number of Arawaks in Guyana and French Guiana, and may extend into eastern Venezuela. Many more people claim to be Arawaks, or are of Arawak descent, but no longer speak the language. In Suriname and Guyana all speakers are older adults (Lewis 2009:305).

According to George Huttar (personal communication following a visit to the Arawak area of Suriname in 2009), in the villages relatively accessible to the capital and to major roads, it is those in their fifties and older who are fully fluent; younger adults understand Arawak well but do not speak it well enough to use it with their children. It is possible that in extreme western and extreme eastern Suriname there are some children who are native speakers of Arawak.

Arawak is universally regarded as belonging to the Arawakan language family (see Figure 1), which is one of the most widespread families found in South America (see Noble 1965; Ruhlen 1975; Payne 1991; Aikhenvald 1999) and which formerly was also widespread in the Caribbean (see Taylor 1977; Olsen 1974). In fact, people speaking a form of Arawak very close to what is described in the following pages may have been among the “Indians” whom Columbus met on his first journey to the New World (Taylor 1977; Olsen 1974).

## Western

Amuesha (Yanesha')

Chamicuro

## Central

Mehinaku

Parecís

Waurá

Yawalapití

## Southern

Bolivia-Parana

Terêna

Bauré

Ignaciano

Trinitario

## Purús

Apurinã

Iñapari

Mashco Piro

Manchinere

Yine (Piro)

## Kampan

Asháninka

Ashéninka

Caquinte

Matsigenka

Nanti

Nomatsiguenga

## Eastern

Palicur

## Northern

Wapishana

Caribbean

Garífuna

TA-Arawakan

Lokono (Arawak)

Guajiro (Wayuu)

Paraujano

Taino

## Inland

North-Amazon

Resígaro

Río Negro

Achagua

Baniwa of Içana

Cabiyarí

Curripaco

Piapoco

Tariana

Yucuna

Yavitero

Figure 1. Internal Classification of Arawakan Languages (adapted from Payne 1991:489)



### 1.1 General Comments about Arawak

Typologically, Arawak is primarily a right-branching, SVO (subject-verb-object) language,<sup>1</sup> but with postpositions rather than prepositions. With few exceptions, adjectives and other noun modifiers precede the nouns modified. The subject of a clause is obligatory except in some clauses that seem equivalent to English infinitival clauses. In other words, Arawak is a configurational and non-pro-drop language. Morphologically, Arawak is agglutinative. For example, one class of verbs has a class of prefixes and at least eight ordered classes of suffixes.

### 1.2 Previous Studies of Arawak

Although there are numerous Arawak word lists and transcriptions, and descriptive statements about Arawak, some dating back to as early as 1598 (Brinton 1871:1), at the time of writing no adequate description of Arawak was available in the literature. Available published sources fall into two groups: outdated studies, and recent, but limited ones. This is not to imply that either the older or the more recent studies were or are poorly done. The older studies were as complete as the missionaries, anthropologists, and linguists of that day could make them, given the state of linguistics (or philology) then and given the focus of interest which the writers brought to their work. The more recent studies are limited only because the scopes of the studies were explicitly very limited, or because the research time was limited. In neither the older nor more recent studies did the investigators attempt to relate their observations to phrase or sentence structure.

The best and most complete example of the older studies is de Goeje (1928). It deals with some of the major lexical and morphological classes and discusses at length some interesting observations about sound symbolism in the language. Although much of the classification and analysis done in the book is outdated, the book contains a wealth of information in its examples. Even here, however, one must exercise caution since examples are drawn from no fewer than 66 works spanning two centuries, in addition to de Goeje's own fieldwork. Because de Goeje worked almost completely from published sources,<sup>2</sup> and almost all the authors of those sources were no longer living at the time he wrote, he was at a great disadvantage when it came to assigning phonetic values to transcriptions and to determining glosses for many of the words and morphemes. This is reflected throughout his work and leads to literally scores of errors such as overdifferentiating forms. For example, he lists *adi* with a meaning of 'upon (in an abstract sense)' (p. 125) and a word *aji* with a meaning of 'more than' (p. 126). However, these forms were transcribed by different sources who apparently used different orthographies. As a matter of fact, these forms are identical. Arawak palatalizes /d/ preceding /i/; thus, both forms are transcriptions of the postposition [adži] /adi/ 'more than or above'. In addition to these transcription problems, the mixing of Arawak from different times and sometimes from very different locations (e.g. Trinidad, as well as Guyana and Suriname) often results in a confused picture.

More recent studies have been published primarily in the *International Journal of American Linguistics* by authors such as Nancy Hickerson and Douglas Taylor between 1953 and 1977 (see the bibliography). In addition, there exists an insightful article by van Renselaar and Voorhoeve (1962). In all cases, the scope of these studies is very narrow. The authors restricted themselves to dealing almost exclusively with individual aspects of phonology,

<sup>1</sup>See sections on stative sentences (3.2.3) for exceptions.

<sup>2</sup>His fieldwork in Suriname was limited to approximately two weeks "to clear up several doubtful points" (de Goeje 1928:4).

morphology, and ethnography. Any information as to phrase or clause structure must be gleaned from their examples. An additional limitation of the more recent studies is that they were generally based on very limited fieldwork. Hickerson's data were collected in a six-month period of work with speakers of the language and are combined with (sometimes questionable) analysis and data from the de Goeje volume mentioned above (Hickerson 1953:181). Van Renselaar and Voorhoeve's article was based on three months of intermittent work with an Arawak speaker in Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname, and two days in an Arawak village (p. 328 footnote). Taylor's data were collected in periods totaling about 15 months between 1967 and 1969 (Taylor 1970a:199 footnote). Of all the recent studies, Taylor's articles were particularly helpful to me in the initial phases of studying Arawak. However, as work progressed, shortcomings became apparent. For example, several conclusions with regard to the phonology had to be revised (see Pet 1979).

### 1.3 Purpose

The purpose of this study is to provide a general sketch of the Arawak language as it is spoken in Suriname, South America, and to do so with a broader scope than previous studies have. The hope is that this sketch will be of use to linguists in general, regardless of the theoretical frameworks within which they work.

The coverage of Arawak syntax in the dissertation version of this study assumed the principles of Government and Binding Theory (e.g. Chomsky 1982a, 1982b). In this present version little reference is made to theoretical issues, except where particularly relevant.

### 1.4 Overview

Because of the already mentioned deficiencies in currently available sources for Arawak language data, this study is based primarily on original data collected by me and compared with previous works only as necessary. The data presented here were collected during periods of residence in two Suriname villages, Powakka and Cassipora, from 1972 to 1978 and from 1981 to 1984, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL International).

In accordance with the primarily descriptive nature of this study, the following chapters are organized to present a bottom-up sketch of Arawak—starting with some comments on Arawak phonology and ending with some comments about Arawak discourse. The bulk of the description is in the area of syntax.

Chapter 2 consists of an overview of Arawak phonology and of lexical classes and morphology. The phonological system is discussed only briefly since it is adequately covered elsewhere (e.g. Taylor 1969; Pet 1979). The chapter presents a summary of the major lexical classes of the language, derivational systems, and various inflectional categories.

Chapter 3 consists primarily of a description of Arawak phrase and sentence syntax. Particular attention is paid to movement of question phrases, focused constituents, and relative pronouns to the left periphery of the clause. Such movement is clause-bounded and leaves an associated gap. It also involves the obligatory insertion of what I call a "dummy verb" in sentences when the verb or a manner adverbial is the questioned or otherwise fronted constituent, but not when other constituents are fronted.

Chapter 4 continues the exposition of Arawak syntax by concentrating on the internal structure of relative clauses and on the classes of constituents in a sentence which may be relativized.

Chapter 5 returns to the consideration of some morphemes which cannot be adequately described without reference to levels of the language above that of the sentence. In this

chapter, the use and the meaning of the Arawak tense/aspect suffixes and tense particles are investigated. Comrie (1976, 1985) is followed for the componential analysis of their meaning, and narrative structure analysis (e.g. Longacre 1976, 1984; Grimes 1975; Hopper 1979) is used for additional insights into their use and meaning.

Chapter 6 is the conclusion. In it, I summarize the major findings and discuss some of the limitations and inadequacies of the study.

Part 2 is a short lexicon of Suriname Arawak and an English-Arawak index. An appendix with six interlinearized narrative texts follows. A bibliography concludes the volume.

# Chapter 2

## Phonology and Morphology

### 2.1 Phonology

#### 2.1.1 Segmentals

There are seventeen consonants in Arawak if one includes the semivowels /w/, /i/, and /h/, and there are five vowels (see Figure 2). The language contrasts voiced and voiceless unaspirated stops and voiceless aspirated stops, although the full three-way contrast is found only among the apical consonants. The voiceless bilabial stop /p/ is found only in obvious loan words from Spanish or Portuguese introduced into the language in the 1700s. These loans are fully assimilated, and Arawaks are not conscious of the fact that these words are in any way “foreign.”

(1)	<i>pero</i>	‘dog’	Sp. perro
	<i>polata</i>	‘money’	Sp. plata
	<i>sapato</i>	‘shoe/sandal’	Sp. zapato
	<i>kasipara</i>	‘machete’	Sp. espada

The /ř/ is a retroflexed apical flap (tip of the tongue slightly curled back and flipped forward with a brief contact of the alveolar ridge) and contrasts with /ĩ/, an apical tap or trill.

There is considerable allophonic variation associated with some of the phonemes in Arawak. These variations are summarized below. For details and examples, see Pet (1979), Taylor (1969), and van Renselaar and Voorhoeve (1962).

The apical phonemes /t/, /t<sup>h</sup>/, /d/, and /s/ strongly palatalize to the affricates [tš], [tš̃], [dž], and the grooved fricative [š], respectively, preceding /i/. For example: /dint<sup>h</sup>i/ [džintš̃i] ‘uncle’, /siba/ [šiba] ‘stone’.

The aspirate/non-aspirate contrast among the voiceless stops is neutralized immediately preceding the phoneme /i/. This means there is no contrast between /k/ and /k<sup>h</sup>/ preceding /i/, nor is there contrast between the palatalized allophones of /t/ and /t<sup>h</sup>/ preceding /i/.

The phoneme /o/ is phonetically a rounded, mid- to high-back vocoid. Its high variants, approaching [u], occur preceding a syllable containing an /i/. For example: /oři/ [uři] ‘snake’, /oni/ [uni] ‘rain’. Elsewhere, /o/ fluctuates between [o] and [u], with some tendency to assimilate in height to the vowel of the following syllable.

		CONSONANTS					
		BILABIAL		APICAL		VELAR	
STOPS							
VL ASP				/t <sup>h</sup> /	‘th’	/k <sup>h</sup> /	‘kh’
VL UNASP		/p/	‘p’	/t/	‘t’	/k/	‘k’
VD UNASP		/b/	‘b’	/d/	‘d’		
VL FRIC		/p̥/	‘f’	/s/	‘s’		
LATERAL				/l/	‘l’		
FLAP				/ɾ/	‘lh’		
TAP/TRILL				/r̄/	‘r’		
NASAL		/m/	‘m’	/n/	‘n’		
SEMIVOWEL		/w/	‘w’	/j/	‘j’	/h/	‘h’

		VOWELS			
		FRONT		BACK	
HIGH		/i/	‘i’		
				/i/	‘y’
				/o/	‘o’
		/e/	‘e’		
LOW				/a/	‘a’

Note: Orthographic symbols corresponding to phonemes are in single quotation marks. Americanist phonetic symbols are used.

Figure 2. Phonological System of Arawak

The phoneme /i/ is phonetically an unrounded vocoid and fluctuates between central to back and mid to high, with a tendency to assimilate in height to the vowel of the following syllable. In terms of distinctive features (Figure 3), it appears to bear the same relationship to the vocalic system that /o/ does, except that it is unrounded.

	i	e	a	ɨ	o
high	+	-	-	+	+
front	+	+	-	-	-
rounded				-	+

Figure 3. Distinctive Features of Arawak Vowels

The only consonants which can occur syllable finally in Arawak are the nasal phones [m], [n], and [ŋ]. These, however, do not contrast with each other in this position and are therefore treated as instances of a single nasal /n/.<sup>1</sup> This consonant is realized as strong nasalization of a vowel (e.g. /dansika/ [dãšika] ‘I want’). If the vowel is followed by an oral or nasal stop, the nasalization of the vowel is accompanied by a lenis nasal consonant, homorganic with that stop (e.g. /danda/ [dãnda] ‘I arrive’, /wosinbiĵa/ [wosĩmb<sup>i</sup>a] ‘in order that we go’, /bahĩkai/ [bahĩŋkai] ‘he is at home’). If /n/ occurs in pause-group-final position, the nasalization of the vowel is accompanied by a velar nasal consonant (e.g. /kakit<sup>h</sup>inon/ [kakitšĩnõŋ] ‘people’).

<sup>1</sup>Elsewhere (Pet 1979) I have analyzed this nasal as an “independent suprasegmental phoneme,” and Taylor (1970) analyzed it in terms of a full set of nasalized vowels.

### 2.1.2 Prefixes and Vowel Cluster Reduction

The shape of a prefix is often obscured by vowel cluster reduction rules that apply whenever a prefix ending in a vowel is added to a stem beginning with a vowel.<sup>2</sup>

- (2) a. /a/ + /e/ → /a/  
 (e.g. /da-/ + /eřet<sup>h</sup>o/ becomes /dařet<sup>h</sup>o/ ‘my wife’)
- b. /a/ + /o/ → /ao/ or /o/  
 (e.g. /da-/ + /osa/ becomes /daosa/ or /dosa/ ‘I go’)
- c. /a/ + /i/ → /ai/ or /ei/ or /e/  
 (e.g. /da-/ + /it<sup>h</sup>a/ becomes /dait<sup>h</sup>a/ or /deit<sup>h</sup>a/ or /det<sup>h</sup>a/ ‘I know’)
- d. /i/ + V<sub>1</sub> → V<sub>1</sub>  
 (e.g. /li/ + /osa/ becomes /losa/ ‘he goes’)
- e. V<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>1</sub> → V<sub>1</sub>  
 (e.g. /da-/ + /aři/ becomes /daři/ ‘my tooth’)

In all the above cases, the resulting vowel or diphthong becomes phonetically stressed or lengthened, or both. In addition to the above combination rules, if a prefix ending in /i/ is added to a consonant-initial stem, the /i/ of the prefix optionally assimilates to the vowel in the first syllable of the stem:

- (3) a. /li-/ + /sikowa/ → /lisikowa/ or /lisikowa/ ‘his house’
- b. /t<sup>h</sup>i-/ + /nořo/ → /t<sup>h</sup>onořo/ or /t<sup>h</sup>inořo/ ‘her neck’

### 2.1.3 Stress

Arawak has two partially conflicting stress rules.<sup>3</sup>

1. Each pause group<sup>4</sup> potentially has a stress that falls on the penultimate syllable of that group. Secondary stresses fall on alternate syllables moving backward in the pause group.
2. Each word potentially has a secondary stress which falls on the first syllable of its stem.

In natural speech, such as that heard in recorded conversations and stories, both rules operate simultaneously in determining the actual position of stress, but pause-group stress

<sup>2</sup>These cluster reduction rules seem to apply only to prefixes. For example, adding the suffix /-ji/ ‘he’ to the stative verb /fonasiĵa-ka/ (be.hungry-PERF) yields /fonasiĵakaji/ ‘he is hungry’, not \*/fonasiĵake/.

<sup>3</sup>See Pet (1979) for details and examples.

<sup>4</sup>A pause group is characterized by a juncture consisting of the following: a potential tense pause, sustained pitch, and primary stress on the penultimate syllable. Although its boundaries are generally coterminous with those of the phrase, it is a unit which expands and contracts depending on the speed of utterance. See Pet (1979) for further details.

tends to be more prominent. In very precise speech of the sort a speaker uses when dictating for transcription or when correcting a linguist, word stress tends to predominate. In this latter situation, word stress can give the effect of lexical contrast.

- (4) a. /*Da-ka-bo.*/      [dakábo]  
       I-bathe-CONT  
       ‘I am bathing.’
- b. /*D-aka-bo.*/      [dákabo]  
       I-speak-CONT  
       ‘I am speaking.’

Notice, however, that this contrast is the result of adding a prefix which ends in a vowel to a vowel-initial or consonant-initial stem. That is, when prefixes are added to stems beginning with a vowel, word stress falls on the first syllable of the resulting word. When a prefix is added to a stem starting with a consonant, word stress falls on the second syllable of the resulting word. All lexical contrasts noted by investigators such as Taylor (1969) seem to be explainable in these same terms, or as the result of the interaction between word- and pause-group stresses.

### 2.1.4 Orthographic and Other Conventions

The Arawak examples in the remainder of this study are written in a simplified orthography which is currently in use by Arawaks writing in their own language. In this orthography, *y* = /i/, *j* = /j/, *th* = /t<sup>h</sup>/, *kh* = /k<sup>h</sup>/, *lh* = /ř/, *r* = /r̃/, and *f* = /p/. In its underlying form, any combination of a vowel and *o* is divided by a /w/, and any combination of a vowel and *i* is divided by a /i/; however, these are not written in the simplified orthography.<sup>5</sup>

Throughout this study, morpheme boundaries relevant to the particular discussion at hand are indicated by hyphens, and word juncture is indicated by space. In most cases, the morphemes are matched on a one-to-one basis by a literal English gloss.<sup>6</sup> When more than one English word is required to translate a single morpheme, those words are joined by a period. When the meaning of a morpheme is unknown, that fact is indicated by two question marks (??).

## 2.2 Lexical Classes and Morphology

Given appropriate affixes, it sometimes seems possible to use almost any root in Arawak as any part of speech. However, uninflected roots generally seem to represent only one part of speech; to be used as another part of speech, such a form must receive appropriate derivational morphology. For example, an intransitive verb stem can be derived from many nouns with the derivational suffix *-da*.<sup>7</sup>

- (5) a. *da-bode*  
       my-fishhook  
       ‘my fishhook’

<sup>5</sup>Although these combinations are pronounced as single syllables, they count as two syllables in the application of stress rules. See Pet (1979) for further discussion.

<sup>6</sup>See list of abbreviations used in the glosses and elsewhere.

<sup>7</sup>See sections on derived nouns (2.3.4) and verbs (2.4.1.4, 2.4.2.2) for further examples and discussion of derived forms.



b. *Da-bode-da-bo.*

I-fishhook-NOUN.VERBALIZER-CONT

'I am fishing with a line and hook.'

Arawak words may be divided into four classes based on the distribution of those words in larger structures and based on internal inflectional differences. These classes are the following: nominals, verbs, postpositions, and functors.

1. Nominals are those words which, without accompanying words other than articles, may serve as subject or object of a verb, or as object of a postposition. They may be inflected for number but not for aspect or tense. For example: *wadili* and *siba* in *Li wadili dykha siba-be.* (the man see stone-PL) 'The man saw stones'.
2. Verbs are those words which, without accompanying words, may serve as predicate of a clause.<sup>8</sup> They may be inflected for aspect and tense but not for number. For example: *dalhida* in *Li wadili dalhida-bo.* (the man run-PRES) 'The man is running'. Verbs in Arawak also include words expressing concepts which, in English, would be expressed by adjectives. For example: *firo* in *Firo-ka no.* (big-PERF it) 'It is big (e.g. the house)'.
3. Postpositions may not serve as the subject or object of a clause, and may not serve as the predicate unless they are inflected with tense/aspect suffixes.<sup>9</sup> Some examples of postpositions are the following: *loko* 'inside of', *diako* 'on top of', and *oma* 'with (accompaniment)'.
4. Functors are those words which may not serve as predicate, subject, or object of a clause and may not be inflected for number, tense, or aspect. This definition is a negative one and is set up primarily for descriptive convenience. They do, however, share one feature: none of them can receive any of the pronoun prefixes or suffixes (while nominals, verbs, and postpositions all can). Functors are all members of closed subclasses such as articles, conjunctions, and adverbials. For example: *to* 'the', *ken* 'and', *hibin* 'already'.

### 2.3 Nominals

The nominals of Arawak may be subdivided into nouns and pronouns. Nouns, except proper nouns, may receive a possessor prefix, while pronouns may not:

(6) Common Noun	Proper Noun	Pronoun
<i>da-sikoa</i> my-house 'my house'	<i>Adajali</i> 'God'	<i>de</i> 'I'

The pronouns are discussed first since they exemplify in a clearer fashion some of the distinctions in number and gender that are also made among the nouns.

#### 2.3.1 Personal Pronouns

Arawak pronouns are differentiated as to gender, person, humanness, and number. There are both personal and demonstrative pronominal forms. Grammatical case roles (e.g.

<sup>8</sup>Nouns phrases may also be used predicatively, but only in attributive (stative) sentences. See Section 3.2.3.1.

<sup>9</sup>See Section 2.5.1 for a discussion of the lexical status of postpositions and some reasons why they should be considered as distinct from both verbs and nominals.



genitive or possessive, objective) are not distinguished morphologically. Thus, a pronoun occurring as a subject or an object of a clause has the same form as one occurring as the object of a postposition or the possessor in a noun phrase.

### 2.3.1.1 Morphological Forms of Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns (Figure 4) have morphologically free and bound variants, each of which also has different forms depending on where it occurs in a clause or phrase.<sup>10</sup> Thus, personal pronouns potentially have four forms. (shown in Figure 4):<sup>11</sup>

1. a morphologically free form before a verb, a postposition, or a noun;
2. a morphologically bound form (prefix) before a verb, a postposition, or a noun;
3. a morphologically free form after a verb;
4. a morphologically bound form (suffix) after a verb.

The lexical meanings of corresponding variant forms of personal pronouns are all the same, whether the forms are bound, free, pre-head, or post-head. The use of the bound versus the free forms is dependent on discourse considerations; they are not freely interchangeable. Informally stated, a bound pronoun tends to be used when its antecedent is the last mentioned noun or pronoun having the same number and gender, whereas the equivalent morphologically free pronoun tends to be used when its antecedent is not the last mentioned pronoun or noun but has, nevertheless, already been introduced into that section of the discourse. This tendency is even true within a single sentence. For example, the possessive pronoun in (7a) is understood as being coreferential with the subject. The possessive pronoun in (7b) is usually understood as not being coreferential.

MEANING				BEFORE HEAD*		AFTER HEAD**	
				FREE	BOUND	FREE	BOUND
1ST	SG.			de	da-	de	—
2ND	SG.			bi	by-	bo	—
3RD	SG.	M.	H.	li	ly-	dei	-i
3RD	SG.	NM.	H.	tho	thy-	no	-n
	SG.	NH.		tho	thy-	no	-n
	PL.	NH.		tho	thy-	—	—
1ST	PL.			we	wa-	we	-o
2ND	PL.			hi	hy-	hy	—
3RD	PL.		H.	ne	na-	je	—

Notes: \* Where head stands for a verb, noun, or postposition.

\*\* Where head stands for a verb.

Figure 4. Arawak Personal Pronouns

<sup>10</sup>De Goeje (1928), Hickerson (1953), and Taylor (1969) give slightly different spellings for several of the forms and include some additional ones. In the case of de Goeje's data, this is understandable, given the date and locations from which he obtained them (see discussion in Chapter 1). In the cases of Hickerson and Taylor, it is unclear to me whether the differences are due to dialect differences or to the fact that both Hickerson and Taylor depended partially on de Goeje's data.

<sup>11</sup>The shape of prefix pronouns is often obscured by vowel cluster reduction rules. See Section 2.1.2.

- (7) a. *L-osa-bo ly-kabojan ninro.*  
 he-go-CONT his-planting.ground to  
 'He<sub>i</sub> is going to his<sub>i</sub> planting ground.'
- b. *L-osa-bo li kabojan ninro.*  
 he-go-CONT his planting.ground to  
 'He<sub>i</sub> is going to his<sub>j</sub> planting ground.'

The following are some examples illustrating the various forms of the personal pronouns:<sup>12</sup>

(8)	<i>by-simaka-i</i>	you-call-him	'you called him'
	<i>li simaka-o</i>	he call-us	'he called us'
	<i>ly-simaka bo</i>	he-call you	'he called you'
	<i>tho simaka-i</i>	she call-him	'she called him'
	<i>thy-simaka je</i>	she-call them	'she called them'
	<i>we simaka no</i>	we call her	'we called her'
	<i>wa-simaka dei</i>	we-call him	'we called him'
	<i>hi simaka we</i>	you.pl call us	'y'all called us'
	<i>na-simaka-o</i>	they-call-us	'they called us'
	<i>kawa-ka-n</i>	absent-PERF-she	'she is gone'
	<i>thy-diako</i>	it/her-on	'on it/her'
	<i>ne koboroko</i>	them among	'among them'

### 2.3.1.2 Gender, Number, and Humanness in Arawak

As mentioned above, Arawak distinguishes its third person pronouns according to three features: [+/- human], [+/- male], and [+/- plural]. If one examines the data in Figure 4, one can see that these three features interact. For example, all non-humans, regardless of gender or number, are referred to by *tho*. This same pronoun is also used for singular human females. The relationship of the number and gender features relevant to the third-person pronouns is summarized in Figure 5.

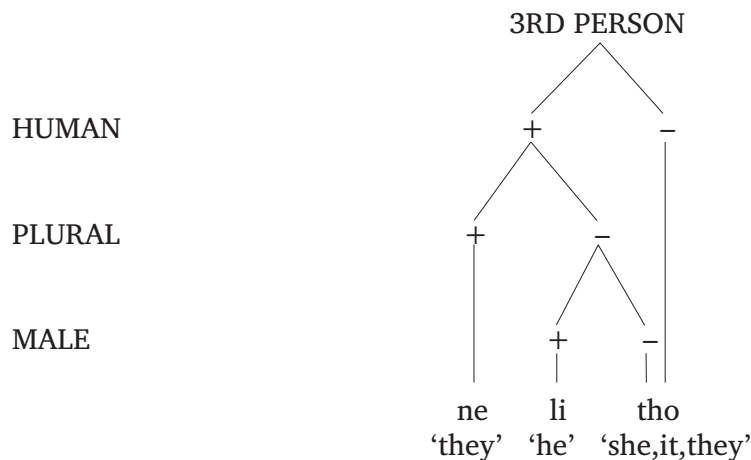


Figure 5. Arawak Number and Gender Features

<sup>12</sup>The forms *tho*, *thy-*, *no*, and *-n*, in the examples, can all just as well be translated as 'it', 'they', or 'them' since they refer to a non-human referent.

Simply knowing the features associated with the pronouns is not sufficient to allow one to choose the correct pronoun for a particular referent. The problem lies in the fact that, for Arawak, humanness and maleness are not completely biologically based. The pronouns do not necessarily reflect whether or not a referent is human or male in an objective sense; instead, they sometimes reflect the speaker's feelings toward that referent. This is most true of the feature [+/- human]. In general, referents are [+human] if they are Arawak, and they are [-human] if they are not Arawak.<sup>13</sup> However, speakers who feel a unity with other indigenous groups extend the use of [+human] to members of all such groups. It can be further extended to include close friends in other races if both the speaker and hearer feel an affinity to them. In a similar but lesser manner, [+/- male] is influenced by a speaker's feelings toward a referent. Cute, small, female infants and some animals are also sometimes regarded as having the feature [+male].

Applying the above specifically to Arawak third-person pronouns, one tends to find the third-person singular masculine human forms used for:

1. All males of the speaker's ethnic group, except if special disdain is intended.
2. Males who are not of the speaker's ethnic group, if they are friends of the speaker or if a relationship of mutual respect exists between the speaker and referent.
3. Small, human infants (either male or female, from the speaker's group or not), if there is no emphasis on gender intended and they are "cute."
4. Animals (e.g. *hikolhi* 'turtle'), objects (e.g. *adali* 'sun'), and spiritual beings (e.g. *Adajali* 'God') considered to be good or desirable, or when they are protagonists in stories.

The third-person singular non-masculine forms tend to be used for:

1. All females except, sometimes, infants.
2. Males who are not of the speaker's ethnic group (except as provided for in point 2, above).
3. All animals, objects, and spiritual beings (except those provided for in 4, above).
4. The plurals of male humans who are not of the speaker's group and the plurals of animals, objects, and spiritual beings.

The third-person human plural is used only for male and female humans who are Arawaks or with whom the speaker is in sympathy. In all other cases, plural human referents are referred to by the same forms as the third-person singular non-masculine referents (see above).

### 2.3.2 Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives, and Articles

Arawak demonstrative pronouns, articles, and demonstrative adjectives<sup>14</sup> are closely related to the personal pronouns in both form and meaning; however, they occur only in the third person. Like the personal pronouns, they are differentiated according to the number, gender, and humanness features mentioned in the previous section. They are further differentiated

<sup>13</sup>This classification is also reflected in the nouns. Arawak has no generic root word for 'human', as English does. The closest word to this is *loko(no)* 'Arawak person' (often extended to mean 'indigenous person'). Other races are referred to by other specific words (e.g. *falhethe* 'white man', *dolhi* 'negro'). Two words, *wadili* 'male' and *hiaro* 'female', are often used in Arawak under circumstances where an English speaker would use 'man' and 'woman'. However, these refer only to the sex of the referent, since they can equally well be used for animals. One other word, *kakythinon* 'people', is now commonly used for groups of people. However, the singular of this word is, again, specific for the gender of the referent: *kakythi* 'man', *kakytho* 'woman' or 'living being'.

<sup>14</sup>Articles and demonstrative adjectives are not nominals, they are identical in form and similar in meaning to the demonstrative pronouns. Hence they are discussed together here.

according to the referent's physical or psychological distance from the speaker and the amount of "pointing" or "singling out" the speaker intends. Their forms may be found in Figure 6.

	A	B	C	D	E
1.	<i>to</i>	<i>toho</i>	<i>tora</i>	<i>toraha</i>	<i>torabo</i>
	the	this	that	that	that there
2.	<i>li</i>	<i>lihi</i>	<i>lira</i>	<i>liraha</i>	<i>lirabo</i>
	the	this	that	that	that there
3.	<i>na</i>	<i>naha</i>	<i>nara</i>	<i>naraha</i>	<i>narabo</i>
	the	these	those	those	those there

1 = singular non-masculine human and singular or plural non-human

2 = singular masculine human

3 = plural human

A = neutral distance article or demonstrative adjective

B = neutral distance demonstrative adjectives or pronoun

C = slightly distant demonstrative adjective or pronoun

D = distant demonstrative adjective or pronoun

E = distant pointing demonstrative adjective or pronoun

Figure 6. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives, and Articles

The uses of the singular non-masculine, the singular human masculine, the singular or plural non-human, and the plural human forms are the same as those given for the personal pronouns.

As implied by their names, the articles and demonstrative adjectives modify nouns in noun phrases, while the demonstrative pronouns are generally used in place of nouns. The articles and demonstrative adjectives are mutually exclusive. That is, a noun may be modified by either an article or a demonstrative adjective (or neither), but not by both. Neither personal nor demonstrative pronouns may be modified by articles or demonstrative adjectives. Some examples using articles and demonstrative pronouns and adjectives follow:

(9) a. *li da-rethi*  
 the my-husband  
 'the husband of mine'

b. *to kodibio*  
 the bird  
 'the bird'

c. *tora da-bianthe*  
 that.non-masc. my-spouse  
 'that (female) spouse of mine'

d. *Lira-bo*                    *osa-bo.*  
 that.male-there    go-CONT  
 ‘That (male) there is going.’

e. *Ama*    *to*        *toho?*  
 what    be        this  
 ‘What is this?’

f. *Alikan*    *osy-fa?*        *Naraha?*  
 who        go-FUT        they.there  
 ‘Who will go? They there?’

### 2.3.3 Nouns

Nouns are an open lexical class and represent the largest group of Arawak nominals. They may be divided into two large classes: alienable and inalienable nouns. Cross-cutting these classes are several other categorizations.

#### 2.3.3.1 Inalienable and Alienable Nouns

Whether a noun is inalienable or alienable has to do with its behavior when it is possessed. Some nouns must receive a suffix to be unpossessed, while others must receive a suffix to be possessed. The former are called inalienable, and the latter are called alienable. For example, note the use of the ‘noun generalizer’ (NGEN) and ‘possessed’ (POSS) suffixes in the following:

(10) a. Inalienable Noun:

<i>de</i>	<i>dyna</i>	<i>dyna-ha</i>
my	arm	arm-NGEN
‘my arm’		‘arm’

b. Alienable Noun:

<i>de</i>	<i>arakabosa-n</i>	<i>arakabosa</i>
my	gun-POSS	gun
‘my gun’		‘gun’

What is meant by ‘possessed’ in the above is that a pronoun or noun expressing ownership, or one referring to a whole of which the noun is a part, is present in the same noun phrase (see Section 3.1). It does not have to do with definiteness or the presence of other modifiers.

As might be expected, inalienable nouns tend to be nouns which are most commonly used in contexts where they would be possessed. They include most body parts or other parts of a whole, most kinship terms, and a few other words which do not seem to fall into any one easily-definable semantic category. With the exception of most kinship terms, inalienable nouns can only be used in an unpossessed sense if they have the “noun generalizer” suffix *-hV*<sup>15</sup> (where V is identical with the last vowel of the preceding

<sup>15</sup>This suffix may be the same as the recurring partial which occurs in some of the demonstrative pronouns listed in Figure 6.

syllable). If a noun has the noun generalizer suffix, it is taken in a very abstract or general sense, not referring to any specific object or entity which exists or has existed or will exist.

- (11) *Kakythinon*      *kamyn-ka*      *khabo-ho*.  
 people            have-PERF      hand-NGEN  
 ‘People have hands.’

Kinship terms, other than special vocative forms, are never used without an expressed possessor.<sup>16</sup>  
 Some additional examples of inalienable nouns are the following:<sup>17</sup>

- |                      |            |                 |                    |
|----------------------|------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (12) <i>khabo-ho</i> | ‘hand’     | <i>da-khabo</i> | ‘my hand’          |
| <i>bana-ha</i>       | ‘liver’    | <i>thy-bana</i> | ‘its liver’        |
| * <i>aithi</i>       | ‘son’      | <i>l-aithi</i>  | ‘his son’          |
| * <i>eretho</i>      | ‘wife’     | <i>l-eretho</i> | ‘his wife’         |
| <i>yda-ha</i>        | ‘skin’     | <i>ada yda</i>  | ‘bark’ (tree skin) |
| <i>bode-he</i>       | ‘fishhook’ | <i>de bode</i>  | ‘my fishhook’      |

Alienable nouns represent the majority of nouns. When they are possessed, in addition to being preceded by a possessor pronoun (either morphologically bound or free) or a noun, they receive one of the possession (POSS) suffixes, *-n*, *-ja*, or *-ra*.<sup>18</sup> When they are unpossessed, they may be used without any morphological modification. Although which suffix to use seems to depend to some extent on the last syllable of the stem (e.g. words ending in *i* tend to receive *-ja*) and to some extent on their origin (e.g. many loan words receive *-ja*), there are many exceptions, and thus it seems best to posit three arbitrary subclasses for them. In terms of frequency, most nouns receive the *-n* suffix. Some examples of alienable nouns are as follows:

- |         |                  |                           |
|---------|------------------|---------------------------|
| (13) a. | <i>siba</i>      | <i>ly-siba-n</i>          |
|         | ‘stone’          | ‘his stone’               |
| b.      | <i>ada</i>       | <i>d-ada-n</i>            |
|         | ‘tree/wood’      | ‘my tree/wood’            |
| c.      | <i>karobo</i>    | <i>wa-karobo-n</i>        |
|         | ‘plate’          | ‘our plate’               |
| d.      | <i>arakabosa</i> | <i>de arakabosa-n</i>     |
|         | ‘gun’            | ‘my gun’                  |
| e.      | <i>kalhao</i>    | <i>da-kalhao-ja</i>       |
|         | ‘grass’          | ‘my grass’                |
| f.      | <i>boko</i>      | <i>Adajali boko-ja</i>    |
|         | ‘book’           | ‘God’s book (i.e. Bible)’ |

<sup>16</sup>See Hickerson (1953), van Renselaar and Voorhoeve (1962), and de Goeje (1928) for descriptions of the Arawak kinship system.

<sup>17</sup>An asterisk before an example or other cited form indicates that the form is ungrammatical or unacceptable Arawak. It should be understood that since I am not a native speaker of Arawak, some forms may be marked as ungrammatical when they may not actually be so.

<sup>18</sup>Note that *-ja* is written *a* when added to a word ending in *i*.

g.	<i>malhisi</i> 'corn'	<i>hi malhisi-a</i> 'your (pl.) corn'
h.	<i>botoli</i> 'bottle'	<i>Henk botoli-a</i> 'Henk's bottle'
i.	<i>adisa</i> 'grating boat'	<i>d-adisa-ra</i> 'my grating boat'

### 2.3.3.2 Gender in Nouns

In addition to being classified according to the categories of alienable and inalienable, Arawak nouns may also be loosely grouped according to the features of [+/- human] and [+/- male]. This is reflected in the articles which occur with them.

(14)	<i>li wadili</i>	'the man'
	<i>li adali</i>	'the sun'
	<i>to hiaro</i>	'the woman'
	<i>to oniabo</i>	'the water'
	<i>na kakythinon</i>	'the people'

As is the case with pronouns (see Section 2.3.1.2 on pronoun gender), the features assigned to the noun to some extent have to do with the speaker's view of the referent of that noun. For example, although *wadili* 'male' is usually used when referring to a man and therefore usually occurs with the masculine singular article *li*, it can also occur with the non-masculine or non-human article *to* when referring to a non-Arawak.

### 2.3.3.3 Number in Nouns

As was indicated in the discussion of the third-person pronoun features (Figure 5), the feature [+/- plural] is overtly indicated for pronouns only when the pronoun has the feature [+ human]. This is true also of the nouns.<sup>19</sup> Nouns referring to humans (in the Arawak sense) are intrinsically singular, and if they are used to refer to more than one person, they must be pluralized with a pluralizing suffix. For example, if the following nouns refer to an Arawak (therefore [+ human]) referent, the singular forms cannot refer to more than one person:

(15) a.	<i>ibili</i>	small.one	'child'
	* <i>bian ibili</i>	2 small.one	'two children'
	<i>bian ibili-non</i>	2 small.one-PL	'two children'

<sup>19</sup>See also Taylor (1976). In addition to the two pluralizing suffixes I mention, he lists (p. 373) an additional suffix *-kho* about which he says, "my examples of its use suffice only to suggest that it may refer to a 'set' or collectivity rather than a plurality of persons or things: *iborokho* 'little ones'..." This *-kho* morpheme also occurs a few times in my data; however, it sometimes occurs when neither 'collectivity' nor plurality seems to be involved. For example, I have recorded several instances where *-kho* is added to the pronoun *de* 'I', and to the conjunction *ken* 'and'. The only thing that all instances of *-kho* have in common is that they all seem to have to do with contrast or emphasis. Instances of *dekho* occurred in contrastive situations in which the author seemed to be saying: 'I, not someone else'. The only occurrences of *kenkho* I have recorded are at, or just before, the climax of a narrative (e.g. in the Bomb Story in the appendix). It may be that this suffix is related to the homophonous, negative adverbial particle *kho* 'not'.

b.	<i>wadili</i>	male	‘man’
	* <i>kabyn wadili</i>	three male	‘three men’
	<i>kabyn wadili-non</i>	three male-PL	‘three men’
c.	<i>hiaro</i>	female	‘woman’
	* <i>bithi hiaro</i>	four female	‘four women’
	<i>bithi hiaro-non</i>	four female-PL	‘four women’

In contrast to the above, and like the third-person pronoun *tho*, [–human] nouns may refer to either plural or singular referents. Their exact interpretation often depends on the context in which they are found. For example, the following nouns refer to [–human] referents, and they may be plural even without an overt pluralizing suffix:

(16) a.	<i>sikoa</i>	house	‘house/houses’
	<i>aba sikoa</i>	one house	‘one/a house’
	<i>bian sikoa</i>	two house	‘two houses’
b.	<i>ada dyna</i>	tree arm	‘branch/branches’
	<i>aba ada dyna</i>	one tree arm	‘one/a branch’
	<i>kabyn ada dyna</i>	three tree arm	‘three branches’
c.	<i>siba</i>	stone	‘stone/stones’
	<i>aba siba</i>	one stone	‘one/a stone’
	<i>bithi siba</i>	four stone	‘four stones’

Although it is not strictly necessary to do so, it is possible to add a pluralizing suffix to a [–human] noun. In the case of a [–human] noun used in a context which does not force a plural interpretation, the use of the plural suffix apparently serves to disambiguate the speaker’s meaning. However, it is also sometimes used when the context is clear. In this case, it seems to emphasize that there is some sort of diversity among the referents.

(17)	<i>siba-be</i>	stone-PL	‘stones’
	<i>bian siba-be</i>	two stone-PL	‘two different stones’

As can be gleaned from the human and non-human examples above, Arawak has two pluralizing suffixes: *-non* and *-be*. The suffix *-non* is only used with [+human] referents. The suffix *-be* is used with both [+human] and [–human] referents. Thus it is also possible to say:

(18)	<i>wadili-be</i>	‘men’
	<i>hiaro-be</i>	‘women’

As a matter of fact, both *-non* and *-be* can be used together on the same [+human] noun—and in either order.

(17)	<i>hiaro-be-non</i>	‘women’
	<i>hiaro-non-be</i>	‘women’



As with [-human] referents, when *-be* is used with [+human] referents, it seems to add the implication that a diverse group is involved. Thus, the above forms for ‘women’ with the suffix *-be* would be appropriate to use when the women referred to are of different ages or from different villages.

### 2.3.3.4 Shape Classes

The use of some postpositions in postpositional phrases (fairly equivalent to prepositional phrases in English) is dependent on the physical shape or type of object referred to by their object noun phrases. An obvious example is that the object NP of *diakon* ‘on’ must refer to some referent which can be thought of as having a top surface. Less obvious from the standpoint of an English speaker are those postpositions which are translated by the English prepositions ‘in’, ‘from’, and ‘into’. Which word to use for ‘in’ in Arawak depends on whether its object NP refers to, for example, an animate body or bodies, a fluid, fire or sunshine, the inside surface of an object, or the inside of a hollow or solid object.<sup>20</sup>

(20) a. *loko* ‘inside a hollow or solid object’

b. *da-khabo*            *loko*  
my-hand                in  
‘in my hand (e.g. the thorn inside the flesh of my hand)’

c. *to*    *kodo*        *loko*  
the    gourd        in  
‘inside the gourd (e.g. referring to what is contained in the gourd),

(21) a. *roko* ‘on the inside surface of’

b. *da-khabo*            *roko*  
my-hand                in  
‘in my hand (e.g. referring to what I am holding in my hand)’

(22) a. *koborokon* ‘inside of an animate body, among living beings’

b. *de koborokon*  
me in  
‘in me (e.g. a pain in my body)’

c. *ne koborokon*  
them among  
‘among them (e.g. the location of a person)’

(23) a. *rakon* ‘in a fluid’

b. *to*    *iniabo*    *rakon*  
the    water    in  
‘in the water (e.g. referring to the wash)’

<sup>20</sup>Only examples for ‘in’ are illustrated here. Corresponding forms for ‘into’ and ‘from’ are derived by adding the suffixes *-nro* ‘toward’ and *-ria* ‘from’ to the postpositions. See also Section 2.5.

(24) a. *kolokon* ‘in fire or light’

b. *ikhi-hi kolokon*  
 fire-NGEN in  
 ‘in (the) fire (e.g. referring to the pot)’

c. *hadali kolokon*  
 sun in  
 ‘in the sunshine (e.g. referring to walking)’

### 2.3.4 Derived Nouns

Arawak has at its disposal a number of ways by which it can derive nouns and noun phrases from other categories in the language.

#### 2.3.4.1 Event Verb + *-koana*

An instrumental noun or noun phrase may be derived from an event verb<sup>21</sup> with the suffix *-koana* ‘an instrument or device with which’ (glossed below and elsewhere as ‘THING’). The resulting derived noun is always something with which the action of the verb can be accomplished.

(25) a. *falhethe-dalhidi-koana*  
 white.man-run-THING  
 ‘bus’

b. *da-dalhidi-koana*  
 my-run-THING  
 ‘my car’

c. *bylhyty-koana*  
 make.marks-THING  
 ‘pen/pencil’

#### 2.3.4.2 Stative Verb + *-bero*

The suffix *-bero* may be added to almost any stative verb<sup>22</sup> which describes or ascribes an attribute. The result is a [–human] noun having that attribute.

(26) a. *firo-bero*  
 big-THING  
 ‘big thing/tapir’

b. *bithi-ka-kothi-bero*  
 four-ATTRIB-foot-THING  
 ‘car/bus’

<sup>21</sup>See Section 2.4.1 for a discussion of event verbs.

<sup>22</sup>Concepts which in English are expressed by means of adjectives are expressed with stative verbs in Arawak (e.g. *firo* ‘be big’). Stative verbs may be derived from nouns with the *ka-* ‘attributive’ and *ma-* ‘privative’ prefixes. See Section 2.4.2.

### 2.3.4.3 Event Verb + *-lhin*

The suffix *-lhin* ‘he who habitually does’ may be added to the “*a*-stem”<sup>23</sup> of an event verb to derive a noun with a habitual-agent meaning or a noun which expresses a person’s profession. For example, applying this suffix to the intransitive *a*-stems of the transitive verbs *boratyn* ‘to help, and *jokaryn* ‘to sell’ yields:

(27)	<i>boratan</i>	‘help’	<i>borata-lhin</i>	‘savior’
	<i>jokaran</i>	‘sell’	<i>jokara-lhin</i>	‘salesman’

### 2.3.4.4 Noun Quantifier + *-li*, *-ro*, *-ninon*, *-be*

The suffixes *-li* and *-ro* may be added to quantifiers in order to derive singular [+ male + human] nouns and singular [–male + human] or [–human] nouns, respectively. The suffixes *-ninon* (or *-non* if the word ends in a vowel) and *-be* may be added in order to derive plural [+ human] and plural [–human] nouns, respectively.<sup>24</sup>

(28)	<i>aba-ro</i>	‘one thing/female’
	<i>aba-li</i>	‘one male’
	<i>bian-ninon</i>	‘two people’
	<i>kabyn-be</i>	‘three things/females’
	<i>joho-non</i>	‘many people’

### 2.3.4.5 Verb + *-n*

Verbs may be nominalized with the suffix *-n*, yielding the equivalent of an English gerund or infinitive.

(29)	<i>osyn</i>	‘going/to go’
	<i>amyn</i>	‘having/to have’
	<i>simakyn</i>	‘calling/to call’
	<i>simakan</i>	‘yelling/to yell’

### 2.3.4.6 Verb + *-thi*, *-tho*, or *-sia*

The suffixes *-thi* or *-tho* (WH.SUBJ) may be added to event and stative verbs to create relative clauses. These suffixes function syntactically to indicate that the subject of the verb to which they are attached has been relativized. The suffix *-thi* is used for [+ male + human] subjects, and *-tho* is used for [–male + human] or [–human] subjects. (Number is insignificant.)

(30) a.	<i>li</i>	<i>wadili</i>	[ $\emptyset$ <i>dia-thi</i>	<i>jon</i> ] ...
	the	man	[ $\emptyset$ speak-WH.SUBJ	there ]
			‘the man who spoke there...’	
b.	<i>to</i>	<i>hiaro</i>	[ $\emptyset$ <i>soko-tho-fa</i>	<i>ada</i> ] ...
	the	woman	[ $\emptyset$ chop-WH.SUBJ-FUT	wood ]
			‘the woman who will chop the wood...’	

<sup>23</sup>See Section 2.4.1.1 for a discussion of stem forms of event verbs.

<sup>24</sup>These latter two suffixes are also noun pluralizers. See Section 2.3.3.3 for a discussion of number in noun.

- c. *aba* [ *firo-tho*                     $\emptyset$  ]    *kabadaro* ...  
 one [ be.big-WH.SUBJ     $\emptyset$  ]    jaguar  
 ‘a big jaguar (or, a jaguar which is big)’

The relative clauses formed by the addition of these suffixes (*-thi* and *-tho*) sometimes occur as free relative clauses.<sup>25</sup> When a free relative clause consists of a single word, it takes on the character of a noun, where the noun expresses the subject (not necessarily the agent) of the verb.

- |                      |                |                    |              |
|----------------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------|
| (31) <i>malhitan</i> | ‘to create’    | <i>malhita-thi</i> | ‘creator’    |
| <i>kakyn</i>         | ‘to live’      | <i>kaky-tho</i>    | ‘woman’      |
| <i>dian</i>          | ‘to speak’     | <i>dia-thi</i>     | ‘speaker’    |
| <i>ajomyn</i>        | ‘to be high’   | <i>ajomyn-thi</i>  | ‘God’        |
| <i>hehen</i>         | ‘to be yellow’ | <i>hehe-thi</i>    | ‘yellow one’ |

There seems to be an on-going process in the language whereby short, free relative clauses such as the above become conventionalized and, apparently, are added to the lexicon as nouns. When this happens, it becomes possible to pluralize the resulting noun with the noun pluralizing suffixes already mentioned.

- (32) *bian kaky-tho-be*  
 two live-WH.SUBJ-PL  
 ‘two women’

An extreme example of this process may be many of the Arawak kinship terms. Most of the [–male] Arawak kinship terms end with *-tho* and most of the [+male] ones end with *-thi*, yet no speaker today is able to give meanings for the root forms. The following is but a small sample:<sup>26</sup>

- |                    |                                  |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| (33) <i>da-thi</i> | ‘my father’                      |
| <i>d-aithi</i>     | ‘my son’                         |
| <i>da-(e)rethi</i> | ‘my husband’                     |
| <i>da-(e)retho</i> | ‘my wife’                        |
| <i>d-okithi</i>    | ‘my(=elder bro) younger brother’ |
| <i>d-okitho</i>    | ‘my(=elder sis) younger sister’  |
| <i>da-bokithi</i>  | ‘my(=younger bro) older brother’ |

In addition to the subject-relativizing suffixes (*-thi* and *-tho*), Arawak also has a suffix which indicates a relativized direct object: *-sia* ‘WH.OBJ’. Since relativizing the object still leaves the subject of a clause in place, the *-sia* suffix does not occur in single-word free relative clauses. Nevertheless, it does enter into the derivation of some nouns:

- |                  |            |                |            |
|------------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| (34) <i>khin</i> | ‘to eat’   | <i>khesia</i>  | ‘food’     |
| <i>(y)thyn</i>   | ‘to drink’ | <i>ythysia</i> | ‘beverage’ |

In spite of the fact that many nouns are transparently combinations of verbs with one of the above relativization suffixes, these suffixes are relativizers and not nominalizers. They

<sup>25</sup>See Section 4.2 for a the discussion of free relative clauses.

<sup>26</sup>See also Hickerson (1953), van Renselaar and Voorhoeve (1962), and de Goeje (1928).

form relative clauses, and only some of these relative clauses have become conventionalized sufficiently to be used as lexical nouns. For example, although *ythysia* means ‘beverage’, adding *-sia* to *sikin* ‘to give’ does not yield \**sikisia* ‘gift’.

### 2.3.4.7 Complex Derived Nouns

Not all derived nouns are simple. Many nouns go through a number of steps before reaching their final forms. For example, the attributive prefix *ka-* ‘to have, to be’ may be added to the noun *sikoa* ‘house’ to derive from it a stative verb *kasikoa* meaning ‘to be with house’. This word can, in turn, receive the nominalizing suffix *-li* ‘he who’ to yield the word *kasikoali* ‘he who is with house’ (i.e. ‘owner’). Similarly, the verb *ythyn* ‘to drink’ can receive the object-relativizing suffix *-sia*, yielding *ythysia* ‘that which is drunk, beverage’. This derived noun can then receive *ka-* ‘attributive’, giving *kathysia* ‘to be with drink’, and can then receive the human nominalizer *-non*, giving *kathysianon* ‘they who are with drink’ (i.e. ‘mildly drunk people’).

## 2.4 Verbs

Arawak verbs may be divided into two large classes based on their semantics and the structures in which they occur: event verbs and stative (or non-event) verbs. This latter group consists primarily of words expressing concepts which, in English, would be expressed by adjectives.

(35) a. Event Verb:

<i>Lirabo</i>	<i>soko-fa</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>ada.</i>
he.there	chop-FUT	the	tree
‘That man over there will chop the tree.’			

b. Stative verb:

<i>Fonasia-ka</i>	<i>no.</i>
be.hungry-PERF	she
‘She is hungry.’	

In addition to the verbs in the two major verb classes, Arawak has a copular verb and a semantically empty dummy verb which functions somewhat like AUX in English.<sup>27</sup>

### 2.4.1 Event Verbs

Event verbs in Arawak are those words which indicate that some event is, was, or will be happening. They indicate a physical or mental process or action and are found in Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) and Subject-Verb (SV) sentences.

#### 2.4.1.1 Event Verb Stem Forms

Almost all event verbs have a “basic-stem” form and an “a-stem” form (so-named for the *a* in its final syllable). Semantically, these stem forms differ from each other with respect to aspect, and often also with respect to voice. Transitive verbs usually also

<sup>27</sup>See also Sections 2.4.3, 3.2.2, and 3.2.3.

have a third stem form, an “*oa*-stem,” which seems to be an agentless passive and also functions as a reflexive.<sup>28</sup>

#### 2.4.1.1.1 “Basic-stem” and “A-stem” Forms

The “basic-stem” forms of verbs all have an *e*, *i*, *o*, or *y* (but not<sup>29</sup> *a*) as the nucleus of their last syllable. They are here named “basic” because the specific vowel found in their last syllable is unpredictable and because they are the forms from which the other stem forms are derived. The “*a*-stem,” as its name implies, has an *a* as the nucleus of its final syllable. In most, if not all, cases it can be derived from the basic-stem form by replacing the vowel of the final syllable of a basic-stem with an *a*.

#### (36) a. Basic-stem Forms:

<i>osy-n</i>	go-SUB	‘to go’
<i>andy-n</i>	arrive-SUB	‘to arrive’
<i>morodo-n</i>	fly-SUB	‘to fly’
<i>dinamy-n</i>	stand.up-SUB	‘to stand up’

#### b. Corresponding A-stem Forms:

<i>osa-n</i>	wander-SUB	‘to wander around’
<i>anda-n</i>	touch-SUB	‘to touch or feel’
<i>moroda-n</i>	fly.around-SUB	‘to fly around’
<i>dinama-n</i>	pace.around-SUB	‘to pace up and down’

As can be seen in the preceding examples, the basic-stem and *a*-stem forms consistently differ in how they present the action of the verb: whether they present an action as what might be called “bounded” or “unbounded” in time. That is, the basic-stem forms view an action as happening at some specifiable point or range in time and as having a starting or ending point, or both. The *a*-stem forms, on the other hand, emphasize the action of the verb itself as an event with duration, and neither the start nor the terminus of the action seems to be in focus.

The preceding examples of the basic-stem and *a*-stem forms were all of intransitive verbs. However, transitive verbs also have these stem forms. For example, notice the following pairs of sentences:<sup>30</sup>

- (37) a. *Li fary-fa aba kabadaro.*  
 he kill-FUT one jaguar  
 ‘He will kill a jaguar.’

<sup>28</sup>This *oa*-stem seems to bear a certain resemblance to the Greek “middle” voice which also seems to have both a passive and a reflexive interpretation (see Lyons 1968:375ff). See also Taylor (1970a:210ff.) for further discussion of the three Arawak stem forms.

<sup>29</sup>A number of verbs at first appeared to have only *a*-stems. In most cases, further investigation yielded basic-stem forms not ending in *a*.

<sup>30</sup>These sentences are presented in the future tense because the phonological difference between the basic- and *a*-stem forms is most clearly seen in this tense. The tense suffixes in Arawak all also contain an aspect component in their meaning (see Chapter 5 on discourse). This interacts with the stem forms such that the difference between the stem forms is often neutralized (see discussion in following paragraphs).

- b. *Li fara-fa.*  
 he fight-FUT  
 ‘He will fight.’
- (36) a. *Thy-simaky-fa-i.*  
 she-call-FUT-him  
 ‘She will call him.’
- b. *Thy-simaka-fa.*  
 she-yell-FUT  
 ‘She will yell/scream.’
- (37) a. *Na-mithady-fa de.*  
 they-ridicule-FUT me  
 ‘They will ridicule me.’
- b. *Na-mithada-fa.*  
 they-laugh-FUT  
 ‘They will laugh.’
- (38) a. *To hiaro kanaby-fa to kodibio-be.*  
 the woman hear-FUT the bird-PL  
 ‘The woman will hear the birds.’
- b. *To hiaro kanaba-fa.*  
 the woman listen-FUT  
 ‘The woman will listen.’

As can be seen in the preceding sentences, the *a*-stems corresponding to transitive basic-stems are usually intransitive.<sup>31</sup> It is almost never acceptable to add a direct object to clauses with *a*-stems.

<sup>31</sup>There are some apparent exceptions to this, as is also noted by Taylor (1970:202). One is the potentially ditransitive verb *sikin* ‘to give/put’ which becomes just transitive.

*Da-siki-fa no thy-myn.*  
 I-give-FUT it her-to  
 ‘I will give it to her’

*Da-sika-fa no bahy-nro.*  
 I-bring/take-FUT her home-toward  
 ‘I will take her home.’

Other exceptions seem to occur in dummy verb sentences (see section 3.2.2).

*Ma-bolheidi-n d-a-ja-da no.*  
 PRIV-throw.away-SUB I-dummy-PAST.CONT-EPEN it  
 ‘I didn’t throw it away (particular act).’

*Ma-bolheida-n d-a d-anikho.*  
 PRIV-throw.away-SUB I-dummy my-belongings  
 ‘I didn’t go about throwing my things away.’

- (41) \**Li fara-fa to kabadaro.*  
 \*he fight-FUT the jaguar  
 \*‘He will fight with the jaguar.’

If the noun phrase corresponding to the direct object in the basic-stem form needs to be mentioned, it must usually be done in the form of a postpositional phrase. When this noun phrase is a co-participant in the action of the verb, the postposition *oma* ‘with (accompaniment)’ is used. When it is not a co-participant, usually *khonan* ‘about/on/of’ is used.

- (42) a. *Li fara-fa to kabadaro oma.*  
 he fight-FUT the jaguar with  
 ‘He will fight with the jaguar.’
- b. *Na-mithada-fa da-khonan.*  
 they-laugh-FUT me-about/on  
 ‘They will laugh about me.’
- c. *To hiaro kanaba-fa to kodibio-be khonan.*  
 the woman listen-FUT the bird-PL about/on  
 ‘The woman will listen to the birds.’

However, these postpositional phrases can be used with nearly any event verb, regardless of its stem type. They are not restricted to *a*-stem forms.

- (41) *Li fary-fa aba kabadaro de oma.*  
 he kill-FUT one jaguar me with  
 ‘He and I will kill a jaguar.’

This seems to indicate that the *a*-stems of transitive verbs are really intransitive.<sup>32</sup> The only mechanism available by which to add another NP into an *a*-stem clause is the same means by which one is added to other intransitive clauses—namely, by using it in a postpositional phrase.

As already mentioned, one of the characteristics of the *a*-stem is that the actions it expresses seem to be less bounded and more general. One additional characteristic is that the *a*-stem form of some basic-stem forms can take on an iterative meaning. This is particularly true of actions which cannot be easily viewed as stretched in time, such as ‘hit’.

- (42) a. *Thy-fatady-fa to kalhina adadyna abo.*  
 she-hit-FUT the chicken branch with  
 ‘She will hit the chicken with a branch.’

<sup>32</sup>If one accepts Foley and Van Valin’s language typology (1984:107ff.), Arawak is a Pragmatic-Pivot language. This can be demonstrated by the fact that the choice of which NP is the subject of a clause is not strictly determined by the semantic case role of that NP. The intransitivizing effect seen in *a*-stems then seems to be similar to Foley and Van Valin’s (pp.168ff.) notion of “backgrounding antipassives [which] put the undergoer outside the core” (p. 173). That is, just as a passive demotes the subject (usually agent) of a clause to a peripheral role, an antipassive demotes the object (usually undergoer). Although antipassives are often associated with ergative languages, Arawak is an accusative language. Nevertheless other accusative languages also have been shown to have antipassives (e.g. Foley and Van Valin mention (pp. 173ff.) Tzotzil).



- b. *Thy-fatada-fa to kalhina khonan adadyna abo.*  
 she-hit-FUT the chicken on/about branch with  
 ‘She will go about hitting the chicken with a branch.’

Although the meaning correspondence between basic-stem and *a*-stem forms is usually predictable, some *a*-stems differ considerably from their basic-stem counterparts.

- (45) *andyn* ‘to arrive’                      *andan* ‘to touch or feel’  
*thimin* ‘to swim’                              *thiman* ‘to cross’

#### 2.4.1.1.2 “Oa-stem” Forms: Passives and Reflexives

As its name implies, an “*oa*-stem” ends in *oa*. Verbs consisting of a single syllable derive this form by adding *-noa*. Verbs having two or more syllables in their stem may either replace the vowel of the final syllable with *-oa* or add *-noa*. No difference in meaning has been found between the *oa*-stem forms using *-noa* or *-oa*.<sup>33</sup> *Oa*-stems can be derived only from transitive verbs, and function in Arawak both as passives and as reflexives (or middles).

- (46) a. *Ly-farynoa-bo.*                      (from *faryn* ‘to kill’)  
 he-kill-CONT  
 ‘He is being killed / he is killing himself.’
- b. *Ly-fatadoa-bo.*                      (from *fatadyn* ‘to hit’)  
 he-hit-CONT  
 ‘He is being hit / he is hitting himself.’
- c. *Tho-bokonoa-bo.*                      (from *bokon* ‘to cook’)  
 she/it-boil-CONT  
 ‘It is being cooked / it is boiling.’
- d. *Da-sokoa.*                      (from *sokon* ‘to chop’)  
 I-chop  
 ‘I was chopped / chopped myself (e.g. cut myself with a machete or ax).’

In each of the above sentences, the NP which is subject would have been direct object if that sentence had had a basic-stem form verb.<sup>34</sup> This is very much like the English passive. For Arawak, however, the NP which would be in subject position if the clause had a basic-stem form verb is completely outside the picture, and cannot be brought back in except in a very indirect fashion. Thus in example (47b) below, *doma* ‘because’ conveys no specific information as to the semantic relationship (e.g. agent) between the NP with which it is associated and the verb of the sentence.

- (47) a. *Li fatada de.*  
 he hit me  
 ‘He hit me.’

<sup>33</sup>Forming the *oa*-stem with *-noa* does seem to be a bit more common in very explicit speech.

<sup>34</sup>This corresponds to Foley and van Valin’s (1984:149ff.) “foregrounding passive” which “permits non-actor arguments to occur as pivot [in this case subject] of a clause.”

- b. *Li doma da-fatadoa.*  
 him because I-got.hit  
 ‘Because of him I got hit.’ or  
 ‘Because of him I hit myself.’
- c. *Ly-dykhonoa.*  
 he-appear  
 ‘He appeared.’  
 ‘He was seen.’  
 \*‘He saw himself.’
- d. *Thy-kanaboa.*  
 she-get.heard  
 ‘she was heard.’  
 \*‘She heard herself.’

Although the passive interpretation is possible for all sentences with *oa*-stem forms, the reflexive one is not. For example, the *oa*-stem forms of *dykhyn* ‘to see’ (47c) and *kanabyn* ‘to hear’ (47d) have only the passive reading, and not the reflexive one. If the reflexive reading is desired, it can only be obtained by circumlocution or paraphrase.

- (48) a. *Ly-dykha l-yja.*  
 he-see his-image  
 ‘He saw himself.’
- b. *Thy-kanaba thy-kanakyn.*  
 she-hear her-sound  
 ‘She heard herself.’

The unavailability of the reflexive reading for sentences using *kanaboan* ‘to be heard’ and *dykoan* ‘to be seen’ seems to have to do with the fact that the direct objects of their basic-stem forms are not affected by the action of the verb. Semantically, the direct object of most transitive verbs is the recipient or patient<sup>35</sup> of the action of the verb. However, the direct object of ‘to hear’ or ‘to see’ does not participate in the action of the verb at all—either as patient or agent. In Grimes’ (1975) and Longacre’s (1976) terms, it has more the role of “range.” This non-involvement seems to preclude the reflexive reading when such noun phrases are made the subject of a sentence.

Arawak currently seems to be under pressure from surrounding languages to replace the use of *oa*-stems to express the reflexive. Many younger people do not use the *oa*-stem at all for the reflexive, but instead apply the suffix *-waja* ‘by.self’ or ‘alone’ to a direct object pronoun.

- (49) *Ly-soka ly-waja.*  
 he-chop him-self  
 ‘He chopped himself (e.g. with a machete).’

This use of *waja* to create a reflexive pronoun follows the pattern of Dutch, the national language of Suriname, and also the pattern of Sranan Tongo, a creole language almost all Arawaks in Suriname know and use daily. However, older speakers totally reject reflexive constructions of this sort. They insist the above sentence means:

<sup>35</sup>Grimes (1975:116ff.); Longacre (1976:28).

(50) 'He is chopping by himself (i.e. he is chopping open a new planting ground by himself).'

#### 2.4.1.1.3 Interactions of Stem Forms and Tense/Aspect Suffixes

The morphological differences between the three stem forms of event verbs is not manifested in many of their occurrences. In particular, the difference between the basic and *a*-stem forms is manifested only when the stem immediately precedes the following suffixes:<sup>36</sup> *-n* 'SUB', *-thi* 'WH.SUBJ', *-tho* 'WH.SUBJ', *-sia* 'WH.OBJ', *-fa* 'FUT', and *-(n)bia* 'INCH'. In all other circumstances, the basic-stem form also appears with an *a*. For example, the morphological difference between *simakyn* 'to call (someone)' and *simakan* 'to yell or cry out' is lost when the present continuative suffix *-bo* is added. Thus one finds:

- (51) a. *Da-simaka-bo no.*  
 I-call-CONT her  
 'I am calling her.'
- b. *Da-simaka-bo.*  
 I-yell-CONT  
 'I am yelling.'

Here the difference between "yell" and "call" must be obtained from the context—in this case, the presence of an object (which is obligatory for transitive verbs).

Similarly, the difference between the *a*-stem form and the *oa*-stem form is lost preceding the future suffix *-fa* (*-ha* in some dialects). Thus, *tho-boko-fa* in isolation can mean either 'she will cook (i.e. make a meal)' or 'it will boil'. Context, however, can disambiguate the meanings:

- (52) *Tho-boko-fa to khotaha khonan.*  
 she-cook-FUT the meat about/on  
 'She will cook a meal of meat'.

#### 2.4.1.2 Event Verb Classes

Event verbs can be divided into two major subclasses: transitive verbs and intransitive verbs. Transitive verbs have obligatory surface objects when they are used in clauses, while intransitive ones do not.<sup>37</sup> Thus, *andyn* 'to arrive' is an intransitive verb, while *kanabyn* 'to hear' is transitive. There are also verbs such as 'give', which seem to be ditransitive (i.e. they can have a direct and an indirect object). The indirect object of such a verb is optional in surface structure. If it is expressed, it is in the form of a benefactive postpositional phrase with the postposition *myn*.

- (53) a. *Da-siki-fa no.*  
 I-give-FUT it  
 'I will give it (away).'
- b. *Da-siki-fa no ly-myn.*  
 I-give-FUT it him-BEN  
 'I will give it to him.'

<sup>36</sup>See Section 2.4.1.3 for a discussion of event verb suffixes.

<sup>37</sup>Sentence syntax is discussed in Chapter 3.

The benefactive phrase of a ditransitive verb is somehow more central to the meaning of the sentence than a benefactive that can occur with other verbs.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, the more usual benefactive phrase can co-occur with the indirect object one. When this happens, the benefactive phrase which is not the indirect object follows the indirect object one:

(54) a. Transitive verb with benefactive:

*Da-soka to ada ly-myn.*  
 I-chop the tree him-BEN  
 'I chopped the tree for him.'

b. Ditransitive with indirect object and benefactive:

*Da-siki-fa no ly-myn by-myn.*  
 I-give-FUT it him-BEN you-BEN  
 'I will give it to him for you'

### 2.4.1.3 Event Verb Structure

The total Arawak event verb word is composed of the verb stem (either simple or derived) and its affixes. There is one prefix position preceding the stem, and there are eight suffix positions following it. The affixes and their order relative to the verb stem may be found in Figure 7. Numbers represent position classes. A negative numbered class is a prefix; positive ones are suffixes. Absolute value indicates distance from stem. Affixes in the same order class cannot co-occur. Other co-occurrence restrictions are discussed in the text.

-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7	+8
pron	stem	<i>-n</i> SUB	<i>-thi</i> WH.S	<i>-ra</i> EXPECT	<i>-ma</i> HABIL	<i>-bo</i> CONT	<i>-ba</i> AWAY	<i>-the</i> COME	pron
			<i>-tho</i> WH.S	<i>-na</i> UNEXP	<i>-thi</i> DESID	<i>-ka</i> PERF			
			<i>-sia</i> WH.O		<i>-li</i> NESS	<i>-fa</i> FUT			
						<i>-ja</i> PAST.CONT			
						<i>-(n)bia</i> INCH			
						$\emptyset$ PAST			

Figure 7. Event Verb Structure

<sup>38</sup>See Section 4.4.4.2 for a discussion of relativization where postposition stranding facts seem to indicate the indirect object is also syntactically more closely bound to the verb than other benefactive postpositional phrases.

At the peripheries of the event verb word (order classes –1 and +8) are the personal pronoun prefixes and suffixes which were previously discussed. A morphologically bound pronoun occurring in position –1 of an event verb is the subject of that verb; one occurring in position +8 is the direct object (of course intransitive verbs cannot take a direct object).<sup>39</sup> Order classes +1 to +7 consist of various aspect, mood, and directional suffixes. A brief discussion of each order class and the suffixes in it follows.

#### 2.4.1.3.1 Subordinator (Class +1)

In the first position, +1, following the stem, only the suffix *-n* occurs. It is the subordinating morpheme (SUB), used whenever a verb is in a subordinate clause, and can co-occur with any of the other suffixes. For example:

- (55) *To d-osy-n-bo jon, abali anda-the ...*  
 the I-go-SUB-CONT there one.man arrive-COME  
 ‘Concerning what happened while I was going there, a man arrived ...’

The suffix *-n*, if it is the only affix on a verb, yields the verb’s citation form—that is, the form used by Arawaks to talk about a particular verb. It is roughly equivalent to an English gerund or infinitive. For example:

- (56) *andy-n* ‘to arrive/arriving’  
*anda-n* ‘to touch/touching’  
*osy-n* ‘to go/going’  
*salabady-n* ‘to make a square post from a log’

#### 2.4.1.3.2 Relativizers (Class +2)

The second position after the verb stem consists of three relativizing suffixes *-thi*, *-tho*, and *-sia*, one of which must be used whenever an event verb’s subject or direct object has been relativized.

- (57) a. *-thi* ‘WH.SUBJ’ (relativized [+human +male] subject):  
*Li wadili [Ø dykha-THI-bo d-arakabosan khonan] andy-fa th-abo mothi.*  
 The man [Ø look.after-WH.SUBJ-CONT my-gun on] arrive-FUT it-with tomorrow  
 ‘The man who is looking after my gun will arrive with it tomorrow.’
- b. *-tho* ‘WH.SUBJ’ (relativized [+human –male] or [–human] subject)  
*Da-wada-bo to pero [Ø rydy-THO de].*  
 I-search-CONT the dog [Ø bite-WH.SUBJ me]  
 ‘I am looking for the dog that bit me.’
- c. *-sia* ‘WH.OBJ’ (relativized direct object)  
*D-othika to kharasy-n [by-mikodo-SIA Ø da-myn.]*  
 I-receive the write-SUB [you-send-WH.OBJ Ø me-BEN]  
 ‘I received the writing (= letter) you sent me.’

<sup>39</sup>See Section 2.3.1 for further discussion on pronouns.

The relativization suffixes are discussed in some detail in other sections of this study (see Chapter 4 on relative clauses), and consequently are not dealt with further here.

#### 2.4.1.3.3 Expectation (Class +3)

The third order position after the stem consists of two suffixes having to do with expectancy:

- (58) *-ra* ‘EXPECT’ (expected action or result)  
*-na* ‘UNEXP’ (unexpected action or result)

The suffix *-ra* added to the verb indicates that the action or event described is somehow expected because of the preceding linguistic context or the situational context. Thus, a man who had previously asked if he could go to a party with a neighbor meets that neighbor again when that neighbor stops by to pick him up. The neighbor asks the man whether he is going to the party, and the man answers:

- (59) *D-osy-ra-fa*.  
 I-go-EXPECT-FUT  
 ‘(Of course) I will go’.

The suffix *-na* is the opposite of *-ra*. It indicates that the action or event is unexpected. Thus, in a story about playing with an unexploded bomb that later explodes, the story teller says:

- (60) *W-etha-na kho oda-ha khona to wa-birabirady-n-bo*.  
 we-know-UNEXP not dead-NGEN on the we-play.around-SUB-CONT  
 ‘We didn’t know (but should have) we were playing around with death.’

#### 2.4.1.3.4 Modality (Class +4)

The fourth order class after the stem consists of three suffixes which have to do with desire, potentiality or ability, and necessity:

- (61) *-ma* ‘HABIL’ habilitative  
*-thi* ‘DESID’ desiderative  
*-li* ‘NESS’ necessitative

The suffix *-ma* ‘habilitative’ is used to express potentiality in the sense of either ability or permission. Thus,

- (62) *Tho-khota-ma no*.  
 she-eat-HABIL it  
 ‘She can eat it.’

is similar to its English gloss and can mean either ‘she is able to eat it’ or ‘she is allowed to eat it’. In contexts where the distinction between the two is important and only the ‘ability’ interpretation is desired, the verb *wadilin* ‘to be able to’ is used.

The suffix *-thi* ‘desiderative’ indicates desire or intention.

- (63) *B-osa-thi-ka.*  
 you-go-DESID-PERF  
 ‘Do you want/intend to go?’

This suffix is never found without one of the tense/aspect suffixes in the next order class.

The suffix *-li* ‘necessitative’ indicates obligation or necessity. This suffix not only does not co-occur with the habilitative or desiderative suffixes but also does not co-occur with the tense/aspect suffixes of the next class, +5. This may be because the meaning of this suffix seems to have a temporally forward-looking component.

- (64) *By-malikhotoa-li no.*  
 you-learn-NESS it  
 ‘You should learn it.’

The suffix *-li* leaves some doubt as to the outcome of the situation. If certainty of the outcome (as in the English ‘must’) needs to be expressed, the future suffix *-fa* must be used (see the discussion below).

#### 2.4.1.3.5 Tense/Aspect (Class +5)

The fifth position after the stem consists of five tense/aspect suffixes. In addition, the absence of all of these suffixes has its own meaning, normally past. However, the past tense interpretation, when none of the five tense/aspect suffixes is present, does not occur when *-li* ‘necessitative’ or *-ma* ‘habilitative’ are present.

- |                 |             |                      |
|-----------------|-------------|----------------------|
| (65) <i>-bo</i> | ‘CONT’      | present continuative |
| <i>-ka</i>      | ‘PERF’      | perfect              |
| <i>-fa</i>      | ‘FUT’       | future               |
| <i>-ja</i>      | ‘PAST.CONT’ | past continuative    |
| <i>-bia</i>     | ‘INCH’      | inchoative           |
| <i>-∅</i>       | ‘PAST’      | simple past          |

The suffixes in this class are analyzed in more detail in Chapter 5 and consequently are dealt with only briefly here. The meanings in (65) for the suffixes apply to their use in isolated utterances. They all represent combinations of tense and aspect, and the tense component of their meanings is actually what Comrie (1985) calls “relative tense” (see Chapter 5). This implies that their temporal reference is affected by the discourse context in which they are found.

The suffix *-bo* ‘present continuative’ indicates a continuing or progressing action—normally in the present.

- (66) a. *Ama b-ani-bo?*  
 what you-do-CONT  
 ‘What are you doing?’
- b. *Ly-dalhida-ra-bo-the.*  
 he-run-EXPECT-CONT-BACK  
 ‘He is running back (of course).’

The suffix *-ka* ‘perfect’ is used to indicate a completed action where the effects of that action extend into the present. For example, if one says

- (67) *Da-sokosa-ka.*  
I-wash.clothes-PERF  
‘I have washed the clothes.’

then the clothes have been washed and are now clean. Similarly, the question

- (68) *By-ka-ka?*  
you-bathe-PERF  
‘Did you bathe?’ or ‘Have you bathed?’

not only asks whether a bath has been taken, but also asks whether its effects are still present. Thus the question could not be answered in the affirmative if one has bathed but is now dirty again.

The future suffix *-fa* (*-ha* in some dialects) generally indicates future certainty.

- (69) a. *L-osy-fa.*  
he-go-FUT  
‘He will go.’  
  
b. *Lo-khota-thi-fa.*  
he-eat-DESID-FUT  
‘He will want to eat.’

When this suffix is used in an imperative sentence,<sup>40</sup> it is best translated by the English word ‘must.’

- (70) *B-osy-fa!*  
you-go-FUT  
‘You must go!’

The suffix *-ja* ‘past continuative’ is used to express events which had a duration in the past. The action expressed by the verb is not on-going in the present and the hearer does not know if the event ran to completion.

- (71) *Tho-boka-ja.*  
she-cook-PAST.CONT  
‘She was cooking (a meal).’

The suffix *-(n)bia* ‘inchoative’ generally indicates that a change of state has begun or will begin.

- (72) *To ada iwi bikhidi-nbia.*  
the tree fruit grow-INCH  
‘The fruit is ripening.’

<sup>40</sup>Imperative sentences can occur only with second-person singular and plural subjects, and with first-person plural ones. They are distinguished from corresponding indicative sentences solely by their intonation.



This suffix is also used where ‘in order to’ would be used in English.

- (73) *Li-sika-bo*      *to*      *polata da-myn*      *da-jonta-bia*      *amathali*      *ly-myn*.  
 he-give-CONT    the      money me-BEN    I-buy-INCH    something    him-BEN  
 ‘He gave me the money to buy something for him.’

When the inchoative is added to the basic-stem form of a verb, which is the case in example (72), it always has the form *-nbia*. When it is used on an *a*-stem, as in (73), the *n* is often dropped, and the suffix is just *-bia*. The precise explanation for the dropping of the *n* has not been determined.

If a verb in an isolated utterance does not have one of the five aspect/tense suffixes mentioned in this section, nor *-li* ‘necessitative’ nor *-ma* ‘habilitative’, it is always taken to be equivalent to the simple past tense.

- (74) a. *D-osa*.  
 I-go  
 ‘I went.’
- b. *Da-fara*      *aba*      *dodole*.  
 I-kill      one      peccary.  
 ‘I killed a peccary.’
- c. *Miaka*      *d-osa*      *forto-nro*.  
 yesterday    I-go      town-to  
 ‘Yesterday I went to town.’

As might be expected if the lack of a tense/aspect suffix is a “significant zero” with a past tense meaning, this  $\emptyset$  is unacceptable with a future time adverbial.

- (75) \**Mothi*      *d-osa*      *forto-nro*.  
 \**tomorrow*    *I-go*      *town-to*  
 \*‘Tomorrow I went to town.’

#### 2.4.1.3.6 Directionals (Classes +6 and +7)

The sixth and seventh order positions after the stem consist of two directional suffixes:

- (76) *-ba*      ‘AWAY’      (motion away, going)  
*-the*      ‘BACK’      (motion back, coming)

The suffix *-ba* (in the +6 position) indicates that the action of the verb involves physical or psychological motion away from the speaker’s reference point (i.e. away from the speaker at the moment of the utterance, or away from his habitual place or state, or away from where he should be). Thus,

- (77) *L-osa-ba*  
 he-go-AWAY  
 ‘He went away.’

The suffix *-the* (in the +7 position) is the converse of the preceding suffix and therefore indicates physical or psychological motion toward the speaker's reference point:

- (78) *B-anda-li-the*                      *d-amyn*.  
 you-arrive-NESS-BACK me-by  
 'You must come to me (e.g. at my house).'

As might be inferred from the fact that the directional suffixes are listed in different order classes, these suffixes can co-occur, and when they co-occur, they do so in a specific order: *-ba-the*. Thus, it is possible to say:

- (79) *L-osa-ba-the*.  
 he-go-AWAY-BACK  
 'He went and came back.'

#### 2.4.1.4 Derived Event Verbs

In the following sections several ways of deriving event verb stems from various lexical classes are discussed.

##### 2.4.1.4.1 Causatives: Event Verb + *-kyty*

Causative event verb stems may be derived from event verbs with the causative (CAUS) suffix *-kyty* (where the first *y* becomes *o* if the vowel in the preceding syllable is *a*). These derived verbs are always transitive. When they are derived from originally transitive verbs, the causer of the action replaces the normal agent of the verb, and this original agent cannot be re-introduced into the sentence.

- (80) *wa-dylhydy-kyty-nbia*    *to*    *kojalha*  
 we-pull-CAUS-INCH    the    canoe  
 'in order that we cause/have the canoe to be pulled'

When the original verb is intransitive, the causative suffix introduces a new agent as subject, and the original agent becomes the object:<sup>41</sup>

- (81) *Ly-fara-kota*    *no*.  
 he-fight-CAUS    it  
 'He caused it to fight.'

##### 2.4.1.4.2 Stative Verb + *-ty*

Transitive event verb stems may be derived from some stative ones by the addition of the derivational suffix *-ty* (where the *y* is subject to the stem derivations given previously in 2.4.1.1):

<sup>41</sup>This example also illustrates the fact that the stem formed by the addition of the causative suffix (to either a basic-stem or a-stem can in turn be used to derive an a-stem form by replacing the final vowel of the complex with *a*. No examples have been found where *-kyty* was added to an *oa*-stem.

- (82) a. *D-alekhebe-ty-fa*                      *no.*  
 I-be.happy-verbalizer-FUT      her  
 ‘I will cheer her up.’
- b. *Da-there-ta*                      *no.*  
 I-be.hot-verbalizer      it  
 ‘I heated it.’
- c. *Da-there-toa-bo.*  
 I-hot-verbalizer.pass/refl-CONT  
 ‘I am warming (myself) up.’ or  
 ‘I am getting warm.’

#### 2.4.1.4.3 Noun + *-da*

Intransitive event verbs may be derived from many nouns with the suffix *-da*:

- (83) a. *Da-bode-da-bo.*  
 I-fishhook-verbalizer-CONT  
 ‘I am fishing (with a line and hook).’
- b. *L-itotolhi-da-bo.*  
 he-nail-verbalizer-CONT  
 ‘He is nailing.’

These constructions are very similar to English ones such as:

- (84) a. He is hammering.  
 b. He is building.

#### 2.4.2 Stative Verbs

Stative verbs are the second large class of verbs in Arawak. Unlike Arawak event verbs, stative verbs connote a state of being or an attribute of the subject. They never involve physical motion, or physical or mental activities. Syntactically, they are clearly distinct from event verbs. Whereas event verbs occur in SVO and SV sentences, stative verbs occur in VS sentences.<sup>42</sup>

- (85) a. *Seme-ka*              *to*      *kasiri.*  
 sweet-PERF      the      cassava.beer  
 ‘The cassava beer is sweet (unfermented).’

<sup>42</sup>The syntax of stative sentences is discussed in sections dealing with stative clauses (3.2.3). Also discussed there is some evidence for assuming that the noun phrase following the stative verb is truly the subject of the sentence. This evidence rests in part on the observation that the subject-relativization suffixes *-thi* and *-tho* appear when such a noun phrase is relativized.

- b. *Fonasia-ka de.*  
 hungry-PERF I  
 'I am hungry.'

Almost all words which are non-derived stative verbs in Arawak would, in English, tend to be adjectives. For example, note the words in the following list:<sup>43</sup>

(86) <i>sa-n</i>	be.good-SUB	'to be good'
<i>hehe-n</i>	be.yellow-SUB	'to be yellow'
<i>firo-n</i>	be.big-SUB	'to be big'
<i>mimi-n</i>	be.cold-SUB	'to be cold'
<i>nykamy-n</i>	be.sad-SUB	'to be sad'
<i>thonolisia-n</i>	have.a.cold-SUB	'to have a cold'
<i>kawa-n</i>	be.absent-SUB	'to be absent'
<i>alokosia-n</i>	be.thirsty-SUB	'to be thirsty'

However, in Arawak, these words cannot be used as noun modifiers in a noun phrase unless they receive one of the subject-relativizing suffixes (see Section 3.1 on noun phrase structure).

- (87) a. \**aba sioko kakosiro*  
 \*one small deer  
 \*'a small deer'

- b. *aba sioko-tho kakosiro*  
 one small-WH.SUBJ deer  
 'a small deer'

- (88) a. \**aba somole wadili*  
 \*one drunken man  
 \*'a drunk man'

- b. *aba somole-thi wadili*  
 one drunken-WH.SUBJ man  
 'a drunk man'

### 2.4.2.1 Stative Verb Structure

Stative verbs are less richly inflected than event verbs. In particular, stative verbs cannot receive modality or directional suffixes. This may be because these notions seem to apply to events and are therefore semantically incompatible with stative verbs. One other difference between stative verbs and event verbs is that, because they occur in Verb-Subject sentences, stative verbs cannot receive pronoun prefixes,<sup>44</sup> and the pronoun suffixes which occur on them correspond to subjects rather than objects.

<sup>43</sup>As was the case with event verbs, the citation forms for stative verbs receive the subordinating or nominalizing suffix *-n*.

<sup>44</sup>Pronoun prefixes and suffixes always occur in the same position relative to the verb that their corresponding morphologically free forms do.

- (89) a. *Tabysia-ka-i*.  
 sleepy-PERF-he  
 'He is sleepy.'
- b. *Bora-ka-n*.  
 sour-PERF-it  
 'It is sour.'

Other than these differences, the structure of a stative verb word is the same as an event verb word. Specific affixes and their ordering may be found in Figure 8. Affixes in the same order class cannot co-occur.

0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
stem	<i>-n</i>	<i>-thi</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-bo</i>	pron
	SUB	WH.SUBJ	EXPECT	CONT	
		<i>-tho</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-ka</i>	
		WH.SUBJ	UNEXP	PERF	
				<i>-ja</i>	
				PAST.CONT	
				<i>-fa</i>	
				FUT	
				<i>-(n)bia</i>	
				INCH	
				$\emptyset$	
				PAST	

Figure 8. Stative Verb Structure

The meanings of the verb affixes when they are applied to stative verbs are much the same as their meanings when applied to event verbs (see Figure 7). There are some subtle differences due to the interactions between the tense and aspect components of the suffixes and the semantics of stative verbs. These differences are discussed in Chapter 5.

(90) <i>-n</i>	'SUB'	subordinate
<i>-thi</i>	'WH.SUBJ'	male subject relativizer
<i>-tho</i>	'WH.SUBJ'	non-male subject relativizer
<i>-ra</i>	'EXPECT'	expected state
<i>-na</i>	'UNEXP'	unexpected state
<i>-bo</i>	'CONT'	present state which is intensifying or has duration
<i>-ka</i>	'PERF'	present state
<i>-fa</i>	'FUT'	future state
<i>-ja</i>	'PAST.CONT'	past state with duration
<i>-(n)bia</i>	'INCH'	an inceptive state
$\emptyset$	'PAST'	past state

Some examples of clauses with stative verbs using some of the various affixes are as follows:

- (91) a. *Nykamy-ka-i.*  
sad-PERF-he  
'He is sad.'
- b. *Hebe-fa-n.*  
full-FUT-it  
'It will be full.'
- c. *Hebe-bo to keke.*  
full-CONT the basket  
'The basket is now full and getting fuller.'
- d. *Hebe-bia no.*  
full-INCH it  
'It is becoming full.' or 'It will become full.'
- e. *Hebe-ra-fa no.*  
full-EXPECT-FUT it  
'The basket will be full, of course.'
- f. *Fonasia-Ø de.*  
hungry-PAST I  
'I was hungry.'

#### 2.4.2.2 Derived Stative Verbs

There are several means by which stative verbs may be derived from words in other lexical classes.

##### 2.4.2.2.1 Noun + *ka-* or *ma-*

Stative verb stems can be derived from simple or derived nouns with the attributive prefixes *ka-* 'attributive (to have or be)' and *ma-* 'privative (to not have or not be)'. The stative verb which results can then receive any of the suffixes normally associated with stative verbs.

- (92) a. *ka-sikoa-n*  
ATTR-house-SUB  
'to have a house' (i.e. opposite of houseless)'
- b. *Ka-balha-ka-i.*  
ATTR-hair-PERF-he  
'He is hairy.'
- c. *Ma-balha-ka no.*  
PRIV-hair-PERF she  
'She is hairless/bald.'

- d. *ka-polata-n*  
ATTR-money-SUB  
'to be rich'

#### 2.4.2.2.2 Postpositions as Stative Verbs

Arawak postpositions may be used as two-argument stative verbs.<sup>45</sup>

- (93) a. *Bahy loko-ka no.*  
house in-PERF it  
'It is in the house.'
- b. *Hala diako-fa-i*  
bench on-FUT-he  
'He will be on the bench.'

Unlike other stative verbs, however, for a postposition to occur as the main verb of a stative sentence, it must receive one of the stative tense/aspect suffixes.

- (94) \**Bahy loko no.*  
\*house in it  
\*'It is in the house.'

When postpositions are used as the main verb of a sentence, the noun phrase preceding the postposition is its object, and the one following is the subject.<sup>46</sup>

#### 2.4.3 Other Verbs

There are two other verbs in Arawak which deserve special attention. One of these is a semantically empty verb *a* which I gloss as 'dummy'. The other is the copula *to* 'is', used in equative sentences.

##### 2.4.3.1 The Dummy Verb

The semantically empty dummy verb (i.e. pro-verb) in Arawak behaves in some ways like the English AUX.<sup>47</sup> It is found in sentences with preposed manner-adverbials or preposed verbs with the privative prefix *m(a)*- 'not be, not have.'

- (95) a. *Abare l-a simaka-n li d-orebithi.*  
suddenly he-dummy yell-SUB the my-brother.in.law  
'Suddenly my brother-in-law yelled.'

<sup>45</sup>See sections on postpositions (2.5), and discussions of stative verb structure (2.4.2.1) and postposition stranding (4.4.4.1, 4.4.4.2) for more details.

<sup>46</sup>See sections on stative sentence structure (3.2.3) and relativization of objects of postpositions (4.4.4.1, 4.4.4.2) in support of this claim.

<sup>47</sup>See the discussion on dummy verb sentences (3.2.2) where this topic is treated in detail.

- b. *M-andy-n*                      *l-a-bo*                      *akharoho.*  
 PRIV-arrive-SUB      he-dummy-CONT      now  
 ‘Isn’t he arriving now?’ or ‘He isn’t arriving now.’

As can be seen in the above examples, the dummy verb is the main verb of the sentence. It carries most of the verb affixes, and all other verbs in the sentence receive the subordination suffix *-n*.

The dummy verb behaves morphologically like an event verb, taking subject pronoun prefixes and event verb suffixes. Semantically, the sentences in which it is found relate events occurring at some specific time and place. Like other event verbs, it has two stem forms: *o* (basic-stem form), and *a* (*a*-stem form).

- (96) *M-osy-n*                      *th-o-fa*                      *forto-nro*                      *mothi.*  
 PRIV-go-SUB      she-dummy-FUT      town-to      tomorrow  
 ‘She isn’t going to town tomorrow.’ or ‘Isn’t she going to town tomorrow?’

### 2.4.3.2 The Copula

The second verb that needs to be mentioned is the copular verb *to* ‘to be’. It is used only in equative constructions connecting two noun phrases.<sup>48</sup>

- (97) a. *Ama*    *to*        *to*        *toho?*  
           what    is        the        this  
           ‘What is this?’
- b. *Toho*    *to*        *aba*        *kakosiro.*  
           this    is        one        deer  
           ‘This is a deer.’
- c. *Tora*    *hiaro*                      *to*        *da-retho.*  
           that    female                      is        my-wife  
           ‘That woman is my wife.’

Although the verb *to* ‘to be’ is identical in form to the definite article *to* ‘the’, the verb is not the same as the article. They can co-occur in the same sentence (see example 97a), and the verb does not change form according to the gender of the referents in the rest of the sentence, whereas the article does.

- (98) a. *Lira*    *wadili*                      *to*        *da-rethi.*  
           that    man                      is        my-husband  
           ‘That man is my husband.’
- b. *Li*    *da-rethi*                      *andy-fa*                      *mothi.*  
           the    my-husband    arrive-FUT      tomorrow  
           ‘My husband will arrive tomorrow.’

<sup>48</sup>See also sections on equative sentence structure (3.2.3.1).



The equative verb is sometimes, under as yet unknown circumstances, deleted; and similarly, the articles are sometimes deleted. This means that at times it is impossible to know for sure whether a particular *to* is an article or a verb. For example,

- (99) *Ama to toho?*  
 (what the/is this)  
 ‘What is this?’

## 2.5 Postpositions

Arawak postpositions represent a large class of words which function in most situations very similarly to English prepositions, except that they follow, rather than precede, their object NP.<sup>49</sup>

- (100) a. *Na-bina-bo to kasiri siko* LOKHODI.  
 they-dance-CONT the cassava.beer house in  
 ‘They are dancing in the cassava-beer house.’
- b. *To kodibio balyta ada dyna* DIAKO.  
 the bird sit tree arm on  
 ‘The bird sat on a branch.’
- c. *Kia BENA n-osa kaboja* NINRO.  
 that after they-go planting.ground to  
 ‘After that, they went to their planting ground.’

### 2.5.1 The Lexical Status of Postpositions

It is not entirely clear that postpositions should be considered as a separate lexical class apart from nouns or verbs. One possible alternative might be to assume that postpositions should be considered verbs—that is, locative stative verbs. This proposal is attractive because, in fact, locative postpositions<sup>50</sup> can serve as the main verb of a sentence if they are inflected with stative verb suffixes (see also sections on stative sentences 3.2.3).

- (101) a. *Ada dyna diako-ka no, to kodibio.*  
 tree arm on-PERF it the bird  
 ‘It, the bird, is on a branch.’
- b. *Tho-loko-ka no.*  
 it-in-PERF it  
 ‘It is in it (e.g. the cassava beer is in a gourd).’

However, unlike verbs, postpositions can occur without the subordinating morpheme *-n*, even when they are not the main verb of a sentence. For example, notice that neither of the postpositions in the following examples is subordinated (i.e. receives the suffix *-n*), whereas the word *moroda-n* ‘fly’ in the last example is subordinated, thus receiving the suffix *-n*.

<sup>49</sup>See also de Goeje (1928), Hickerson (1953), and Taylor (1970a and 1970b).

<sup>50</sup>This is not to say that only locative postpositions can be used as verbs; however, these are the only ones for which I have clear evidence.

(102) a. *Na-dykha to kama kalhao-bana diako.*  
 they-see the tapir grass-place on  
 ‘They saw the tapir on the savannah.’

b. *Ly-dykha to kodibio moroda-n ly-waria.*  
 he-saw the bird fly-SUB him-away.from  
 ‘He saw the bird fly away from him.’

Postpositions also differ from verbs in that they cannot easily be said in isolation. For example, although event verbs and stative verbs have citation forms (stem + SUB), there seems to be no citation form for postpositions.<sup>51</sup> This has led some (e.g. Hickerson 1953) to list all postpositions as suffixes.

Another alternative classification of postpositions is alluded to by Taylor (1970b:31)—to consider them nouns. Taylor points out that, in fact, there are several nouns which are homophonous, or nearly homophonous, with semantically similar postpositions. For example, he mentions:

(103)	<i>ly-sibo</i>	‘his face’	<i>ly-sibon</i>	‘in front of him’
	<i>da-khona</i>	‘my body’	<i>da-khonan</i>	‘about me’
	<i>da-dike</i>	‘my tracks’	<i>da-dike</i>	‘after me’

However, these correspondences are very sporadic; and in general, postpositions cannot be used as nouns, nor do they enter into the kinds of derivational processes other nouns do.

Although the arguments for or against treating postpositions as separate from verbs and nominals are not conclusive, postpositions are treated separately in the remainder of this study.

### 2.5.2 Kinds of Postpositions

Arawak postpositions may be roughly divided into several groups. The largest of these groups consists of postpositions having to do with locations. A smaller group consists of basically temporal postpositions. In addition, there is a group of postpositions with more specialized functions. Figure 9 gives a sampling.<sup>52</sup>

### 2.5.3 Abbreviations, Compounds, and Suffixes

Two of the locational postpositions in Figure 9, *nin* ‘at’ and *ninro* ‘toward’, can be phonologically reduced to *-n* and *-nro*, respectively, and often occur as suffixes<sup>53</sup> on nouns or on other postpositions.

(104) a.	<i>bahy nin</i>	<i>bahy-n</i>	‘at home’
	<i>kaboja nin</i>	<i>kaboja-n</i>	‘at the planting ground’

<sup>51</sup>Postposition stems are used in this study when referring to postpositions. Most Arawak speakers find this puzzling and prefer to add an appropriate pronoun prefix to them (e.g. *tho-loko* ‘in it’).

<sup>52</sup>See also the discussion of noun shape classes (2.3.3.4) regarding the use of the various Arawak postpositions corresponding to the English preposition ‘in’.

<sup>53</sup>That these are suffixes can be deduced from the fact that they cannot receive word stress, and they cannot receive pronoun prefixes as other postpositions can.

b. <i>bahy ninro</i>	<i>bahy-nro</i>	‘toward home’
<i>kaboja ninro</i>	<i>kaboja-nro</i>	‘to the planting ground’

Another of the locational postpositions, *waria* ‘away from’, can also be reduced (to *-aria*); but as a suffix, it only seems to occur as a directional on other postpositions (see below), not on nouns.

LOCATIONAL POSTPOSITIONS	
<i>abon</i>	‘under’
<i>amyn</i>	‘by, at’
<i>boloko</i>	‘at the side, end’
<i>diako</i>	‘on the surface of’
<i>dikhi</i>	‘behind, following’
<i>inabo</i>	‘behind, following’
<i>khiradi</i>	‘near, next to’
<i>khona</i>	‘on (not on top of)’
<i>koboroko</i>	‘among, in a living body’
<i>koloko</i>	‘in (fire, sunshine, etc.)’
<i>kosan</i>	‘next to’
<i>loko</i>	‘in (in a hollow or solid object)’
<i>maja, maria</i>	‘general vicinity, to the side of’
<i>makhana</i>	‘between’
<i>nakanrokon</i>	‘in the midst of’
<i>nin</i>	‘at (any location), belonging to’
<i>ninro</i>	‘toward’
<i>olaboan</i>	‘opposite side’
<i>rakon</i>	‘in (in a fluid)’
<i>rokon</i>	‘in (on the inside surface of)’
<i>waria</i>	‘away from’
TEMPORAL POSTPOSITIONS	
<i>beno</i>	‘after’
<i>bora</i>	‘before’
<i>kha</i>	‘while’
OTHER POSTPOSITIONS	
<i>abo</i>	‘with (instrumental)’
<i>adi</i>	‘greater than, above’
<i>doma</i>	‘because, on account of’
<i>farokha</i>	‘if’ (some dialects: <i>harokha</i> )
<i>khonan</i>	‘about, concerning’
<i>myn</i>	‘to, for (benefactive, IO)’
<i>oma</i>	‘with (accompaniment)’

Figure 9. Selected Arawak Postpositions

Most of the locational postpositions in Figure 9 are generally concerned with static situations. If motion is involved, they are combined with either *-nro* ‘toward’ (105c) or *-aria* ‘away from’ (105d). If the location is one in which an activity is occurring (i.e. an adverbial), the postposition receives the suffix *-di* ‘ADV’ (105b).<sup>54</sup> This means that, if one disregards their internal structure, most locational postpositions have four forms: the basic one and three others, with *-di*, *-nro*, and *-aria* (see Figure 10).

- (105) a. *Da-dykha no hala diako.*  
 I-see it bench on  
 ‘I saw it on a bench.’
- b. *Da-bina-bo hala diakho-di.*  
 I-dance-CONT bench on-ADV  
 ‘I am dancing on a bench.’
- c. *D-osa bahy loko-nro.*  
 I-go house in-to  
 ‘I went into the house.’
- d. *Da-dalhida bahy loko-aria.*  
 I-run house in-away.from  
 ‘I ran out of the house.’

STATIC	ACTION	MOTION TO	MOTION FROM
<i>loko</i> ‘in’	<i>lokhodi</i> ‘in’	<i>lokonro</i> ‘into’	<i>lokoaria</i> ‘out of’
<i>diako</i> ‘on’	<i>diakhodi</i> ‘on’	<i>diakonro</i> ‘onto’	<i>diakoaria</i> ‘off of’
<i>kosan</i> ‘next to’	<i>kosadi</i> ‘next to’	<i>kosanro</i> ‘toward’	<i>kosaria</i> ‘away from’

Figure 10. Forms of Locational Postpositions

The benefactive postposition *myn*<sup>55</sup> is used with any person or thing (other than the grammatical subject or object) which is a recipient or benefits from an action.<sup>56</sup> It is also used to indicate the indirect object of ditransitive verbs and may therefore occur more than once in a sentence.

- (106) *Bi-sika no tho-myn da-myn.*  
 you-give it her-BEN me-BEN  
 ‘Give it to her for me.’

In reporting direct quotations, the person being spoken to is also indicated with this postposition.

<sup>54</sup>Postpositions ending in *ko* change that *ko* to *kho* before *-di*.

<sup>55</sup>When pronoun prefixes are added to this postposition, the forms are sometimes contracted: *da-myn* becomes *dan* ‘for me’, *by-myn* becomes *bon* ‘for you’, *thy-myn* becomes *thon* ‘for her’, *ly-myn* becomes *lon* ‘for him’, and *wa-myn* becomes *wan* ‘for us’. I have not found contracted forms of *na-myn* ‘for them’ or *hy-myn* ‘for you-PL’.

<sup>56</sup>It cannot be used as a malefactive.

- (107) *"Ehe"*      *l-a*                      *tha*                      *da-myn.*  
 "Yes"          he-dummy              reportative          me-BEN  
 "Yes", he (said) to me.'

## 2.6 Functors

The label "Functors" is used here purely as a means of grouping together a number of small, miscellaneous lexical classes. This is a diverse group; and, syntactically, its members have in common only that they cannot take pronominal affixes (which verbs, nominals, and postpositions all can take). With the exception of the numbers, the functor classes are all closed.

### 2.6.1 Question Words and Relative Pronouns

Arawak has a number of question words, many of which also serve as relative pronouns.<sup>57</sup>

- (108) *ama*                              'what'  
*amabia*                              'why (for what purpose)'  
*amadoma*                              'why (what is the cause)'  
*(h)alika*                              'how'  
*(h)alikan*                              'who'  
*(h)alikadin*                              'in what manner exactly'  
*(h)alo(n), ano(n)*                              'where'  
*(h)alikha*                              'when'  
*fata*                                      'how many'

Both relative pronouns and question words occur at the left periphery of their clauses (see Chapter 4).

- (109) a. *Alo-nro*                              *b-osa-bo?*  
 where-toward              you-go-CONT  
 'Where are you going?'
- b. *Ama*      *b-ani-bo?*  
 what      you-do-CONT  
 'What are you doing?'
- c. *M-eithi-n*                              *d-a*                              *alo-nro*                              *d-osa-bo.*  
 PRIV-know-SUB      I-dummy              where-toward              I-go-CONT  
 'I don't know where I'm going to.'

### 2.6.2 Conjunctions

Arawak conjunctions consist of three words for 'and' and one word for 'or'. The most general form used for the coordinating conjunction 'and' is *ken*. It is used to join both independent clauses and constituents within clauses.

<sup>57</sup>It is possible to decompose these question words. For example, *amadoma* consists of *ama* 'what' plus the postposition *doma* 'because', and *amabia* consists of *ama* 'what' plus the inchoative suffix *-bia*. However, these combinations have become so conventionalized that they are, for all practical purposes, single lexemes.

- (110) a. *Ly-kanaba to firobero ken ly-dykha no dimana-n.*  
 he-hear the tapir and he-see it stand-SUB  
 ‘He heard the tapir and he saw it standing.’
- b. *De ken da-retho osy-fa.*  
 I and my-wife go-FUT  
 ‘I and my wife will go.’

Unlike *ken*, the conjunctions *mathi* ‘and/with’ and *matho* ‘and/with’ are used only to conjoin nominal constituents. *Mathi* is used when the constituent following it has the feature [+male] (see the discussion of gender features in Section 2.3.1.2), and *matho* is used when the following constituent is [–human] or [+human –male]. Both of these words are probably derived from *oma* ‘with’ plus the relativization suffixes *-thi* and *-tho* (see discussion of event verb suffixes in Section 2.4.1.3).

- (111) a. *De matho da-retho osy-fa.*  
 I and/with my-wife go-FUT  
 ‘My wife and I will go.’
- b. *Balhin da-retho mathi th-aihi osy-n foto-nro ...*  
 although my-wife and her-son go-SUB town-toward  
 ‘Although my wife and her son went to town ...’

*Manthan* ‘or’ may be used only to join clauses and usually precedes each of the clauses conjoined.

- (112) *Manthan l-osy-n manthan th-osy-n, kia kho d-eitha.*  
 or he-go-SUB or she-go-SUB, that not I-know  
 ‘Whether he or she is going, that I don’t know.’

### 2.6.3 Numerals

The traditional Arawak counting system in Suriname uses a combination of base-five, base-ten, and base-twenty numbers. The numbers one through four, *aba*, *bian*, *kabyn*, and *bithi*, are primitives. ‘Five’ (*a*)*badakhabo* is a combination of *aba* ‘one’ and *da-khabo* ‘my hand.’ ‘Six’ through ‘nine’ are built using the first four numbers plus *thian* (no known meaning). ‘Ten’ is *bian-da-khabo* ‘two-my-hand’.<sup>58</sup> ‘Twenty’ is *aba loko* ‘one man’. All other numbers are composed of combinations of these terms (see Figure 11). Although this counting system exists, it is used mostly for the numbers one through nineteen, at least in Suriname; the Dutch numbers are rapidly replacing the Arawak numbers for counting beyond nineteen.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup>De Goeje (1928:188) and Hickerson (1953:185) document another system for counting from ten to twenty using a morpheme *kotibana* meaning “on the surface of the foot” (which I assume is *kothi-bana* ‘foot-expanse’). None of the Arawaks I have questioned about this counting system have heard of it or accept it. It may be that this system is or was in use in Guyana.

<sup>59</sup>Older speakers take great delight in quizzing young people on whether they know how to count in Arawak. Most young people do not know the numbers above nineteen, and many do not know them above ten.

0	<i>amakho</i>	
1	<i>aba</i>	
2	<i>bian</i>	
3	<i>kabyn</i>	
4	<i>bithi</i>	
5	(a) <i>badakhabo</i>	( <i>aba-da-khabo</i> ‘one-my-hand’)
6	(a) <i>bathian</i>	
7	<i>bianthian</i>	
8	<i>kabynthian</i>	
9	<i>bithithian</i>	
10	<i>biandakhabo</i>	( <i>bian-da-khabo</i> ‘two-my-hand’)
11	<i>biandakhabo</i>	<i>diako abaro</i> (‘two-my-hand on one’)
14	<i>biandakhabo</i>	<i>diako bithi</i>
15	<i>biandakhabo</i>	<i>diako badakhabo</i>
19	<i>biandakhabo</i>	<i>diako bithithian</i>
20	<i>aba</i>	<i>loko</i> (‘one man’)
21	<i>aba</i>	<i>loko diako abaro</i> (‘one man on one’)
24	<i>aba</i>	<i>loko diako bithi</i>
25	<i>aba</i>	<i>loko diako abadakhabo</i>
29	<i>aba</i>	<i>loko diako bithithian</i>
30	<i>aba</i>	<i>loko diako biandakhabo</i>
31	<i>aba</i>	<i>loko diako biandakhabo diako abaro</i>
40	<i>bian</i>	<i>loko</i>
41	<i>bian</i>	<i>loko diako abaro</i>
50	<i>bian</i>	<i>loko diako biandakhabo</i>
99	<i>bithi</i>	<i>loko diako biandakhabo diako bithithian</i>
100	(a) <i>badakhabo</i>	<i>loko</i>

Figure 11. Arawak Numbers

#### 2.6.4 Adverbial and Tense Particles, and Time Words

Some of the more common adverbial particles in Arawak are as follows: *hibin* ‘already’, *hibibo* ‘almost’, and *koan* ‘still/yet’:

- (113) a. *B-osa-bo*                    *hibin?*  
           you-go-CONT            already  
           ‘Are you going already?’
- b. *Bo-khota-bo*            *koan?*  
           you-eat-CONT            still  
           ‘Are you still eating?’

There are several tense particles in Arawak, in addition to the tense/aspect affixes mentioned in the discussion of verb structure. These particles all establish times relative to the time of speaking; and therefore they seem to indicate absolute tense (Comrie 1985).<sup>60</sup>

- (114) *bi*                   ‘immediate past (the last 6 hours or so)’  
*bona*                   ‘intermediate past (two or three days ago)’  
*koba*                   ‘distant past (years ago)’

There are also a number of other time words available in the language. These, however seem to be more noun-like.

- (115) *wakhili*               ‘ancient times (time of forefathers)’  
*abahan*                   ‘once (past or future)’  
*(w)akharo*               ‘nowadays, at this moment’  
*ykha*                    ‘now’  
*tano*                    ‘today’  
*miaka*                  ‘yesterday’  
*miakaboan*              ‘day before yesterday’  
*mothi*                  ‘tomorrow’  
*motheboan*              ‘day after tomorrow’

The following example is the introductory sentence of a story, and illustrates the use of some of the above time words.

- (116) *Abahan koba, wakharo sabo kho to, d-osa da-koba-n soka-nro.*  
 once dist.past, nowadays more not is, I-go my-planting.ground-POSS chop-toward  
 ‘Once, a long time ago, I went to cut open my planting ground (i.e. cut down the  
 jungle trees to clear a field).’

<sup>60</sup>See also the discussion of tense and aspect in discourse (Chapter 5).



# Chapter 3

## Noun Phrase and Sentence Syntax

### 3.1 Noun Phrase Structure

Noun phrases serve as the subject or object of a clause, as the object of a postpositional phrase, or as appositives. Their structure (see Figure 12) consists of an optional determiner (DET), an optional quantifier phrase (QP), an optional possessor noun phrase (NP) or relative clause (S'), a head noun (N), and an optional relative clause (S').<sup>1</sup>

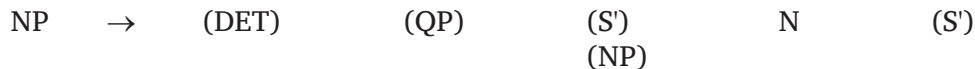


Figure 12. Arawak Noun Phrase Structure

Each of the constituents of the noun phrase is discussed in some detail below. The discussion on relative clauses here is limited to how they function as constituents of a noun phrase; fuller discussion of their internal structure is deferred to Chapter 4 which deals specifically with relative clauses.

#### 3.1.1 The Determiner

The determiner (DET) of the noun phrase may be an article or a demonstrative adjective. Its presence seems to be obligatory when mentioning any referent already introduced into the discourse. This means that for Arawak, determiners are even used with proper names.

- (117) a. *li falhetho*  
           the white.man
- b. *toho hiaro*  
           that woman

---

<sup>1</sup>Arawak does not seem to allow noun phrase complements equivalent to English “a story about John.” Such concepts in Arawak are expressed by a relative clause based on a postposition used as stative verb for example:

*aba diahy li Jan khonan-tho*  
 one story the John be.about-WH.SUBJ  
 ‘a story which is about John’

c. *li Wim*  
Bill

### 3.1.2 The Quantifier Phrase

A quantifier phrase (QP) may consist of a number or a phrase such as *minkho johon* ‘very many’. Only one quantifier phrase is allowed in a noun phrase.

(118) a. *to kabynthian kodibio*  
the thirteen bird  
‘the thirteen birds’

b. *minkho johon kodibio-be*  
very many bird-PL  
‘very many birds’

A quantifier phrase rarely co-occurs with a determiner. When it does, the noun phrase containing it is in a topicalized, sentence-initial position before the subject of the main clause, or is a subject or object appositive following the nucleus of the sentence. In both of these cases, a determiner is obligatory.

(119). *To na-dykha-n to kabadaro, na-dalhida bahy-nro, to bian da-mathia-be.*  
the they-see-SUB the jaguar they-run home-toward the two my-friend-PL  
‘Concerning their seeing the jaguar, they ran home, both of my friends.’

### 3.1.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

A single embedded noun phrase can precede the head noun of a noun phrase.<sup>2</sup>

(120) a. *to firobero yda*  
the tapir skin  
‘the tapir’s skin’

b. *to falhetho bejokha*  
the white.man musical.instrument  
‘the white man’s instrument (i.e. radio, record player, etc.)’

As might be inferred from the ‘tapir skin’ example (120a), when a noun phrase occurs before the head of the noun phrase, it is understood as the possessor of the head noun. Only one such possessive noun phrase can modify the head noun. If more than one noun phrase occurs, each is understood as the possessor of the following one.

(121) a. *to de lhyky-koana*  
the my cut-instrument  
‘my scissors’

<sup>2</sup>This embedded noun phrase may, however, be internally complex.

b. *to da-thi siko*  
 the my-father house  
 'my father's house'

c. *to da-thi siko lheroko*  
 the my-father house mouth.  
 'the door of my father's house'

### 3.1.4 Pre-Head Relative Clauses

Relative clauses<sup>3</sup> occurring immediately before the head of a noun phrase predicate something about that head. These relative clauses may be based on either stative or active verbs. As mentioned previously under the discussion of stative verbs (2.4.2), concepts which would be expressed with attributive adjectives in English are expressed with relative clauses in Arawak.

(122) a. *biandakhabo [kydy-tho] ada*  
 ten [heavy-WH.SUBJ] wood/tree  
 'ten heavy trees'

b. *aba [minkho wadi-tho] waboroko*  
 one [very wide-WH.SUBJ] road  
 'a very wide road'

c. *li [sioko-sabo-tho] ly-lykynthi*  
 the [small-more-WH.SUBJ] his-grandson  
 'his youngest grandson'

d. *bian [firo-tho] [kaima-tho] kabadaro*  
 two [big] [angry-WH.SUBJ] jaguar  
 'two big, angry jaguars'

(123) a. *to [da-dibaleda-sia] khota-ha*  
 the [I-roast-WH.OBJ] flesh-NGEN  
 'the meat I roasted'

b. *ne [dalhidi-thi] ibili-non*  
 the [run-WH.SUBJ] small-PL  
 'the running children'

Although more than one relative clause may occur before the head of a noun phrase, each must be of a different semantic type (e.g. size, color, weight). As is the case in English, there seems to be a usual order for the semantic categories expressed: size - weight - shape - color.

(124) a. *to [firo-tho] [kydy-tho] [wadi-tho] [hehe-tho] ori*  
 the [big-WH.SUBJ] [heavy-WH.SUBJ] [long-WH.SUBJ] [yellow-WH.SUBJ] snake  
 'the big heavy long yellow snake'

<sup>3</sup>In relative clauses, the verb is marked with *-tho* or *-thi* when its grammatical subject is relativized, and with *-sia* when its direct object is relativized. See Chapter 4 for further discussion of these and other relativized constituents.

- b. \**to* [hehe-*tho*] [firo-*tho*] *ori*  
 \*the [yellow-WH.SUBJ] [big-WH.SUBJ] snake  
 \*‘the yellow big snake’

There is a limit on the complexity of the relative clauses that may appear before the head of a noun phrase. The only constituents in these relative clauses that seem to be allowed, other than the verb with appropriate relativizing morphology, are morphologically bound subject prefixes and pre-verbal adverbial particles of extent, intensification, and negation. If any additional constituents such as objects or locatives are added to such a clause, it appears to become too “heavy” and is placed after the head.

- (125) *to* [da-dibaleda-*sia*] *khota-ha*  
 the [I-roast-WH.OBJ] meat-NGEN  
 ‘the meat I roasted’

- (126) a. \**to* [da-dibaleda-*sia ikhihi diako*] *khota-ha*  
 \*the [I-roast-WH.OBJ fire on] meat-NGEN  
 \*‘the meat I roasted over fire’

- b. *to khota-ha* [da-dibaleda-*sia ikhihi diako*]  
 the meat-NGEN [I-roast-WH.OBJ fire on]  
 ‘the meat I roasted over fire’

- (127) a. \**to* [Ka-balha dibaleda-*sia*] *khota-ha*  
 \*the [ATTR-hair roast-WH.OBJ] meat-NGEN  
 \*‘the meat Hairy roasted’<sup>4</sup>

- b. *to khotaha* [Ka-balha dibaleda-*sia*]  
 the meat-NGEN [ATTR-hair roast-WH.OBJ]  
 ‘the meat Hairy roasted’

- (128) a. \**li* [dibaleda-*thi to khota-ha*] *wadili*  
 \*the [roast-WH.SUBJ the meat-NGEN] man  
 \*‘the man who roasted the meat’

- b. *li wadili* [dibaleda-*thi to khoda-ha*]  
 the man [roast-WH.SUBJ the meat-NGEN]  
 ‘the man who roasted the meat’

The question of what makes a relative clause “heavy” in Arawak remains open at the moment. It is interesting to note, however, that English has similar phenomena. For example, although it is acceptable to have more than a bare participial before the head of a noun phrase,

- (129) the seldom spoken word  
 his very frequently broken nose

<sup>4</sup>*Kabalha* is a nickname. Arawaks normally refer to each other using kinship terms or nicknames, and the use of a person’s given name is traditionally avoided. (See de Goeje 1928 regarding an explanation based on former shamanistic practices.)

adding an agent phrase is unacceptable:

- (130) \*the by the man spoken word  
 \*the spoken by the man word  
 \*his broken by me nose

The unacceptability of the first of the bad phrases could be due to the fact that in English sentences, an agent phrase follows the passive verb. This seems to be true also in participial clauses, as in (131).

- (131) the word spoken by the man

English also seems to have a requirement that the head of a participial relative construction must be adjacent to the head of the relative construction itself (i.e. in final position in the relative clause). This explains the unacceptability of the second and third bad phrases given above. Since the requirement for the position of the agent phrase conflicts with the requirement that the head of the participial construction must be adjacent to the head of the NP, the participial modifier can only follow the head in such cases.

Similar principles may be operating in Arawak. For example, an adjacency principle like the one mentioned for English would explain the unacceptability of pre-head relative clauses with explicit objects or postpositional phrases between the verb of the relative clause and the head of the entire relative clause (examples repeated from above).

- (132) a. \*to [da-dibaleda-sia ikhihi diako] khota-ha  
 \*the [I-roast-WH.OBJ fire on] meat-NGEN  
 \*‘the meat I roasted over fire’
- b. \*li [dibaleda-thi to khota-ha] wadili  
 \*the [roast-WH.SUBJ the meat-NGEN] man  
 \*‘the man who roasted the meat’

The unacceptability of full nominal subjects in pre-head relative clauses with relativized objects is not as easy to explain since both morphologically bound and morphologically free pronouns in the same position are acceptable. Presumably at least the morphologically free pronouns are under the subject NP node just like full nominal subjects.

- (133) a. \*to [Ka-balha dibaleda-sia] khota-ha  
 \*the [ATTR-hair roast-WH.OBJ] meat-NGEN  
 \*‘the meat Hairy roasted’
- b. to [ly-dibaleda-sia] khota-ha  
 the [he-roast-WH.OBJ] meat-NGEN  
 ‘the meat he roasted’
- c. to [li dibaleda-sia] khota-ha  
 the [he roast-WH.OBJ] meat-NGEN  
 ‘the meat he roasted’

Whatever the syntactic explanation for this is,<sup>5</sup> perceptually, the ungrammatical example above is the start of a “garden path” sentence. The hearer assumes the article *to* is the determiner of an NP with *Ka-balha* ‘Hairy’ as head and that this noun phrase is the subject of an independent clause. The hearer then proceeds to ignore the relativizing suffix and assumes *khotaha* ‘meat’ is inside the VP of this clause. When the hearer then attempts to process anything following the relative clause, this following material then sounds to him like a run-on sentence.

A possessor NP and a relative clause cannot co-occur before the head of a noun phrase in such a way that both modify that head. If both do occur in this position, the construction is interpreted to mean that the relative clause modifies the possessor NP, not the head of the noun phrase or the combination of the head and possessor.

- (134) a. [*bian* [*kabadaro* [*dike*]]]  
 [two [jaguar [footprint]]]  
 ‘two jaguar footprints’
- b. [[*bian* [*firo-tho* [*kabadaro*]]] [*dike*]]  
 [[two [big-WH.SUBJ [jaguar]] [footprint]]]  
 ‘footprints of two big jaguars’  
 \*‘two big footprints of a jaguar’  
 \*‘two footprints of a big jaguar’

In Arawak, to express concepts such as the two unacceptable translations above, one must use a post-head relative clause<sup>6</sup> with the stative verb *nin*.<sup>7</sup>

- (135) a. *bian firo-tho dike, kabadaro nin-tho*  
 two big-WH.SUBJ footprint jaguar belong-WH.SUBJ  
 ‘two big footprints of a jaguar’
- b. *bian dike, aba firo-tho kabadaro nin-tho*  
 two footprint one big-WH.SUBJ jaguar belong-WH.SUBJ  
 ‘two footprints of a big jaguar’

### 3.1.5 The Head of the Noun Phrase

As can be seen in many of the above examples, the head of the noun phrase may be singular or plural, simple or derived.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup>One possibility might be that a subject NP would have no source for case if pre-head relative clauses are non-finite. However, it is unclear how to prove they are non-finite, since it is possible for these clauses to receive tense marking and they do not receive the subordinating suffix *-n*. For example,

*to* [*ly-dibaleda-sia-bo*] *khotaha*  
 (the [he-roast-WH.OBJ-CONT] meat-NGEN)  
 ‘the meat he is roasting’  
 555

<sup>6</sup>See Section 3.1.6 on post-head relative clauses.

<sup>7</sup>*Nin* is actually the generalized location postposition, but like other postpositions, it can be used as a two-argument stative verb. See Section 3.2.3.

<sup>8</sup>The use of the plural suffix is optional for [–human] nouns. See Section 2.3.3.3 for a discussion on number in nouns.

- (136) a. *aba kodibio*  
 one bird  
 'a bird'
- b. *bian kodibio-be*  
 two bird-PL  
 'two birds'
- c. *johon kalyn-tho falhetho-dalhidi-koana-be*  
 many fast-WH.SUBJ white.man-run-THING-PL  
 'many fast cars'

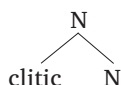
If the head of the NP is a pronoun, no other constituents may precede it. For example, in the following noun phrases, the relative clause 'who ran' can precede the head of a noun phrase when that head is a noun. However, it must follow the head when the head is a pronoun.

- (137) a. *li dalhidi-thi-fa wadili*  
 the run-WH.SUBJ-FUT man  
 'the man who will run'
- b. *lirabo*  
 he.distant  
 'he (over there)'
- c. *lirabo dalhidi-thi*  
 he.distant run-WH.SUBJ  
 'the one (over there) who ran'
- d. \**dalhidi-thi lirabo*<sup>9</sup>  
 \*run-WH.SUBJ he.distant  
 \*'the one (over there) who ran'

If the head of a noun phrase is not a pronoun, it may be modified either by a possessor NP (see Section 3.1.3) or by a morphologically bound possessive pronoun. Morphologically bound pronouns do not have the same co-occurrence restrictions that possessor NPs have. As has already been mentioned, possessor NPs cannot co-occur with pre-head relative clauses. This means that when a morphologically free pronoun functions as the head of a possessor NP, it cannot also co-occur with a pre-head relative clause. However, a morphologically bound possessive pronoun can. This contrast can be explained by assuming that morphologically bound pronouns are, in fact, part of the head noun of the matrix NP and do not function syntactically as possessor NPs.<sup>10</sup> They then fall outside of the co-occurrence restriction. For example, notice the use of 'her' in the following examples:

<sup>9</sup>Example (137d) is ungrammatical only if it is taken as a single noun phrase. It is grammatical as an equative sentence meaning: 'He (over there) is the one who is running.'

<sup>10</sup>This assumes a structure something like the following:



- (138) a. *thora hala-n*  
 her bench-POSS  
 ‘her bench’
- b. *to sioko-tho th-ala-n*  
 the small-WH.SUBJ her-bench-POSS  
 ‘her small bench’
- c. \**to sioko-tho thora hala-n*  
 \*the small-WH.SUBJ her bench-POSS  
 \*‘her small bench’

The word *sioko-tho* ‘small-WH.SUBJ’ in the latter of these examples would have to be taken as modifying *thora* ‘her’, a pronoun. Since this is not allowed, the phrase is ungrammatical.

When a quantifier phrase and a morphologically bound possessive pronoun both occur in the same noun phrase, the phrase seems to receive a partitive interpretation.

- (138) a. *aba da-sikoa*  
 one my-house  
 ‘one of my houses’
- b. *aba firo-tho da-sikoa*  
 one big-WH.SUBJ my-house  
 ‘one of my bigger houses’

### 3.1.6 Post-Head Relative Clauses

A relative clause can also occur after the head of the noun phrase. At first glance, the kinds of relative clauses that appear here seem to be in complementary distribution with those that appear before the head. That is, after the head, one finds relative clauses which are too heavy to appear before the head, and others which cannot appear there due to the presence of a possessor NP in that position.

- (140) a. *to khota-ha [l-eretho dibaleda-sia miaka]*  
 the meat-NGEN [his-wife roast-WH.OBJ yesterday]  
 ‘the meat his wife roasted yesterday’
- b. *bian dalhidi-koana [na-jonto-sia forto-n miaka]*  
 two run-THING [they-buy-WH.OBJ town-LOC yesterday]  
 ‘two cars they bought in town yesterday’
- c. *li wadili [kansin-thi to toho]*  
 the man [like-WH.SUBJ the this]  
 ‘the man who likes this (referential)’

However, this complementarity is not complete. Short relative clauses based on stative verbs (i.e. relative clauses consisting of just a stative verb with relativizing morphology,



but no other constituents) can not appear after the head of the NP, even if they are disallowed before the head due to the presence of a possessor NP.<sup>11</sup>

- (141) a. *to* [mamanaja-tho] kasipara  
 the [dull-WH.SUBJ] machete  
 ‘the dull machete’
- b. \**to* kasipara [mamanaja-tho]  
 \*the machete [dull-WH.SUBJ]  
 \*‘the dull machete’
- c. \**to* de kasiparan [mamanaja-tho]  
 \*the my machete [dull-WH.SUBJ]  
 \*‘my dull machete’

Also, short relative clauses based on event verbs can appear after the head, even when there is no possessor NP in the phrase which would force them to appear there.

- (142) a. *to* khota-ha [da-dibaleda-sia]  
 the meat-NGEN [I-roast-WH.OBJ]  
 ‘the meat I roasted’
- b. *to* [da-dibaleda-sia] khota-ha  
 the [I-roast-WH.OBJ] meat  
 ‘the meat I roasted’

### 3.2 Sentence Structure

Corresponding to the major verb types,<sup>12</sup> there are two major sentence types: event sentences and stative sentences. In addition, there are other types, such as event sentences based on the dummy verb *a*, and equative sentences with the copular verb *to*.

In the following sections, it should be kept in mind that there is no structural or morphological difference between statements and yes-no questions. When sentences are simple statements, they are spoken with a sentence-final falling intonation. Speaking them with a sentence-final rising intonation can change any sentence<sup>13</sup> into a yes-no question.

<sup>11</sup>The unacceptable phrases are acceptable as independent attributive sentences: ‘The machete is dull.’ ‘My machete is dull.’ See section 3.2.3.1 on attributive sentences.

<sup>12</sup>See discussion of verbs in Section 2.4.

<sup>13</sup>Sentences with second-person subjects or objects can be interpreted as questions, even without question intonation. Sentences with first person subjects or objects are rarely interpreted as questions. Word order is not a significant factor in determining whether a sentence is interpreted as a statement or question.

## 3.2.1 Event Sentences

Event sentences describe actions or processes. These sentences consist primarily of a subject noun phrase, and a verb phrase containing an event verb and those constituents for which it is subcategorized such as its direct object (NP),<sup>14</sup> indirect object postpositional phrase (PP), or locational postpositional phrase (PP). In addition, event sentences may contain sentence modifiers such as adverbials (ADV), other postpositional phrases, a single fronted constituent whose position is tentatively labeled (COMP),<sup>15</sup> and subject or object appositives (APP). A rough formulation giving some idea of the major constituents and their relative ordering may be found in Figure 13.

[COMP [NP [V (NP) (PP) (ADV)] (PP) (ADV) (APP)] ]  
S' S VP

Figure 13. Event Sentence Structure

Below are some examples of various kinds of event sentences with this general structure.

(143) a. Intransitive:

*L-osa bahy-nro mothia sabo khan, li wadili.*  
he-go house-to morning more diminutive the man  
'He, the man, went home very early in the morning.'

b. *Aba adaja sabo-thi ly-lykynthi dalhida l-inabo.*  
one old more-WH.SUBJ his-grandson run him-behind  
'One of his older grandsons ran after him.'

(144) a. Transitive:

*Mothi na-lhyky-fa sikalho.*  
tomorrow they-cut-FUT sugarcane  
'Tomorrow they will cut sugarcane.'

b. *Siokhanin khi wa-kanaba ly-molhidi-n-da no.*  
little.later thus we-hear he-lure-SUB-EPEN it  
'A little later we heard him luring it (the animal).'

(145) Transitive with an indirect object PP:

*Kia bena, thy-sika ama l-ansi-sia ly-myn.*  
that after she-give what he-want-WH.OBJ him-to  
'After that, she gave him what he wanted.'

<sup>14</sup>Sentential complements are analyzed as being dominated by an NP since the main verb of such a complement always receives the subordinating or nominalizing suffix *-n*. When such complements occur as an appositive, they generally occur with the article *to* 'the'. For example,

*D-aka no ly-myn, to d-andy-n-ta mothi.*  
I-tell it him-BEN, the I-arrive-SUB-FUT tomorrow  
'I told it to him, (that) I will arrive tomorrow.'

<sup>15</sup>This position bears a superficial resemblance to the base generated COMP position in English and other languages in that it is the landing site for movement of constituents, such as question words and relative pronouns, to the left periphery of the clause.

The last two examples each contain an embedded transitive clause which seems to function as the object of the verbs *kanabyn* ‘to hear’ and *sikin* ‘to give’, respectively.<sup>16</sup> The form of these subordinate clauses is the same as that of independent clauses, except that the verb in the subordinate clause contains the subordinating or nominalizing morpheme *-n* in the first case and a WH-suffix in the second. Subordinate clauses of these types are discussed in later sections.

Some of the above examples also contain adverbial time words. Adverbs and postpositional phrases can appear in a number of places, but they never occur between the verb and the subject of the clause nor between the verb and the constituents for which it is subcategorized—for example, between a transitive verb and its objects, or between a motion verb like *osyn* ‘to go’ and its directive complement.<sup>17</sup>

(146) a. *Miaka aba wadili sika khali da-myn.*  
 yesterday one man give cassava.bread me-to  
 ‘Yesterday a man gave me cassava bread.’

b. *Aba wadili sika khali da-myn miaka.*  
 one man give cassava.bread me-to yesterday  
 ‘A man gave me cassava bread yesterday.’

\**Aba wadili miaka sika khali da-myn.*

\**Aba wadili sika miaka khali da-myn.*

\**Aba wadili sika khali miaka da-myn.*

c. *Li wadili osa bahy-nro miaka.*  
 the man go home-to yesterday  
 ‘The man went home yesterday.’

\**Li wadili osa miaka bahy-nro.*

\**the man go yesterday home-to*

*‘The man went home yesterday.’*

As can be seen in several of the preceding examples, indirect objects are almost always expressed with postpositional phrases that use the benefactive postposition *myn*, and occur immediately following the direct object of the clause. I have observed a few instances<sup>18</sup> where the indirect object of *sikin* ‘to give’ occurred without a postposition. In these cases, it always occurred between the verb and the direct object, much as it does in English and Dutch, and it consisted of a pronoun rather than a full noun phrase.

(147) *Li-sika koba no to khota-ha.*  
 he-give past her the meat-NGEN  
 ‘He gave her the meat.’

<sup>16</sup>*Sikin* ‘to give’ generally takes an NP as its complement; thus the embedded clause is probably best analyzed as a noun phrase. The question of the status of these free relative constructions is discussed in Section 4.2 on relative clauses.

<sup>17</sup>However, sentences like the one in example (146c) do become acceptable if there is an intonation break between ‘yesterday’ and ‘home-to’. Such an intonation break makes ‘home-to’ sound like an afterthought.

<sup>18</sup>In texts transcribed from tapes over a period of more than five years, I have recorded about fifteen instances of bare indirect objects. Of these, only three remained in the texts when the speakers themselves edited the transcriptions.

Since the use of bare indirect objects seems to be so rare, and since it seems to be restricted to the verb ‘give’, it is unclear to me whether examples of the use of bare indirect objects are due to influence from the other languages with which Arawaks are constantly in contact (e.g. Dutch, the national language of Suriname), or whether dative movement is a feature of Arawak itself. When questioned about the grammaticality of sentences like the above, Arawaks react to them as acceptable. Yet when editing their own written texts, they almost always replace the bare indirect object with one in a postpositional phrase.

### 3.2.1.1 The ‘COMP’ Position

The position tentatively labeled ‘COMP’ in Arawak is not entirely similar to the COMP of English. As in English, the COMP position serves as a landing site for fronted constituents. These fronted constituents bear a grammatical relationship to the clause and correspond to a gap elsewhere in the clause. They include question words and relative pronouns,<sup>19</sup> as well as other phrases such as object NPs, postpositional phrases, and time phrases. For example, in each of the (b) and (c) examples of (148–150), the first constituent of the sentence corresponds to a gap ( $\emptyset$ ) in the position where that constituent would normally be found.

(148) a. *Da-malhita aba bahy.*  
 I-make one house  
 ‘I made a house.’

b. *Ama by-malhita  $\emptyset$ ?*  
 what you-make  $\emptyset$   
 ‘What did you make?’

c. *Aba bahy da-malhita  $\emptyset$ .*  
 one house I-make  $\emptyset$   
 ‘A house is what I made.’

(149) a. *L-osy-fa mothi.*  
 he-go-FUT tomorrow  
 ‘He will go tomorrow’

b. *Alikha l-osy-fa  $\emptyset$ ?*  
 When he-go-FUT  $\emptyset$   
 ‘When will he go?’

c. *Mothi l-osy-fa  $\emptyset$ .*  
 tomorrow he-go-FUT  $\emptyset$   
 ‘Tomorrow he will go.’

(150) a. *Li-siki-fa halhan ly-polatania l-eretho myn.*  
 he-give-FUT all his-money his-wife to  
 ‘He will give all of his money to his wife.’

<sup>19</sup>See subsections of Section 3.2 and Chapter 4.

b. *Fata ly-polatania li-siki-fa Ø -eretho myn?*  
 How.much his-money he-give-FUT Ø his-wife to  
 ‘How much of his money will he give his wife?’

c. *Halhan ly-polatania li-siki-fa Ø l-eretho myn.*  
 all his-money he-give-FUT Ø his-wife to  
 ‘All of his money he will give to his wife.’

(151) a. *Alikan myn li-siki-fa halhan ly-polatania Ø?*  
 who to he-give-FUT all his-money Ø  
 ‘Who will he give all his money to?’

b. *L-eretho myn li-siki-fa halhan ly-polatania Ø.*  
 his-wife to he-give-FUT all his-money Ø  
 ‘To his wife he will give all of his money.’

Unlike English, however, Arawak does not have lexical complementizers such as ‘that’ or ‘for ... to’ which can occupy the COMP position. Instead, the language marks the verb of the subordinate clause with the subordination suffix *-n*.

(152) *Na-dykha to firobero dalhidi-n-bo konoko-nro.*  
 they-see the tapir run-SUB-CONT forest-toward  
 ‘They saw that the tapir was running toward the jungle.’

Also unlike English, Arawak does not allow COMP-to-COMP movement of question words or relative pronouns. All movements to the position labeled COMP in Arawak seem to be clause bounded.

(153) a. *Alikan by-dykha Ø?*  
 who you-see Ø  
 ‘Who did you see?’

b. *\*Alikan by-dykha Ø soko-thi Jan?*  
 \*who you-see Ø hit-WH.SUBJ John  
 \*‘Who did you see hit John?’

c. *\*Alikan by-dykha Ø soko-n Jan?*  
 \*who you-see Ø hit-SUB John  
 \*‘Who did you see hit John?’

d. *\*Alikan by-dykha Jan soko-sia Ø?*  
 \*who you-see John hit-WH.OBJ Ø  
 \*‘Who did you see John hit?’

e. *\*Alikan by-dykha Jan soko-n Ø?*  
 \*who you-see John hit-SUB Ø  
 \*‘Who did you see John hit?’

- (154) a. *Wa-dykha li wadili li Jan soko-sia*  $\emptyset$ .  
 we-see the man the John hit-WH.OBJ  $\emptyset$   
 ‘We saw the man who John hit.’
- b. \**B-eitha li wadili wa-dykhy-sia*  $\emptyset$  *Jan soko-sia*  $\emptyset?$   
 \*you-know the man we-see-WH.OBJ  $\emptyset$  John hit-WH.OBJ  $\emptyset$   
 \*‘Do you know the man (who) we saw John hit?’
- c. \**B-eitha li wadili wa-dykhy-sia*  $\emptyset$  *soko-thi Jan?*  
 \*you-know the man we-see-WH.OBJ  $\emptyset$  hit-WH.OBJ John  
 \*‘Do you know the man (who) we saw hit John?’

The apparent COMP position of the sentence in Arawak can contain only a single constituent. For example, in the above examples, when a time word or phrase like *miaka* ‘yesterday’ occurs at the beginning of the sentence, it occupies this position, and no other constituents of the sentence can be fronted.<sup>20</sup>

- (155) a. *D-othiki-fa tho-jona mothi.*  
 I-receive-FUT its-price tomorrow  
 ‘I will get paid tomorrow.’
- b. *Mothi d-othiki-fa tho-jona.*  
 tomorrow I-receive-FUT its-price  
 ‘Tomorrow I will get paid.’
- c. *Tho-jona d-othiki-fa mothi.*  
 its-price I-receive-FUT tomorrow  
 ‘I will get paid for it tomorrow.’
- d. \**Mothi tho-jona d-othiki-fa.*  
 \*tomorrow its-price I-receive-FUT  
 \*‘Tomorrow I will get paid for it.’
- e. \**Tho-jona mothi d-othiki-fa.*  
 \*its-price tomorrow I-receive-FUT its-price  
 \*‘Tomorrow I will get paid for it.’

Constituents in what I have labeled the COMP position seem to represent highlighted new information and, if present, generally receive the center of intonation of the clause.<sup>21</sup> In this respect they seem to represent a type of ‘focus movement’ (Prince 1981). Though

<sup>20</sup>It is possible, however, for a time phrase to occur in TOPIC position (see Section 3.2.1.2), in which case the sentence has a major intonational break between the TOPIC and the rest of the sentence. For example,

*Mothi, tho-jona d-othiki-fa.*  
 tomorrow its-price I-receive-FUT  
 ‘Concerning tomorrow: that is when I will get paid for it.’

<sup>21</sup>Constituents such as relative pronouns in the COMP position of a subordinate clause do not receive the center of intonation. Question words in the COMP position of independent clauses sometimes do and sometimes do not.

their use is frequent, it is most common in discourse contexts such as asking questions, or answering them, and when presenting unexpected or contrastive information.

### 3.2.1.2 The TOPIC Position

In addition to the focused element but distinguished from it, a sentence may contain a TOPIC phrase. This phrase may be of almost any sort, including an entire nominalized subordinate clause.<sup>22</sup> Unlike the COMP, the TOPIC phrase bears no grammatical relation to the rest of the sentence; it is not associated with a gap and therefore should be considered base generated in its leftward position. There is always an intonation break between the constituent in TOPIC position and the rest of the sentence.

- (156) a. *To l-andy-n bahy-n, l-eretho donka-bo hibin.*  
 the he-arrive-SUB house-at his-wife sleep-CONT already  
 ‘Concerning his arriving home, his wife was already sleeping.’
- b. *To boado-tho hala, by-thikida-ma.*  
 the rotten-WH.SUBJ bench, you-fall-HABIL  
 ‘Concerning the rotten bench, you may fall.’

That the TOPIC and ‘focus’ (COMP) positions are distinct can be shown by the fact that the positions can both be filled at the same time.

- (157) a. *To w-osy-n-fa forto-nro, miakaboan<sub>i</sub> w-osy-fa jon Ø<sub>i</sub>.*  
 the we-go-SUB-FUT town-to day.after.tomorrow<sub>i</sub> we-go-FUT there Ø<sub>i</sub>  
 ‘Concerning our going to town, the day after tomorrow we will go there.’
- b. *To w-andyn jon, minkho johon hime<sub>i</sub> w-othika Ø<sub>i</sub>.*  
 the we-arrive there very many fish<sub>i</sub> we-get Ø<sub>i</sub>  
 ‘Concerning arriving there, we caught lots of fish.’

Also, since the phrase in the position labeled COMP always corresponds to a gap and the TOPIC position does not, the distribution of what can occur in the two positions is different. For example, it is possible to have a time word in TOPIC position, and a direct object NP in the COMP position, because the time word does not necessarily imply a later gap. That is, the verbs do not typically select time phrases.

- (158) *Miaka, to sikalho wa-lhyka.*  
 yesterday the sugarcane we-cut  
 ‘Concerning yesterday: we cut the sugarcane.’

However, the converse is not possible. That is, it is not possible to place a direct object NP in TOPIC position and leave a gap. If one wishes to topicalize a direct object, a resumptive pronoun must also be used in the normal position for the direct object.

- (159) a. *\*To sikalho, miaka wa-lhyka.*  
 \*the sugarcane yesterday we-cut  
 \*‘It was sugarcane we cut yesterday.’

<sup>22</sup>Nominalized clauses in this position typically begin with *to*. Their main verb receives the subordinating suffix *-n*.

- b. *To sikalho, miaka wa-lhyka no.*  
 the sugarcane yesterday we-cut it  
 ‘Concerning the sugarcane, yesterday we cut it.’

Unlike the phrases in COMP, the phrases in the TOPIC position always seem to be old, given, or presupposed information, and they in some sense set the stage for the following information. They set forth what the sentence will be about.

### 3.2.1.3 Event Sentence Structure

Taking the preceding discussion of the COMP and TOPIC positions into account and ignoring, for the moment, the internal structure of the core of the sentence, the structure of the sentence including the TOPIC and COMP positions might be something like that found in Figure 14. This structure perhaps needs to be modified somewhat to account for the “dummy verb” sentences discussed below.



Figure 14. Sentence Structure with TOPIC and COMP

### 3.2.2 Dummy Verb Sentences

In addition to event sentences like those discussed above which have an SVO structure, Arawak has others which, at first glance, seem to have a different structure and which contain a semantically empty dummy verb.

- (160) a. *Abare l-a simaka-n, li d-aithi.*  
 suddenly he-dummy shout-SUB the my-son  
 ‘Suddenly, he, my son, shouted.’

- b. *M-osy-n b-a forto-nro ?/.*  
 PRIV-go-SUB you-dummy town-toward  
 ‘Aren’t you going to town?’ or ‘You aren’t going to town.’

These sentences are, semantically, event sentences in that they describe events or processes. Like other event sentences, their main verb (the dummy verb) can receive the tense/aspect suffixes normally found on event verbs.

- (161) *Basadare l-a-bo kona-n forto-nro.*  
 slowly he-dummy-CONT walk-SUB town-toward  
 ‘Slowly he walked to town.’

Dummy verb sentences have a consistent surface structure (see Figure 15). The first part of such sentences consists of a manner adverbial or a subordinate event verb which usually has the privative or negative prefix *ma-*.<sup>23</sup> The second part is the main verb of the clause. It is a

<sup>23</sup>Although I have no examples of spontaneous occurrences of a dummy verb sentence starting with a non-negative verb, when questioned some speakers do accept a sentence like the following as grammatical:

?*Osy-n l-a-bo forto-nro?*  
 ?go-SUB he-dummy-CONT town-toward  
 ?‘Is he on his way to town?’



single word which consists of a morphologically bound subject pronoun, a meaningless morpheme *a*,<sup>24</sup> and optional event verb suffixes (see Section 2.4.1.3 for suffixes). Following the dummy verb are subordinate verbs, complements, and other constituents.

manner adverb	dummy.verb	verb + SUB	...
PRIV + verb + SUB	dummy.verb	...	

Figure 15. Surface Constituent Order in Dummy Verb Sentences

- (162) *Ma-siki-n*                      *l-a*                      *iniabo*    *by-myn ?/*.  
 PRIV-give-SUB                      he-dummy                      water                      you-to  
 ‘Didn’t he give water to you?’ or ‘He didn’t give water to you.’

### 3.2.2.1 The result of fronting

There are a number of factors that make it look as if dummy verb sentences are, in some sense, derived from previously discussed event sentences. That is, dummy verb sentences are probably best analyzed as event sentences with fronted manner adverbials or fronted negated verbs, and when such elements are fronted, the dummy verb *a* appears.

One of the factors that leads one to this conclusion is that the discourse contexts in which these sentences are used are similar to those in which elements such as direct objects are moved to the position labeled ‘COMP’ in other event sentences. As mentioned previously when discussing event sentences (3.2.1.1), fronting to the COMP position seems to highlight new information. The contexts in which one finds dummy verb sentences are compatible with this notion. Furthermore, as in other sentences where a constituent is fronted to the COMP position, the fronted element in dummy verb sentences receives the center of intonation for the sentence. For example, dummy verb sentences starting with negative verbs tend to occur as questions<sup>25</sup> or as answers to questions. When used in this way, it is the negated verb which is being questioned or affirmed, or, perhaps, the negation itself is being emphasized.

- (163) a. *Ma-siki-n*                      *th-a*                      *hime*    *by-myn*    *tanoho?*  
 PRIV-give-SUB                      she-dummy                      fish                      you-to                      today  
 ‘Didn’t she give you (any) fish today?’

No firm conclusion has been reached to explain why negation should be related to the appearance of the dummy verb and the fronting of the main verb. I can only mention in this connection that languages like English also do unusual things with sentences when they are negated, and that, in the case of English, these things involve ‘do support’ in both statements and questions.

John walks to town.  
 John does not walk to town.  
 \*John not walks to town?  
 Doesn’t John walk to town?

<sup>24</sup>Like most other event verbs, the dummy verb has a basic-stem form and an *a*-stem form (see Section 2.4.1.1 on verb stem forms). Almost all contexts in which the dummy verb occurs are ones where the morphological difference between the two is not manifested, and therefore *a* is used (see Section 2.4.1.1.1 on basic and *a*-stem forms). However, the basic-stem form, *-o-*, does show up with the future suffix *-fa* as in:

- Ma-mykydy-n-i-ma*                      *l-o-fa*                      *to*    *ibih?*  
 PRIV-swallow-SUB-EPEN-HABIL    he-dummy-FUT    the    medicine  
 ‘Won’t he be able to swallow the medicine?’

242424

<sup>25</sup>As is the case for other sentences, rising sentence-final intonation changes a statement into a yes-no question.

b. *Ma-siki-n*            *th-a*            *no.*  
 PRIV-give-SUB    she-dummy    it  
 ‘She didn’t give it’

c. *Thy-jokara*    *no*            *da-myn.*  
 She-sell            it            me-to  
 ‘She sold it to me.’

(164) a. *M-andy-n*            *l-a*            *jokha*    *waria?*  
 PRIV-arrive-SUB    he-dummy    hunt    from  
 ‘Hasn’t he come back from hunting? (I thought he had.)’

b. *M-andy-n*            *l-a*            *koan.*  
 PRIV-arrive-SUB    he-dummy    yet  
 ‘(No,) he hasn’t arrived yet.’

Similarly, dummy verb sentences starting with adverbials can also be used to answer questions, especially when the adverbial in some way contrasts with presuppositions in the question.

(165) a. *Ly-dalhida*    *konoko*            *loko-nro?*  
 he-fun            forest            in-toward  
 ‘He ran into the jungle?’

b. *Manin,*            *basadare*            *l-a*            *kona-n*            *tho-loko-nro.*  
 no            slowly            he-dummy    walk-SUB    it-in-toward  
 ‘No, SLOWLY he walked into it.’

In addition to occurring in question-answer environments, dummy verb sentences starting with adverbials tend to occur near the climax of a narrative, or in vivid accounts of events where the adverbial is the new, important, or startling information.

For example, in a story about an adventure with a jaguar (see the appendix), the narrator of the story relates that he was quietly working in his planting ground cutting trees. His brother-in-law had a sugarcane field nearby, and had come there with his grandchildren to work. Unknown to the narrator at the time, a jaguar attempted to attack his brother-in-law. At the point in the story where the narrator gets his first inkling that something is wrong, he introduces his listeners to that fact with the following sentence:

(166) *Abare*            *la-a*            *simaky-n!*  
 suddenly            he-dummy    shout/yell-SUB  
 ‘Suddenly he screamed!’

This contrasts with the neutral form for this sentence where the adverb follows the verb.<sup>26</sup>

(167) *Ly-simaka*    *abaren.*  
 he-shout            suddenly  
 ‘He screamed suddenly.’

<sup>26</sup>When manner adverbials occur in their unmarked position (after the verb and the constituents for which the verb is subcategorized) they end in *n*. When they are fronted, this disappears. Presumably this is the same subordinating morpheme *-n* ‘SUB’ found on verbs in subordinate clauses.

In addition to discourse contexts, there are also several structural peculiarities in dummy verb sentences that support the idea of a fronted verbal or adverbial element. As can be seen in the previous examples, two of which are repeated below, if the sentence starts with a negative event verb, and if that verb is transitive, its subject precedes the dummy verb and its object or objects follow the dummy verb, not the lexical verb. Any locative postpositional phrases associated with the fronted verb also follow the dummy verb.

(168) a. *Ma-siki-n*            *l-a*            *iniabo*    *by-myn ?/*.  
 PRIV-give-SUB        you-dummy    water    you-to  
 ‘Didn’t he give water to you?’ or ‘He didn’t give water to you.’

b. *M-osy-n*            *b-a*            *forto-nro ?/*.  
 PRIV-go-SUB        you-dummy    town-toward  
 ‘Aren’t you going to town?’ or ‘You aren’t going to town.’

This is unusual, since, except when a constituent such as the direct object of the verb is fronted, nothing other than a negative particle ever seems to separate a verb in Arawak from its arguments. Arawak verbs, apparently, cannot carry their NP arguments or their tense suffixes with them when they are fronted.

The previously mentioned discourse contexts in which dummy verb sentences occur all argue for the landing site being the COMP position. This is further supported by the fact that the COMP position in these sentences cannot be filled by another element. For example, sentence constituents which one can normally front to the COMP position, cannot be moved there in dummy verb sentences.<sup>27</sup>

(169) a. *Ma-siki-n*            *th-a*            *iniabo*    *by-myn*    *tanoho ?/*.  
 PRIV-give-SUB    she-dummy    water    you-to    today  
 ‘Didn’t she give water to you today?’ or ‘She didn’t give water to you today.’

b. \**By-myn*    *ma-siki-n*            *th-a*            *iniabo*     $\emptyset$     *tanoho ?/*.  
 \*you-to    PRIV-give-SUB    she-dummy    water     $\emptyset$     today

\**Iniabo*    *ma-siki-n*            *th-a*             $\emptyset$     *by-myn*    *tanoho ?/*.  
 \*water    PRIV-give-SUB    she-dummy     $\emptyset$     you-to    today

\**Tanoho*    *ma-siki-n*            *th-a*            *iniabo*    *by-myn*     $\emptyset ?/$ .  
 \*today    PRIV-give-SUB    she-dummy    water    you-to     $\emptyset$

‘Didn’t she give water to you today?’ or  
 ‘She didn’t give water to you today.’

<sup>27</sup>However, just as is the case with other event sentences in which the COMP position is filled, the phrase in COMP position can be preceded by a TOPIC phrase. Again, if this phrase in the TOPIC position happens to be a direct object, a resumptive pronoun is required.

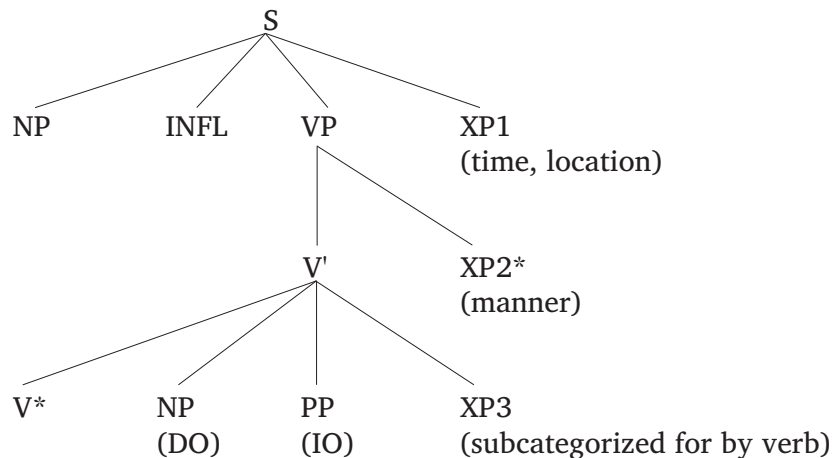
To *iniabo*, *ma-siki-n*            *th-a*            *no* *by-myn?*  
 the water PRIV-give-SUB she-dummy it you-to  
 ‘Concerning the water, didn’t she give it to you?’

### 3.2.2.2 Manner adverbials versus time and locative phrases

If one compares non-subcategorized time and locative phrases with manner adverbial phrases like “well” and “slowly,” the manner adverbials seem more closely tied to the verb semantically than time and locative ones are. Time and location adverbials set up the general temporal and spatial framework for the whole of the sentence, while manner adverbs directly modify the action denoted by the verb. Further support of this semantic argument is provided by the fact that, in Arawak, if both manner adverbials and non-subcategorized locative or time phrases are present, manner adverbials occur closer to the verb than non-subcategorized time and locative ones do.

- (170) a. *Ly-jentoa san li-sikoa lokhodi.*  
 he-sing well his-house in  
 ‘He sings well inside his house.’
- b. \**Ly-jentoa li-sikoa lokhodi san.*  
 \*he-sing his-house in well  
 \*‘He sings inside his house well.’

This being the case, we may suppose that Arawak has a level of structure between the verb and VP—call it V'. Subcategorized phrases, including direct objects, are daughters of V' under standard assumptions (XP3 in Figure 16). Manner phrases, as modifiers in VP, can be viewed as daughters of VP (XP2 in Figure 16). Finally, locative and time phrases can be viewed as daughters of S (XP1 in Figure 16).



\*Constituents marked with '\*' require dummy verb when fronted.

Figure 16. Typical Arawak Event Sentence

If one now considers the effect of fronting the various constituents in relation to this proposed structure, one sees that some trigger the use of the dummy verb, and others do not. As has already been discussed, time (P1), location phrases (XP1 and XP3), direct objects, and indirect object postpositional phrases can all be fronted without the addition of the dummy verb. Only the fronting of verbs and manner adverbials (XP2) requires the use of a dummy verb construction.

In the case of manner adverbials,<sup>28</sup> this shows up not just in focus movement, but also in content questions and free relative clauses.<sup>29</sup>

(171) a. *Halika b-o-fa doro-n to oro?*  
 how you-dummy-FUT weave-SUB the cassava.squeezer  
 ‘How will you weave the cassava squeezer?’

b. \**Halika bo-doro-fa to joro?*  
 \*how you-weave-FUT the cassava.squeezer  
 \*‘How will you weave the cassava squeezer?’

(172) a. *De koborokoa-ka koan [alika th-a-n aba kabadaro hibin bokoto-n de.]*  
 I remember-INDIC still [how it-dummy-SUB one jaguar almost grab-SUB me]  
 ‘I still remember how a jaguar almost grabbed me.’

b. \*...*[alika aba kabadaro hibin bokoto-n de.]*  
 \*...[how one jaguar almost grab-SUB me]  
 \*‘...how a jaguar almost grabbed me.’

In Arawak, sentences like

(173) a. *Alikan Ø andy-fa?*  
 who Ø come-FUT  
 ‘Who will arrive/come?’

b. *Alikan by-dykha Ø?*  
 who you-see Ø  
 ‘Who did you see?’

are grammatical. One might conclude therefore, that antecedent-government can satisfy the Empty Category Principle (ECP) in Arawak. If one did so, however, then one would not be able to explain the necessity for the dummy verb in manner questions (such as in 174b).

(174) a. \**Alika by-malhithi-fa no?*  
 \*how you-make-FUT it  
 \*‘How will you make/build it?’

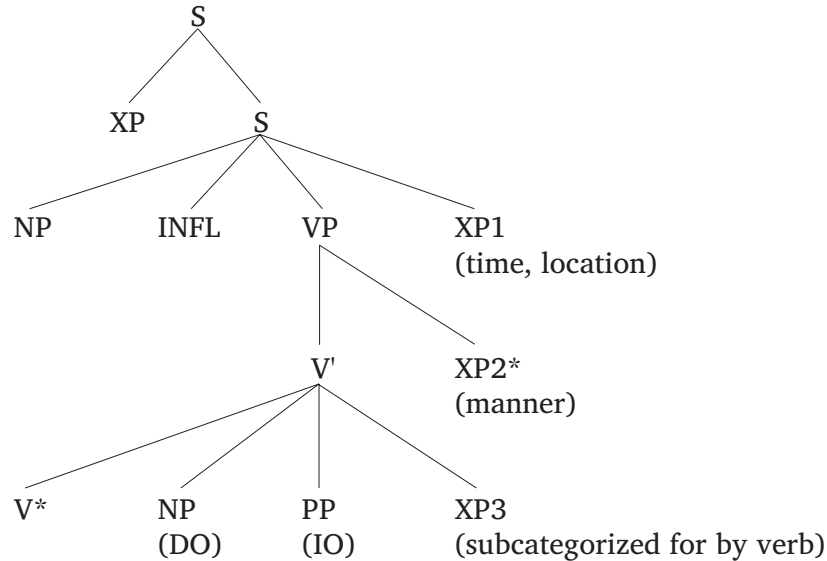
b. *Alika b-o-fa malhithi-n no?*  
 how you-dummy-FUT make-SUB it  
 ‘How will you make it?’

<sup>28</sup>Content questions for verbs are constructed by recasting the sentence so that the questioned constituent is the complement of the verb ‘do’.

*Ama b-ani-bo?*  
 what you-do-CONT  
 ‘What are you doing?’

<sup>29</sup>There is some question as to the exact structure of apparent free relative clauses in Arawak. See the discussion in Section 4.2.

If the landing site for fronted constituents is not COMP, but is a position adjoined to S (XP in Figure 17), then antecedent-government would not function in Arawak. This would provide an explanation for the lack of leftward generalized complementizers, the lack of COMP-to-COMP movement, and the lack of proper government of a trace in the position of the verb. This solution would also correctly predict that manner adverbials (XP2 in Figure 17) could not be properly governed.



\*Constituents marked with '\*\*' require dummy verb when fronted and adjoined to S.

Figure 17: Positions Requiring the Dummy Verb

There is a potential problem with the solution, however. As already noted, the subject position, and the adjunct position which is a daughter of S (XP1 in Figure 17) in Arawak, do seem to be properly governed. Arawak does not require a resumptive pronoun in sentences like:<sup>30</sup>

- (175) *Alikan*     $\emptyset$     *malhithi-fa*    *no?*  
 who     $\emptyset$     make-FUT    it  
 'Who will make/build it?'

Nor do any adjustments have to be made in order to question non-subcategorized time or location phrases:

- (174) a. *Alon*            *by-dykha*            *to*            *kodibio?*  
 where            you-see            the            bird  
 'Where did you see the bird?'
- b. *Alikha*            *by-dykha*            *to*            *kodibio?*  
 when            you-see            the            bird)  
 'When did you see the bird?'

Figures 18, 19, and 20 illustrate the proposed analysis in sentences with a fronted object, verb, and manner adverbial, respectively.

<sup>30</sup>That the subject in the example has, in fact, been moved can be shown by the fact that other constituents, such as time words, cannot be fronted in such a sentence.

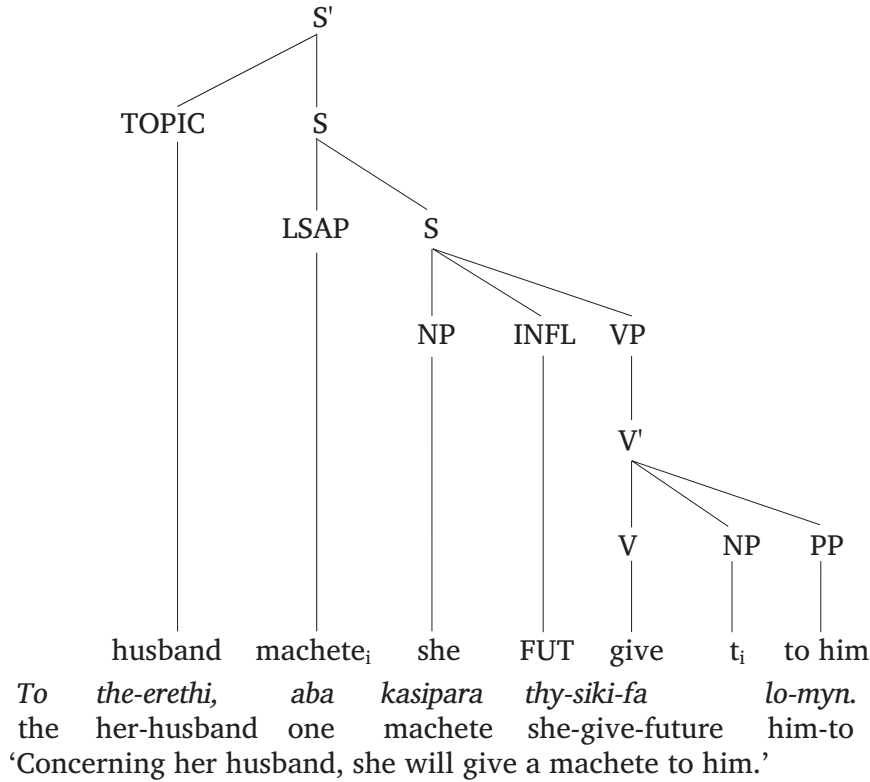


Figure 18. Sentence with Fronted Object

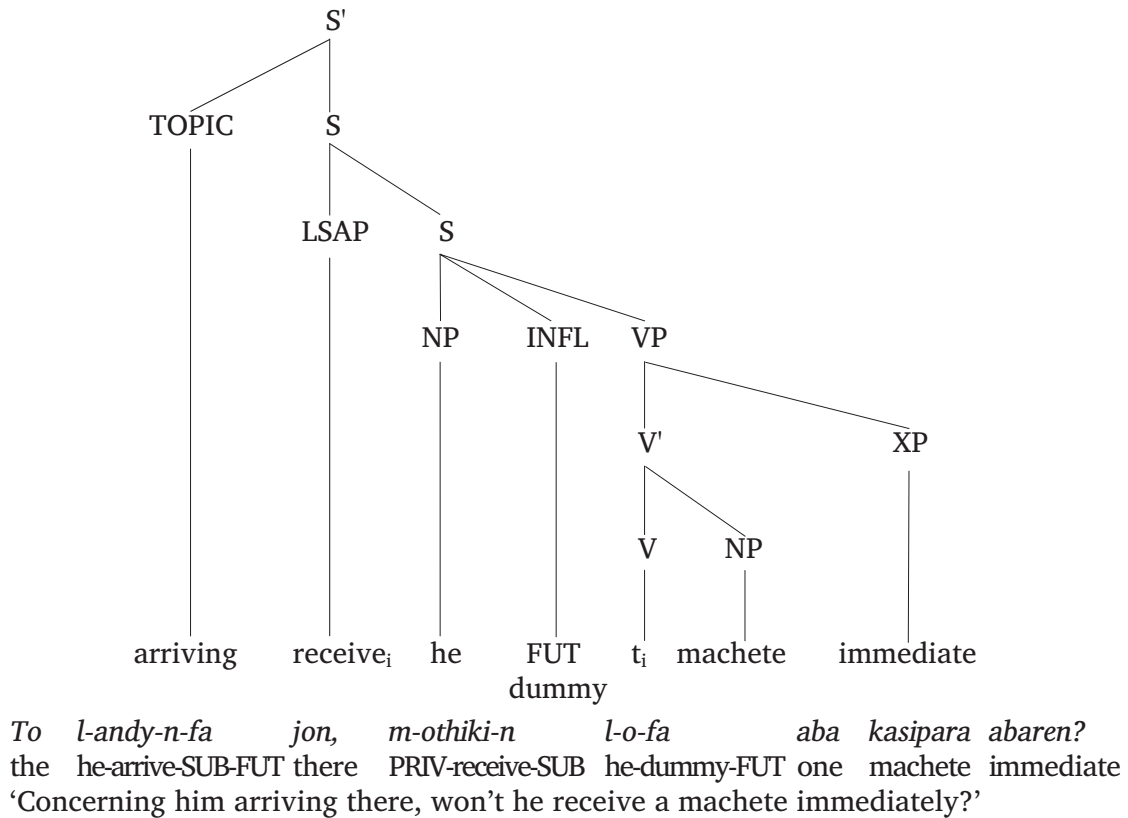
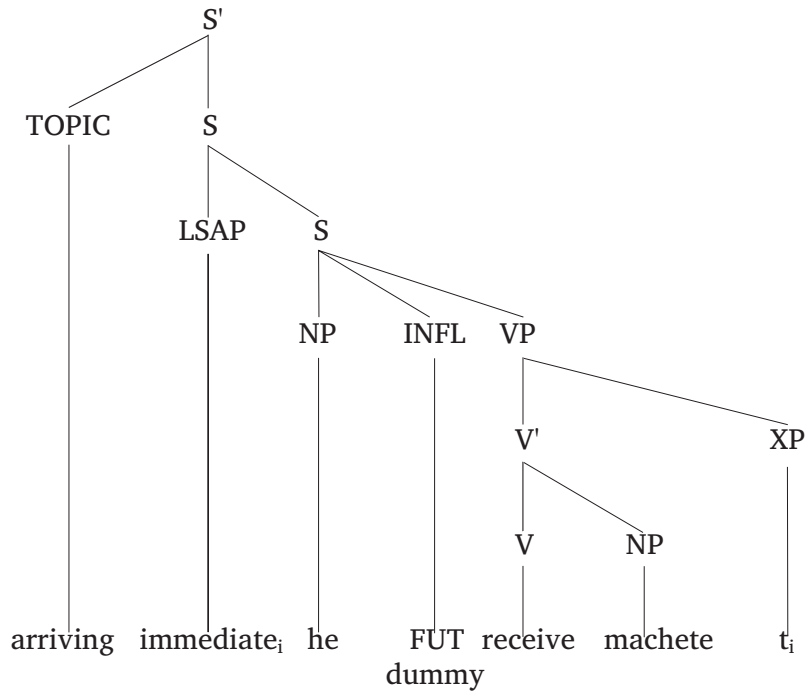


Figure 19. Sentence with Fronted Verb



*To l-andy-n-fa jon abare l-o-fa othiki-n aba kasipara?*  
 the he-arrive-SUB-FUT there immediate he-dummy-FUT receive-SUB one machete  
 ‘Concerning his arriving there, immediately he will receive a machete.’

Figure 20. Sentence with Fronted Manner Adverbial

### 3.2.2.3 Dummy verbs in quotation citations

In addition to the cases mentioned in the previous sections, there is one other common situation in Arawak where the dummy verb is used—in certain quotations. When the clause which attributes a quotation to a particular participant follows the quotation, a dummy verb is required. When it precedes the quotation, a dummy verb is unacceptable.

(177) a. *“Hehe!” l-a onaba-n.*  
 yes.emphatic he-dummy answer-SUB  
 ‘“Yes!” he answered.’

b. *\*L-a onaba-n “Hehe!”*  
 \*he-dummy.verb answer-SUB yes.emphatic  
 \*‘He answered, “Yes!”’

(178) a. *L-onaba “Hehe!”*  
 he-answer yes.emphatic  
 ‘He answered: “Yes!”’

b. *\*“Hehe!” l-onaba.*  
 \*yes.emphatic he-answer  
 \*‘“Yes!” he answered.’



Quotation citations with the dummy verb are even possible without any other overt lexical verb. In these cases, the context determines how best to translate the sentences into English.

- (179) a. *“B-eithoa!”*      *l-a.*  
           you-know.self    he-dummy  
           ‘“Be careful!” he said/thought/shouted.’
- b. \**L-a*                    *“B-eithoa!”*  
           \*he-dummy    you-know.self  
           \*‘He said/thought/shouted, “Be careful!”’

From the above evidence, the dummy verb, again, seems to be needed when some sort of fronting has occurred. It is not immediately obvious, however, that the quoted part of a citation can be related to the moved verbs or adverbials discussed in the previous section. One might think that a quotation should be the subcategorized sentential complement of a verb of saying, and therefore a sister to the verb. If this were the case, dummy verb insertion would not be required by the ECP. For Arawak, however, verbs of saying like *dain* ‘to say/talk,’ *onaban* ‘answer,’ or *simakan* ‘to scream’ can be simple intransitive verbs and are therefore not necessarily subcategorized for a direct object NP or for a sentential complement.

- (180) *Ly-dia-bo*  
           he-speak-CONT  
           ‘He is speaking/talking’

This may mean that the language treats the content of what is being said as somehow adverbial in nature.<sup>31</sup> One bit of evidence for such a hypothesis is that there are two types of appropriate answers to the question.<sup>32</sup>

- (181) *Halika*    *b-a*                    *dia-n*                    *tho-myn?*  
           how        you-dummy    speak-SUB    her-to  
           ‘How did you speak to her?’

One can either reply with a manner adverbial, giving the manner of speaking, or with the content of what was said.

- (182) a. *Ma-kanakyre*    *d-a*                    *tho-myn.*  
           PRIV-loudly    I-dummy    her-to  
           ‘Softly I (spoke) to her.’
- b. *“W-osa-the,”*    *d-a*                    *tho-myn.*  
           we-go-BACK    I-dummy    her-to  
           ‘“Let’s go back,” I (said) to her.’

<sup>31</sup>There is evidence in other languages also, such as modern German, that direct quotations do not exhibit the behavior normally associated with complement clauses. Cf. Emonds (1976).

<sup>32</sup>It is actually more common to question the content of a quotation with the question word *ama* ‘what’. However, even in this case, the dummy verb is required to frame the question.

*Ama*    *l-a*                    *dia-n?*  
           what    he-dummy    speak-SUB)  
           ‘What did he say?’<sup>323232</sup>

In other words, it is possible to ask a question that elicits a quotation in the response by using the same question word, as well as the same construction, that is used for asking a manner question.

### 3.2.2.4 The subject of dummy verb sentences

The subject of dummy verb sentences in Arawak is restricted to being a morphologically bound pronoun. Neither morphologically free pronouns nor full noun phrases with lexical noun heads are acceptable. If the context in which the sentence is spoken makes the referent of the pronoun unclear, the only way to disambiguate the sentence is to use an appositive NP at the end of the sentence.

- (183) a. *Ma-siki-n*            *l-a-bo*                    *iniabo*    *by-myn?*  
 PRIV-give-SUB    he-dummy-CONT    water    you-to  
 ‘Isn’t he giving you any water?’
- b. \**Ma-siki-n*            *li*        *a-bo*                    *iniabo*    *by-myn?*  
 \*PRIV-give-SUB    he        dummy-CONT    water    you-to  
 \*‘Isn’t he giving you any water?’
- c. \**M-siki-n*            *li*        *wadili*    *a-bo*                    *iniabo*    *by-myn?*  
 \*PRIV-give-SUB    the        man        dummy-CONT    water    you-to  
 \*‘Isn’t the man giving you any water?’
- d. *Ma-sikii-n*            *l-a-bo*                    *iniabo*    *by-myn,*    *li*        *wadili?*  
 PRIV-give-SUB    he-dummy-CONT    water    you-to    the        man  
 ‘Isn’t he, the man, giving you any water?’

This restriction is reminiscent of a general discourse restriction in Arawak on the use of full noun phrases. It seems to be the case, generally, that a full noun phrase in subject position can only be used to introduce participants or inanimate referents into a discourse; all subsequent references to the same participant have to be made with a pronoun or a pronoun with an appositive phrase following the VP. Since the Left sentential adjunction position (LSAP) position seems to be used to highlight new information, then if the LSAP is present, the subject of a dummy verb sentence is probably old information and therefore must be in the form of a pronoun.

This argument is not sufficient, however. It explains why full NP subjects are not acceptable in dummy verb sentences, but does not explain why morphologically free pronouns are not acceptable. The general discourse restriction mentioned above covers only the use of full NPs with lexical nouns as heads. In non dummy verb sentences, both free and morphologically bound pronouns can be used to get around it. However, free pronouns cannot be used as subjects in dummy verb sentences.

An explanation for the unacceptability of morphologically free pronoun subjects for the dummy verb may lie in the nature of the dummy verb itself. In sentences without dummy verbs, INFL is expressed as suffixes on the verb. As was mentioned in the discussion on basic- and a-stem verbs, the last vowel of a verb stem affects the aspect of the verb. Since this alternation is also present in the dummy verb, it is not unreasonable to postulate that INFL, whether or not it has any tense affixes, contains at least an aspect marker. The dummy verb might then be a lexicalization of the affix marker along with any other tense

affixes in INFL. However, all the material in INFL seems to be morphologically dependent—perhaps including the dummy verb. If the dummy verb is morphologically dependent, it must attach to something. Fully specified NP's are not available<sup>33</sup> because of the discourse considerations mentioned above. Morphologically free pronouns are not available because they can never receive verbal suffixes. The only class of nominals available is that of morphologically bound pronouns.

Alternatively, there may be an explanation for the above phenomena based on Case Theory. In the theory of Government and Binding, Chomsky (1982) proposed that the prohibition of lexical NPs in, for example, the subject position of an infinitive construction is based on a case filter which says that every NP with a phonetic matrix must have Case. Put negatively, this means that a lexical NP is prohibited if it does not receive Case.

- (184). Case Filter (Chomsky 1982:49)  
<sup>\*NP</sup> if NP has phonetic content and no Case

If one argues backward from this principle, one might suppose that the reason lexical NPs are prohibited from being the subject of the dummy verb is that the dummy verb (or INFL) does not assign Case to its subject in a dummy verb sentence. However, there is no evident reason why the dummy verb should not assign Case to its subject, so a stipulation would apparently be required.

### 3.2.3 Stative sentences

Arawak stative sentences are those sentences which do not describe an event. They seem to fall into three groups. The first two each contain two noun phrases in an equative or attributive relation, respectively, and the third has a stative verb with a single noun phrase as subject.

#### 3.2.3.1 Equative and attributive sentences

Equative sentences consist of a noun phrase followed by the copular verb *to*, followed by another noun phrase.

- (185) a. *Nederland khondo to de ojo.*  
 Netherlands inhabitant is my mother  
 'My mother is Dutch.'
- b. *Bylhyta-alhin ron to da-thi.*  
 scratch-one.who.habitually.does only is my-father  
 'My father is only a writer (i.e. has no other profession).'
- c. *De to bylhyta-alhin.*  
 I am write-one.who.habitually.does  
 'I am a writer.'

Attributive sentences are like the above in that they contain two noun phrases, but are unlike them in two ways: the noun phrases are associated by simple juxtaposition without a verb;

<sup>33</sup>Nouns sometimes appear to be able to receive some verbal suffixes. However, when they do, they are behaving as stative verbs.

and one of the noun phrases, generally the first,<sup>34</sup> consists of a free relative clause. It could be argued that such a clause has a true relative clause construction with an empty head position, since its head would, in all cases, be identical to the second NP of the sentence.

- (186) a. *Kydy-tho*                    *to*.  
           heavy-WH.SUBJ        it  
           ‘It is heavy.’
- b. *Kydy-tho*                    *to*     *siba*.  
           heavy-WH.SUBJ        the     stone  
           ‘The stone is heavy.’
- c. *Firo-thi*                    *li*     *wadili*.  
           big-WH.SUBJ            the     man  
           ‘The man is big.’
- d. *Wakhai-tho*                *kho*    *to*     *hala*.  
           bad-WH.SUBJ            not    the     bench  
           ‘The bench is very good.’

Although several of the above attributive sentences contain the form *to*, this *to* is the article ‘the’ and is not the same as the copular verb *to* found in equative sentences. Unlike the copular verb, the article must agree with the gender and number of the head of the noun phrase, i.e. *to* ‘the (non-masculine)’, *li* ‘the (masculine singular)’ *na* ‘the (human plural)’. Furthermore, equative sentences are divided into three intonational units, with potential hesitation points before and after the copula. Attributive sentences are usually spoken with a single intonation contour, and one cannot pause between the article and the rest of the noun phrase.

### 3.2.3.2 Stative sentences with stative verbs

Stative sentences can also be constructed with a stative verb as their main verb (see Section 2.4.2 on stative verbs) followed by a subject noun phrase.

- (187). *Alekhebe-ka*                *li*     *wadili*.  
           happy-INDIC            the     man  
           ‘The man is/was happy.’

<sup>34</sup>I have recorded several instances where the order of the NPs is reversed. However, in these cases the first NP seems to behave as if it is in the TOPIC position of the sentence. It has to be old information, and is usually separated intonationally and rhythmically from the rest. Furthermore, when editing their own texts, Arawaks often add a sentence final pronoun to such sentences, making the last part of the sentence, again, into an attributive sentence starting with a relative clause and ending with an NP.

*To siba, kydy-tho*.  
 the stone heavy-WH.SUBJ  
 ‘The stone is heavy.’  
 ‘Concerning the stone, (it) is heavy.’

*To siba, kydy-tho to*.  
 the stone heavy-WH-SUBJ it  
 ‘Concerning the stone, it is heavy.’

These sentences differ both from the other stative sentences and from event sentences. Unlike other stative sentences which have, at most, a bare copula for a verb, the verb in stative verb sentences can receive a rather full set of tense, affix, and pronoun affixes.<sup>35</sup>

- (188) a. *Jara-ka*            *bo*.  
           here-INDIC      you  
           ‘You are here.’
- b. *Hebe-fa*            *to*        *dalhidi-koana*.  
           full-FUT        the        run-thing  
           ‘The car/bus will be full.’
- c. *Seme-ka*            *to*        *sikalho*.  
           sweet-INDIC      the        sugarcane  
           ‘The sugarcane is sweet.’
- d. *Somole-ka-i*        *hibin*.  
           drunk-INDIC-he    already  
           ‘He is already drunk.’

As can be seen in the above examples, this type of sentence also differs from other types in its word order. This is the only type of sentence in Arawak where the subject clearly seems to follow the verb.<sup>36</sup>

(189) a. Stative sentence:

*Fonasia-fa*        *lirabo*.  
 hungry-FUT    he.over.there  
 ‘He will be hungry.’

      b. Simple intransitive event sentence:

*Lirabo*            *osy-fa*.  
 he.over.there    go-FUT  
 ‘He will go.’

In addition to the basic verb-subject ordering for these stative sentences, one occasionally does find subject-first ones. However, such sentences seem to be the result of subject fronting. As is the case with event sentences, in stative sentences it is also possible to front various constituents to the LSAP position.

<sup>35</sup>See Figure 8 in Section 2.4.2.1 for a summary of stative verb affixes.

<sup>36</sup>Semantically, the second NP in attributive sentences seems more subject-like than the first. However, there is always some uncertainty created by the fact that the first constituent in attributive sentences seems to be an NP also, and therefore might be the subject.

In event sentences, I have no clear examples of a subject, other than a relative pronoun or question word, moving to the LSAP position.<sup>37</sup> This may simply be because subject position is adjacent to the LSAP and therefore such movement is undetectable.

In stative verb sentences, however, the subject can be fronted to LSAP, and the results of this fronting are visible. The fronting creates stative verb sentences with what appears to be a surface subject-verb constituent order. That this subject has landed in the LSAP position can be shown by the fact that in stative sentences with fronted subjects, no other constituents can be fronted to the LSAP.

- (190) a. *Hebe-fa*      *to*      *dalhidi-koana*      *mothi*.  
           full-FUT      the      run-thing      tomorrow  
           ‘The car will be full tomorrow.’
- b. *Mothi*      *hebe-fa*      *to*      *dalhidi-koana*.  
           tomorrow      full-FUT      the      run-thing  
           ‘Tomorrow the car will be full.’
- c. *To*      *dalhidi-koana*      *hebe-fa*      *mothi*.  
           the      run-thing      full-FUT      tomorrow  
           ‘The car will be full tomorrow.’
- d. \**Mothi*      *to*      *dalhidi-koana*      *hebe-fa*.  
           \*tomorrow      the      run-thing      full-FUT  
           \*‘Tomorrow the car will be full.’

That the nominal following stative verbs is, in fact, the subject can be shown by the fact that when it is relativized, the subject-relativization suffix *-thi/-tho* WH.SUBJ appears.

- (191) a. *aba*      *hebe-tho*      *kekere*  
           a      full-WH.SUBJ      basket  
           ‘a full basket / a basket which is full’
- b. *to*      *hebe-tho*      *ada-yda*  
           the      yellow-WH.SUBJ      tree-skin  
           ‘the yellow bark’

It is possible to use postpositions in Arawak as stative verbs (see also Section 2.4.2.2 on derived stative verbs) by simply placing them in the verb position in the clause. When used in this way, they can receive tense and aspect suffixes as well as the pronominal prefixes and suffixes normally used with stative verbs. Interestingly, sentences of this type have two NP arguments and could be regarded as stative analogues to transitive event sentences. As in other stative sentences, the subject in these sentences also follows the verb.

<sup>37</sup>That a question word or relative pronoun is in the LSAP position can be shown by the fact that it cannot be preceded by another fronted constituent (unless that constituent is in TOPIC position). Thus the following sentence, spoken without an intonation break between ‘tomorrow’ and the rest of the sentence, is unacceptable:

\**Mothi*      *alikan*      *fonasia-fa?*  
 \*tomorrow      who      hungry-FUT  
 \*‘Tomorrow who will be hungry?’

- (192) a. *Mothi bahy loko-fa no.*  
 tomorrow house in-FUT she  
 ‘Tomorrow she will be in the house.’
- b. *Lo-jono koboroko-ka da-mathia.*  
 his-extended.family among-INDIC my-friend  
 ‘My friend is (e.g. sitting there) with his family.’
- c. *Tho-loko-ka-i.*  
 it-in-INDIC-he  
 ‘He is in it (e.g. the house).’

Again, the grammatical roles of the nominals in question can be identified through the test of relativization. Arawak seems to treat the noun phrase preceding such a postpositional verb as an object, and the one following as a subject. As is the case with both event and stative clauses, when the subject, in this case the nominal following the verb, is relativized, the subject relativization suffix *-tho/-thi* (WH.SUBJ) appears.

- (193) a. *Bahy oko-ka li wadili.*  
 house in-INDIC the man  
 ‘The man is in the house.’
- b. *li wadili bahy loko-thi*  
 the man house in-WH.SUBJ  
 ‘the man in the house’
- c. *Li wadili [da-sikoa loko-thi koba] anda.*  
 the man [my-house in-WH.SUBJ past] arrive  
 ‘The man, who used to be in my house, came.’

When the nominal preceding the verb in these sentences is relativized, it is treated the same as an object of transitive event sentence, and the object-relativization suffix *-sia* (WH.OBJ) appears (see also Chapter 4 on relative clauses).

- (194) *to sikoa ama loko-sia-ka li wadili...*  
 the house what in-WH.OBJ-INDIC the man...  
 ‘the house in which the man is/was...’

## Chapter 4

# Relative Clauses

Several of the preceding sections have dealt in some detail with relative clauses. In particular, sections on the structure of the noun phrase discussed their distribution, and sections dealing with the LSAP (Left Sentential Adjunct Position) of the sentence and the structure of dummy verb sentences started to give some idea of the internal structure of relative clauses. The picture presented so far, however, has been sketchy and simplified. For example, almost none of the relative clauses treated in the above sections contained relative pronouns.

The structure of relative clauses and relative-clause-like constructions in Arawak exhibits a fair range of complexity. Relative pronouns are optional in many cases and required in others; the subject- and object-relativizing verb suffixes sometimes seem to be optional; the verb-subordinating suffix is sometimes present and other times not. Postpositions may or may not be stranded by relative pronoun fronting, depending on the postposition. The following sections attempt to develop an analysis of these facts.

A number of necessarily interconnected issues need to be discussed in this context. In order to do this in an organized fashion, it will be useful to begin with a general characterization of Arawak relative clauses, and then to discuss problems with, or issues arising out of, this characterization in more detail later. In general, the following statements hold for Arawak relative clauses:

1. A number of constituents in Arawak are accessible to relativization.
2. Relative clauses have the same structure as non-relative event and stative clauses with the following exceptions:
  - a) They contain a gap.
  - b) They may have a relative pronoun in the clause-initial LSAP which corresponds to the gap.
  - c) In the case of subject and object relativization, the verb is marked by special suffixes: *-thi/-tho*, or *-sia*, respectively. Relativization of other constituents is not indicated on the verb.

### 4.1 Differences in Pre- and Post-Head Relative Clauses

One of the distinctions already made with regard to Arawak relative clauses is between those that precede their head and those that follow it. Previous sections on the constituents of the noun phrase (3.1) dealt chiefly with the kinds, or complexity, of relative clauses



which can appear in these two positions—“heavy” relative clauses occur after the head while “light” ones may either precede or follow it—and with the interaction between the possessor NP position of the matrix noun phrase and pre-head relative clauses. The distinction between pre-head and post-head relative clauses, in turn, correlates with the acceptability of an overt WH-word in the LSAP of the relative clause. An explicit WH-word is never acceptable in a pre-head relative clause but is generally optional in a post-head one.

- (195) a. *Da-malhiti-fa to bahy tho-myn.*  
 I-make-FUT the house her-for  
 ‘I will make the house for her.’
- b. *to bahy [da-malhiti-sia-fa ∅ tho-myn]*  
 the house [I-make-WH.OBJ-FUT ∅ her-for]  
 ‘the house I will make for her’
- c. *to bahy [ama da-malhiti-sia-fa ∅ tho-myn]*  
 the house [what I-make-WH.OBJ-FUT ∅ her-for]  
 ‘the house which I will make for her’
- d. *to [da-malhiti-sia-fa ∅] bahy*  
 the [I-make-WH.OBJ-FUT ∅] house  
 ‘the house I will make’
- e. *\*to [ama da-malhiti-sia-fa ∅] bahy*  
 \*the [what I-make-WH.OBJ-FUT ∅] house  
 \*‘the house which I will make’
- (196) a. *Na ibili-non dalhida bahy-nro.*  
 the little-HUMAN.PL run house-toward  
 ‘The children ran home.’
- b. *na ibili-non [∅ dalhidi-thi bahy-nro]*  
 the little-HUMAN.PL [∅ run-WH.SUBJ house-toward]  
 ‘the children who ran home’
- c. *na ibili-non [alikan ∅ dalhidi-thi bahy-nro]*  
 the little-HUMAN.PL [who ∅ run-WH.SUBJ house-toward]  
 ‘the children who ran home’
- d. *na [∅ dalhidi-thi] ibili-non*  
 the [∅ run-WH.SUBJ] little-HUMAN.PL  
 ‘the children who ran’
- e. *\*na [alikan ∅ dalhidi-thi] ibili-non*  
 \*the [who ∅ run-WH.SUBJ] little-HUMAN.PL  
 \*‘the children who ran’

Other than modifications made to the above relative clauses to make them heavy or light enough to appear in their respective positions, the clauses are similar in all other respects:

each has a gap, and each has an obligatory relativizer suffix appropriate to the grammatical role of the gap attached to its main verb. Note also that neither type of relative clause has the subordinating suffix *-n*, characteristic of other embedded clauses types, attached to the its verb.<sup>1</sup>

(197) a. No relativizing suffix:

\*to *bahy* [*ama da-malhiti-fa*  $\emptyset$  *tho-myn*]  
 \*the house [what I-make-FUT  $\emptyset$  her-for]  
 \*‘the house which I will make for her’

b. \*to [*da-malhiti-fa*  $\emptyset$ ] *bahy*  
 \*the [I-make-WH.OBJ-FUT  $\emptyset$ ] house  
 \*‘the house I will make’

(198) a. With subordinating suffix:

\*to *bahy* [*ama da-malhiti-n-sia-fa*  $\emptyset$  *tho-myn*]  
 \*the house [what I-make-SUB-WH.OBJ-FUT  $\emptyset$  her-for]  
 \*‘the house which I will make for her’

b. \*to [*da-malhiti-n-sia-fa*  $\emptyset$ ] *bahy*  
 \*the [I-make-SUB-WH.OBJ-FUT  $\emptyset$ ] house  
 \*‘the house I will make’

It therefore seems to be just the linear position of the relative clause with respect to the noun phrase head which determines whether an explicit relative pronoun is acceptable or not in Arawak.

A possible explanation for this linear order effect may lie in the fact that conflicting principles are applying to pre-head relative clauses. That is, it is a general fact of Arawak that relative pronoun movement is to the COMP-like position I have labeled “LSAP” and that this position is to the left of the rest of the clause. Yet there seems to be a preference across languages for nothing to intervene between a relative pronoun and the head of the noun phrase. Assuming that the latter is true of Arawak also, pre-head relative clauses can satisfy both principles only if they do not have an explicit relative pronoun in LSAP, since their LSAP is not adjacent to the head of the noun phrase. On the other hand, Arawak post-head relative clauses allow both principles to be satisfied whether or not they have an explicit relative pronoun.

The presence or absence of a relative pronoun in the LSAP position of a post-head relative clause is not without semantic consequences. Relative clauses with relative pronouns tend to be non-restrictive relative clauses,<sup>2</sup> while those without seem to be restrictive ones. For instance, the relative clauses in the sentences in the first set of examples below (199) are all

<sup>1</sup>The unacceptability of the subordinating suffix in these clauses is not due to an incompatibility between it and the relativizing suffixes. Both can co-occur in free relative clauses (see sections below).

<sup>2</sup>Although the majority of post-head relative clauses with explicit relative pronouns seem to receive a non-restrictive interpretation, a few seem to be restrictive. For example:

*Jan papada to kabajaha [ama  $\emptyset$  rydy-tho-i].*  
 John squash the tick [what  $\emptyset$  bite-WH.SUBJ-him  
 ‘John squashed the tick which bit him’

non-restrictive. The relative clauses in them provide additional information about the noun phrases they modify, rather than limiting the range of possible referents of those noun phrases. The relative clauses in the second set of examples (200), on the other hand, are restrictive. They provide information which the speaker assumes will help the hearer identify a particular referent out of a larger group of possible referents. The contrast, which is quite subtle in most cases, becomes clearer when the head being modified is a proper noun (e.g. 200c.) In this case, the proper name apparently is assumed to be sufficient identification to single out this individual from any others. Adding a restrictive relative clause is unacceptable unless there are several persons named John from which to choose.<sup>3</sup>

(199) a. Non-restrictive with indefinite NP:

*Aba wadili alikan siki-thi-fa no da-myn andy-fa jon.*  
 one man who give-WH.SUBJ-FUT it me-to arrive-FUT here  
 ‘A man, who will give it to me, will arrive here.’

b. Non-restrictive with definite NP:

*Li wadili alikan siki-thi-fa no da-myn andy-fa jon.*  
 the man who give-WH.SUBJ-FUT it me-to arrive-FUT here  
 ‘The man, who will give it to me, will arrive here.’

c. Non-restrictive with proper name:

*Li Jan alikan siki-thi-fa no da-myn andy-fa jon.*  
 the John who give-WH.SUBJ-FUT it me-to arrive-FUT here  
 ‘John, who will give it to me, will arrive here.’

(200) a. Restrictive with indefinite NP:

*Aba wadili siki-thi-fa no da-myn andy-fa jon.*  
 one man give-WH.SUBJ-FUT it me-to arrive-FUT here  
 ‘A man who will give it to me will arrive here.’

b. Restrictive with definite NP:

*Li wadili siki-thi-fa no da-myn andy-fa jon.*  
 the man give-WH.SUBJ-FUT it me-to arrive-FUT here  
 ‘The man who will give it to me will arrive here.’

c. Restrictive with proper name:

*??Li Jan siki-thi-fa no da-myn andy-fa jon.*  
 ??the John give-WH.SUBJ-FUT it me-to arrive-FUT here  
 ??‘John who will give it to me will arrive here.’

<sup>3</sup>As was mentioned in the discussion on noun phrases (3.1), Arawak often uses definite articles with proper names. The presence of the definite article in example 200c has no influence on its unacceptability. If it is left out, the clause is still unacceptable.

That the presence of an overt relative pronoun should influence a restrictive or non-restrictive interpretation of a relative clause is not unique to Arawak. An overt relative pronoun in English seems to allow either a restrictive or non-restrictive reading.

(201) a. Restrictive:

the man whom you met ...

b. Non-restrictive:

John, whom you met ...

However, if a relative clause in English lacks a relative pronoun, or contains the complementizer ‘that’ in its COMP position, only the restrictive reading seems to be possible.

(202) a. Restrictive:

the man I met yesterday...  
the man that I met yesterday...

b. Non-restrictive:

\*John I met yesterday...  
\*John that I met yesterday...

#### 4.2 Free Relative Clauses

In addition to the relative clauses mentioned in the preceding section, Arawak has what appear to be free relative clauses—that is, relative clauses without overt lexical heads. Notice, for example, the similarity in structure between the free relative clause in the English sentence below, and an equivalent one in an Arawak sentence.

(203) a. I sold what he gave me yesterday.

b. *Da-jokara*    *ama*    *li-siki-n-sia*                      *miaka*.  
I-sell            what    he-give-SUB-WH.OBJ    yesterday  
‘I sold what he gave me yesterday.’

As in English, free relative clauses in Arawak have a structure almost identical to that of other relative clauses, and they do not seem to be associated with the head of any particular noun phrase. Instead, they seem to function in the place of whole noun phrases. Like other relative clauses, they contain appropriate subject- and object-relativizing suffixes and, optionally, may have an explicit relative pronoun.

(204) a. As subject:

[*Li moty-n-thi*]                      *mithada-bo*                      *we*.  
 [the win-SUB-WH.SUBJ] laugh.transitive-CONT us  
 ‘The winner laughed at us.’

b. As direct object:

*N-othi-ka*                      [*ama n-ansi-n-sia*].  
 they-receive-INDIC [what they-want-SUB-WH.OBJ]  
 ‘They received/got what they wanted.’

c. As direct object:

*Thy-dykha*    [*aba diadiady-n-tho*].  
 she-see        [one chat/gossip-SUB-WH.SUBJ]  
 ‘She saw a gossip.’

d. As object of a postposition:

*N-obada-bo*                      [*li jady-n-thi*]                      *boran*.  
 they-wait-CONT [the travel-SUB-WH.SUBJ] before  
 ‘They are waiting for the traveler.’

Whether these relative clauses are, in fact, free or lexically headed is not certain. Every clause in Arawak which appears to be a free relative clause starts with a word which might, in fact, be interpreted as a pronominal head. That is, as in the above examples, the apparent free relative clauses all start with a relative pronoun, a number, or an article. The latter two might be taken to be the determiners of noun phrases. However, this is not necessarily the case. The Arawak definite articles are all morphologically identical with pronouns of the same number and gender (see Sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2), and numerals can also function as heads of noun phrases.

(205)a. *li wadili*                      *aba wadili*  
 the man                      one man  
 ‘the man’                      ‘a man’

b. *Li osa-bo.*                      *Aba osa-bo.*  
 he go-CONT                      one go-CONT  
 ‘He is going.’                      ‘One of them is going.’

A further bit of evidence that the determiners of free relative clauses may, in fact, be pronominal heads is that the presence of the initial relative pronoun, article, or number is obligatory. This contrasts with the fact that indefinite (non-mass) noun phrases in Arawak are acceptable without an indefinite article or a number when the exact number of items or referents is not relevant or when a plural suffix is used on the head noun.

- (206) a. *Wa-dykha aba hime.*  
 we-see one fish  
 ‘We saw a fish.’
- b. *Wa-dykha hime.*  
 We-see fish  
 ‘We saw fish.’
- (206) a. *Wa-dykha aba andy-n-thi.*  
 we-see one arrive-SUB-WH.SUBJ  
 ‘We saw the arriver / one who arrived.’
- b. \**Wa-dykha andy-n-thi.*  
 \*we-see arrive-SUB-WH.SUBJ  
 \*‘We saw the arriver.’

Although the above facts make it seem possible that these free relative clauses are simply normal relative clauses with pronominal heads, this may not be the best analysis. It is also possible to analyze them as nominalized clauses. All of the above ‘free’ relative clauses contain an element not found in other relative clauses—the subordinating suffix *-n* (glossed ‘SUB’ in all the preceding examples), and it may be that this suffix should be viewed as a nominalizer. This same suffix appears on the verb in non-relative complement clauses and also whenever a clause appears in the TOPIC position of a sentence. Furthermore, when a clause appears in the TOPIC position of a sentence, it is preceded by an article (see Section 3.2.1.2 on sentence structure).

- (208) a. *D-eitha l-osy-n-fa.*  
 I-know he-go-SUB-FUT  
 ‘I know he went.’
- b. *To n-andy-n jon, n-akoba bania.*  
 the they-arrive-SUB there they-breathe short.time  
 ‘(Concerning) them arriving there, they took a short breather.’

### 4.3 Embedded Questions

Embedded questions look like relative clauses, except that they do not have any of the subject- or object-relativizing suffixes, characteristic of relative and free relative clauses, on their main verb. Furthermore, this lack of a relativization suffix correlates with the obligatory presence of a question word or phrase in these same clauses. Like the free relative clauses in the previous section, these clauses all contain verbs with the subordinating suffix *-n*.

- (209) a. *D-eitha ama li-siki-n da-myn.*  
 I-know what he-give-SUB me-to  
 ‘I know what he gave to me.’
- b. *D-eitha alikan wakydy-n to kodo*  
 I-know who break-SUB the gourd  
 ‘I know who broke the gourd.’

c. *Da-aka bo hibin alikan fary-n to kalhina.*  
 I-tell you already who kill-SUB the chicken  
 ‘I already told you who killed the chicken.’

In spite of the similarity in appearance to relative clauses and free relative clauses, the above clauses should not be analyzed as belonging to either group. These clauses occur only as sentential complements for verbs of saying and thinking like *eithin* ‘to know’, *akan* ‘to tell’, and *onabyn* ‘to answer’. Furthermore, except for the presence of the subordinating suffix,<sup>4</sup> their form is identical to that of independent content question clauses.

Figure 21 summarizes the occurrence of the subject- and object-relativizer suffixes, the subordinator suffix, and WH-words in the various constructions discussed in the previous pages.

	RELATIVIZER SUFFIX	SUBORDINATOR SUFFIX	WH- WORD
PRE-HEAD RELATIVE	+	–	–
POST-HEAD RELATIVE	+	–	+ /–
FREE RELATIVE	+	+	+ /–
EMBEDDED QUESTION	–	+	+
NON-EMBEDDED QUESTION	–	–	+ /–

Figure 21. Structural Features of Relative-Clause-Like Constructions

#### 4.4 Constituents Accessible to Relativization

Preceding sections have given a number of examples of relativized subjects and direct objects, but there has been no discussion of exactly which constituents are accessible to relativization. As is the case with most languages, Arawak places restrictions on what constituents can be relativized with a given strategy. The following sections briefly discuss how Arawak functions in this regard.

##### 4.4.1 Subject Relativization

When the subject of a clause is relativized, the main verb of the clause is marked with the subject-relativizing suffix *-thi* (WH.SUBJ) if that subject is masculine, or with the non-masculine suffix *-tho* (WH.SUBJ) if it is non-masculine.<sup>5</sup> This is true for both event verbs and stative verbs. For example, in (210a), *wadili* ‘man’ is masculine and requires *-thi* on the verb, whereas *kabajaha* ‘tick’ is classified as non-masculine and therefore requires *-tho* (in 210b). Similarly, in (210c) a masculine suffix is required, while in (210d) the referent is non-masculine.

(210) a. Masculine:

*Li wadili [∅ siki-thi to hala da-myn] andy-fa mothi.*  
 the man [∅ give-WH.SUBJ the bench me-to] arrive-FUT tomorrow  
 ‘The man who gave the bench to me will arrive tomorrow.’

<sup>4</sup>The presence of the subordinating suffix also causes some adjustments in the last vowel of the verb stem. See Section 2.4.1.1 on basic- and *a*- stem verbs.

<sup>5</sup>See Sections 2.3.1.2 and 2.3.3.2 for a discussion of noun gender classes.

## b. Non-masculine:

*Jan papada to kabajaha [∅ rydy-tho-i].*  
 John squash the tick [∅ bite-WH.SUBJ-him]  
 ‘John squashed the tick that bit him.’

## c. Masculine:

*Li [∅ tojo-thi] anda.*  
 He [∅ mature-WH.SUBJ] arrive  
 ‘The old, respected man arrived.’

## d. Non-masculine:

*To [∅ tojo-tho] anda*  
 it/she [∅ mature-WH.SUBJ] arrive  
 ‘The old, respected woman arrived.’

The relative pronoun corresponding to the subject of the relative clause may or may not be present if the clause is in the post-head position of the noun phrase.<sup>6</sup>

(211) a. *Li wadili [alikan ∅ siki-thi to hala da-myn] andy-fa mothi.*  
 the man [who ∅ give-WH.SUBJ the bench me-to] arrive-FUT tomorrow  
 ‘The man who gave the bench to me will arrive tomorrow.’

b. *Jan papada to kabajaha [ama ∅ rydy-tho-i].*  
 John squash the tick [what ∅ bite-WH.SUBJ-him]  
 ‘John squashed the tick which bit him.’

## 4.4.2 Direct Object Relativization

When the direct object of a clause is relativized in Arawak, the main verb of the clause receives the suffix *-sia* (WH.OBJ). Unlike the subject-relativizer suffixes, the object-relativizing suffix is not differentiated as to the grammatical gender of the referent.

(212) a. *Li wadili [da-soko-sia ∅ miaka] wada-bo da-boran.*  
 the man [I-hit-WH.OBJ ∅ yesterday] search-CONT me-for  
 ‘The man I hit yesterday is searching for me.’

b. *To hiaro [da-dykhy-sia ∅ to mothia] obada-bo da-bora.*  
 the female [I-see-WH.OBJ ∅ the morning] wait-cont. me-for  
 ‘The girl I saw this morning is waiting for me.’

c. *To khota-ha [l-ojo boko-sia ∅ lo-myn] minkakho semen.*  
 the animal-NGEN [his-mother cook-WH.OBJ ∅ him-for] very sweet  
 ‘The meat his mother cooked for him was delicious.’

<sup>6</sup>See Sections 3.1.4 and 3.1.6 for the discussion of pre- and post-head relative clauses.



Again, whenever any of the above relative clauses occurs in a post-head position, an overt relative pronoun may be optionally present.

- (213) *Li wadili [alikan da-soko-sia ∅ miaka] wada-bo da-boran.*  
 the man [who I-hit-WH.OBJ ∅ yesterday] search-CONT me-for  
 ‘The man who I hit yesterday is searching for me.’

#### 4.4.3 Indirect Object Relativization

As mentioned in the discussion of event sentence structure (Section 3.2.1) the indirect object of a clause is almost always found in a postpositional phrase with the benefactive postposition *myn* ‘to/for’. Such indirect objects can be relativized by simply omitting the noun phrase from its position as the object of the postposition *myn*, thus stranding the postposition.

- (214) a. *Jan sika to hala li wadili myn miakaboan.*  
 John give the bench the man to day.before.yesterday  
 ‘John gave the bench to the man the day before yesterday.’
- b. *Li wadili [Jan sika to hala ∅ myn miakaboan] osa jada-nro miaka.*  
 the man [John give the bench ∅ to day.before.yesterday] go trip-toward yesterday  
 ‘The man John gave the bench to the day before yesterday went on a trip yesterday.’

Relative clauses like the above are also acceptable with an overt relative pronoun.

- (215) *Li wadili [alikan Jan sika to hala ∅ myn]...*  
 the man [who John give the bench ∅ to]...  
 ‘The man whom John gave the bench to...’

As mentioned earlier (Section 3.2.1), Arawak seems to sometimes allow bare indirect objects without a postposition. Indirect objects in such constructions cannot be relativized.

- (216) \**Li wadili [Jan sika ∅ to hala miakaboan] osa jada-nro miaka.*  
 \*the man [John give ∅ the bench day.before.yesterday] go trip-toward yesterday)  
 \*‘The man John gave the bench to the day before yesterday went on a trip yesterday.’

#### 4.4.4 Relativization of Objects of Postpositions

Relativizing the NP in an indirect object postpositional phrase (see above) is the only instance where the object of a postpositional phrase can be relativized with stranding of the postposition. Objects of other postpositions cannot be directly relativized.

- (217) a. *Jan balyta to hala diako.*  
 John sit the bench on  
 ‘John sat on the bench.’
- b. \**Adiakema siokon to hala [(ama) Jan balyta ∅ diako.]*  
 \*very small is bench [what John sit ∅ on]  
 \*‘The bench John sat on is very small.’

- (218) a. *Lo-soka sikalho ly-kasiparan abo.*  
 he-chop sugarcane his-machete with  
 ‘He chopped sugarcane with his machete.’
- b. \**Ly-wada-bo ly-kasiparan [lo-soka sikalho ∅ abo].*  
 \*he-search-PRES his-machete he-chop sugarcane ∅ with  
 \*‘He is looking for his machete that he chops sugarcane with.’

#### 4.4.4.1 Postposition stranding

The contrast between the acceptability of relativizing the noun phrase in an indirect object postpositional phrase and its unacceptability in other postpositional phrases shows up even more clearly when one considers examples of the benefactive use of the postposition *myn*. In addition to being used to indicate an indirect object, *myn* is also used in the sort of benefactive phrases that can be added to almost any event clause.

- (219) a. *Na-reke-bo to koban to hiaro myn.*  
 they-weed-PRES the planting.ground the woman for  
 ‘They are weeding the planting ground for the woman.’
- b. *To hiaro andy-fa kasiri abo na-myn.*  
 the woman arrive-FUT cassava.beer with them-for  
 ‘The woman will come with cassava beer for them.’

When *myn* is used as a benefactive in this way, rather than to indicate the indirect object, then it acts like any other postposition and cannot be stranded.

- (220). \**To hiaro na-reke-bo to koban ∅ myn andy-fa kasiri abo*  
 \*the woman they-weed-PRES the planting.ground ∅ for arrive-FUT cassava.beer with  
 \*‘The woman they are clearing the planting ground for will come with cassava beer.’

The locative postpositional phrases associated with verbs of motion such as *osyn* ‘to go’ and *andyn* ‘to arrive’ also seem to be part of the VP,<sup>7</sup> and yet the postpositions of those phrases cannot be stranded, either.

- (221) a. *L-osa to siko loko-nro.*  
 he-go the house in-toward  
 ‘He went into the house.’
- b. \**Da-dykha to siko [ama l-osa ∅ loko-nro].*  
 \*I-see the house [what he-go ∅ in-toward]  
 \*I saw the house he went into.
- (222) a. *L-anda to onikhan amyn.*  
 he-arrive the creek at/by  
 ‘He arrived at the creek.’

<sup>7</sup>As is the case with direct and indirect objects, nothing other than certain aspect words can come between a motion verb and the locative for which it subcategorizes. See Sections 3.2.1.3 for a discussion of event sentence structure.

- b. \**D-eikasia*    *to*    *onikhan*    *ama*    *l-anda*     $\emptyset$     *amyn.*  
 \*I-forget    the    creek    what    he-arrive     $\emptyset$     at/by  
 \*‘I have forgotten the creek which he arrived at.’
- c. \**D-eikasia*    *to*    *onikhan*    *alon*    *l-anda*     $\emptyset$     *amyn.*  
 \*I-forget    the    creek    where    he-arrive     $\emptyset$     at/by  
 \*‘I have forgotten the creek where he arrived at.’

Perhaps what is of concern is how closely a postpositional phrase is associated with the verb. Arawak appears to only allow stranding of the postposition of the postpositional phrase most closely tied to the verb—the indirect object postposition *myn*. One piece of evidence in Arawak that the indirect object is more closely tied to the verb is that Arawak verbs of motion subcategorize for, but do not absolutely require, the presence of a locative postpositional phrase. The subcategorization of the verb seems to be stronger for the indirect object than for a locative phrase. For example, sentences such as

(223) a. *L-osa.*

he-go  
 ‘He went/left.’

b. *L-anda.*

he-arrive  
 ‘He arrived.’

without locative phrases are acceptable even without a discourse context.<sup>8</sup> Verbs like *sikin* ‘to give’, on the other hand, can omit mention of their indirect object only if the previous discourse context makes it perfectly clear who the recipient (indirect object) is. Thus, the sentence

(224) *Li-sika*        *athaha.*  
 he-give        alcoholic.drink  
 ‘He gave drink.’

is acceptable only in a context such as one where it is preceded by a question like:

(225) *Ama li-sika na-myn?*  
 what he-give them-to  
 ‘What did he give to them?’

One other related possibility for explaining the acceptability of stranding the indirect object postposition, but not locative ones within the VP, is to consider exactly what is being subcategorized for by the verb. Motion verbs subcategorize for an entire locative phrase, postposition and all. The specific locative information given by the postposition is crucial to the meaning of the clause. In the case of ditransitive verbs, however, the indirect object postposition seems to add nothing to the meaning of the sentence. It is only the object of that postposition which is important.

Perhaps one way to represent these facts syntactically is to propose that the indirect object NP is a semantic complement of the ditransitive verb and therefore directly governed

<sup>8</sup>However, semantically, a very generic locative notion like ‘here’ or ‘there’ is still present.

by it—in spite of the presence of the postposition *myn*. For motion verbs, on the other hand, it is the entire postpositional phrase which is the complement, and the verb governs that entire phrase.<sup>9</sup>

#### 4.4.4.2 Strategies to avoid postposition stranding

Arawak has at its disposal several strategies that can be employed to avoid stranding of postpositions. One of these strategies seems equivalent to what, in English, has been called “Pied Piping” (Ross 1967). That is, instead of stranding the postposition, the whole postpositional phrase can be fronted to the LSAP position of a clause. In all such cases in Arawak, the relative pronoun representing the object of the postposition (e.g. *ama* ‘what’, *alikan* ‘who’, *alon* ‘where’) must be used and is found in the normal position for that object, i.e. immediately preceding the postposition.

(226) a. *Adiakema siokon to hala [[ama diako] Jan balyta Ø].*  
 very small is/the bench [[what on] John sit Ø]  
 ‘The bench on which John sat was very small.’

b. *To kodo [[ama loko] th-othika to polata Ø], kawa-ka.*  
 the gourd [[what in] she-find the money Ø] absent-indicative  
 ‘The gourd in which she had found the money is/was gone.’

c. *B-itha na wadili-be [[alikan oma] wa-diadiadyn Ø]?*  
 you-know the man-PL [[who with] we-chat Ø]  
 ‘Do you know the men we were chatting with?’

Pied Piping can also occur with indirect object postpositional phrases, even though the indirect object postposition *myn* can be stranded (see discussion in 4.4.4.1).

(227) *To hiaro [alikan myn li-sika ly-polatania Ø], kia to ly-dike-fary-koana.*  
 the female [who to he-give his-money Ø] that.one is his-footprint-kill-thing  
 ‘Concerning the woman to whom he gave his money, that is his wife (one who wipes out footprints perhaps so spell can’t be cast on husband).’

Another strategy for not stranding a postposition is to turn the postpositional phrase into a stative verb phrase. As mentioned previously,<sup>10</sup> postpositions may be used as stative verbs. This kind of verb can be used as the main verb of a two-argument stative clause. The object of this stative clause can then be relativized in much the same way as the direct object of a transitive event clause—basically, by moving it and adding the suffix *-sia* ‘WH.OBJ’ to the verb. The

<sup>9</sup>Thus one finds locative words which are equivalent to whole locative phrases, for example:

*L-osa malhikhotoa-sikoa ninro.*  
 he-go learn-house to  
 ‘He went to school.’

*L-osa jon.*  
 he-go there  
 ‘He went there.’

<sup>10</sup>See Section 2.4.2.2 on derived stative verbs and Section 3.2.3.2 on stative clause structure.

relevant relative pronoun (*ama* ‘what’, *alon* ‘where’, or *alikan* ‘who’) must appear in the LSAP position of this relative clause unless other adjustments are made to the clause (see below).

(228) a. *Jan balyta to hala diako.*  
 John sit the bench on  
 ‘John sat on the bench.’

b. *To hala [ama diako-sia Jan balyty-n]...*  
 the bench [what on-WH.OBJ John sit-SUB]  
 ‘The bench on which John is sitting...’

(229) a. *Li wadili jolhida koba to sikoa lokhodi.*  
 the man smoke.tobacco PAST the house in  
 ‘The man smoked in the house.’

b. *To sikoa [ama lokhodi-sia koba li wadili jolhida-n]...*  
 The house [what in-WH.OBJ PAST the man smoke-SUB]  
 ‘The house in which the man smoked ...’

It is possible to omit the relative pronoun in the LSAP position of the above relative clauses only if one adds a *ka-* ‘ATTR’ or *ma-* ‘PRIV’ prefix<sup>11</sup> to the verb, i.e. the verb formed from the postposition. Significantly, no such requirement holds for relative pronoun omission in the case of non-derived stative clauses.

(230) a. *To hala [ka-diako-sia Jan balyty-n]...*  
 the bench [ATTR-on-WH.OBJ John sit-SUB]  
 ‘The bench on which John is sitting...’

b. *To kodo [ka-loko-sia to kasiri]...*  
 the gourd [ATTR-in-WH.OBJ the cassava.beer]  
 ‘The gourd the cassava beer is in ...’

c. *To kodo [ma-loko-sia to kasiri]...*  
 the gourd [PRIV-in-WH.OBJ the cassava.beer]  
 ‘The gourd the cassava beer is not in ...’

Why this *ka-* or *ma-* is required in the above clauses when the relative pronoun is omitted and what it is syntactically is a bit of a puzzle.

<sup>11</sup>These prefixes are labeled attributive and privative because they appear to be similar in function to the *ka-* and *ma-* which can be used to derive an attributive or privative stative verb from many nouns. In the case of stative verbs derived from nouns, they signal that the subject of the clause is in the affirmative or negative state of having or possessing whatever the prefix *ka-* or *ma-* is attached to. See Section 2.4.2.2 on derived stative verbs. For example,

*Ka-sikoa-ka-i.*  
 ATTR-house-INDIC-he  
 ‘He is with house (i.e. he is in the state of having a house).’

*Ma-sikoa-ka-i.*  
 PRIV-house-INDIC-he  
 ‘He is not with house (i.e. he is in the state of not having a house).<sup>111111</sup>

The most likely possibility is that the *ka-* and *ma-* prefixes act like personless, genderless resumptive pronouns. In general, the only prefixes which occur in Arawak are the morphologically bound pronouns and the privative and attributive prefixes *ka-* and *ma-*, respectively. *Ka-* and *ma-* always occur in the same position as the morphologically bound pronouns occur and are mutually exclusive with them. Furthermore, both in these stative relative clauses, and when they are used with stative verbs derived from nouns, the head of the relative clause is always coreferential with the pronoun which would occur in the position of *ka-* or *ma-* if these prefixes were not present. Thus, in the preceding examples, *ka-* and *ma-* are located exactly where the pronouns representing ‘gourd’ and ‘bench’ would occur if the objects of these clauses were not relativized, and ‘gourd’ and ‘bench’ are the heads for these relative clauses.

Even assuming the prefixes in question are resumptive pronouns, the question remains why they should be obligatory in these relative clauses. The facts (summarized in Figure 22), again, are these: The object of a stative clause based on a postposition may be relativized by leaving a trace in the position of the object and using a relative pronoun in LSAP (example 231a). It is also possible to omit the relative pronoun in LSAP if one adds a ‘resumptive pronoun’ prefix to the verb (example 231b). It is unacceptable either to use the relative pronoun with a resumptive pronoun (example 231c) or to use neither (example 231d).

- (231) a. *To hala [ama [∅ diako-sia li Jan]]...*  
 the bench [what [∅ on-WH.OBJ the John]]  
 ‘The bench on which John is...’
- b. *To hala [∅ [ka-diako-sia li Jan]]...*  
 the bench [∅ [ATTR-on-WH.OBJ the John]]  
 ‘The bench on which John is...’
- c. *\*To hala [ama [ka-diako-sia li Jan]]...*  
 \*the bench [what [ATTR-on-WH.OBJ the John]]  
 \*‘The bench on which John is...’
- d. *\*To hala [∅ [∅ diako-sia li Jan]]...*  
 \*the bench [∅ [∅ on-WH.OBJ the John]]  
 \*‘The bench on which John is...’

[	N	[	LSAP	[	[	NP	V	]	NP	]]]
NP		S		S	VP					
(a)	bench		∅			<i>ka-</i>				
(b)	bench		WH			∅				
(c)	*bench		WH			<i>ka-</i>				
(d)	*bench		∅			∅				

Figure 22. Object Relativization in Stative Clauses

It is possible to explain the unacceptability of clauses with both a relative pronoun in LSAP position and a resumptive pronoun in object position (example 231c) if one assumes that the “Bijection Principle” holds for Arawak. This principle states that “each operator must bind one and only one variable” (Chomsky 1982:12). If the resumptive pronoun is

present, there is no trace available for the relative pronoun in LSAP to bind, and therefore the clause is unacceptable. Since I know of no data in Arawak which contradict this principle, it is not unreasonable to assume something like it applies.

The problem remains, however, why clauses (e.g. 231d) that have neither a relative pronoun in LSAP nor a resumptive pronoun in object position are bad. It does seem to be the case that the lack of both the relative pronoun and the resumptive pronoun presents a problem in perception. That is, hearers of such sentences miss the head-modifier interpretation and apparently assume the NP head is actually in the object position of the sentence. This is true in spite of the presence of the object-relativizer suffix *-sia* on the verb. Why this should occur in these clauses is not clear. In event sentences, traces in object and subject position are properly governed by the verb and INFL, respectively, and both subjects and objects can be properly governed without the presence of a relative pronoun.<sup>12</sup> However, a trace in object position in these stative sentences based on postpositions is unacceptable unless there is an explicit relative pronoun present.

There is yet another strategy employed in Arawak to avoid stranding a postposition. This is to incorporate the postpositional phrase into a pre-head relative clause.<sup>13</sup>

- (232) *Sioko-ka*        *[to*    *[Jan*    *balyty-sia*    *diako]*    *hala]*.  
 small-INDIC    [the    [John    sit-WH.OBJ    on]    bench]  
 ‘The John-sat-on bench is small (i.e. The bench John sat on is small).’

The exact composition of this pre-head clause is not immediately obvious. *Balytyn* ‘to sit’ is an intransitive verb and therefore cannot normally receive the object-relativizer suffix *-sia*. Furthermore, the relativized NP is the word for ‘bench’ and, at least at first glance, one would expect its trace to be in the object position of the postposition *diako* ‘on’.

- (233) Expected structure:

[the	[John	[sits	[t <sub>i</sub> on ]]	bench <sub>i</sub> ]
NP	S	VP	PP	

The only explanation which seems plausible is that re-analysis of some sort has taken place making *hala* ‘bench’ the object of *balyta* ‘sit’.

Applying this type of analysis to Arawak would both explain the presence of the object-relativizer suffix on the verb and ensure that the trace of the object is properly governed (as defined previously). However, this analysis is not quite as clean as it would be in a prepositional language. Arawak has postpositions rather than prepositions, and therefore the postposition is not adjacent to the verb at the time of re-analysis. This means the postposition cannot simply be incorporated into the verb.

<sup>12</sup>See discussion on the ECP in Arawak (3.2.2.3), and sections on subject- and object-relativization (4.4.1, 4.4.2).

<sup>13</sup>Strangely enough, the post-head version of this relative clause is only marginally acceptable:

?*to*    *hala*    *[Jan*    *balyty-sia*    *diako]*  
 ?the bench [John sit-WH.OBJ on]  
 ?‘the bench John is sitting on’

(232)a. [sits [the bench on]  
 VP PP

b. [sits [the bench] on]  
 VP NP ?

c. [*to* [*Jan* [*balyty-sia* [*t<sub>i</sub>*] *diako*]] *hala<sub>i</sub>*]  
 [the [John [sit-WH.OBJ [ *t<sub>i</sub>* ] on ]] *bench<sub>i</sub>* ]  
 NP S VP NP ?  
 ‘the bench John sat on’



## Chapter 5

# Aspectual Particles and the Contribution of Discourse to Arawak Syntax

### Introduction

An adequate description of some aspects of Arawak syntax seems to require reference to levels of the language above that of the sentence. One such case has already been alluded to: full NPs may be used as subjects only when introducing an entity into the discourse for the first time. Thereafter, a morphologically free or bound pronoun must be used, linked to an appositive full noun phrase where disambiguation is required. Although an exhaustive treatment of the contribution of text-level syntax would far exceed the scope of this description of Arawak, in the following sections I will exemplify its contribution by concentrating on the use of tense/aspect suffixes and particles.

Throughout the following sections, frequent reference is made to several Arawak narrative texts. Those most frequently cited may be found in their entirety in the appendix, and will be referred to as *The Bus Trip Story*, *The Jaguar Story*, *The Bomb Story*, *The Tapir Story*, and *The Metamorphosis Story*.

The narrative is one of several monologue genres in Arawak. In the present study, I will adopt the typology of texts developed by Longacre (1976). He (pp. 195–210) classifies monologues into four “deep structure genres,” as he calls them, based on the intersection of the features [+/- Succession] and [+/-Projected]: narrative discourses, procedural discourses, expository discourses, and hortatory discourses<sup>1</sup> (Figure 23). Succession refers to the fact that certain discourses are built around a chronological succession, while others are not. Thus he lists narrative and procedural monologues as having the property [+ Succession], while expository and hortatory have the feature [-Succession]. The feature [+/-Projected] also has to do with time—not temporal sequence, however, but whether the discourse is “rooted in real time.”

We may then form the proportion: procedural is to narrative as hortatory is to expository. Narrative discourse is rooted in real time; it recounts events supposed to have happened somewhere, whether in the real or in an imaginary world... Procedural discourse tells us how something would be done whenever it happens to be done. It is in projected rather than accomplished time. Likewise, while expository discourse simply explains a body of subject matter, hortatory discourse tells us how we are to act in regard to a certain body of subject matter.

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<sup>1</sup>Longacre has since revised and amplified this classification system (Longacre 1983:4–14). He now includes “agent orientation” as an additional feature which gives him eight genres. This revised classification does not substantially affect the discussions herein.

	–PROJECTED	+ PROJECTED
	NARRATIVE	PROCEDURAL
+ SUCCESSION	1. 1/3 person 2. agent oriented 3. accomplished time 4. chronological linkage	1. non-specific person 2. patient oriented 3. projected time 4. chronological linkage
	EXPOSITORY	HORTATORY
–SUCCESSION	1. no necessary person reference 2. (subject matter oriented) 3. time not focal 4. logical linkage	1. 2 person 2. Addressee oriented 3. (Mode, not time) 4. logical linkage

Figure 23. Deep Structure Genres (Longacre 1976:200)

As mentioned above, the stories cited most often in the following sections are all narratives. To avoid having to continually restate the general contexts of the stories, below is a brief synopsis of each. (See the appendix for the complete stories.)

1. The Bus Trip Story: This story was written by an Arawak about an unsuccessful bus trip he took with his wife and several other villagers. The story is true, and took place less than a week before it was written. This is what the author relates: Someone in the village bought an old bus. A number of friends, including the story's author, piled into the bus and went on a test ride. After several breakdowns, the bus finally quit completely, and the author and his wife had to walk home.
2. The Jaguar Story: This story was written by an Arawak about a time when a jaguar almost "grabbed" the author's brother-in-law. The story is true and took place a number of years before it was written. In it, the author tells of going to his field to work. His brother-in-law and the brother-in-law's grandchildren were working in a nearby field. A jaguar tried to attack the brother-in-law. Neither the brother-in-law nor the author had his gun along, so one of the grandchildren fetched his father (the brother-in-law's son) who finally lured and shot the jaguar.
3. The Bomb Story: This story was written by an Arawak about true events a number of years after World War II. During the War, the U.S. military had a base and a practice range in Suriname near the author's village. The story begins some years after the military left. The author and a friend went on a fishing trip and came across a strange, heavy object with handles. They took it along with them, but it got too heavy to carry. Leaving it behind, they went fishing. On the way home after fishing, they picked up the object and carried it a ways. When it again got too heavy for them, they tossed it aside, and it exploded. No one was hurt, but it did scare them.
4. The Tapir Story: This story is an oral story transcribed from tape by me, and later slightly edited by an Arawak to remove some false starts. The teller of the story was the oldest man of the village Powakka, who tells the village captain (highest figure in the village hierarchy) about how he shot a tapir. The story is very vividly told and includes various sound effects. The captain frequently interjects comments and questions during the telling of the story.

5. The Metamorphosis Story: This story was written by an Arawak and is a traditional tale of the origin of one of the Arawak clans, the Biswana clan. In the story, a man is living alone in the forests with his dog. Whenever he goes hunting, the dog removes its skin and becomes a beautiful young woman who prepares food and drink for him. Before he returns, she again becomes a dog. After several episodes of going hunting and returning to find food, the hunter decides to find out who is making it. He pretends to leave again, but returns early to see the dog taking off its skin. Sneaking into the house, the hunter throws the skin into the fire and takes the woman as wife. The word for metamorphosis in Arawak is *besonoan* which is said to be the word behind the clan name Biswana.

### 5.1 Tense/Aspect Suffixes and Particles

Previous sections dealing with the morphology of the verb listed, without much discussion, the meaning and order of the various verb affixes. In the section on “functors” (2.6.2.2), several tense-like particles were mentioned and their meanings given. Of these, the ones which are of concern here are just those suffixes and particles relevant to time, tense, and aspect as listed in Figure 24.<sup>2</sup> The glosses associated with the particles and affixes in the figure apply when the items are used in isolated utterances; a more detailed analysis is presented in later sections.

VERB SUFFIXES			
$\emptyset$	‘past’	<i>da-ka</i>	‘I bathed’
<i>-ja</i>	‘past continuative’	<i>da-ka-ja</i>	‘I bathed/was bathing’
<i>-bo</i>	‘continuative’	<i>da-ka-bo</i>	‘I am bathing’
<i>-ka</i>	‘perfect’	<i>da-ka-ka</i>	‘I have bathed’
<i>-fa</i>	‘future’	<i>da-ka-fa</i>	‘I will bathe’
<i>-bia</i>	‘inchoative’	<i>da-ka-bia</i>	‘in order that I bathe’
PARTICLES			
<i>bi</i>	‘immediate past’	<i>by-ka bi</i>	‘you just bathed’
<i>bona</i>	‘intermediate past’	<i>by-ka bona</i>	‘you bathed a while ago’
<i>koba</i>	‘distant past’	<i>by-ka koba</i>	‘you bathed long ago’

Figure 24. Tense/Aspect Suffixes and Particles

#### 5.1.1 Tense, Aspect, or Both?

Up to this point, in all the discussions dealing with verb affixes, I have not separated nor really discussed the categories of tense and aspect. Even the glosses given to the suffixes in Figure 24 combine elements of what are traditionally treated separately as tense and aspect. This was not done because the difference between tense and aspect is insignificant, or

<sup>2</sup>The tense/aspect verb suffixes are integral parts of the verb word. They occur in a fixed order with respect to other verb suffixes. Particles, on the other hand, have a freer distribution, and occur outside the complex of morphemes comprising the verb word.

because it is insignificant in Arawak, but because the morphemes in Arawak used to encode tense and aspect seem to represent combinations of both.

As is done by Comrie (1985) and others (cf. Grimes 1975; Reichenbach 1947), for the purposes of this discussion I will assume that time can be represented as a straight line. On this line is a point labeled “S” which represents the moment of speech (the present). The portion of the line to the left of the moment of speech represents the past, and the portion to the right represents the future (Figure 25).

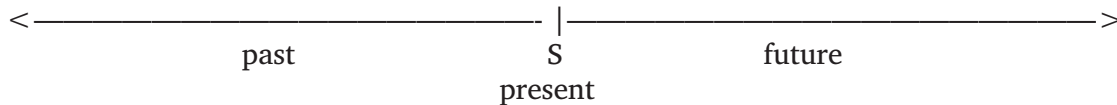


Figure 25. Representation of Time

Following Comrie (and many others), I will also assume there are basically two ways one can relate a situation (generic for state, action, event, etc.) to the time line. One can speak of locating a situation somewhere on the time line with respect to some other point on the time line, such as the moment of speech, or one can speak of the internal temporal contour of the situation, apart from its location on the time line. Comrie refers to the former as “tense” and the latter as “aspect.” Tense, then, always has to do with whether a situation is before, simultaneous with, or after some point on the line. Aspect, on the other hand, has to do with questions such as duration, completion, or non-completion.

Many utterances place the “situation” they are about somewhere on the time line with respect to the moment of speech (S).

In Arawak, the tense particles *bi* ‘immediate past’, *bona* ‘intermediate past’, and *koba* ‘distant past’ do exactly that. They place the situation on the time line with respect to the moment of speech.

Other utterances, however, seem to place situations on the time line with respect to some other point or span on the line specified by the context of the utterance.

Comrie (following others such as Reichenbach 1947) therefore proposes that a second point is needed on the time line which he calls “reference point” and labels ‘R’. Utterances which position themselves on the time line with respect to the moment of speech (S) are said to have “absolute tense,” whereas those which position themselves with respect to a reference point (R) are said to have “relative tense” with respect to the event (E).

(235) relative present: E simul R

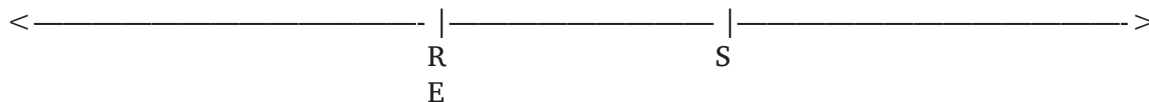


Figure 26. Relative Present in the Past

Even in English, relative tense does not function just among clauses within a single sentence. For example, Grimes (1975:76) points out that a sentence in the English historical present such as

(236) First he goes and finds the girl, then he shows her the ring.

can either be a blow-by-blow description of something happening at the time of speaking, or of something that happened in the past but “told so as to create an air of immediacy.”

As will be shown in later sections, the Arawak verb suffixes all indicate relative tense according to the above definition. That is, in Arawak the context established by the discourse sets up a reference point on the time line, and the suffixes locate a situation (E) with respect to that point (R), not with respect to the point of speech (S). The tense particles, on the other hand, are absolute tense particles, and locate events with regard to 'S'.

Relative tense necessitates having to deal with the discourse context in which an utterance is found and therefore complicates trying to isolate the components of meaning in these suffixes. Fortunately, it is possible to skirt this problem to some extent. Isolated utterances in Arawak seem to assume that the reference point on the time line for the utterance is in the same location as the point of speech. This means that in isolated utterances the distinction between relative and absolute tense disappears.

Assuming that tense and aspect are distinguishable from each other (and neutralizing for the moment the distinction between absolute and relative tense), it is possible to investigate the components of meaning in the Arawak verb suffixes in Figure 24. Although there are additional overtones in the meanings of the affixes, it appears that they can all be characterized by the intersection of a set of tense features and aspect features (Figure 27). Each of the affixes says something about the location of a situation with respect to a point on the time line. Each of the affixes also views the situation either from the outside as a whole, with no indication of internal composition, or from inside as a situation which is in some sense in progress. This difference in the way of looking at the situation corresponds quite well with the aspects Comrie (1976) labels the perfective and the imperfective. With regard to the perfective aspect, he says:

The whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalyzable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled into one; no attempt is made to divide this situation up into the various individual phases that make up the action. (Comrie 1976:3)

With regard to the imperfective aspect, he says it is concerned with the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within (Comrie 1976:24). He further notes that it can include subdivisions such as habitual, continuous, and progressive.

		ASPECT	
		Perfective	Imperfective
TENSE	Future	<i>-fa</i>	<i>-bia</i>
	Present	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-bo</i>
	Past	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-ja</i>

Figure 27. Tense and Aspect of Verb Suffixes

Just characterizing the Arawak verb suffixes in terms of tense and aspect features does not tell how they should be used nor how they translate into another language, like English, in a consistent and straightforward way. Tense and aspect in some of the forms interact with the type of situation described by the verb to give a composite meaning slightly different from what one might expect. For example *-ka* 'present perfective' relates a stative or event verb to the (relative) present. Its aspect views the situation from the outside as a completed whole without regard to internal composition. When this affix is applied to stative verbs, it expresses a situation which, in English, would be translated by the present tense.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>From this point onward in this chapter, the tense/aspect suffix glosses will reflect the analysis in Figure 27.

- (237) a. *Alokosia-ka*                    *de.*  
 thirsty-PRES.PERF            I  
 ‘I am thirsty.’
- b. *Khareme-ka*                    *no.*  
 black-PRES.PERF            it  
 ‘It is black.’
- c. *Bahy*            *loko-ka-i.*  
 house            in-PRES.PERF-he  
 ‘He is in the house.’
- d. *Kawa-ka-i.*  
 absent-PRES.PERF-he  
 ‘He is gone.’

If one applies the same *-ka* suffix to an event verb, however, the meaning one gets says something about both the past and the present. The participants of such a verb are in the (relative) present, in the state of having completed the action of the verb; and the effects of the verb, if any, are still true. In that sense, it is in the present tense. On the other hand, since the event is now complete, the time span for that action must, of necessity, have taken place in the past. For a verb such as *ka* ‘bathe’, where the states before (e.g. dirty) and after (e.g. clean) can be viewed as different, the Arawak present perfective can be translated in a straightforward way by the English present perfective.

- (238) *Da-ka-ka.*  
 I-bathe-PRES.PERF  
 ‘I have bathed.’

However, the English translation of the Arawak present perfective of an event verb such as *yjin* ‘to weep’, where a change of state is less clearly evident, almost makes it seem as if *-ka* is a past tense suffix. That is, in most situations where it occurs, it is more naturally translated by the English past tense.

- (239) *Th-yja-ka.*  
 she-weep-PRES.PERF  
 ‘She wept.’

Nevertheless, for Arawak, what is in focus is that, at the (relative) present moment, the person is in the state of having done the action of weeping.

The suffixes labeled ‘Imperfective’ in Figure 27 also deserve some comments. As was mentioned above, each of these suffixes views the situation from the inside—that is, from the middle of the action of the situation. This, again, interacts with the type of situation being described, as well as with the tense of the situation. The present imperfective suffix *-bo* views the action expressed by an event verb from the inside in the present. This gives a continuous meaning.

- (240) *Da-dalhida-bo.*  
 he-run-PRES.IMPF  
 ‘He is running.’

However, when this suffix is applied to a stative verb, where no action is inherent in the verb itself, it gets the progressive meaning of being in the state expressed by the verb, where that state is intensifying.

- (241) *Alokosia-bo*            *de*.  
 thirsty-PRES.IMPF    I  
 ‘I am getting thirstier and thirstier.’

This latter meaning is close to that which is expressed by the future imperfective suffix *-bia*. If this suffix is applied to a stative verb, it has an inchoative meaning. The state expressed by the verb is not present yet, but will be coming or is in the process of coming into existence.

- (242) *Alokosia-bia*            *de*.  
 thirsty-FUT.IMPF    I  
 ‘I am getting/will be getting thirsty.’

The use of this suffix does not imply, however, that the state expressed by the verb will ever be reached (as *-fa* ‘future perfective’ does.) This is true when it is used with event verbs also. In fact, the uncertainty of the outcome of the situation expressed by the verb allows this aspect/tense to be exploited to express the concept of ‘in order to’ in Arawak.

- (243) *Ly-nekhebo-bo*    *minkho*, *li-sikin-n-bia*            *bokolho-ho*    *ly-sa-be*    *myn*.  
 he-work-PRES.IMPF    very    he-give-SUB-FUT.IMPF    cloth-NGEN    his-child-PL    to  
 ‘He is working hard in order to give his children clothes.’

## 5.2 Tense/Aspect in Narrative Discourse

One of the problems in describing the tense/aspect verb suffixes in Arawak is that, while their meanings seem to be clear in isolated utterances, yet in the context of other sentences, their meanings seem to shift. For example, the present imperfective, future perfective, and imperfective suffixes *-bo*, *-fa* and *-bia*, respectively, are found in narratives where they are all clearly relating past situations when the location of the situation on a time line is considered relative to the moment of speech. Thus in the Bus Story, just at the point the bus starts breaking down, all three of the above suffixes and the simple past and present perfective occur within the space of three adjacent sentences.

- (244) a. *Taha*            *Java-nro*    *wa-kisi-KA*            *osa-BIA*.  
 far.away    Java-to    we-try-PRES.PERF    go-FUT.IMPF  
 ‘We tried to go all the way to Java (another village in the interior).’
- b. *Wakhaja-∅*            *kho*    *w-osy-n*            *atynoa*    *khona*    *balhin*.  
 bad-PAST.PERF    not    we-go-SUB    at.first    on    although  
 ‘(Compared to what would happen,) we did travel well at first.’
- c. *Ma to wa-tatonoan-BO*            *khi*, *thy-boado-FA*    *to falhetho-dalhidi-koana w-abo*.  
 but the we-be.far.away-PRES.IMPF    thusly it-break-FUT.PERF    the white.man-run-thing-us-with  
 ‘Although, when we were getting far away from home, it broke down, the bus, on us.’



As mentioned earlier, a narrative is built around a series of events. Progress in the story can be viewed in terms of moving the relative event pointer ('E' in Figure 26) forward (to the right) on the time line.

At the point that an author or speaker starts a narrative, the relative event pointer (E) is located at the same position on the time line as the moment of speech (S). The author can then use one of two means to move E relative to S. One of these means is to use an explicit time adverbial such as *miaka* 'yesterday' or an expression such as 'one Sunday'. For example, in the Bus Story, the author starts with

(245) *Aba sondakha mothia ...*  
 one Sunday morning  
 'One Sunday morning ...'

The other means is to use an absolute tense particle with or without a time adverbial to further specify the time. For example, other stories establish their starting points as follows:

(246) a. The Jaguar Story:

*Abahan koba, wakharo sabo kho to ...*  
 once long.ago now more not is  
 'Once, a very long time ago ...'

b. The Bomb Story:

*Abahan, bikhidolia d-a-n kha ...*  
 once, young I-dummy.verb-SUB time  
 'Once, when I was young ...'

c. The Tapir Story (oral):

*Aba koba d-osa-∅ koba ...*  
 one long.ago I-go-PAST.PERF long.ago  
 'Once, a long time ago, I went ...'

Once the relative event pointer E has been established, some clauses cause movement of E, while others do not. The tense/aspect suffixes seem to be crucial in determining this movement. For example, the suffix *-bo* 'present imperfective' can be used nearly anywhere in a discourse when the author intends to relate an event that occurs over a span of time but does not want to advance the pointer. Clauses with this affix tend to convey the setting up of explanatory information. Thus in the Jaguar Story, the author mentions going to the creek near which he rested, and at that point he adds, by way of explanation, that there is where he was working.

(247) a. *D-osa-∅ Korobali-nro thy-n-ba oniabo.*  
 I-go-PAST.PERF Korobali.creek-toward drink-SUB-AWAY water  
 'I went over to the Korobali creek to drink water.'

b. *Jon maria nekhebo-thi-na-BO-da de.*  
 there area work-WH.SUBJ-UNEXP-PRES.IMP-EPEN I  
 'Near there I happened to be working.'



A bit later in the same story, after the brother-in-law and his grandchildren had come to the field, the author says:

- (248) a. *Ken na-lhyka-BO sikalho.*  
 and they-cut-PRES.IMPF sugarcane  
 ‘And they were cutting-BO sugarcane.’
- b. *De kho amadiaro khonan-ra-BO.*  
 I not nothing about-expected-PRES.IMPF  
 ‘I wasn’t-BO (thinking) about anything’
- c. *Da-nekhebo ron khonan-thi-BO-da ba.*  
 my-work only about-WH.SUBJ-PRES.IMPF-EPEN also  
 ‘I was-BO only (thinking) about my work’
- d. *Siokhanin khi, abare l-a-∅ minkho simaka-n*  
 little.while thusly suddenly he-dummy-PAST.PERF much yell-SUB  
*li d-orebithi...*  
 the my-brother.in.law  
 ‘After a little while of this, suddenly my brother-in-law let out-PAST.PERF a great yell.’

In this last passage, only the last sentence causes movement along the time line. The cutting of the cane, working in the field, and thinking are all part of the background or backdrop upon which the central events happen. This means that the various tense/aspect suffixes seem to have to do not only with movement or lack of movement along the time line, but also with the types of information conveyed.

### 5.2.1 Foreground and Background Information

A number of investigators (e.g. Grimes 1975; Longacre 1976 and 1983; Hopper 1979) have documented various types of information in a discourse. One of the most widely recognized distinctions is between what may be called “foreground” and “background” information.<sup>4</sup>

It is evidently a universal of narrative discourse that in any extended text an overt distinction is made between the language of the actual story line and the language of supportive material which does not itself narrate the main events. (Hopper 1979:213)

Those parts of a narrative which belong to the skeletal structure of the discourse (e.g. the temporal succession of events in a narrative) are the “foreground,” while those which do not belong to the skeletal structure are “background.”

Hopper (e.g. 1979, 1982) and others (e.g. Jones and Jones 1984; Li, Thompson, and Thompson 1982) have documented a number of languages in which there is a strong correlation between the aspect of sentences and whether they present foreground or background information. Sentences in the perfective aspect almost always seem to present foreground information, while imperfective sentences are associated with background information. This is not to say these are the only signals for foregrounding or backgrounding. For example, Hopper (1979) also discusses the correlation of these concepts with word order and

<sup>4</sup>Terminology for these types of information varies. For example, Longacre (1984:14ff.) calls these “main line” and “supportive,” respectively.

voice in a number of languages. Nevertheless, when a language has a perfective-imperfective contrast, it seems to be the case that the imperfective aspect is used to relate background information.

If one looks at the use of the various tense/aspect suffixes in Arawak, there does seem to be a very strong tendency for the imperfective to be used for background information. Examples above already illustrate the use of the present imperfective suffix *-bo* to present descriptive expansions of events concurrent with the foreground or main narrated event. This is exactly parallel to observations Hopper (e.g. 1979:114) makes about Swahili and other languages.

The difference between the sentences in the foreground...and the ones in the background...has to do with sequentiality. The foregrounded events succeed one another in the narrative in the same order as their succession in the real world; it is in other words in iconic order. The backgrounded events, on the other hand, are not in sequence to the foregrounded events, but are concurrent with them. Because of this feature of simultaneity, backgrounded events usually amplify or comment on the events of the main narrative. (Hopper 1979:214)

### 5.2.2 Other Kinds of Information in a Discourse

Like Hopper, Grimes (1975) also distinguishes the main succession of events in a narrative from other information. However, his taxonomy of those kinds of information is finer grained. In particular, he (1975:51–70) distinguishes the following types of information in a narrative:

1. Setting Information: when, where, and under what circumstances actions take place.
2. Background Information: information which is not part of the narrative itself, but stands outside it and clarifies it.
3. Evaluative Information: information which tells how the speaker feels about the state of the world at a particular point in the narrative.
4. Collateral Information: information which, instead of telling what did happen, tells what did not happen.

Grimes points out that each of these types of information in a particular language may involve distinctive grammatical constructions. For example, he mentions that setting information typically involves time and locative expressions, and collateral information often involves negatives, adversatives, and questions such as yes-no questions. Tense displacement (i.e. relative tense) is also characteristic of certain types of information. For example, Grimes (1975:77ff.) points out that it is characteristic of the antecedent events and foreshadowing used in presenting background information. Also, collateral information “involving questions and predictions regularly signals displacement into the future” (p. 77).

In Arawak, the suffix *-bia* ‘future imperfective’ seems to be associated with background information (in Grimes’ sense) of the foreshadowing type. That is, it is generally used with statements of very generic events which then provide the framework within which the actual succession of events in the narrative are presented. For example, it is used twice in the Bus Story. One of these times is in the last sentence of the introduction, just as the trip is about to start:

- (249) *Taha Java-nro wa-kisi-ka osa-BIA.*  
 far.away Java-toward we-try-PRES.PERF go-FUT.IMPF  
 ‘We tried to go all the way to the village of Java.’

All the events following this sentence, up to the breakdown of the bus, are covered by the word ‘go’ to which the *-bia* is attached. The second occurrence of this suffix is just before the return home:

- (250) *Ken wa-sifoda-NBIA-the.*  
 and we-turn.around-FUT.IMPF-BACK  
 ‘And we started back.’

Again, the events following this sentence represent a spelling out in detail of the going back. Similarly, in the Jaguar Story, the sentence introducing the sequence concerned with the successful killing of the jaguar is as follows:

- (251) *Ken l-osy-NBIA li bikhidoliathi.*  
 and he-go-FUT.IMPF the young.man  
 ‘And the young man set off.’

The whole of the hunting sequence that follows may be subsumed under this sentence.

### 5.2.3 Tension in a Narrative and Tense/Aspect

As has already been implied, the various types of information are not evenly distributed in a discourse. Thus, one obvious statement that could be made is that, in a narrative, one would typically expect to find more setting information near the beginning of the narrative as a whole, or near the beginning of major sections in the narrative, than in the middle of the heat of the action. The distribution of other types of information is not as obvious. Nevertheless, there are consistent patterns which emerge. For example, Labov and Waletzky (1967) discuss the occurrence of what they call “evaluative” statements at the suspension point in English between the complication part of a narrative and the resolution. One way to describe parts of a narrative and the distribution of various types of information in them is in terms of plot structure.

A number of authors have dealt with plot structure. Perhaps one of the first to do a close analysis was Propp (1928) who dealt with the structure of folk or fairy tales. More recently, others such as Grimes (1975) and Longacre (1976, 1983) have dealt with plot on a rather abstract level, and yet others (e.g. various articles in Longacre 1984) have published studies about, and relating to, plot structure in specific languages.

Longacre (1976:197ff. and 1983:20ff.) posits the existence of both “surface structure” and “deep structure” plots and a mapping of the one to the other. The deep structure plot is viewed in some sense as a language universal for narrative discourse.<sup>5</sup> The specifics of the surface structure plot may have language-particular characteristics, and may also show variation from narrative to narrative. In the following discussion, I assume an analysis of plot essentially like Longacre’s.

<sup>5</sup>This is not to exclude other discourse genres. “Something like plot characterizes other forms of discourse than narrative” (Longacre 1976:212). For example, he mentions: “There are plot-like elements in procedural discourse. We may think of the whole procedural discourse as reflecting a struggle to accomplish the goal of discourse, to carry through an activity, or to produce a product” (Longacre 1983:38).



contain frequent occurrences of the present imperfective suffix *-bo*. This is consistent with the fact that they do not present main events (i.e. foregrounded information). However, foregrounded events can also contribute toward the building of tension.

One of the puzzles with regard to the use of the tense/aspect suffixes in Arawak has been the use of the future perfective suffix *-fa* in discourse.<sup>6</sup> Unlike clauses with the imperfective suffixes which relate background (including foreshadowing), setting, and collateral information, clauses with *-fa* seem to represent foreground information—they relate the main events. However, *-fa* clauses are not evenly distributed in a discourse. They almost all occur just before the peak of a story or episode. My feeling is that using *-fa* in clauses is another tension-building device. For example, in the Bomb Story, after finding the bomb, playing with it, leaving it behind to go fishing, and catching fish (all of which are low-tension), the author suddenly uses *-fa* a number of times in relating the final events leading up to the explosion. He uses it in the sentences telling of their arrival at the place they had left the bomb, his brother carrying it, and lastly the explosion itself.

(255) a. *Ken kho, w-andy-FA jontho w-eibin to amathali wa-boroanoa-da.*  
and not we-arrive-FUT.PERF there.where we-leave.behind the thing we-save-EPEN  
'And then it was that we arrived there where we had left the thing we had saved.'

b. *De nakaratoa th-abo, ken jontho methe-n-da de,*  
I hauled it-INSTR and there.where tired-SUB-EPEN I  
*li d-okhithi nykhy-n-FA da-dikhi-da no*  
the my-younger.brother carry-SUB-FUT.PERF me-behind-EPEN it  
'I hauled it, and when I got tired, my brother carried it behind me (i.e. the two carried it together).'

c. *Ken kho, thy-tholady-FA to th-andy-n holholho diakon.*  
and not it-explode-FUT.PERF the it-arrive-SUB ground on  
'And then, it exploded when it touched the ground.'

These sentences are interspersed with other tension-building collateral and evaluative sentences. Immediately following the last of the above sentences is the actual peak of the narrative: the explosion of the bomb and the immediate aftermath. It is as though the use of *-fa* imparts a sense of anticipation of what is to come.

The tension-building function of the use of *-fa* 'future perfective' prior to the peak of a narrative becomes clearer when it is contrasted with the use of its present counterpart, the suffix *-ka* 'present perfective'. Like *-fa*, *-ka* appears in clauses relating foreground information. Unlike *-fa*, however, clauses with *-ka* occur in low-tension portions of a narrative. For example, in the Bomb Story, the first episode consists of finding the bomb, playing with it, subsequently leaving it to go fishing, and fishing. From the point that the bomb is left behind (i.e. after the most tense part of the first episode) through the fishing scene, up to the point of the arrival back to the place the bomb was left, the author uses *-ka*. For example, the two clauses below taken from this section would be just as acceptable (but not as dramatic) if the *-ka* were left off.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup>The suffix *-fa* does not occur in all narratives; but when it occurs, its usage seems to be consistent.

<sup>7</sup>In some cases, such as in sentences with stative verbs, the use of *-ka* is required. For example,

*De ron ka-bode-ka.*  
I only ATTR-hook-PRES.PERF  
'Only I had a hook.'

(256) a. *Da-bodeda-KA-da.*

I-fish-PRES.PERF-EPEN

‘I fished (with a hook)’

b. *Tho-toka      khan-KA                      da-myn.*  
 they-peck      diminutive-PRES.PERF      me-BEN  
 ‘They sort of bit for me.’

What is very striking is that immediately following the sequence of clauses with *-ka* is the previously related series of *-fa* sentences, and thus there is a sharp contrast between them. In terms of the relative event pointer, just before the author reaches the peak of a narrative, he seems to suspend its movement along the time line.<sup>8</sup> The particular temporal location he “parks” himself at is just before the most tension-filled events are about to occur. From this vantage point, he then describes the situation, looking backward at low-tension events and forward in time to the events directly leading to the peak. Then, suddenly— Boom! We are in the midst of the peak.

(257) *Boemmm!! Sioko      kho-tho              thy-thoradyn      dase.*  
 boom              small      not-WH.SUB      it-explode      exclamation  
 ‘Boom!! Boy, was it a big explosion.’

The Story concludes with *-ka* as the last tense-aspect suffix.

<sup>8</sup>This is perhaps another manifestation of something like the Labov and Waletzky (1974) “point of suspension.”

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

As stated in the introduction, the purpose of this study is primarily to provide a general description of Arawak as it is spoken in Suriname, South America. There are many limiting factors in such an undertaking, not the least of which are time and energy. For these and many other reasons, the preceding chapters are incomplete and, probably, flawed in many respects. Nevertheless, the hope is that it provides enough of a glimpse into this relatively undescribed language to make it useful as a testing ground for linguistic theories of a more abstract or general nature.

#### 6.1 Summary

In the following paragraphs, I summarize some of the more interesting aspects of Arawak syntax and semantics that have come to light in the course of this study.

Typologically, Arawak is primarily a right-branching SVO language, except that stative and attributive sentences have a VS pattern. Most noun modifiers precede their heads, and the language has postpositions, rather than prepositions. Question words, relative pronouns, and focused constituents appear at the left periphery of the sentence.

Arawak has both free and morphologically bound, pre-head and post-head pronouns. The pronouns are not marked for grammatical or semantic case, and they have singular and plural first-, second-, and third-person forms. Arawak definite articles are essentially identical to the pronouns; and demonstratives incorporate the pronouns as their first morphological component.

Arawak has a number and gender system which distinguishes the features [+/- human], [+/- male], and [+/- plural]. The features [+/- human] and [+/- male] are affected by the speaker's viewpoint. The feature [+/- plural] is generally significant only for [+human] referents. This number and gender system is found in its fullest form in the third-person pronouns. It is also evident to a lesser extent in articles and demonstratives, and it affects the choice of nominalizing, pluralizing, and relativizing suffixes.

The Arawak counting system is a combination of base-five, base-ten, and base-twenty numbers. Five is 'one my hand'; ten is 'two my hand'; fifteen is 'one my hand on two my hand'; twenty is 'one man'. After this point, the pattern repeats.

(258) *bian-loko-diako-bian-da-khabo-diako-bian*  
two-man-on-two-my-hand-on-two  
'fifty two'



Arawak distinguishes two main classes of verbs: event verbs and stative verbs. There appear to be no descriptive adjectives in Arawak; almost all concepts which would be expressed by adjectives in English are expressed by means of stative verbs in Arawak.

Syntactically, Arawak is a non-pro-drop configurational language.<sup>1</sup> Arawak sentences can have both a TOPIC position and a COMP-like one which I call LSAP (Left Sentence Adjunction Position). Constituents in the TOPIC position bear no grammatical relationship to the rest of the sentence, while those in the LSAP do—they are always associated with a gap elsewhere in the sentence. This makes the LSAP seem very similar to an English COMP. However, movement of question words, focused constituents, and relative pronouns in Arawak is clause bounded. Arawak also has no generalized complementizer like English ‘that’.

One of the more interesting aspects of Arawak flows from the description of what happens to an Arawak sentence when various constituents are fronted to the LSAP. Constituents such as the direct object, the indirect object, time phrases, and locational phrases can be questioned or otherwise fronted to the LSAP without further consequences to the structure of the sentence. However, the questioning or focusing of manner adverbials or negated verbs is accompanied by the obligatory insertion into the sentence of a semantically empty “dummy verb,” to which the morphologically bound subject pronoun and tense/aspect affixes are then attached.

Arawak has both pre-head and post-head relative clauses. Post-head ones generally seem to be “heavier” than pre-head ones. Pre-head relative clauses never occur with relative pronouns, while post-head ones optionally do. Subject and object relativization is accompanied by the addition of special suffixes to the verb. Arawak, in general, does not allow postposition stranding when objects of postpositions are questioned or relativized. However, the indirect object postposition *myn* can be stranded when its object NP is relativized.

Arawak has a set of six tense/aspect suffixes which, when analyzed along lines proposed by Comrie (1976, 1985), seem to represent an intersection of the relative past, relative present, and relative future tenses with the imperfective and perfective aspects. Arawak also has several particles which represent absolute tense. In addition to simply conveying temporal and aspectual information, the suffixes and particles are also used to highlight different kinds of information in a discourse. That is, in narratives there seems to be a correlation between the use of perfective-aspect suffixes with foreground information and the use of imperfective-aspect suffixes with background information.

## 6.2 Areas Needing Further Research

There are a number of concerns which deserve fuller treatment than they are given in this study. One of these relates to the syntax of verbs in Arawak. As mentioned in Section 2.4.1.1, Arawak event verbs have three stem forms: a basic stem, an *a*-stem, and an *oa*-stem. In addition, event (as well as stative) verb stems may receive the causative suffix *-kyty*. Each of these forms differs from the corresponding other ones either in the number of arguments for which it is subcategorized or in the semantic relationship which holds between it and its arguments, or in both (in addition to the aspectual difference noted in Section 2.4.1.1). However, it is not entirely clear how best to describe the regularities.

Another area needing further investigation is that of the use of the various forms of pronominal and nominal reference in Arawak—both on the sentence level and on the discourse level. As was mentioned previously, the use of a full NP in subject position in Arawak is usually restricted to the first time a participant or prop is introduced into a

<sup>1</sup>See Chomsky 1982a for explanations of these terms.



discourse. After that, the speaker uses an appropriate pronoun, or a pronoun with an appositive noun phrase if the pronoun alone would be ambiguous. In either case, the pronoun may be either morphologically bound or morphologically free. A morphologically bound pronoun tends to be used when its antecedent is the last mentioned noun or pronoun having the same number and gender, whereas the equivalent morphologically free pronoun tends to be used when its antecedent is not the last mentioned noun or pronoun, but has, nevertheless, already been introduced into the discourse.

This description of pronominalization is obviously not complete. In the area of sentence syntax, more work needs to be done on the description of various co-reference restrictions and possibilities. The contribution of discourse structure on pronominalization also needs much more work. The notions of TOPIC and FOCUS may be useful in this regard.

Work also remains to be done in the area of morphology. In particular, words used adverbially contain several suffixes simply glossed 'ADV' in this study. The differences between these suffixes need further investigation. There are also un glossed, unanalyzed, recurring partials which may be found in, for example, some of the illustrative sentences in the lexicon (Part 2). In many cases, this is a reflection of the fact that it is often difficult to detect the difference between sequences of morphemes which have become lexicalized and sequences of morphemes which represent currently productive processes.

**Part 2**  
**Lexicon**

## A Short Lexicon of Suriname Arawak

The lexicon in the following pages contains some of the more common words used in day-to-day speech by Arawaks. It is by no means complete, and the words included were chosen randomly from field notes. An effort has been made, however, to include the words occurring elsewhere in this study.

The illustrative sentences in this lexicon were primarily supplied by Nelis M. Biswane, a resident of the Arawak village of Cassipora and a mother-tongue speaker of Arawak. The sentences were originally intended to be incorporated into a dictionary for Arawaks, not for non-speakers of the language. This means that many of the illustrations actually use derived forms of the word in question, rather than the word in its most simple form.

It should be noted that Arawak has no firm writing tradition. Perhaps because of this, many words have alternate pronunciations and, in this lexicon, alternate spellings. It should also be noted that, because of vowel cluster reduction, when a prefix is added to a word beginning with a vowel, it is difficult to know how best to insert hyphens between the different morphemes in sample sentences. In the transcriptions, prefixes sometimes appear to have a different final vowel than expected, and word stems beginning with vowels often have a different initial vowel or lack their initial vowel altogether.

An effort has been made to include an indication of the lexical class for each word as follows: vs = verb stative; vi = verb intransitive; vt = verb transitive; vd = verb ditransitive; n = noun; pp = postposition; art = article; pro = pronoun; quant = quantifier; num = counting number; conj = conjunction; p = particle; rp = relative pronoun; qw = question word; tw = time word.

The classification of verbs into intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive classes is incomplete. For example, some verbs which appear to be *a*-stem forms (i.e. they end in *an*) are nevertheless classified as transitive.<sup>1</sup> This reflects both the fact that it is often difficult to find a context suitable to elicit the basic-stem form and the fact that the morphological differences between the basic-stem and the *a*-stem is not manifested in many environments (see Section 2.4.1.1.1).

The identification of plant and animal species is also incomplete. In most cases, they are glossed with a Dutch (D:) or Sranan Tongo (ST:) translation equivalent. The lexicon begins with alphabetized lists of prefixes and suffixes

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<sup>1</sup>The *a*-stem of a verb is usually intransitive. See Section 2.4.1.1.1.

- B(Y)-: you (singular), your (singular).  
 D(A)-: I, my.  
 H(Y)-: you (plural), your (plural).  
 K(A)-: ATTR, attributive, having.  
 L(Y)-: he, his.  
 M(A)-: PRIV, privative, without, not.  
 M(A)-: UNSPEC, unspecified subject (used when there is no subject prefix for the dummy verb).  
 N(A)-: they [+human], their [+human].  
 TH(Y)-: she, her, it, its, they [-human], their [-human].  
 W(A)-: we, our.  
       *wa-* ... -*the*: let's
- (A)RIA: AWAY, from, away from (short form of *waria*).  
 -BA: AWAY, motion away.  
 -BAHA: perhaps, maybe.  
 -BE: PL, pluralizer [+/- human].  
 -BERO: THING, derived noun.  
 -(N)BIA: INCH, inchoative, future imperfective, in order to, so that.  
 -BO: CONT, continuative, present imperfective.  
 -BO: pointing, specific.  
 -DA: EPEN, epenthetic syllable (added as last or penultimate syllable of pause group to avoid two stressed syllables in a row).  
 -DA: verbalizer.  
 -FA: FUT, future, future perfective.  
 -HA: FUT, future, future perfective (alternate pronunciation of *-fa*).  
 -HV: NGEN, noun generalizer (where V is the same as the last vowel of the word to which it is attached).  
 -I: EPEN, epenthetic vowel (sometimes added when suffix starting with *n* is added to word ending in *n*).  
 -I: he, him.  
 -JA: AWAY, from, motion away (short form of *waria* and *waja*).  
 -JA: PAST.IMPF, past perfective.  
 -JA: POSS, possessed form of noun (spelled *-ia* after consonant, *-a* after *i*).  
 -KA: PERF, perfect, present perfective.  
 -KE: ADV, adverbializer.  
 -KHO: CONTR, contrastive, emphazier.  
 -KO: ADV, adverbializer.  
 -KOANA(-HA) (nominalizer): thing, instrument. *Kasipara matho balho kia-be to nekhebo-koana-ha*. "The machete and ax: those are tools."  
 -KOMA: would, could.  
 -KYTY: CAUS, causative.  
 -LHIN: NOM, nominalizer (occupation, habitual activity).  
 -LI: NESS, necessitative, must.  
 -LI: NOM, nominalizer [+male].  
 -MA: HABIL, habilitative, can, may, be able.  
 -MA(N): EACH, individuated.  
 -N: BEN, benefactive (abbrev. of *myn*).  
 -N: LOC, locative, at (abbrev. of *nin*).

- N: POSS, possessed.
- N: she, her, it, they [-human], them [-human].
- N: SUB, subordinate, nominalized.
- NA: UNEXP, unexpected.
- (N)BIA: INCH, inchoative, future imperfective, in order to, so that.
- NE: emphatic.
- NO: NOM, nominalizer [+human].
- NON: PL, pluralizer [+human].
- (N)RO: TOWARD, to (abbrev. of *ninro*).
- O: we, us.
- OA, -A: reflexive, passive (spelled *-a* after *o*).
- ONOA: reflexive, passive.
- RA: EXPECT, expected.
- RA: POSS, possessed.
- RE: ADV, adverbializer.
- REN: EXACT, exactly.
- (A)RIA: AWAY, from, away from (short form of *waria*).
- RO: ADV, adverbializer.
- RO: always.
- RO: NOM, nominalizer [-male].
- RO: TOWARD, to.
- RON: only.
- SIA: WH.OBJ, object relativizer.
- TA: verbalizer.
- THE: BACK, back, coming, motion approaching.  
*wa- ... -the*: let's
- THE: POSS, possessed.
- THI: DESID, desiderative.
- THI: WH.SUBJ, subject relativizer [+male].
- THO: WH.SUBJ, subject relativizer [-male].
- WA: the one(s).
- WA: own (spelled *-a* after *o*).
- WAJA: self.
- ∅: PAST.PERF past perfective

ABA (quant): one, a. *Aba emelia-tho dalhidi-koana da-jonto-fa*. "I am going to buy a new car."

ABADAKHABO, BADA KHABO (quant, num): five (one-my-hand).

ABAHAN (tw): once, once upon a time, sometime.

ABALI (n): one [+male +human], someone [+male, +human].

ABAN (tw): once, one time. *Aban koba osy-thi dia l-a tho-ja, ken l-oreda-n khan to waboroko, ly-dykhysia-ha-da no*. "Once he did as if he were leaving, and rounding a small bend in the road, he spied on her."

ABANBO (tw): sometime.

ABANON (n): someone, someone else.

ABAREN, BAREN (adv): suddenly, immediately. *To da-dykh-y-n abaren to ori da-sibon: min-ka kho da-dyda-n*. "When I suddenly saw a snake before me, I jumped greatly."

ABARO (num): one.

- ABARO (n): one (non-male). *Abaro ron osa-ma da-ma*. “Only one (female) can go with me (e.g. the car is small and there is room for only one).”
- ABARO-DIAKO-ANYKY (num, quant): one and a half. *Abaro-diako-anyky khisiba wa-kona-n, w-anda Cordon waboroko amyn*. “Walking one and a half hours, we arrived at the Cordon Road.”
- ABARYKY, ABYRYKY (n): other.
- ABATHIAN, BATHIAN (quant, num): six.
- ABO (n): back (body part). *Kari-ka d-abo min kho*. “My back hurts a lot. Possessed: *d-abo* = my back.
- ABO (pp): with (instrumental), by means of. *Aba ada lo-soka ly-kasiparan abo*. “He chopped a stick with his machete.”
- ABOJA (n): peccary (species) (ST: pakira).
- ABOLA, ABALA (n): bench. *Tora d-abolan khan diako balytyro b-a*. “Just sit on my bench.” Possessed: *d-abola-n* = my bench.
- ABON (pp): under. *By-sika hala abon no*. “Put it under the bench.”
- ADA (n): wood, tree, stick. *Aba firo-tho ada da-koban loko-ka, wadili-ka kho da-soko-n no*. “There is a big tree in my planting ground, I can’t chop it (down).” Possessed: *d-ada-n* = my tree.
1. *ada-byna*: leaf of a tree
  2. *ada-dynabo*: branch of a tree
  3. *ada-yda*: bark of a tree
  4. *ada-sa*: branch, young tree
- ADA-DYNABO (n): branch (tree-arm). *Ada-dynabo diakhodi halhanron ajomyndi-tho khota-ha kona-ka*. “All sorts of arboreal animals (i.e. those which fly or climb) walk around on tree branches.”
- ADAFE (n): black spider monkey (ST: kwatta).
- ADAJALI (n): God. *Adianke l-a san malhithi-n Adajali halhan amathali*. “God made everything very well.”
1. *Adajali kasakabo*: Sunday
- ADAJAN (vs): old.
- ADAKOTAN (vt): interrogate. *B-andy farokha falhetho sibon, aba lokhodi-fa kho th-adakota-n bo*. “If you come before a white man, he is going to interrogate you in many ways.”
- ADAKOTON (vd): ask, request. *B-adakota li dinthi da-myn alikha l-osy-fa jokhanro*. “Ask uncle for me when he is going hunting.”
- ADALI KHA (tw): dry season.
1. *firo koro hadali*: big/long dry season
  2. *awalhadalithe*: short dry season
- ADALI, HADALI (n): sun. *Bokolho-ho thy-wata, to adali*. “The sun dries clothes.”
- ADI (pp): above, exceeding (used in comparisons).
- ADIA (adv): very.
- ADIANKEN (adv): very. *Lira da-jothi adiankenma karin*. “That (male) family member of mine is very sick.”
1. *adiakhanken*: very (diminutive)
- ADISA (n): cassava boat (to grate cassava in). *D-ansa-ka d-adisara loko*. “I grated cassava in my cassava boat (canoe-like, hollowed-out log for grating cassava in).” Possessed: *d-adisa-ra* = my cassava boat.

- ADO(-HO) (n): roof. *M-ado-n kha de, min-koma kho oni jojoto-n de*. "If I were without a roof, the rain would wet me greatly." Possessed: *d-ado* = my roof.
- ADOTON (vt): cover, roof. *Sare b-a adoto-n b-awa, onikhi thy-thebethe-ma b-adi*. "Cover yourself well, or when it rains it will drip on you."
- AFODO(-HO) (n): boss, leader, captain. *W-afodo dykhy-thi wa-sikoa khona*. "Our captain watches over our village."
- AITHAN, AITHIN (vt): know, be acquainted with. See: *eithin, eithan*.
- AITHI (n): son (also son of brother). Possessed: *d-aithi* = my son.
- AITHOAN (vi): be careful, watch out. *B-aithoa to jadoala myn; by-thikhida-ma tho-bolokon; thy-thiada-ma bo*. "Be careful of the knife; you can fall on its point; (and) it can stab you."
- AJALHO (n): punishment. *Ly-thikebe khonaria, l-osa ajalho lokonro*. "Due to his stealing, he went into punishment."
- AJALHODON (vt): punish. See: *ajalho*.
- AJOA (tw): late, later. *Ajoaron b-anda-the*. "You arrived late."
- AJOMOLHA (n): fish kind (ST: *anjoemara*).
- AJOMYN (vs): high. *To hadali moda-the ajomyn*. "The sun is climbing high (approaching noon)."
- AJOMYNDI-KORO (n): airplane.
- AKAKADYN (vt): tell (e.g. a story), relate, explain. *Malhikhotoa-sikoa-n wakhaja kho malhikhotathi akakady-n na ibilidon*. "At school the teacher explains (everything) to the children well."
- AKAN (vt): speak, tell, say. *By-dykha farokha da-sanothi, b-aka khan-li to diahy na-myn: sa khan koa w-a-n khonan*. "If you see our children, you must tell them this message: It is still going well with us."
- AKHARO, WAKHARO (tw): now, at this moment. See: *wakharo*.
- AKOBAN (vi): rest, take a breather. *Min-ka kho methe-n de; d-akoba khan-fa bania*. "I am very tired; I will just go rest a little."
- AKOBON (vi): rest. *San bena d-akobo-n khi, d-osa to nekhebo khona khi-da ba*. "After resting thusly well, I went about working again the same way."
- AKOBYN (vi): breathe. *Min-ka kho thonolisia-n de; kiadoma da-norokoadia ron d-akoba*. "I have a bad cold; therefore I only breathe through my mouth."
- ALEKHEBEN, HALEKHEBEN (vs): happy, glad. *Min-ka kho alekhebe-n de; da-jonon dykhy-n-the de*. "I am very glad; my family came to see me."
- ALEKHEBETAN (vt): cheer up, make happy.
- ALEKHEBETOAN (vi): celebrate, party.
- ALIKA, HALIKA (qw, rp): how.
- ALIKAN, HALIKAN (qw, rp): who, which person. *Alikan khan oma-thi-da bi?* "Who is with you?"
- ALIKHA, HALIKHA (qw, rp): when. *Alikha andy-thi-da bi?* "When did you arrive (i.e. when were you an arrivee)?"
- ALOKOSIAN (vs): thirsty. *Alokosia-ka de*. "I am thirsty."
- ALON, ANON (qw, rp): where. *Alon b-osa-bo?* "Where are you going?"
- AMA (qw, rp): what. *Ama khan ani-thi-bo-the-da bi?* "What did you come doing?"
- AMA DIARO (n): nothing.
- AMA KHO (n): nothing.

- AMA-RON (qw): what (non-male) ‘*Ama-ron amyn-tho-bo to?*’ *mo-n d-a-na*. “What is it with?” I wondered.”
- AMABIA (qw): why (what is the purpose, in order to accomplish what?).
- AMADOMA (qw): why (what is the cause).
- AMAHAN (qw): what. *Ma we kho eitha-bo amahan-da no*. “But we didn’t know what it was.”
- AMATHALI (n): something. *Lira wadili min-thi kho eithi-n jaty-n amathali*. “That man knows how to draw things very well.”
- AMYN (pp): at, by, nearby. *Ada amyn-ka-i*. “He is by the tree.”
- AMYN, AMON (vt): have, possess. *B-amy-n-ka nana jokara-bia?* “Do you have pineapple to sell?”
- AMYNRO (pp): toward. See: *amyn, -ro*.
- AMYNTYN (vt): approach.
- ANABYN (vi): wake up. *Bo-joda basada-ren li siokothi abo, m-anaby-n l-a-nbia*. “Swing the little boy slowly (gently) so that he doesn’t wake up.”
- ANBALHITOAN (vi): decorate one’s body (e.g. with paint). *Wakhili koba n-alekhebetoa-n-ha na lokonon, n-anbalhitoa-ka*. “In the olden days, when they (Arawaks) would celebrate, they would decorate themselves.”
- ANDA...KHONAN (vi): touch, feel. *M-andy-n b-a to ikhi khonan*. “Don’t touch the fire.”
- ANDADIKE (n): armadillo (species) (ST: kapasi).
- ANDYN (vi): arrive. *Bakylamanro de ithi anda-the jokha waria*. “My father arrives from hunting in the late afternoon.”
- ANIN (vt): do. *Lhelhoko ron abo ma-dian b-a, ma b-ani-ra-fa-da no!* “Don’t just talk with the mouth, but do it!”
- ANOANA (n): buzzard.
- ANON, ALON (qw, rp): where. See: *alon*.
- ANSAN (vi): grate cassava tubers.
- ANSIN (vt): like, love, want. *D-ansi-n doma da-sa-be-wa, sa da-dyky-n na-khona*. “Because I love my children, I look after them well.” See: *kansin*.
- ARAKABOSA (n): gun. *To d-arakabosa-n: adiakhankentho sa-n bolheidi-n to*. “My gun: it throws (shoots) very well.” Possessed: *d-arakabosa-n* = my gun.
- ARI(-HI) (n): tooth, molar. *D-ari abo da-ryda*. “With my teeth I bite.” Possessed: *d-ari* = my tooth.
- ATHA(-HA), YTHAN (n): drink (usually alcoholic). *Tora atha-ha min-ka kho tata-n*. “That drink is very strong.” *De ythan seme koa-ma*. “My drink (e.g. a barrel of cassava beer) is still sweet (i.e. not fermented yet).”
- ATHI (n): pepper (a very hot kind). See: *hathi*.
- ATYNOA (tw): at first.
- AWALHADALITHE (tw): short dry season.
- AWALHIBANA (n): fish kind (ST: dagoe fisie).
- BA (p): again. See: *khi ... ba*.
- BADA(-HA) (n): nail (of finger or toe). *Da-bada ma-lhyky-n d-a-n kha, min-koma kho wadibe-n no*. “If I didn’t cut my nails, they would get very long.” Possessed: *da-bada* = my nail.
- BADAKHABO, ABADAKHABO (quant, num): five (one-my-hand).
- BAHA (p): perhaps.



- BAHY (n): house. *Da-jonto farokha aba holholho, da-malhithi-fa aba bahy thy-diako*. “If I had a piece of property, I would build a house on it. Possessed: *da-sikoa* = my house.
- BAJOLHA (n): beam (of building). *Da-bajolhan da-thobodasia da-kora khonaria*. “I tie my hammock on my beam.” Possessed: *da-bajolha-n* = my beam.
- BAKYLAMA (tw): late afternoon (16:00–20:00). *Bakylama d-osy-ha-the jadoan-ro*. “This afternoon I will go traveling.”
- BALA (n): ball, shot (ammunition).
- BALADAN (vi): shoot at.
- BALALAN (vs): round. *Li da-kodoja balala-thi*. “My gourd bottle is round.”
- BALHA(-HA), (Y)BALHA(-HA) (n): hair, feather. *De si khona to balha-ha*. “On my head is hair.” *Da-jokha kodibio; da-dykha thy-balha ron thikhidi-n*. “I shot a bird; I saw only its feathers falling.” Possessed: *da-balha* = my hair.  
1. *kodibio-balha*: feather
- BALHA(-HA), (Y)BALHA (n): sea, ocean. *Firo-tho iniabo to balha*. “The sea is a big (body of) water.”
- BALHAKAROBALI (n): tree (species) (ST: basralokus).
- BALHIN (p): although, though, contrastive, CONTR. *D-osa bodedan-ro balhin, ma ama kho da-bode-sia-ka*. “Although I went hunting, what I caught was nothing.”  
1. *balhin diaro*: even if
- BALHITAN (vt): need, require. *Kabanan ma-dyky-n b-a-n b-ojonoa, min-ka kho balhita-thi b-a-n je*. “When you haven’t seen your own family in a long time, you have great need of them.”
- BALHO (n): ax. *Min-ka kho da-balhon ma-mana-n*. “My ax is very dull.” Possessed: *da-balho-n* = my ax.
- BALHOSEN (n): leader, chief, captain.
- BALHYDOA (vi): comb one’s hair.
- BALIHIN (vs): dirty, filthy (also used to describe stories).
- BALIN (vi): happen, take place. *Alika th-a-n bali-n to oda-ha, ama kho eitha sawabo*. “How the death happened, no one knows for sure.”
- BALIN (vt): pass, pass by. *Waboroko aolhe diako-ren thy-bali-ka, to falhetho-dalhidi-koana, de*. “Just at the corner of the road, it, the bus, passed me.”
- BALISI (n): ash. *Ikhi-khodo bithonoan siki-sia-tho balisi*. “Burning wood gives ash.” Possessed: *da-balisi-a* = my ash.
- BALYTADAN (n): sit with someone (e.g. to drink).
- BALYTYN (vi): sit down. *Mera b-a-the jaha; da-dyna-n by-balyta-the*. “Quickly, come here, and sit down next to me (at my arm).”
- BANA (n): leaf. *Manaka-bana abo by-malhita-ma bahy*. “With ‘manaka’ leaves you can make a house.”  
1. *manaka-bana*: ‘palisadeblad’  
2. *kolhoa-bana*: ‘dwerghmaripa palmblad’  
3. *halhithi-bana*: ‘palulublad’; *dale-bana*: ‘tasblad’  
4. *thimithi-bana*: ‘truliblad’
- BANA (n): liver. *D-osy-n jokhan-ro, da-fara khanin khota-ha, thy-bana da-jaboda d-onoa*. “When I go hunting and shoot an animal, I roast its liver for myself.” Possessed: *da-bana* = my liver.

- BANA (n): place. *Abahan d-osy-fa falhetho siko-bana-nro*. "Sometime I will go to the country of the white men."
- BANIA (p): momentarily, short time, just.
- BAREN, ABAREN (adv): suddenly, immediately. See: *abaren*.
- BARIRI (n): hawk. *Bariri bokota kodibio ken ori thi-khinia-wa*. "Hawks catch birds and snakes as their food."
- BARIRI (n): police officer. *To bariri bokota to kathikebero*. "The policeman caught the thief."
- BASABAN (vs): narrow, small. *Da-sikoa basaba-n-ka, da-firota sabo-fa no*. "My house being small, I will enlarge it some."
- BASADADOAN (vi): move slowly.
- BASADAN (vs): slow. *Adia l-a basada-n kona-n-da*. "He walked very slowly."
- BASE (n): post, pillar. *Da-sikoa base-n diako da-malhita da-sikoa-wa*. "On my house corner posts I build my house." Possessed: *da-base-n* = my post.
- BATHIAN, ABATHIAN (quant, num): six.
- BEBE (n): vocative form for older sibling.
- BEBEDAN (vi): feel around (e.g. like a blind man). *Olhirokon doma, min kho bebeda-ro da-boro-a da-kothi abo*. "Because it was dark, I had to feel around a lot before myself with my feet."
- BEBEDIN (vt): feel, touch. *By-bebeda-the da-dana khona, ama thiaron baha kakolhothima*. "Come feel on my leg what sort of bump it could be."
- BEJOKHA (n): flute. *Da-foda aba bejokha*. "I blow a flute."
- BELEN (vs): soft, tender. *Bikhidolia-tho khota-ha siroko bele-ka*. "The meat of young animals is tender."
- BELETHO (n): cassava bread (soft, thick kind).
- BENA (pp): after. *By-ka-ba khan bania; kia bena w-osy-fa jadoan-ro*. "Just go bathe a little; after that we will go traveling."
- BENA (n): piece, portion, a piece of. *Tora bokolho bena by-kysa-li khali by-kyra-koana-wa*. "You must sew that piece of cloth as your cassava bread wrapping."
- BEROSOAN (vi): wail (as at a funeral).
- BESEKHEN (vs): short. *Adia l-a to lira wadili besekhe-n nin*. "That man there is very short."
- BESOAN, BESONOAN (vi): change, metamorphose.
- BETHIRI (n): cassava beer.
- BI (p): immediate past (less than 6 hours).
- BI (pro): you-SG, your-SG. *Bi sokosa-bo*. "You are washing clothes (a greeting when someone is washing clothes)."
1. *bi khabo*: your hand
  2. *To to bi myn*: It is for you.
- BIAMAN: double. See: *bia(n)man*.
- BIAN (quant, num): two.
- BIAN KHAN (indef pro): some, several, a few. *Tanoke by-nyka-li-the bian khan marisi da-myn*. "Later you must get several ears of corn for me."
- BIANDAKHABO (quant, num): ten (two-my-hand).
- BIANDAKHABO-DIAKO-ABARO (quant, num): eleven (two-my-hand-on-one).
- BIANDAKHABO-DIAKO-BADAKHABO (num, quant): fifteen.
- BIANINON (n): two persons.

- BIA(N)MAN: double. *Bianman to lheroko da-simalha doma*. “Because the barrel of my gun is double.”
- BIANTHETOAN (vi): be mated with.
- BIANTHIAN (quant, num): seven.
- BIDALHIN (n): doctor (generic).
- BIKARA, FALHETHO BIKARA, BIKATHI (n): doctor (of Western medicine). *Khatho kari-n bo, b-osa falhetho bikara manro*. “When you are sick, go to the doctor.” Possessed: *da-bikara* = my doctor.
- BIKHIDAN (vt): plant, raise, grow. *De bikhida-sia to to hathi daja-be*. “What I am raising is pepper plants.”
- BIKHIDIN (vt): raise (plants, animals, people), grow. *Tora siokotho: de bikhidi-sia-bo tora*. “That little girl: she is what I am raising.”
- BIKHIDOLIAN (vs): young. *Wakhili, bikhidolia d-a-n kha, min-thi kho jokha-n de*. “Long ago, when I was young, I hunted a lot.”
- BIKHIDOLIATHI (n): young man.
- BIKHIDOLIATHO (n): young woman, young lady. *Tora bikhidoliatho min-ka kho emekho-n*. “That young woman is very industrious.”
- BIKHIDONOAN (vi): grow.
- BIKHIN, BIKAN (vt): cut. *Basada-re b-a to jadoala abo; by-bika-ma de*. “Be careful with the knife; you can cut me.”
- BIKHOAN (vi): get a cut (wound). *Sikalho-bo da-bojoa-n, da-bikhoa tho-khonaria jadoala abo*. “(When) I was eating sugar cane, I cut myself with the knife.”
- BININ (vi): dance.
- BIRABIRADYN (vi): play around.
- BIRAN (vi): play. *Adiake man h-a bira-n bakylama, sa-ma-the kho ho-donko-n*. “(you-PL) Don’t play much in the evening, (otherwise) you won’t be able to sleep well.”
- BITAKAN (vt): go around making fires. *Adali kha, by-bitaka-koma by-sakadan-ia*. “(In the) dry season, you can go around making fires (under savannah trees to kill them so they can be collected later for) your dry firewood.”
- BITHI (pp): by, near, next to, to. *To bakylama, b-anda-li-the da-bithi; aba dia-hy d-amyn-ka b-oma*. “This afternoon, you must come to me (my house); I have something to say to you.”
- BITHI (num, quant): four.
- BITHIN (vt): burn down, burn up. *Na ibili-be hibi-ka bithi-n wa-sikoa*. “The children almost burned down our house.”
- BITHIRO (pp): toward, for, before. *Wakharo wabo, m-amyn d-a no, ma mothi da-mikodo-fa-the bi-bithiro-da no*. “Just now, I don’t have it, but tomorrow I will have it sent to you.”
- BITHITHIAN (num, quant): nine.
- BITOAN (vi): burn, get a burn (wound). *To ikhi-khodo bitoa*. “The firewood burns.”
- BO (pro): you (singular).
- BOADONOAN, BOADOAN (vi): spoiled, rotten, broken, fainted. *Sa-ja kho by-khabaty-n to khota siroko, kiadoma thy-boadoa-ja*. “You didn’t salt the meat well, therefore it spoiled/rotted.”

- BODALI (n): cassava baking plate. *Da-kora-ka khali da-bodale diako*. “I baked cassava bread on my cassava baking plate.” Possessed: *da-bodale* = my cassava baking plate.
- BODE(-HE) (n): hook (for fishing). *Hime bo-bode-sia-ka th-abo, to bode-he*. “Fish is what you catch with it, the hook.” Possessed: *da-bode* = my hook.
- BODEDAN (vi): fish (with hook and line). *Mothi w-osy-fa bodeda-nro*. “Tomorrow we will go fishing.”
- BOJAN (vi): share food. *Wakhili koba, na-man-fa n-onekoa, na-boja-ka n-onekoa bania*. “In the old days, when they (a couple) were in love with each other, they shared food with each other briefly.”
- BOJIN (vt): feed, give food. *Bo-boja hibin-da je?* “Did you feed them (e.g. the guests) already?”
- BOKAN (vi): cook (a meal).
- BOKAN ... (Y)JA (vt): scare, startle. *Boka-thi l-a to da-ja*. “He startled me.”
- BOKHITHI (n): older brother (of a male). Possessed: *da-bokhithi* = my older brother.
- BOKOAN (vi): boil, be cooked.
- BOKOLHO(-HO) (n): cloth, clothing. *D-osy farokha forto-nro, da-jonto-fa da-bokolho-a*. “If I go to town, I will buy my clothing.” Possessed: *da-bokolho-a* = my clothing.
1. *hiaro-non bokolho-ho*: dress, skirt
  2. *bokolho-eke*: suitcase
  3. *bokolho-iban*: rag, cloth scrap, piece of cloth
- BOKOLHO-IBAN (n): rag, cloth scrap, piece of cloth. *Da-bokolho-iban da-kysa-ha khali da-kyra-koana-wa*. “My cloth scrap I will sew (as) my cassava bread wrapper.” Possessed: *da-bokolho-iban* = my piece of cloth.
- BOKON (vt): cook. *Sa-re b-a-li boko-n to khota-ha, ija koa th-a-ma*. “You must cook the meat well, (otherwise) it may be still raw.”
- BOKONOAN (vi): worry.
- BOKOTAN (vt, vi): go around catching. *Mothi d-osy-fa bokota-n-ba kodibio*. “Tomorrow I will go around catching birds (bird hunting).”
- BOKOTO-KOANA (n): handle. *Ka-bokoto-koana saken-da no, ken kia khonaria wa-nykynda-da no, w-osa th-abo*. “It [a bomb] had something exactly like handles, and we lifted it up using those, and we went with it (i.e. took it along).”
- BOKOTON (vt): grab, catch, hold, grip. *To bariri bokota to kathikebero*. “The police officer caught the thief.”
- BOLHADAN (vi): ferment.
- BOLHAHAN (vs): sour, spoiled, fermented. *Bolha-ka to kadykyra*. “The pepper pot is spoiled.”
- BOLHAN (vs): fermented, sour.
- BOLHEDAN (vi): wrestle. *Na-fata-ka kho balhin, ma bolheda-ro n-a*. “They were not really fighting, but they were only wrestling.”
- BOLHEDIN (vt): lose. *M-eithi-n d-a halon da-bolhedi-n da-jadoala-n-ia*. “I do not know where I lost my knife.”
- BOLHEIDIN, BOLHIEDAN (vt): throw away, throw. *Sa koa th-a to amathali; amadoma bolheidi-ro n-a-da no?* “The thing was still good; why did they throw it away?” *Ly-bolheida aba ada ly-madianthi manro*. “He threw a stick to his companion.”

- BOLHEKOAN (vi): lying down. *To miaka d-osy-n jokha-nro: da-dydy-kyta aba firobero waboroko kosa bolhekoan-tho-bo.* “Concerning my going hunting yesterday: I caused a tapir lying beside the path to jump up (i.e. I flushed out a tapir).”
- BOLOKON (pp): at the point of, at the end of. *B-aithoa to jadoala myn; by-thikhida-ma tho-boloko-n; thy-thiada-ma bo.* “Be careful of the knife; you could fall on its point; (and) its point could stab you.”
- BON (pp): you-BEN (abbrev. of *by-myn*).
- BONA (p): intermediate past (two or three days ago).
- BONAN (vi): plant a planting ground. *Waboka w-osa koba-nro bonan-ro.* “We just went to the planting ground to plant.”
- BONYN, BYNYN (vt): plant. *Thi-bitoa da-koban, da-bona khan-fa da-khythehe.* “(When) it (my planting ground) is burned, I will just plant my plants.”
- BORA (pp): before (temporal). *By-dykha ama othikhida bo, kia bora kho da-dia-ka bo-myn?* “You see what has happened to you, didn’t I tell (warn) you before it happened?”
- BORADI (n): toucan (species) (ST: *koejake*).
- BORAN (pp): before, for. *Tabo aba wakhai-tho kho khota bona-ha da-dykha; d-eiba-fa da-simalha-wa tho-boran.* “Over there I saw a good animal trail; I will set my gun as a trap for it.” *B-obada-li waboroko andanin da-boran.* “You must wait at the intersection for me.”
- BORATAN (vt): be helpful. *Khi dia m-a borata-n onekoa-hy wakhaja kho.* “Helping each other like that is good.”
- BORATYN (vt): help, support. *Mothi d-osy-fa da-retho boratyn-ba reken oma.* “Tomorrow I will go help my wife with weeding.”
- BOREN: times. *Wa-thokoda tho-lokoa-ria fata boren baha thirikhida lokokoan tho-khona.* “We got out uncountable times pushing it.”
- BORO (p): exactly. *‘Ama boro ni-tho-bo to salhi-da?’ d-a-nbia.* “‘What exactly is the salhi (bird) doing?’ I (thought).” *Wabydia boro da-kiwihin!* “So soon was I successful in the hunt!”
- BORODI (n): lidded, box-like, basketry container for storing clothes, etc.
- BOSOLI (n): sweet cassava (has nontoxic (very low) level of cyanogenic glucosides).
- BOTOLI (n): bottle (ENG: bottle). *Ma-lhoton b-a da-botolia khona; thy-wakydoa-ma.* “Don’t let go of my bottle; it can burst.” Possessed: *da-botoli-a* = my bottle.
- BYKHYN (vt): get, receive for free. *Bi khan ka-bykhy-ka?* “Are you a recipient of something free?” *Aba khota olaboa da-bykhy-ka.* “I received half an animal.”
- BYLHEKOAN (vi): lying down.
- BYLHYTAN (vi): decorate. *Sa-thi eithi-n dora-hy, wakhaja kho bylhyta-n to dora-hy khona.* “He who knows weaving (e.g. baskets) well, decorates the weaving well.”
- BYLHYTY-KOANA (n): pencil, pen. *Da-bylhyty-koana abo da-bylhyta karta (ST) diako.* “With my pencil I write on a card.” Possessed: *da-bylhyty-koana* = my pencil.
- BYLHYTY-KOANA(-HA)-INIABO-KORO (n): ink.
- BYLHYTYN (vt): write, make marks. *Wakharo kho da-sanothi ma-bylhyty-ka-the da-bithiro.* “My children haven’t written to me in a long time.”



- BYNA (n): path, small road. *Ma-wadili-ka d-osy-n khota byna lokhodi; thibokhili koborokodi-ka dan*. “I can’t go (follow) the animal trail; it goes through (too dense a) thicket for me.”
- BYNAN (vi): plant a planting ground. See: *bonan*.
- BYNYN (vt): plant. See: *bonyn*.
- BYRYKAN (vi): clean up (the picking up and burning of unburned wood after a planting ground has been chopped open and burned). *D-osy-fa da-koban-ia byrykan-ro*. “I will go clean up my planting ground.”
- DAJA (n): trunk (of a tree).
- DAKAMABALI (n): tree kind (‘brown heart’).
- DAKAN (vi): urinate.
- DALHIDAN (vi): run after, chase. *Da-dalhida-ka to khota khona*. “I chased the animal.”
- DALHIDI-KOANA(-HA), FALHETHO-DALHIDI-KOANA (n): car, bus, bicycle, motorcycle. *Aba dalhidi-koana loko b-osy-n kha, mera sabo-ka by-dalhidi-n*. “When you go in a car, you go (run) very quickly.” Possessed: *da-dalhidi-koana* = my car.
- DALHIDI-KOANA-KOTHI(-HI) (n): wheel, tire. Possessed: *thy-dalhidi-koana-kothi* = its wheel, tire.
- DALHIDIN (vi): run. *Da-kanaby-n-the oni, da-dalhida d-andy-n-bia tho-boradi bahy-n*. “Hearing the rain coming, I ran arriving home before it (the rain).”
- DALI (n): tree kind (‘baboon wood’).
- DAN (pp): me-BEN (abbrev. of *da-myn*).
- DANA(-HA) (n): leg. *Ma-dana-n de, wadilia-n kho da-kona-n*. “Without legs, it is impossible for me to walk.” Possessed: *da-dana* = my leg.
- DANAKE(-HE) (n): pants, trousers (leg container). *Da-danake jarykydoa; da-retho kysa-ha da-myn no*. “My pants are torn; my wife will sew them for me.” Possessed: *da-danake* = my pants.
- DASE (p): exclamation of surprise. *Adia th-a to firon dase!* “It was very big!”
- DE (pro): I, me, my. *De osa-bo*. “I am going.”  
*To to de myn*. “It is for me.”
- DEI (pro): he, him.
- DENTHI (n): uncle. See: *dinthe*.
- DIA: like, resemble. *Khi dia koa th-a w-abo*. “Thusly like manner (i.e. this is how) it [the bus] did with us.” *Ma-kaky khan-koa d-a, m-ani-n kha kho wadili-sia-na-ma to dia d-a-n aka-n khonan to ama ...* “Never in my life have I been able to talk like this about what ...”
- (Y)DIA(-HY) (n): word, message, story, language. *By-dykha farokha da-sanothi, b-aka khan-li to dia-hy na-myn: sa khan koa w-a-n khonan*. “If you see my children, you must tell them this message: it is still well with us.”  
1. *lokono dian*: Arawak language
- DIAKOARIA (pp): off of, from off the surface of. See: *diakon, -aria*.
- DIAKON (pp): about (a subject). *Kia diako l-onaba-ka dei*. “He gave an answer to that.”
- DIAKON (pp): on, on the surface of top of. *Bi-sika hala diakon no*. “Set it on the bench.”
- DIAKONRO (pp): onto. See: *diakon, -ro*.
- DIAN, YDIAN (vi): talk, speak. *Kakanaky-re b-a-li ydia-n thojothi-non oma*. “You must speak loudly with old people.”

- DIARO: perhaps, uncertain. *Siokhan th-a-n nyky-n, ta diaro kho th-osy-n, thy-jakosoa khi-ka-da ba*. “Carrying on a little while, not going very far, it would stall again.” *M-eithi-n d-a alika-thi d-a-n, mantha odo-thi d-a, manthan diaro kaky koa d-a*. “I didn’t know how I was, whether I was dead, or whether perhaps I was still alive.”
- DIATHI (n): approximation. *Birakhathoa-sia-ma abo diathi th-a-bo wa-myn*. “It [a bomb] seemed like something which could be played with (e.g. a toy) to us.”
- DIBALE (n): smoked fish or meat.
- DIBALEDYN, DIBALEDAN (vt, vi): smoke meat or fish. *Miaka da-fara bian dodole, ken da-retho dibaleda-ka no*. “Yesterday I killed two peccaries, and my wife smoked them.”
- DIBEJO(-HO) (n): stomach. Possessed: *da-dibejo* = my stomach.
- DIKE(-HE) (n): ear. *Da-dike abo halhan amathali da-kanaba*. “With my ears I hear everything.” Possessed: *da-dike* = my ear.
- DIKHI (pp): after, behind.
- DIKHI (n): footprint, track. *By-dykha, jadi thy-bali-n to firobero; by-dykha thy-dikhi*. “Look, a tapir passed by here; look at its tracks.”
- DIMANYN (vi): stand up. See: *dinamyn*.
- DIMISAN (vi): sniff at. *Aba amathali bali-ka jadi-hi, kiadoma min-ka kho to pero dimisa-n th-inabo*. “Something passed by here, therefore the dog is sniffing around a lot.”
- DIMISIN (vt): smell. *Ta-tho kho to khota-ha, kiadoma da-dimisa hibin no*. “The animal was not very far away, therefore I smelled it already.”
- DINABYN (vi): stand up. See: *dinamyn*.
- DINAMYN (vi): stand up. *Da-sa farokha b-iri, bare b-a-li dinamy-n*. “If I call your name, you must stand up immediately (e.g. teacher talking to student).”
- DINTHI (n): uncle (mother’s brother). Possessed: *da-dinthe* = my uncle.
- DINTHI, DENTHI (n): uncle (polite vocative for male of father’s generation).
- (O)DIO, DIO(-HY) (n): breast. *Sioko d-a-n kha, min koba kho da-jo odio da-soroto-n*. “When I was small, I sucked a lot on my mother’s breasts.” Possessed: *da-dio* = my breast.
1. *dio-yra*: milk
- DOADA (n): pot (cooking), pan (deep; i.e. pot). *Da-boka-ka halhanron amathali da-doadan loko*. “I cook all sorts of things in my pot.” Possessed: *da-doadan* = my pot.
- DOBADYN (vt): pull out (e.g. to harvest cassava). *Bian khan khali-doli da-dobady-fa kaboja-n*. “I will pull a few cassava tubers in my planting ground.”
- DODOLE (n): peccary (species) (ST: pingo).
- DOKOKO (n): grandfather (polite vocative for male of grandfather’s generation).
- DOKOTHI (n): grandfather. Possessed: *da-dokothi* = my grandfather.
- DOLHI (n): Creole, Negro. *Dolhi khareme-ka, ken thy-balha sikhilhyli-ka*. “Creoles are black, and their hair is kinky.”
- DOMA (pp): because.
- DONKAN (vi): overnight, sleep overnight. *Bian olhika-ka da-donka-n Saroa maria*. “Two nights I overnighted by the Saroa Creek.”

- DONKON (vi): sleep. *To olhika bali-koro, min-ka kho da-donko-n.* “This past night I slept a lot (or deeply).”
- DORON (vt): weave (e.g. a basket or cassava squeezer). *Dinthe, aba joro kho bo-dora khanina-ma da-myn?* “Uncle, couldn’t you just weave a cassava squeezer for me?”
- DYDYN, DYDAN (vi): jump, jump over, jump around. *To da-dakhy-n baren to ori da-sibon: min-ka kho da-dyda-n.* “Concerning me suddenly seeing the snake in front of me: I jumped greatly.” *Alikan wadili-koma dyda-n thima-n to onikhan?* “Who is able to jump across the creek?”
- DYKHAKOAN (adv): attentive manner. *To w-osy-n jadoa-nro: dykhakoa n-a wa-sanothi we-inabo.* “Concerning our going on a trip: our children were watching us (go).”
- DYKHAN (vi): visit. *To sondei (ST) bali-koro, d-osa koba da-jorodatho manro dykha-n-ba.* “This past Sunday I went to visit my sister.”
- DYKHY-KOANA (n): mirror. *Da-dykhy-koana loko da-dykha da-sibo-wa.* “In my mirror I see my own face.”
- DYKHYN (vt): see. *Khatho kari-n bo-kosi, wadili-koma kho sa-n by-dykhy-n.* “When your eyes hurt, you are not able to see well.”
- DYKHYN...KHONA (vi): care for, take care of. *San by-dykhy-n ibili khona-n, sa na-bikhidonoa-n.* “If you take care of children well, they will grow up well.”
- DYKHYSIAN (vt): spy. *Aban koba osy-thi dia l-a tho-ja, ken l-oreda-n khan to waboroko, ly-dykhysia-ha-da no.* “Once he did as if he were leaving, and rounding a small bend in the road, he spied on her.”
- DYKHYTYN (vd): point out, demonstrate. *By-dykhyta-na-ma kho da-myn, alo-nro boren d-osy-n-fa?* “Can’t you show me exactly where I have to go?”
- DYLHYDAN (vs): flexible, stretchable, tough. *To mibi: min-tho kho dylhyda-n to.* “The vine (e.g. one used to make baskets from): it is very flexible.”
- DYLHYDAN (vi): massage. *Min-ka kho kari-n da-loa-bana; da-dylhyda-kota-fa da-khona-wa.* “My chest hurts a lot; I will get myself massaged.”
- DYLHYDYN (vt): drag, pull, pull on. *Tatan doma to holholho, wadili-ka kho da-waja da-dylhydy-n to khali-doli.* “Because the ground is hard, I am not able to pull (out) the cassava tubers by myself.”
- DYNA(-HA) (n): arm (whole arm with hand). *Dyna-ha abo by-nekhebo-koma.* “With arms you can work.” Possessed: *da-dyna* = my arm.
  1. *kodibio-dyna*: wing
  2. *ada-dyna*: branch
- DYNEINA(-HA) (n): shoulder. *Da-dyneina abo da-nyka-ma ada.* “With my shoulder I can carry wood.” Possessed: *da-dyneina* = my shoulder.
- EIBAN (vt): set a gun trap. See: *iban*.
- EIBIN (vt): leave behind. See: *ibin*.
- EIBOAN (vi): leave behind.
- EIBOAN, EIBONOAN (vi): finished.
- EIBON (vt): finish.
- EIMATAN, EMATAN (vt): anger, make angry, madden.
- EIMATONOAN, EMATONOAN (vi): angry. *To ma-kanaba-n-thi l-a-n li siokothi da-khonan: d-eimatoa lo-myn.* “Concerning that the boy doesn’t want to listen to (obey) me: I am angry with him.”
- EINATAN (vi): begin, make a beginning at. See: *inatan*.



- EINATHYN (vt): begin. See: *inathyn*.
- EITHAN (vt): know about. *Tokota konoko de kho eitha saja sawabo-da no*. "I don't know that forest over there very well." See: *ethan, ethin, ithan, ithin*.
- EITHIDIN (vi): sneeze.
- EITHIN (vt): know, be acquainted with. *Lira wadili wakharo kho d-eithi-sia*. "That is a man I have known a long time." *Wakharo kho ma-dykhy-n d-a-n doma lira wadili, m-eithi-n-thi d-a sabo-ka dei*. "Because I have not seen that man in a long time, I don't know him so well any more." See: *ethan, ethin, ithan, ithin*.
- EITHOAN (vi): be careful.
- EKE, KE (n): container, covering. Possessed: *th-eke* = its/her container; *da-ke*: my container
- EMATONOAN, EIMATONOAN (vi): angry, be mad. See: *eimatonoan*.
- EMEKHON (vs): industrious, ambitious, not lazy. *Tora bikhidoliatho min-ka kho emekho-n*. "That young woman is very industrious."
- EMELIAN, HEMELIAN (vs): new. See: *hemelian*.
- ENHEN (p): yes.
- EREBEN, IREBEN (vs): dirty, messy. *To karobo-be min-ka kho erebe-n*. "The plates are very dirty."
- ERETHI, RETHI (n): husband. *Lira wadili to da-rethi*. "That man is my husband." Possessed: *da-rethi* = my husband.
- ERETHO, RETHO (n): wife. *De eretho bikhidolia koa-ma*. "My wife is still young."
- ERODOAN (vi): yawn.
- ETAN (vi): pound (e.g. cassava flour with a mortar and pestle). *D-eta-bo khali hako lokon*. "I am pounding cassava in my cassava pounding mortar." See: *itan*.
- ETHAN, ETHIN (vt): know about, know. See: *eithin, eithan*.
- FALHETHO (n): Caucasian. *Adali kha thy-jadoa-ka-the falhetho-be wa-sikoa khona*. "In the dry season white people come to visit our village."  
 1. *falhetho-khale*: Western style bread  
 2. *falhetho-dalhidi-koana*: car/bus/etc.
- FALHETHO-BEJOKA (n): radio, record player, cassette recorder. Possessed: *da-falhetho-bejoka* = my radio.
- FALHETHO-BIRAKA (n): radio. Possessed: *da-falhetho-biraka* = my radio.
- FALHETHO-KANAN (n): ship, boat.
- FALHETHO-KHALE (n): bread (wheat bread risen with yeast). *Thojosikoa ron khi, d-othika-ma falhetho-khale*. "Only in the city can I get white bread."
- FALHETHO-KYNDYKHA (n): flashlight. *Falhetho-kyndykha by-kalemeta-thi farokha, aba tho-kojo thian-tho diako bo-foroto-n*. "If you want to light a flashlight, press on its navel-like thing (its switch)."
- FARADAN (vi): split fire wood.
- FAROKHA, HAROKHA (p): if, when (conditional). *B-osy farokha jokha-nro, by-fara-li khota-ha*. "If you go hunting, you must kill animals."
- FARYN (vt): kill. *Ta sabo da-faryn doma to khota-ha, ma-wadili-ka-the da-nyky-n no, ken takyro d-a th-awa*. "Because it was far away where I killed the animal, it was impossible to come back with it, and I covered it."
- FATA (qw): how many.
- FATADYN (vt): hit with the hand or fist. *Ama khonaria by-fatada-ma b-okhithi-wa?* "Why did (could) you hit your little brother?"

- FATAN (vi): fight. *Na-fata-ka kho balhin, ma boredaro n-a*. “They were not really fighting, they were only wrestling.”
- FILUAN (vt): take off, remove. *Ly-dykhy-nbia-da no: thy-filoa-n tho-bokolho, ken thy-welada bodali kosa-da no ...* “He saw it: she took off her clothes, and she hung them next to the cassava baking plate ...”
- FIRO(-HO) (n): body. *To firo-ho khonaria-tho to si-hi matho kothi-hi, dyna-ha matho khabo-ho, ken abyryky koan*. “On the body are head and feet, legs and hands, and still other things.”
- FIRO(-HO) (n): penis.
- FIROBERO (n): tapir.
- FIRON (vs): big, thick. *Min-tho kho firon to*. “It is very big.” *Aba firo-tho bahy da-malhithi-fa*. “I am going to build a big house.”
- FIROTAN...IRI (vt): praise, enlarge. *Hi-firota Adajali iri*. “(you-PL) Praise God.”
- FIROTYN, FIROTAN (vt): enlarge, make bigger. *Da-sikoa basaban-ka da-firota sabo-fa no*. “My house is small, I will enlarge it.”
- FODI (n): capuchin monkey; monkey (generic). *Aba fodi bolhedokota-ka-the ada iwi d-adi*. “A monkey threw fruit on me.” Possessed: *da-fodi-a* = my monkey.
- FODYN (vt): blow (with mouth, or wind). *Da-foda aba bejokha*. “I blow a flute.” *Min-ka kho to awadoli fody-n*. “The wind blew very hard.”
- FOFODAN (vi): whistle with the hands.
- FOFON (vs): soft (e.g. sand). *Min-ka kho fofon to mothoko*. “The sand is very soft.”
- FOLIFOLIN (vs): slippery (e.g. a fish).
- FONASIAN (vs): hungry. *Fonasia-ka de*. “I am hungry.”
- FOROTON (vt): press. *Falhetho-kyndykha by-kalemeta-thi farokha, aba tho-kojo thiantho diako bo-foroto-fa*. “If you want to light a flashlight, you must press on its navel-like thing (switch).”
- FORTO (n): city (ENG:fort). See: *thojosikoa*.
- FOTHIKHIDIN, FOTHIKHIDAN (vi): exit, come out.
- HABORI(N) (vs, n): ashamed, shy. *Khatho kobydoahy abarykyno adi, min-ka kho habori-n loko-ho*. “When one makes mistakes in front of others, one is in great shame.”
- HADALI, ADALI (n): sun. See: *adali*.
- HADOLHI (n): capybara (species) (small).
- HAKO (n): mortar (for pounding cassava flour). *D-eta jora-ha d-ako-n loko hako-rethi abo*. “I pound cassava meal in my mortar with its husband (pestle).” Possessed: *d-ako-n* = my mortar.
- HAKO-RETHI (n): pestle (mortar husband — for making cassava flour). *D-eta jora-ha d-ako-n loko hako-rethi abo*. “I pound cassava meal in my mortar with its husband (pestle).”
- HALA (n): bench, stool. *Hala: kia to balyty-koana-ha*. “A bench: that is a thing for sitting.” Possessed: *da-la-n* = my bench.
- HALEKHEBEN, ALEKHEBEN (vs): happy, glad. See: *alekheben*.
- HALHALHO (n): gourd spoon.
- HALHAN (n): all, everyone. *Halhan hy-makoa h-anda-li-the d-amyn*. “All of you must come by me (i.e. to my house).”

- HALHAN (vs): gone, consumed, finished (e.g. completely consumed or used up).  
*To atha w-amon-i-n-sia: halha no.* “The drink (e.g. a barrel of cassava beer) we had: it is finished.”
- HALHIRAN (vs): white. *Adia th-a tora bokolho halhira-n-da.* “Those clothes are very white.”
- HALHO (n): cassava starch, glue made from cassava starch. *Firo-tho halho d-amon-i-n kha, da-jokara-ma khi ba no.* “When I have a lot of cassava starch, I can sell it again (i.e. to replace the money spent buying what is needed to get the starch.)” Possessed: *d-alho-n* = my cassava starch.
- HALIKA, ALIKA (qw, rp): how. See: *alika.*
- HALIKAN, ALIKAN (qw, rp): who. See: *alikan.*
- HALIKHA, ALIKHA (qw, rp): when. See: *alikha.*
- HALIMA (qw, rp): how long, as long as, however long. *Da-lada-ka halima d-a-n ma-khole-n khona koan.* “I chopped as long as I (could) without being tired (i.e. until I got tired).”
- HALITHI (n): sweet potato (white, yellow, or orange kind).
- HAMAKA (n): hammock. *Jafo abo da-malhita hamaka.* “With cotton I make hammocks.”
- HANANAN (vs): thick (e.g. thick skin) *Tora khota-ha thojo-tho-ja-da no, kiadoma hanana th-yda.* “That animal was an old one, therefore its hide was thick.”
- HAO (n): monkey (species).
- HAROKHA, FAROKHA (p): if, when (conditional). See: *farokha.*
- HATHI, ATHI (n): pepper (a very hot kind). *Hathi m-amyn th-a-n, seme m-a kho to kadykyra.* “If it doesn’t have pepper, the pepper pot (soup) is not tasty.” Possessed: *d-athi-a* = my pepper.
- HEBEN (vs): full. *Hebe-ka to by-kanan?* “Is your boat full?”
- HEBEN (vs): ripe. *Hebe-ka to by-manikhinia-n?* “Are your eating bananas ripe?”
- HEHE (p): yes (emphatic).
- HEHEN (vs): yellow, pale. *To hehe-bero kathokolhokhili bi-sika da-myn.* “Give the yellow flowers to me.”
- HELODON (vt): polish, shine. *Herebe-ka da-kothi-eke; da-helodo-fa no.* “My shoes are dirty; I will polish them.”
- HELOTHO (n): gold, shiny stuff. Possessed: *da-helotho-n* = my gold. See: *kalemero.*
- HEMELIAN, EMELIAN (vs): new. *Aba hemelia-tho da-simalha-wa da-jonta.* “I bought a new gun for myself.”
- HI (pro): you (plural), your (plural). *Hi dalhida-bo.* “You (PL) are running.”
1. *Hi sikoa to:* It is your (PL) house.
  2. *To to hi myn:* It is for you (PL).
- HIARO (n): female, woman. *Hiaro min-tho kho ka-nikho-thi-n.* “Women greatly want things to decorate one’s body with (e.g. jewelry).”
- HIBIN (p): almost. *De koborokoa-ka koan alika th-a-n aba kabadaro hibin bokoto-n li d-oribithi.* “I still remember how a jaguar almost grabbed my brother-in-law.”
- HIBIN (p): already. *Kabyn kasakabo-ka kari-n hibin de.* “I have been sick three days already.” *L-anda hibin?* “Has he arrived already?”
- HIKOLHI (n): turtle.
- HIME (n): fire. Possessed: *de hime* = my fire.

- HIME (n): fish. *Hime da-bodesia-koma oniabo rakoaria*. “I can (catch) fish in water.”
- HIMEDAN (vi): fish. *To mothia w-osy-fa himedan-ro*. “In the morning we will go to fish.”
- HIMIRI (n): fish (species) (ST: noja).
- HITHI (n): bird (species) (ST: powisi).
- HITOLHI (n): monkey (species) (red howler).
- HIWA, IWA (n): year.
- HOBO (n): tree (species) (ST: mope).
- HODODI (n): woodpecker. *To hododi olada-ka ada khondi*. “The woodpecker drills holes in trees.”
- HOKOLHERO (n): capybara (species) (D: konijn).
- HOLE (n): hole. See: *ole*.
- HOLHISIRI (n): fish (species) (ST: pataka).
- HOLHOE (n): monkey (species) (ST: wanakoe).
- HOLHOLHO (n): ground, earth, world. *De jada holholho diakhodi*. “I travel around on the earth.”
- HOLHOLHO (n): hill, mountain. *Abaro kho ajomyn-tho holholho ja-ka moda-sia-ma diakon*. “There are many mountains here which can be climbed on.”
- HOLHOLHO (n): property. *Da-jonto farokha aba holholho, da-malhithi-fa aba bahy thy-diako*. “If I buy a property, I am going to build (make) a house on it.” Possessed: *da-olholha* = my property.
- HON (pp): you(PL)-BEN (abbrev. of *hy-myn*).
- HONOLI (n): bird (species) (D: tijgervogel).
- HYRYKYN (vs): even, the same. *Hyryky-re h-a nebethi-n to amathali*. “You (PL) have to divide the thing (e.g. an animal) evenly (among you).”
- HYRYREN (adv): fully.
- HYRYRY (n): file.
- HYRYRYDIASALHERO (n): bird (species) (ST: anamoe).
- IBAN (n): remainder, leftover. *To Jezus boji-n koba na abali-non kho, th-iban koan biandakhabo-diako-bian keke n-ebeketa th-abo*. “When Jesus fed the many, they filled twelve baskets with the remainder of the meal.”
- IBAN (vt): trap (e.g. by setting up a gun with trip wire). *Tabo aba wakhai-tho kho khota bona-ha da-dykha; d-eiba-fa da-simalha-wa tho-boran*. “Over there I saw a good animal trail. I will set up a gun trap for it (an animal)” See: *eiban*.
- IBIHI (n): medicine. *Li kari-thi isadoa, sa-tho ibihi l-othikhi-n doma*. “The sick man was healed, because he received good medicine.”
- IBILI (n): child. *M-amy-n d-a-n kha ibili, ama kho aikhata-koma da-koboroko*. “If I didn’t have children, nothing would console me.”
- IBILIN (vs): small.
- IBIN (vt): leave behind. *Jara hala diako b-iba to buku (ST) da-myn*. “Leave the book for me on that bench.” See: *eibin*.
- IBIN (vs): small. *Khi d-a-n dykhy-n rikene aba maja firo-tho bala, aba maja ibi-ron my-thi simalha lokoto-n-da de*. “At the moment I saw it, I had the gun loaded on one side with big shot, on the other side with small.”
- IBONOAN (vi): finished. See: *eibonoan*.
- IDA (n): gourd bowl.

- IHI (n): arrow cane. *By-malhita-ma sarapa ihi abo*. “You can make arrows with arrow cane.” Possessed: *deja-the* = my arrow cane (irregular).
- IJA (vs): raw. *Sare b-a-li boko-n to khota-ha; ija koa th-a-ma*. “You must cook the meat well; (otherwise) it might still be raw.”
- IKADYREN (vi): able to hear.
- IKAN (vi): marry. *Tokota kathi na bianinon bikhidoliathi ika-fa-the*. “Next month the two young men are going to get married.”
- IKASIAN (vt): forget. *Alikan khana ikasia-ka lo-kothike-wa jaha?* “Who then forgot his own shoes here?”
- IKHI (n): fire. *Bo-bokota-ma ikhi diako*. “You can cook on fire.” Possessed: *de hime* = my fire (irregular).
- IKHI-KHODO (n): firewood. *Waboka da-borata da-retho-wa nykyn ikhi-khodo*. “Just now I helped my wife carry firewood.”
- IKOLHIDAN (vi): wound (go around wounding). *Li jokha-thi ikolhida ro-ma to khota-be khona*. “The hunter can only go around wounding animals (i.e. he is a bad hunter.)”
- IKOLHIDIN (vt): wound. *Majokha-n b-a to da-kalhinan khona; b-ikolhidi farokha no, bo-jonto-fa no*. “Don’t go around throwing things at my chickens; if you wound one, you will buy it.”
- ILON (vs): large, big.
- ILONTHI (n): boy (near puberty).
- ILONTHO (n): girl (near puberty). *Tora ilontho to de ysa*. “That big girl is my child.”
- INABO (pp): after (temporal). *D-osa-bo tano-ho bo-bora, ken mothi b-osa-li-the de-inabo*. “I am leaving today before you, and tomorrow you must come after me (i.e. I’ll go first, then you come later).”
- INABO (pp): behind, after (locative). *L-ysananothi dalhida-bo l-inabo*. “His children are running after him.”
- INARIA (pp): starting from.
- INATAN (vi): begin, make a beginning at. *Mothi d-einata-ha da-kekere-wa*. “Tomorrow I will start (making) my own basket.” See: *einatan*.
- INATYN (vt): begin. *Mothi d-einaty-fa da-nekhebo khona*. “Tomorrow I will begin on my work.” See: *einthyn*.
- INIABO (n): water. See: *oniabo*.
- IREBEN, EREBEN (vs): dirty, messy. See: *ereben*.
- IRI(-HI) (n): name. Possessed: *l-iri* = his name.
- IRITHIN (vt): name. *Ylhihi-n doma da-balha, ylhisili n-a irithi-n-da de*. “Because my hair is dark, they called me dark-head.”
- ISADAN (vt): improve, prepare, heal. *Firo-tho kasakabo boran, sare w-o-fa isada-n wa-sikoa khiradia*. “Before the feast day, we will prepare the area around our house well.” *Li bikathi isada li kari-thi*. “The doctor healed the sick man.”
- ISADONOAN, ISADOAN (vi): be healed. *Min-thi koba kho kari-n li da-sa, ma wakharo siokhan l-a-thi-ka isadonoa-n*. “My child was very sick, but now he is getting a little better.” *Li kari-thi isadoa, sa-tho ibihi l-othikhi-n doma*. “The sick man was healed because he received good medicine.”
- ISADONOAN, ISADOAN (vi): be prepared. *D-osy-n bora khojaboa-sikoa-nro, sare d-oa isadonoa-n*. “Before I go to church, I prepare myself well.”



- ISADYN (vt): save. *B-othikhi farokha by-polata-nia, sare b-a-li isady-n no.* “If you get your money, you must save it well.”
- ISI(-HI) (n): head. *Da-si da-noro diako-ka.* “My head is on my neck.” Possessed: *da-si* = my head.
- ISI(-HI) (n): leader, boss, captain. *Wa-si dykhy-thi wa-sikoa khona.* “Our captain is the one who watches over our village.”
- ITAN (vi): pound (e.g. cassava flour with mortar and pestle). See: *etan.*
- ITHAN, ITHIN (vt): know. See: *eithan, eithin, ethan, ethin.*
- ITHI (n): father (also father’s brother). Possessed: *da-thi* = my father.
- ITOKO(-HO) (b): tail.
- IWA (n): star. See: *wiwa.*
- IWA (n): year. See: *hiwa.*
- IWI (n): fruit, seed.
- (Y)JA (n): spirit, image, photo. See: *yja.*
- JA(HA), JA(DI)(-HI), JA(RA) (n, vs): here.
- JABOARIA (pp): in front of, to the front of, forward. See: *jabon, -aria.*
- JABOATHO (n): aunt (mother’s sister). Possessed: *da-jaboatho* = my aunt.
- JABODYN (vt): roast. *Min-ka kho fonasia-n de; da-jabody-fa aba hime d-onoa.* “I am very hungry; I will roast a fish for myself.”
- JABON (pp): behind, after. *Aba siokothi da-sikoa jabon-ka.* “A little boy is behind my house.”
- JABONRO (pp): to the back of, to the rear of, behind, after. See: *jabon, -ro.*
- JABOSAN, JOBYSAN (vi): sieve cassava flour, sift cassava flour.
- JABYDYN, JABYDAN (vt): roast.
- JADAN (vt): pull out, threaten. *Da-jada-fa da-khale-wa.* “I will pull out (of the ground) my cassava tubers.” *Li malokonisiathi jada-ka kasipara abo ly-madianthi-wa.* “The bad man threatened his own friend with a machete.”
- JADOALA (n): knife. *Da-jadoala-n da-bolheda; m-eithi-n d-a alon nin no.* “I lost my knife; I don’t know where it is.” Possessed: *da-jadoala-n* = my knife.
- JADOAN (vi): go on an outing, take a walk, take a stroll, travel, take a trip. *Abahan d-osy-fa da-sanothi abo jadoa-n-ba dierentuin (D) ninro.* “Someday I will go with my children on an outing to the zoo.”
- JADYN (vi): travel, journey. *Lira to falhetho adiakhanken-thi jady-n, kiadoma abaro kho sikoa-hy ly-dykha.* “That Caucasian travels a lot, therefore a lot of countries he has seen.”
- JAFO (n): cotton. *Jafo abo da-malhita hamaka.* “With cotton I make hammocks.” Possessed: *da-jafo-n* = my cotton.
- JAKASYN, JAKASAN (vt): kick. *Ma-jakasa-n b-a to by-pero-nia; tho-jokha-koma kho sabo.* “Don’t kick your dog; (or) it won’t be able to hunt anymore.”
- JAKHATYN, JAKHATAN (vt): hide, conceal. *Lira ememethi-khabo jakhata to jadoala-n d-oria.* “That sticky hand (someone who constantly takes things) concealed the knife from me.”
1. *jakhatoan*: conceal one’s self, hide one’s self
- JAKOSOAN (vi): stall.
- JAKOSON (vt): extinguish.
- JALHIDIN (vi): fish by poisoning, poison fish. *To hime-be min-ka kho odo-n; na-jalhida-ka th-adi.* “Many fish died; they poisoned them.”

- JALOKHOTAN (vi, vt): trade, barter. *Wakhili, m-eithi-n koa n-a-n kha polata, jalokhota-ro n-a ama rikene-n n-amon-i-n-sia falhetho-be oma*. “Long ago, when they still didn’t know (about) money, they traded/bartered all sorts of things they had with the Caucasians.”
- JALOKHOTON, JALOKHOTYN (vt): return (something borrowed). *Da-bokhithi amyn da-tyna-ba khaborokhodo-ho, ma da-jalokhoto-fa khi-da ba no*. “At (from) my older brother I borrowed money, but I will return it again.”
- JALOKOTON (vi): undress.
- JARAO (n): fish (species) (ST: warapa).
- JATYN (vt): draw, sketch. *Lira wadili min-thi kho eithi-n jaty-n amathali*. “That man knows (how) to draw things very well.”
- JAWAHY (n): devil.
- JAWALHE (n): opossum (species).
- JE (pro): they [+human], them [+human].
- JEMA(-HA) (n): nausea. *Jema-thi d-a*. “I feel nauseous.”
- JENI(-HI) (n): song, tune. *Da-wiwida aba jeni khan*. “I whistled a little song.”
- JENTONNOAN (vi): sing. *Joli-non jentonoa-n: sa-thi th-a kanaba-bia*. “Many people singing: it (is) nice/good/pretty to hear.”
- JERIKOAN (vi): cut hair.
- JESERE (n): armadillo (species).
- JESI (n): armadillo (species) (ST: kapasi).
- JOARIA, JOAJA (tw): then, next, from then, from there. *Joaria w-osa khi-ka-da ba hadali kolokon*. “From there, we went on the same way in the sun.”
- JODOKOTON (vt): hang, hang up. *Da-jodokota bahy-dora khona d-arakabosa-n*. “I hang my gun on the wall.”
- JODON (vt): swing, rock. *Bo-joda basada-ren li siokothi abo, m-anaby-n l-a-n-bia*. “Swing/rock (i.e. in a hammock) the little boy gently, so that he doesn’t waken.”
- JOHON (vs): many. *De sikoa-n min-ka kho johon kolhi-hi*. “My house has many rats.”
- JOJON (vs): wet, moist. *To bokolho jojo-ka*. “The clothes are wet.”
- JOJOTON (vt): wet, moisten.
- JOKARYN, JOKARAN (vt): sell. *B-amyn-ka nana jokara-bia?* “Do you have pineapple to sell?”
- JOKHAN (vi): hunt; go around throwing things. *Mothi, saoka koa th-arokha, d-osy-fa jokha-n-ro*. “Tomorrow, if it is still good weather, I will go hunting.” *Ma-jokha-n b-a to ka-kalhina-n khona; b-ikolhidi farokha no, bo-jonto-fa de*. “Don’t go around throwing (things) at my chicken(s); if you wound it/them, you will pay me.”
- JOKHON (vi): shoot. *To d-osy-n jokha-n-ro: da-kanaba aba da-kosa khan jokho-n*. “Concerning my going to hunt: I hear someone sort of close to me shoot.”
- JOKHONNOAN (vi): shoot. *To da-simalha min-tho kho ka-kanakyn jokhonoa-n to*. “My gun shoots very loudly.”
- JOKORO (n): peccary (species) (ST: pingo).
- JOLHADOA-KOANA(-HA) (n): boat, canoe. Possessed: *da-jolhadoo-koana*.
- JOLHADYN (vi): float. *Aba ada, ‘thikhobolo’ n-asia myn, min-tho kho jolhady-n*. “One (kind of) wood, which they call ‘thikhobolo’, floats very well.”

- JOLHATYN ... ANSI (vt): tease, bother, torture. *Ma-jolhaty-n b-a to pero ansi; thy-rydaja-fa-da bo*. “Don’t tease the dog; it will bite you.”
- JOLHI (n): tobacco, cigarette, cigar. *B-amyn-ka aba jolhi da-myn? Min-ka kho da-kolhedoa-thi-n*. “Do you have a cigarette for me? I have a great desire to smoke.”
- JOLHODOAN (vi): hang. *To bajolha-be khonaria tho-jolhodoa, da-kora*. “From the beams it hangs, my hammock.”
- JON (n, vs): there.
- JONA (n): wage, worth, price. Possessed: *tho-jona* = its price.
- (O)JONO (n): family. See: *ojono*.
- JONTAN (vt): buy. *Ka-polata-nin kha de, min-koma kho da-jonta-n th-abo*. “If I were rich (lit: moneyed), I could buy a lot with it.”
- JONTHO (rp): there where, where. *Jontho thy-boadonoa-n w-abo kawa-ka oniabo*. “There where it broke down on us, there is no water.” *Khi dia w-a-n bena-da, wa-bali-ka jontho-bo w-osy-n ninro*. “After doing thusly, we went on to where we were going.”
- JONTON (vt): pay. *Sa farokha by-nekhebo-n da-myn, sa-fa da-jonto-n thy-jonabo*. “If you work for me well, I will pay a good wage.”
- JONTONOAN, JONTOAN (vi): pay back, repay. *By-sikhi farokha firo-tho kasiri da-myn, da-jonto-fa balhinia khi ba*. “If you give me a big (gourd of) cassava beer (to drink), I will pay you back again the same way.”
- JORAHA (n): grated and squeezed cassava pulp, cassava flour, cassava meal. *Da-jobysa joraha da-manalhi-a abo*. “I sift cassava flour with my sifting basket.”
- JORO (n): cassava squeezer (made of basketry). *Da-joroda khali da-joro-n abo*. “I squeeze (i.e. squeeze the poisonous juice out of) cassava with my cassava squeezer.” Possessed: *da-joro-n* = my cassava squeezer.
- JORO-RETHI (n): stick upon which one sits to stretch the cassava squeezer to cause it to squeeze.
- JORODATHO (n): sister (of a male). Possessed: *da-jorodatho* = my sister.
- JORODON (vi): squeeze cassava.
- JOROKON (vi): drag. *Tho-moty-n da-nakara de, kia loko joroko-ro d-a th-abo*. “My burden defeated me (i.e. it was too heavy); because of that I dragged it.”
- KABADARO (n): jaguar. *Kabadaro khi ron to khota-ha konoko lokhodi*. “Jaguars only eat animals in the forest.”
- KABENA (tw): later.
- KABILOKON (vs): wide. *De bona-ha min-tho kho kabiloko-n*. “My path (e.g. the path to my house) is very wide.”
- KABOJA, KABYJA (n): planting ground. *D-osy-fa kaboja-nro; da-reke-fa*. “I will go to my planting ground; I will weed.” Possessed: *da-kabo-n* = my planting ground.
- KABOKHALI (n): tree (species) (ST: copie).
- KABYN (quant, num): three.
- KABYNIBO: three times.
- KABYNTHIAN (quant, num): eight.
- KADANARO (n): deer.
- KADYKYRA, KADAKYRA (n): pepper pot (a soup made of boiled cassava juice with pepper and meat or fish). *Da-kadykyra loko da-boka-ma khota-ha*



- matho hime*. “In my pepper pot (soup) I can cook meat and fish.” Possessed: *da-kadykyra* = my pepper pot.
- KADYNABORO (n): tree (species) (ST: kankantrie).
- KAJADAN (vi): notice, be aware of. *Jakhatoa loko d-osa-ja balhin, ma na-kajada da-khonan*. “I went secretly, but they noticed me anyway.”
- KAJADYN (vt): notice. *Miaka olhika d-osa jadan-ro, ken da-retho ma-kajady-n-ka da-khonan alikha diaro ren d-osy-n*. “Yesterday night I went hunting, and my wife didn’t notice exactly when I went.” See: *kajadan*.
- KAJADYN ... KHONA (vt): understand. *To ama by-dia-sia da-myn: da-kajada khan-ka tho-khona*. “Concerning what you said to me: I do understand it.”
- KAJOKOTHI (n): alligator.
- KAJOLHERO (n): cow. *Da-kajolhero-n ka-sa farokha, d-othika-ma tho-dio-(y)ra da-than-ia-wa*. “If my cow had a calf, I could get its milk as my beverage.” Possessed: *da-kajolhero-n* = my cow.
- KAKANAKYN (vs): loud. *Ka-kanaky-re b-a-li ydia-n thojothi-non oma*. “You have to speak loudly with old people.”
- KAKOARO (n): cow. *Da-kakoaro-n ka-sa farokha, d-othika-ma tho-dio-(y)ra da-than-ia-wa*. “If my cow had a calf, I could get its milk as my beverage.” Possessed: *da-kakoaro-n* = my cow.
1. *kakoaro ysa*: calf
- KAKOLHEMERO (n): capybara (species) (D: konijn).
- KAKOLHOTHIMA (n): boil, bump (on the skin). *Be-bebeda-the da-dana khona, ama thiaron baha kakolhothima*. “Come feel on my leg what sort of bump it could be.”
- KAKOLOKHODORO (n): fish (species) (ST: anjoemara).
- KAKOSALOKORO (n): monkey (species).
- KAKOSIRO (n): deer.
- KAKY(-HY) (n): life. *To kaky-hy w-amon-i-n-sia: li malhithi-thi we siki-sia-ra wa-myn-da-n*. “The life which we have: it is what the one who made us (God) gave to us.”
- KAKYN (vi): live. *San kaky-n wabokoa we: saboro th-a wa-myn*. “Our living well with each other: it is good for us.”
- KAKYTHI (n): man, human.
- KAKYTHO (n): woman, human [non-Arawak].
- KALEME(-HE) (n): light. *To kaleme-he kari-thi-thi-ma da-kosi, adiake th-a tata-n*. “The light which wants to hurt my eyes, it is very strong.”
- KALEMERO (n): gold, bright thing. *Kalemero kawa-n kha, alika w-a-ma khan ka-nikho-n?* “If there were no gold, how could we have jewelry?” Possessed: *da-kalemero* = my gold. See: *helotho*.
- KALEMETHIN (vt): light.
- KALHAO (vs): green.
- KALHAO, KALHO (n): grain. *Aba mothoko kalho osa da-kosi loko-nro*. “A sand grain went into my eye.”
- KALHAO, KALHO (n): grass. *Koadoa-kothiro: kia min-ka kho khi-n to kalhao*. “Cows/horses: they eat lots of grass.” Possessed: *da-kalhao-ja* = my grass.
1. *kalhao-iwi*: rice (lit: grass seed)

- KALHINA (n): chicken. *Da-kalhina-n joto farokha, da-jokara-ma khi ba no.* “If my chickens multiply, I could sell them again (i.e. just as I bought them).”  
 Possessed: *da-kalhina-n* = my chicken.  
 1. *kalhina-sa*: chicken egg
- KALHIWALHO (n): fish (species) (ST: kwikwi).
- KALHO (n): grass. See: *kalhao*.
- KALHOBBA (n): bird (species) (ST: wakago, D: boshaan).
- KALHYDAKOTON (vt): fold. *Bi-misidi farokha da-danake, sare b-a-li kalhydakoto-n no.* “If you iron my pants, you must fold them well.”
- KALHYDAN (vi): break a bone. *Hetho-re h-a bira-n; hy-kalhyda-koma.* “(you-PL) Be careful in your playing; you could break a bone (e.g. arm or leg).”
- KALHYDONOAN, KALHYDOAN (vi): be broken. See: *kalhydyn*.
- KALHYDYN (vt): break, snap (by bending). *Bo-bora farokha to ada-sa, by-kalhyda bo-boroadia no.* “If there is a branch in front of you, break it off before you.” *Hebe-ka to nana; da-kalhydy-fa no.* “The pineapples are ripe; I am going to harvest them (lit: break them off).”  
 1. *kalhydykytyn*: cause to break
- KALYN, KAYLYN (vs): fast, quick.
- KAMA (n): tapir.
- KAMANAN (vs): sharp. *Etho-re b-a to jadoala myn; min-ka kho ka-mana-n no.* “Be careful of the knife; it is very sharp.” *Min-ka kho da-kasipara-n kamana-n.* “My machete is very sharp.”
- KAMONEKA (vs): poor, be in difficulty. *Alikan m-amyn-thi bojoa-hy, ne to kamoneka-thi.* “Those who don’t have food, they are (really) poor.”
- KAMOTHINAN (vs): difficult, poor. *To malhikhota ibili-non: min-tho kho kamothina-n to.* “The teaching of children: it is very difficult.”
- (Y)KAN (vi): bathe. *Bakylamabo da-ka-fa-ba.* “This afternoon I will go take a bath.”
- KANABAN (vt): hear. *Bi waboken kanaba to khota simaka-n?* “Do you hear the animal also (i.e. in addition to me)?”
- KANABYN (vt): listen. *Sare h-a-li kanaby-n ama d-a-n-fa dia-n ho-myn.* “You (PL) must listen well (to) what I am going to say to you.”
- KANABYN...KHONAN (vi): obey. *Hy-kanaby-ra-fa to thojothi-non khonan.* “You (PL) should obey grown-ups.”
- KANAKANASIRO (n): chicken. See: *kalhina*.
- KANAKYDI (n): stem of the cassava plant.
- KANAKYN (n): sound.  
 1. *ka-kanaky-n*: loud  
 2. *ma-kanaky-n*: soft (not loud)
- KANAN (n): boat, large canoe. Possessed: *da-kanan* = my boat.
- KANOA (n): canoe. Possessed: *da-kanoa-n* = my canoe.
- KANSIN (vt): love, like. *Lira bikhidoliathi: kansi-thi hibin li.* “That young man there: he is already in love.” See: *ansin*.
- KARI(-HI) (n): sickness, pain.
- KARIN (vs): sick. *Kabyn kasakabo-ka kari-n hibin de.* “I have already been sick for three days.”
- KARIRO (n): dog. See: *pero*.
- KARIRO (n): fish (species) (ST: anjoemara).

- KAROBO (n): plate (to eat from). *Karobo kawa-n kha, alika d-a-ma khan khota-n?* “If there are no plates, how can I eat?” Possessed: *da-karobo-n* = my plate.
- KASAKABO (tw): daytime. *Da-nekhebo-ka kasakabo*. “I work in the daytime.”
- KASAKABO NEBETAN (tw): noon. *Kasakabo nebetan da-khoto-fa*. “At noon I will eat.”
- KASAKABO(-HO) (n): day. *Kasakoda nebetan dikhi thy-nyka aba emelia-tho kasakabo*. “After midnight a new day begins.”
- KASAKODA (tw): nighttime (21:00–24:00). *Kasakoda d-osy-fa-the jokhan-ro*. “Tonight I will go hunting.”
- KASAKODA NAKAN (tw): midnight. *Kasakoda nakan dikhi thy-nyka aba emelia-tho kadakabo*. “After midnight a new day begins.”
- KASAKODA NEBETAN (tw): midnight. *Kasakoda nebetan da-donko-ra-fa*. “At midnight I will probably be sleeping.”
- KASAKONRO (tw): pre-dawn (3:00–6:00). See: *mothiaro*.
- KASALHERO (n): bird (species) (ST: anamoe).
- KASI (n): fish (species) (ST: djakie).
- KASIAN (vt): forget. *De kasia-n boradi, bo-koborokoata-li-da de*. “Before I forget, you must remind me.”
- KASIPARA (n): machete. *Kasipara abo da-soka-ka ada-sa-be*. “With the machete I cut young trees.” Possessed: *da-kasipara-n* = my machete.
- KASIRI (n): cassava beer (fermented cassava drink).
- KATELOKOJAN, -TELOKOJAN (vs, vt): hate. *Ama khoraria na-telokoja-ka n-onekoa?* “Why do they hate each other?”
- KATHI (n): month. *Tokota kathi na bianinon bikhidoliathi ika-fa-the*. “Next month the two young men will get married.”
- KATHI (n): moon. *Wadia khoru kathi kolhobody-fa*. “Pretty soon it will be full moon.”
- KATHIKEBETHI, KATHIKEBERO, KATHIKEBETHO (n): thief. *To bariri bokota to kathikebero*. “The policeman grabbed the thief.”
- KATHOKOLHOKHILI (n): flower. *Da-kathokolhokhili-a da-siki-fa da-sikoa loko sa-ko th-a-nbia da-sikoa*. “My flowers I will put in my house to beautify it, my house.” Possessed: *da-kathokolhokhili-a* = my flower.
- KATHYNAN (vi): bleed. *Bo-soko farokha kasipara abo, min-ka kho ka-thyna-n no*. “If you get cut with a machete, it (the wound) will bleed a lot.”
- KATORORO (n): tapir.
- KAWALAINARO (n): capybara (species) (D: haas, ST: hei, h’e).
- KAWAN (vs): absent, be gone.
- KAYLYN (vs): fast, quick. *Adia l-a kaylyn osy-n-da*. “He goes (e.g. walks) very quickly.”
- KE, EKE (n): container.
- KEKE, KEKERE (n): basket (used primarily by women to carry things). *Ma-kekere-n kha de, wadili-koma kho khali-doli da-nyky-n*. “If I didn’t have a basket, it would be impossible for me to carry cassava tubers.” Possessed: *da-kekere* = my basket.
- KELI (n): cassava juice (very poisonous — contains HCN, cyanide).
- KEN (conj): and.
- KEROSYN (vt): turn. *Adiake-man b-a kerosonoan, thy-jodako-ma bo-kosi*. “If you turn around a lot, your head can become dizzy.”

- KETOAN (vi): dress one's self.
- KHA (p): when, at the time, then. *Bikhidolia d-a-n kha, min-thi kho jokha-n de*. "When I was young, I was one who hunted a lot."
- KHABAN (n): salt. *Boka-hy ma-khaba-n seme kho no*. "Cooked things without salt are not tasty."
- KHABARO (n): salt. See: *pamo*.
- KHABARO (n): salted fish.
- KHABATYN (vt): salt, pickle. *Sa-ja kho by-khabaty-n to khota siroko, kiadoma thy-boadoa-ja*. "You didn't salt the meat well, therefore it spoiled."
- KHABO(-HO) (n): hand. *Da-khabo abo abo da-khota*. "I eat with my hand(s)." *Adajali sika khabo-ho ly-diakon*. "God blessed him (lit: placed hand on him)." Possessed: *da-khabo* = my hand.  
1. *sika khabo-ho ... diakon*: bless
- KHABO-IBIRA(-HA) (n): finger. *Da-khabo-ibira abo da-bokota-ma amathali*. "With my fingers I can hold something." Possessed: *da-khabo-ibira* = my finger.
- KHABOROKHODO(-HO) (n): money, wages. *Ma-khaborokodo-n de, d-osa-ma kho thojosikoa-nro*. "Without money, I can't go to town." Possessed: *da-khaborokhodo* = my money.
- KHAJABA (n): Chinese person.
- KHAJABA (n): flea. *De sikoa-n min-ka kho johon to khajaba*. "My house is crawling with fleas."
- KHALI, KHALE (n): cassava, cassava bread. *Bianbo thiantho to khale; aba to-da bele-tho, ken torabo to tata-tho*. "There are two kinds of cassava bread; one is soft, and the other is hard."  
1. *khali-daja*: cassava stem (see also: *kanakydi*)  
2. *khali-yra*: cassava juice (see also: *keli*)  
3. *khali-khoina*: cassava starch (see also: *halho*)
- KHALIDOLI (n): cassava tuber.
- KHAN (p): diminutive, just (diminutive).
- KHANA (p): then.
- KHARASA(-HA) (n): book, letter, something written. *Aba kharasa d-othika-the da-sa waria*. "I have received a letter from my child." Possessed: *da-kharasa-n* = my book.
- KHARASYN (vt): shave.
- KHARASYN, KHARASAN (vt): scratch, write. *To kabadaro min-ka kho kharasa-n thy-bada abo*. "The jaguar scratches terribly with its nails." *Wakharo inaria kho ma-kharasy-n b-a-ja-tha aba karta (ST) khan da-bithiro*. "You haven't written me a card/letter in a very long time."
- KHAREMEN (vs): black. *Adia th-a khareme-n to da-doadan*. "My pot is very black."
- KHAREMERO (n): sweet potato (dark purple kind used for coloring cassava beer).
- KHATHO (tw): when.
- KHI (adv): thusly (back-reference to previously mentioned situation).
- KHI(-HI) (n): fat, oil. *To botoli loko da-khoto-n khi-hi*. "In the bottle is my eating (i.e. cooking) oil." Possessed: *da-khi-hi* = my oil.
- KHI...BA: again. *De iri by-sakhi-ka khi-da ba?* "Did you name my name again?"

- KHIADONOAN (vi): stop. *Na ibili bira-n thianthi-bo waboroko diako; ne doma abare tha-khiadonoa-n to faletho-dalhidi-koana.* “The children were playing on the road; because of them the car had to stop suddenly.”
- KHIAN (vi): defecate.
- KHIBIHI (n): monkey (species) (ST: kwasiekwasie).
- KHIDIN: same action. *Kabynibo l-a-n khi khidin, th-anda to kabadaro hibin.* “Three times doing thusly, the jaguar already arrived.”
- KHIDOANDYN (vt): believe. *Wa-khidoanda-li Adajali ydian khonan; khatho w-osa-ma ajonyn-ro.* “We must believe in God’s word; then we can go upward (to heaven).”
- KHIDOANIABO (interj): truly.
- KHIN (vt): eat (a light meal). *Na-siki farokha amathali kesia-bia by-myn, alekhebe loko-re b-a khi-n no.* “If they give you something to eat, eat it gladly.”
- (ONI)KHIN (vi): rain. *Th-olhiroko-ka-the to oni; min-fa-the kho thy-khin.* “The rain (clouds) is making it dark; it is going to rain hard.”
- KHIRADI (pp): near, close by, in the neighborhood of, in the vicinity of. *Wa-khiradi kaky-ka-da je.* “They lived near us.”
- KHIREBAN: right then.
- KHISI(-HI) (n): clock, watch. *To to da-khisi wakhaitho kho kona-n.* “My watch runs very well.” Possessed: *da-khisi* = my clock.
- KHISIBA (n): hour, time. *Abaro-diako-anyky khisiba wa-kona-n, w-anda Cordon waboroko amyn.* “Walking one and a half hours, we arrived at the Cordon Road.”
- KHISIDAN (vi): count, calculate, add. *Bi khan eitha khisida lokono-dian loko?* “Do you know how to count in Arawak?”
- KHISIDIN (vt): try, attempt. *By-khisida to atha khan; ma-bolha koa th-a baha.* “Just taste the drink; it is perhaps still unfermented. (The hope is that it is already fermented.)”
- KHISIDONOAN, KHISIDOAN (vi): try (extended effort). *To nekhebo min-ka kho kamothina-n, ma da-khisido-fa tho-khona.* “The work is very difficult, but I will try it.”
- KHISIN (vi): point.
- KHO (p): not, negative. *Sa-ja kho by-khabaty-n to khota siroko, kiadoma thy-boadoa-ja.* “You didn’t salt the meat well, therefore it spoiled.”  
1. *khoro*: no (more emphatic)
- KHOIBAN (vi): serve cassava beer. *Bianinon khi khoiban-fa w-adi.* “Two people, thus, will serve (cassava beer) to us.”
- KHOIDIN (vi): spit.
- KHOJABOA-SIKOA (n): church. *Khatho Adajali kasakabo w-osa khojaboa-sikoa loko-nro.* “On Sunday we go (in) to church.”
- KHOJABOAN, KHOJABONOAN (vi): pray, beg. *Halharon kasakabo-ho matho olhika, wa-khojaboa-li Adajali dykhy-n-bia wa-khona.* “Every day and night we must pray, so that God will take care of us.”
- KHOJABYN (vt): ask, request. *Da-jono khan da-khojaby-ha na-borata khan-i-nbia aba nekhebo oma de.* “I will ask some of my extended family to help me with my work (e.g. clearing or weeding a planting ground).”
- KHOLEBETAN (vi): cut meat into pieces.
- KHOLEN (vs): weak, tired (lack of strength). *Khole-ka da-khona.* “I am weak (e.g. from tiredness or drink).”



- KHONA (pp): on, at. *Tho-loa sibo khona d-osa*. “I went (i.e. shot) at its chest.”
- KHONAN (pp): about. *Da-khonan tha na-dia-ka*. “They are talking about me.”  
See: *dykha...khonan, anda...khona*.
- KHONAN (vi): dress. *Bokolho-ho da-khona*. “I dressed.”
- KHONARIA (pp): from, on, with. *Da-thoboda da-kora da-bajolhan khonaria*. “I hang my hammock from my beam.”
- KHONARO, KHONANRO (pp): toward, at, on. See: *khona, -ro*.
- KHONDI (n): body, main structure.
- KHORODAN (vi): clear undergrowth before cutting trees to open a new planting ground. *D-osy-fa khoroda-nro*. “I will go to clear undergrowth.” See: *khorodon*.
- KHORODON (vt): clear undergrowth before cutting trees to open a new planting ground. *Waboka d-osa bi khorodo-n-ba da-koban-ia-wa*. “Just a little while ago I went to go cut undergrowth on my own planting ground.”
- KHOTA(-HA) (n): animal. *Da-dalhida-ka to khota khona*. “I chased the animal.”  
*To khota-ha, ‘jesi’ na-siamyn, min-tho kho thiki-n*. “The animal people call ‘jesi’ (armadillo) digs a lot.”
- KHOTA(-HA) (n): food, meat. *Da-kadykyra loko da-boka-ma khota-ha matho hime*. “In my pepper pot (soup) I can cook meat and fish.”
- KHOTON (n): a meal. Possessed: *da-khoton-ia* = my meal.
- KHOTON, KHOTAN (vt, vi): eat a meal. *B-ojo siki farokha bo-khoton-ia, jema loko-thi m-a-n b-a khoto-n*. “If your mother gives you your meal, you must not eat as if you were nauseated (i.e. you must eat heartily).”
- KHYTHEHE (n): plants (useful, domesticated). *Thi-bitoa da-koban, da-bona khan-fa da-khythehe*. “(When) my planting ground has been burned (i.e. the trees, etc., burned in preparation for planting), I will plant my plants.”
- KIA (n): that, that one, that situation.
- KIADOMA (p): therefore, so, because of that. *Sa-ja kho by-khabaty-n to khota siroko, kiadoma thy-boadoa-ja*. “You didn’t salt the meat well, therefore it spoiled.”
- KISIN (vt): try. *Taha Java-nro wa-kisi-ka osa-bia*. “We tried to go all the way to the village of Java.”
- KIWIHIN (vi): to have fruit, be successful in the hunt.
- KOA (n): crab.
- KOA(N), -KOA: manner. *Khi dia koa th-a w-abo*. “Thusly like manner (i.e. this is how) it [the bus] did with us.” *We osa-bo l-inabo basada-koan*. “We went behind him slowly.”
- KOADOA-KOTHIRO (n): horse, mule, cow, hooved animal. *Wakhili koba koadoa-kothiro ron diako na-jada koba*. “Long ago they travelled only on horses.” Possessed: *da-koadoa-kothiron* = my horse.
- KOAN (p): still.
- KOANA (n): thing (instrument), tool.
- KOBA (tw): distant past.
- KOBAN (n): planting ground. *Da-koban loko da-byna halhanron amathali*. “In my planting ground I plant all sorts of things.” Possessed: *da-koban(-ia)* = my planting ground.
- KOBOASI (n): monkey (species) (ST: monkie-monkie).
- KOBODOA(-HY) (n): mistake, fault.

- KOBODONOAN, KOBODOAN (vi): make a mistake, goof, err. *To ly-dian wa-myn li wa-balhosen: lo-kobodoa aba ydia khona w-adi*. “When our village captain spoke to us: he made a mistake in one thing he said to us.”
- KOBODYN, KOBODAN (vt): miss. *Miaka d-othika-ka khota oma, ma koboda-thiaro d-a-da ba no*. “Yesterday I met game, but I kept missing it.”
- KOBOROKO (pp): among, between, inside a body. *Kari-thi th-a da-koborokhodi*. “It (wants to) hurt on the inside of me (i.e. my insides hurt).  
*Na-koboroko-nro l-osa*. “He went in among them.”
- KOBOROKOAN (vt): remember, not forget. *B-osy farokha bi-sikoa-nro, bo-koborokoa-li-da de*. “If you go to your country, you must remember (i.e. not forget) me.”
- KOBOROKOARIA (pp): from, out, out from among.
- KOBOROKOATOAN (vi): think. *Kamothina-tho nekhebo d-othikhi-n, min-ka kho da-koborokoatoa-n alika d-a-n-fa ani-n no*. “(When) I get difficult work, I think very hard about how I will do it.”
- KOBOROKOATYN (vt): remind. *De kasia-n boradi, bo-koborokoata-li-da de*. “Before I forget, you have to remind me.”
- KOBOROKONRO (pp): into the midst of. See: *koboroko, -nro*.
- KODIBIO (n): bird. *Kodibio-be ma-seme-tho kho jabyda-bia*. “Birds are delicious to roast.” Possessed: *da-kodibio-n* = my bird.  
1. *kodibio-dyna*: wing
- KODIBIO-DYNA (n): wing. See: *dyna*.
- KODIKHITHIN (vt): wrap, fold up, roll up. *D-osa-bo donka-ro, kiadoma da-kodikhita-bo da-kora-wa*. “I am going to overnight (in the jungle), therefore I am rolling up my hammock.”
- KODO (n): gourd bottle. *Bo-lhoto-ne bo-kodo-ja khonan! Thy-wakydoa-ma*. “Don’t let go of your gourd bottle! It can burst.” Possessed: *da-kodo-ja* = my gourd bottle.
- KODOA-KOANA-TAKOANA (n): door. *Atynoa-thi loko-non: ne kho kodoa-koana-takoan eithi-thi nara*. “Concerning the first Arawaks: they didn’t know (about) doors.” Possessed: *da-kodoa-koana-takoana* = my door.
- KODON, KODAN (vt): braid (hair), weave (leaves). *Tora hiaro wakhaja kho koda-n thy-madianthi ybalha*. “That woman braided the hair of her companion well.”  
1. *kodakotan*: cause to be braided
- KOJALHA (n): canoe, boat. *Ma-kojalha nin kha de, da-jolhada-ma kho oniabo diakhodi*. “If I didn’t have a canoe, I would not be able to float on water.” Possessed: *da-kojalha* = my canoe.
- KOJOAN (vi): leave, return. *Mothi da-kojo-fa*. “Tomorrow I will leave.” *Dalhida loko da-kojoa-the!* “I went back running!”
- KOLHABASITONOAN (vi): kneel. *D-osy-n khojaboa sikoa-nro, da-kolhobasitosa sa-nbia da-khojabonoan*. “When I go to church, I kneel so I can pray well.”
- KOLHEDIN (vi): smoke (e.g. a fire, not cigarette). *Hy-larosa to ikhi-hi; min-ka kho tho-kolhedi-n-the*. “(you PL) Spread the fire out; it is very smokey.”
- KOLHEDOAN (vi): smoke (tobacco product). *B-amyn-ka aba jolhi da-amyn? Min-ka kho da-kolhedoa-thi-n*. “Do you have a cigarette? I have a great desire to smoke.”

- KOLHELI (n): smoke, steam, dust (in the air). *Khatho bo-boka-n, by-doadan lokoaria kolheli fydikhida-the, ken ikhi-hi sika khi-ka kolheli-da ba*. “When you cook, steam comes out of your pot, and the fire gives smoke also.” Possessed: *tho-kolheli-a* = its smoke.
- KOLHEN (vs): red, orange. *By-dykha, awalha kolhe-n*. “Look, the ‘awara’ palm fruits are orange.”
- KOLHEN (vs): ripe. *Kolhe-ka by-manikhinia-n?* “Are you eating ripe bananas?”
- KOLHI(-HI) (n): mouse, rat. *De siko-a-n min-ka kho johon kolhi-hi*. “My house (has) many mice.”
- KOLHIAKA (n): parrot kind.
- KOLHIBIRO (n): fish (species) (ST: logologo).
- KOLOKOARIA (pp): out of (fire, sunshine). See: *kolokon, -aria*.
- KOLOKON (pp): in (fire, sunshine).
- KOLOKONRO (pp): into (fire, sunshine). See: *kolokon, -ro*.
- KOMAKATHI (n): caterpillar. *Abaryky komakathi thyda bo, ken abaryky komakathi ma-thydy-n-ka bo*. “Some caterpillars sting you (i.e. cause a bad stinging rash), and some caterpillars don’t sting you.”
- KOMOJODYTHIMARO (n): powder. Possessed: *da-komojodythimaro* = my powder.
- KONAN (vi): walk. *Kari-thi th-a-n doma da-kothi, wadili-ka kho taha da-kona-n*. “Because my feet want to hurt, it is impossible for me to walk far.”
- KONOKHODO (n): Maroon. *Konokhodo khareme-ka, ken thy-balha sikylhlyhi-ka, ken thy-dian thonoa-ka dolhi oria*. “Maroons are black, and their hair is kinky, and their language is different from Creoles (those living in the capital).”
- KONOKO (n): forest, jungle. *Konoko b-osy-n m-eitha-n b-a-n bi-sina-koma*. “If you aren’t familiar with going in the jungle, you could get lost.” Possessed: *da-konoko-ra* = my jungle.
- KONOKOLHI (n): male peccary (either ST: pakira or ST: pingo).
- KORA(-HA) (n): bed, hammock. *Tora kora-ha donko-koana-ha*. “That bed is a thing on which to sleep.” Possessed: *da-kora* = my bed, hammock.
- KORAN (vi): bake cassava bread. *M-eibonoan koa th-a da-retho kora-n*. “My wife is still not finished baking bread.”
- KORI(-HI) (n): spring, bathing place. *We kori kho makyroken-tho to*. “Our spring does not dry up.”
- KOROKORODAKOAN (adv): trembling manner.
- KORON (vt): bake. *Ma-koro-n koa b-a-bo bo-jorabania?* “Aren’t you baking your squeezed-out cassava yet.”
- KORONOAN (vi): be baked. *Wakhaja kho to khale koronoa-n*. “The cassava bread has been baked well.”
- KOSA (n): needle. *Da-kysa-thin bokolhoho; d-amyn-fa kosa th-alhinia*. “I want to sew clothes; I will have to a needle for it.” Possessed: *da-kosa-the* = my needle.
- KOSAN (pp): next to, close to. *Bi-sika hala kosan no*. “Set it down next to the bench.”
- KOSANRO (pp): toward.
- KOSI(-HI) (n): eye. Possessed: *da-kosi* = my eye.
- KOTHI(-HI) (n): foot. *Taha d-osa-ma da-kothi abo kona-n*. “I can go far walking with my feet.” Possessed: *da-kothi* = my foot.



- KOTHI-IBIRA (n): toe. *Min-ka kho tete-n da-kothi-ibira khondi; tetelio othika no.* “My toes itch a lot; athlete’s foot got them.”
- KOTHIKE(-HE) (n): shoe (from *kothi + eke* ‘foot-container’). *To da-kothike min-tho kho sa-n.* “My shoes are very good.” Possessed: *da-kothike* = my shoe.
- KYDYN (vs): heavy (weight, load, task). *To da-la-n min-tho kho kydy-n.* “My bench is very heavy.”
- KYDYRO (n): stone. *Kydyro diako by-manta-koma.* “You could sharpen (something) on a stone.” Possessed: *da-kydyro-n* = my stone.
- KYLYKAN (vi): point to, aim at. *By-dykha lira siokothi khan kylyka-n-the wa-manro.* “Look at the little boy pointing towards us.”
- KYLYKYN (vi): aim. *Sare b-a kylyky-n; bo-koboda-ma no.* “Aim well; you can miss it.”
- KYLYKYN (vd): offer. *Da-denthi kamyn-ka aba wakhai-tho kho arakabosa da-myn; ly-kylyky-ra tora da-myn-da no, ma de khi m-amyn-ka tho-jona.* “My uncle has a very good gun for me; he offered it to me, but I don’t have enough money.”
- KYNDAN (vi): fish or hunt at night by blinding prey with light. *Tanoke olhika-ha d-osy-fa kyndan-ro.* “Later tonight I will go shine for game.”
- KYNDYN (vi): shine. *Adali kyndy-n doma, makyra-bo to onikhan-be.* “Because the sun is shining, the creeks are drying up.”
- KYRAN (vt): tie off. *B-obada bania; de: sare d-a ja kyra-n da-thirithi-a-wa.* “Wait a moment; me: I am tying off my weaving well.”
- KYRONOAN (vi): tied up, married, tied together. *B-ika-n ken sa-n kakyn jady-n, wakhaja kho by-kyronoa-n.* “If you are married and life is going well, you married well.”
- KYRY (n): mother-in-law (mother of husband). Possessed: *da-kyry* = my mother-in-law (mother of husband).
- KYRYKYJA (n): clan, family name.
- KYRYN (vt): tie, fasten by tying. *Sa-re b-a kyry-n bo-kora-wa; thy-warokosoa-ma b-abo bo-donko-n loko.* “Tie your hammock well; it can let go on you while you are sleeping.”
- KYSA-KOANA (n): sewing machine. *Aba kysa-koana da-jonta, ken wakhaja kho thy-kysa-n.* “I bought a sewing machine, and it sews well.”
- KYSAN (vt, vi): sew. *Aba kysa-koana da-jonta, ken wakhaja kho thy-kysan.* “I bought a sewing machine, and it sews well.”
- KYSONOAN (vi): sewn. *Wakhaja kho to bokolho-ho kysonoa-n.* “The clothes are sewn well.”
- KYSYN (vt): fetch water. *To kodo loko by-kysy-ba-the mimi-tho oniabo.* “Go get cold water in the gourd bottle.”
1. *kysoan*: drawn (water)
- KYTHY (n): grandmother. Possessed: *da-kythy* = my grandmother.
- LABA (n): capybara (species) (D: haas, hei).
- LADAN (vi): chop with an ax.
- LESEJOBE (n): grandchildren (collective).
- LHANATYN, LHANATAN (vt): mix. *Khatho ma-lhanaty-n b-a thy-n atha-ha, mera-ke b-a-ma kho somole-n.* “When you drink unmixed drink (i.e. not mixing various kinds), you cannot get drunk as fast.”
- LHEROKO(-HO) (n): mouth, lips. *M-amyn d-a-n kha da-lheroko, wadili-koma kho da-dia-n.* “If I didn’t have my mouth, I would not be able to talk.” *Bianman to lheroko da-simalha doma.* “Because the barrel of my gun is double.”

- LHIBISIN, YLHIBISIN (vt): roll.
- LHOADAN (vi): crawl around. *Lira siokothi khan: thikhin ly-lhoada-n-bo to*. “That little boy: this is the first time he is crawling.”
- LHOADYN (vi): crawl. *To da-kanaby-n to khota-be: da-lhoada omynty-n-da no*. “Concerning me hearing the animals: I crawled approaching them.”
- LHOTON (vi): slip out of the hand, let go. *Min-ka kho folifoli-n to hime khondi, kiadoma lhotoro d-a tho-khona*. “The fish’s body is very slippery, therefore it slipped (out of my hand).” *Bo-lhoto-ne bo-kodo-ja khonan! Thy-wakydo-a-ma*. “Don’t let go of your gourd bottle! It can burst.”
- LHYKABON (vt): cut or chop in pieces. *Khatho da-jo kora-n khali, ibibi th-a lhykabo-n-da no*. “When my mother bakes cassava bread, she cuts it into little pieces.”
- LHYKOANA(-HA) (n): scissors. *Lhykoana abo by-lhyka-ma by-balha-wa, ken by-lhyka-ma bokolho th-abo khi ba*. “With scissors you can cut your hair, and you can also cut cloth with it.” Possessed: *da-lhykoana* = my scissors.
- LHYKONOAN (vi): be cut, be wounded with a cut. See: *bikhoa*.
- LHYKYN (vt): cut with knife, scissors, or machete. *Aba solhi-hi da-lhyky-fa da-jokha-koana-wa*. “I will cut open a little path to be my hunting thing (i.e. to help me hunt).” *Dale-bana da-lhyky-fa da-banabo khondo-wa*. “I am going to cut ‘dale’ leaves for my temporary shelter.”
- LI (pro): he, his [+ male + human]. *Li ka-bo*. “He is bathing.”  
1. *To to li myn*: It is for him.
- LI (art): the [+ male + human].
- LIHI (pro, adj.): he, this (neutral distance) [+ male + human].
- LIKHIN (n): pet, owned animal.
- LIRA (pro, adj.): he, that (slightly distant) [+ male + human].
- LIRABO (pro, adj.): he, that there (distant, pointing) [+ male + human].
- LIRAHA (pro, adj.): he, that (distant) [+ male + human].
- (Y)LOA, LOA(-HY) (n): courage, determination. *Ma-loa-n kha bo, wadili-koma kho kydy-tho nekhebo b-ani-n*. “Without determination, you would be unable to do hard tasks.”
- (Y)LOA, LOA(-HY) (n): heart. *Miaka da-nykynykydyn kydy-the; kari-thi th-a da-loa-bana khondi*. “Yesterday I went around lifting heavy things; (so) my chest wants to hurt.” Possessed: *da-loa* = my heart.
- LOATYN (vt): encourage, give heart. *Tanoke hy-dykha-li-the wa-bira-n hy-loaty-n-thi we*. “Later (today) you (PL) must come watch us play to be our encouragers.”
- LOKHODI (adv): in manner.
- LOKO(NO) (n): Arawak, member of an ethnic group, indigenous person. *Loko-non atynoa-thi ka-sikoa-n solhinama bana*. “Arawaks were the first inhabitants of the country of Suriname.”
- LOKOARIA (pp): out of. See: *lokon, -aria*.
- LOKODAN (vi): distribute, divide. *Da-fary-n khota-ha ibibi d-a lokoda-n da-jono adi*. “When I kill game I divide it piece by piece among my extended family.”
- LOKOKOAN (adv): in manner.
- LOKON (pp): in, inside of (a container or solid object). *Wa-sia-the bahy lokon*. “Let’s go into the house.”

1. *lokhodi*: in (with action)
- LOKONRO (pp): into. See: *lokon*, *-ro*.
- LOKOTON, LOKOTAN (vt): fill up, load. *D-eibona-n lokoton, d-osa; da-dykha bylheko th-a-n*. “Finishing with loading, I went; I saw it [a tapir] lying down.”
- LON (pp): him-benefactive (contraction of *ly-myn*).
- LOPORO(N)TADAN (vi): load a gun (D: *loop* ‘gun barrel’). *Da-loporontada-n kha, ..., thy-boadoa*. “While I was (re)loading, ..., it fainted.”
- LYKYNTHI (n): grandson. Possessed: *da-lykynthi* = my grandson.
- LYKYNTHO (n): granddaughter. Possessed: *da-lykyntho* = my granddaughter.
- LYTYN (vt): rub. *Aba ibihi da-jonta lyty-ro da-sia-bia jontho kari-n da-khondi myn*. “I bought a medicine to rub on my body where it hurts.”
- MA (p): but (probably from D: *maar* ‘but’).
- (O)MA, OMA (pp): with (accompaniment).
- MABILOKON (vs): narrow (not wide). *To waboroko mabiliko-n-tho*. “The road is narrow.”
- MABYLYDANSIBORO (n): jaguar. See: *kabadaro*.
- MADIANTHI, YMADIANTHI (n): comrade, companion, associate. See: *ymadianthi*.
- MADOKORETHI (n): father-in-law (wife’s father). Possessed: *da-madokorethi* = my father-in-law.
- MAIKADYN (vs): deaf.
- MAIKADYRE: deafen. *Ken maikadyre khan th-a thy-kanakyn-da de*. “And it (its sound) sort of deafened me.”
- MAITHANDYN (vs): befuddled. *Kia ba to maithandy-thi-ma dawa-da de*. “And besides that, I was befuddled.”
- MAJA (n): mango.
- MAJA, MARIA (pp,n): at the side of, in the area of, in the vicinity of, in the direction of, beside, side. See: *maria*.
- MAJOREN (n): bugs, insects.
- MAKHANA (pp): between, among. *Na-makhana balyty-ro b-a*. “Go sit among them.”
- MAKORIO (n): wasp. *Min-ka kho li sioko-thi simaka-n to makorio thydy-n dei*. “The little boy screamed greatly (when) the wasp stung him.”
- MALAKYDYN (vi): flow, stream. *Balha khona-nro thy-malakyda to onikhan*. “The creek flows to the sea.”
- MALHI (n): female peccary (either ST: *pingo* or ST: *pakira*).
- MALHI-KOMA: please.
- MALHIKHO (n): wisdom, knowledge. *Malhikho b-othikhi-n: wakhai-tho kho amathali to*. “Receiving wisdom: it is a very good thing.”
- MALHIKHOTA-LHIN (n): teacher. *Malhikhota-lhin-bia malhikhotoa-thi-bo li da-sa*. “In order to be a teacher (is why) my child wants to study.”
- MALHIKHOTAN (vt): teach (as a teacher). *To malhikhota ibili: min-tho kho kamothona-n to*. “To teach children: it is very difficult.”
- MALHIKHOTATHI (n): teacher.
- MALHIKHOTOA-SIKOA (n): school.
- MALHIKHOTOAN (vi): learn, study. *Sioko d-a-n kha koba, d-osa malhikhotoa-nro*. “When I was little, I went (to school) to learn.” *Malhikhota-lhin-bia*

- malhikhotoa-thi-bo li da-sa*. “In order to be a teacher (is why) my child wants to study.”
- MALHIKHOTON (vt): teach. *De malhikhoto-n-sia-non: naha halha-the thojo-be-n*. “My students (those whom I taught): they have all become grown-ups.”
- MALHIRA (p): futile, nothing to do about it, can’t be helped.
- MALHITAN (vt): create, bring into being. *We kaky-thi-non to li Adajali malhita-n*. “We people God created.”
- MALHITHIN (vt): make, build, repair. *Aba emelia-tho da-sikoa-wa da-malhithi-fa*. “I am going to make my own new house.”
- MALHOA (n): arrow (for hunting birds). *Da-malhoa abo da-fara halhanron kodibio*. “With my bird arrows I kill all sorts of birds.” Possessed: *da-malhoa* = my arrow.
- MALOKONISIATHI (n): thug, bad boy, bad man. *Li malokonisiathi jada-ka kasipara abo ly-madianthi-wa*. “The bad man threatened his own friend with a machete.”
- MAMANAN (vs): dull, not sharp. *Min-ka kho da-balho-n mamana-n*. “My ax is very dull.”
- MANALHI (n): cassava flour sifting basket, sieve, sifter. *Da-jobysa jora-ha da-manalhi-a abo*. “I sift cassava flour with my sieve.” Possessed: *da-manalhi-a* = my sieve.
- MANBA (p): no (not you).
- MANDA (p): no (not me).
- MANHA (p): no (not you-PL).
- MANI(N) (p): no (for action, situation). *Manin, d-oda-ja kho; ken khan li d-okhithi?* “No, I was not dead; and my little brother?”
- MANIKHINIA (n): banana (eating variety). Possessed: *da-manikhinia-n* = my banana(s).
- MANLA (p): no (not him).
- MANNA (p): no (not them).
- MANRO (pp): toward (a person). *Li osy-fa l-ojono manro*. “He will go to his family.”
- MANTHA (p): no (not her/it).
- MANTHA(N) (conj): or.
- MANTYN, MANATYN (vt): sharpen. *Mamana-ja da-kasipara-n; da-manty-fa bania no*. “My machete has become dull; I will just sharpen it.”
- MARIA, MAJA (pp,n): at the side of, in the area of, in the vicinity of, in the direction of, beside, side. *Khi d-a-n dykhy-n rikene aba maja firo-tho bala, aba maja ibi-ron my-thi simalha lokoto-n-da de*. “At the moment I saw it, I had the gun loaded on one side with big shot, on the other side with small.”
- MARISI (n): corn. *De marisi-a wadia kho sa-fa khe-bia*. “My corn will be ready to eat in the not-too-distant future.” Possessed: *da-marisi-a* = my corn.
- MARODI (n): bird (species) (bush turkey ST: marai).
- MATHI (conj): and, with (followed by masculine word).
- MATHO (conj): and, with (followed by non-masculine word).
- MATOLA (n): peccary (species) (ST: pakira).
- MAWADIN (vs): short (not long). *Aba ma-wadi-tho tetei d-ansi-ka*. “I want a short rope.”
- MAYLYN (vs): slow. *Adia l-a mayly-n kona-n-da*. “He walked very slowly.”
- MERAN (adv): early. *Mera-ka-the b-andy-n*. “You arrived back (came) early.”

- MERAN, MIRAN (vs): fast, quick. *Adia l-a mera-n osy-n-da*. “He went very fast.”
- MEREHE (n): cashew tree.
- METHEDIN (vt): fatigue, tire. *Ma tholha kho-da no, kiadoma waka kho thy-methedi-n-da de*. “But it was very heavy, so not much later it tired me out.”
- METHEN (vs): tired. *Methe-ka de*. “I am tired.”
- MIAKA (tw): yesterday. *Miaka d-anda forto-aria*. “Yesterday I arrived from town.”
- MIBI (n): vine.
- MIKODON, MIKODAN (vd): send. *Wakharo wabo m-amyn d-a no, ma mothi da-mikodo-fa-the bi-bithiro-da no*. “At the moment I don’t have it, but tomorrow I will send it to you (e.g. kerosene from the store).”
- MIMIN (vs): cold, damp. *Da-doadan mimi-ka hibin*. “My pot is already cold.”
- MIN (vs): small amount, minimum.
- MIN...KHO, MIN-KA...KHO, MIN-THI...KHO, MIN-THO...KHO (vs): very. *To da-dyky-n baren aba ori da-sibon: min-ka kho da-dyda-n*. “Concerning me suddenly seeing a snake before me: I jumped greatly.”
- MIRAN (vs): fast, quick. See: *meran*.
- MISIDIN (vt): iron, straighten. *Bi-misidi farokha da-danake, sare b-a-li kalhydakoto-n no*. “If you iron my pants, you must fold them well.”
- MITHADAN (vi): laugh. *Sathi th-a-n doma andyn na-dian da-khonan, da-mithada-ka*. “Because their story seemed good to me, I laughed.”
- MITHAKOTOAN (vi): be ridiculous, be comical. *M-eithonoa-n l-a-n doma, mithakotoa-ro l-a*. “Because he was careless, he made himself ridiculous.”
- MITHAN (vt): ridicule, laugh at someone. *Li somole-thi na-koboroko-ren thikhidi-n: min-ka kho na-mitha-n dei*. “Concerning the drunk man falling right among them: they ridiculed him.”
- MODYN (vi): climb, go up. *To fodi min-tho kho ajomyndin mody-n*. “The monkey climbs very high.”
- MOLHIDAN (vi): lie, deceive. *To jawyhy min koba kho molhida-n na atynoa-thi kakythi-non*. “The devil greatly deceived the first people.”
- MOLHIDIN, MOLHIDYN (vt): lure by fooling (e.g. making sounds of a wounded animal). *Da-kanaba fodi; da-molhidi-fa-da no*. “I heard birds; I am going to lure them.”
- MOLHIDOAN (vi): be deceived.
- MOLHIDOAN (n): liar, deceiver. *Lira to min-thi kho molhidoan; khidoanda-sia-ma kho li*. “That man is a great liar; he is not one who can be believed.”
- MONEKATAN (vt): tease, torture, cause difficulty.
- MORODA-KORO (n): airplane.
- MORODON, MORODAN (vi): fly. *To anoana omyndi kho moroda-ka*. “The buzzard flies very great distances.”
- MOTHEBOAN (tw): day after tomorrow. *Motheboan d-osa-thi-bo jokha-nro*. “The day after tomorrow I want to go hunting.”
- MOTHI (tw): tomorrow. *Mothi to aba emelia-tho kasakabo khi-da ba*. “Tomorrow is a new day again.”
- MOTHIA (tw): morning (6:00–9:00). *Mothia d-osy-fa-the kabyja-nro; d-obada-ha-the hokolhero boran*. “In the morning I will go to the planting ground; I will wait (lie in wait) for capybara.”



- MOTHIARO (tw): pre-dawn, early morning (3:00–6:00). *Taha da-jokha-ha, kiadoma mothiaro d-osy-fa*. “I will go far (a great distance) hunting, therefore I will leave in the wee hours.”
- MOTHOKO (n): sand. *Mothoko diako da-malhita da-sikoa-n*. “On sand I built my house.” *Min-ka kho fofo-n to mothoko*. “The sand is very soft.”
- MOTYN (vt): win, beat, conquer. *Na jaha-thi mota na taharia andy-thi-the bira khona*. “Those from here beat those from far away, playing (e.g. soccer).”
- MYKYTHY (n): mother-in-law (of a male). Possessed: *da-mykythy* = my mother-in-law.
- (O)MYN (pp): BENEFACTIVE, INDIRECT OBJECT, to, for (on behalf of). *Bi-sika to hala tho-myn da-myn*. “Give the bench to her for me.” *‘Hehe!’ l-a tha tho-myn*. “‘Yes!’ he (said) to her.”
- NA (art): the [+human +plural].
- NAHA (pro, adj.): they, these (neutral distance) [+human].
- NAKAN (n): half, middle. *D-aithi anda koba-the kasakoda nakan-ren*. “My son arrived exactly at midnight.”
- NAKANROKOARIA (pp): out of the middle of. See: *nakanrokon, -aria*.
- NAKANROKON (pp): in the middle of, among, between. *Ada nakanroko-ka-i*. “He is among the trees.”
- NAKANROKONRO (pp): into the middle of, among, between. See: *nakanrokon, -ro*.
- NAKARA (n): load, freight, burden.
- NAKARATOAN (vi): haul a load.
- NAKOAN (vi): paddle (e.g. a canoe). *Aba nale-he abo by-nakoa-ma*. “With a paddle you can paddle (e.g. a canoe).”
- NALE(-HE) (n): paddle. *Aba nale-he abo by-nakoa-ma*. “With a paddle you can paddle (e.g. a canoe).”
- NAN (pp): them-benefactive (abbreviation of *na-myn*) [+human].
- NANA (n): pineapple. *Hebe-bo to nana; da-kalhydy-fa no*. “The pineapple is ripe; I will break it off.”
- NARA (pro, adj.): they, those (slightly distant) [+human].
- NARABO (pro, adj.): they, those there (distant, pointing) [+human].
- NARAHA (pro, adj.): they, those (distant) [+human].
- NE (pro): they, their [+human]. *Ne ka-bo*. “They are bathing.” *Ne sikoa to*. “It is their house.”
1. *To to ne myn*: It is for them
- NEBETAN: middle.
- NEBETHIN (vi): divide, distribute. *To polata wa-nekhebon jona wa-nebethi-fa wa-wadia*. “The money which is the wage for our work, we will divide among ourselves.”
- NEKHEBO (n): work.
- NEKHEBON (vi): work.
- NIN (pp): at (generalized locative).
- NIN (abbreviation of ANIN) (vt): do. *‘Ama boro ni-tho-bo to salhi-da?’ d-a-nbia*. “‘What exactly is the salhi (bird) doing?’ I (thought).”
- NINRO (pp): toward (a location). *Maria mathi Jozef osa koba Bethlehem ninro bylhyty-kyta-bia ne-iri-wa*. “Mary and Joseph went to Bethlehem to have their names recorded.”

- NO (pro): she, her, it, they [-human], them [-human].
- NYKAMYN (vs): sad, depressed. *Da-jo odo-n koba, min-ka kho nykamy-n de.*  
“(When) my mother died, I was very sad.”
- NYKAN (vi): hug, embrace. *Alima d-a-n alekhebe-n dykhy-n da-sa-wa, da-nyka-ka l-oma.* “I was so happy to see my child, I embraced him.”
- NYKYDAN (vt): put in an elevated position (e.g. put a tree on a scaffolding to saw it with a two-man saw).
- NYKYDYN (vt): lift, lift up. *D-adi farokha kydy-n to nakara-ha, wadili-koma kho da-nykydy-n no.* “If the burden is too heavy for me, I won’t be able to lift it.”
- NYKYN (vt): get, take, carry. *Tora b-iba de myn; de nyky-fa no.* “Leave that for me; I will carry it.” *Tanoke by-nyka-li-the bian khan marisi da-myn.* “Later you must get a few ears of corn for me.”
- OBADAN (vi): wait around, stand around waiting. *Wakharo sabo kho jaha d-obada-ka bo-boran.* “I waited for you here a very long time.”
- OBADYN (vt): wait. *To kathi halhan boran d-obady-thi-bo de, da-khaborokhodo-a khan d-onaby-nbia.* “I want to wait for the end of the month, in order to receive some of my money.”
- ODA (n): death.
- ODODONOAN (vi): bow.
- ODON (vi): die. *Th-oda to pero hibin?* “Has the dog died already?”
- ODOTHI (n): dead person.
- OJA, ORIA (pp): from, away from. *To d-amynty-n, tho-moroda to kodibio th-oja.*  
“Concerning my approaching, the bird flew away from it (e.g. the tapir).”
- OJIN (vt): pluck, pick fruit. *Hebe-bo to hathi; d-oji-fa no.* “The peppers are ripe; I will pick them.”
- OJO (n): mother (also father’s sister). Possessed: *da-jo* = my mother.
- OJOEDOAN (vi): laze around. *Liraha kho to nekhebo-thi-thi; ojoedoa-thi diaro l-a-thi-ka.* “He is not one who wants to work; he only wants to be one who lazes around.”
- OJONO (n): family (extended). Possessed: *da-jono* = my extended family.  
1. *da-jono-a*: my own family
- OJOTHI (n): family member. *Lira da-jothi adianken m-a kari-n.* “That (male) family member of mine is very sick.” Possessed: *da-jothi* = my family member.
- OKHITHI (n): younger brother (of a male). Possessed: *d-okhithi* = my younger brother.
- OKHITHO (n): younger sister (of a female). Possessed: *d-okhitho* = my younger sister.
- OKHOKHO (exclamation): oh my!
- OLABOA (n): half. *Aba khota olabo da-bykhy-ka.* “I received half an animal.”
- OLABOAN (pp): opposite side. *Waboroko olaboan-ka da-jorodatho sikoa.* “My sister’s house is on the other side of the road.”
- OLADAN (vi): drill, make holes. *To hododi olada-ka ada khondi.* “The woodpecker makes holes in trees.”
- (H)OLE (n): hole. *Jontho th-oloda-n to hododi, hole wa koa th-a thy-dikhi.* “Where the woodpecker drills, it leaves holes behind it.”

- OLHALHO (n): cloud. *Min-tho kho ajomonin to holhalho; alikan kho kodibio moroda-ma ajomyn sabon th-adin*. “The cloud is very high; no bird can fly higher than it.”
- OLHIDAN (vs): thin. *To bokolho-ho min-tho kho olhida-n*. “The clothes are very thin.”
- OLHIKA (n): night (18:00–6:00). *Da-kona-ha-the lhykan olhika*. “I am going to walk the whole night.”
- OLHIKA NEBETAN (tw): midnight. *Olhika nebetan da-donko-ra-fa*. “At midnight I will probably be sleeping.”
- OLHIROKO-SIBO (n): howler monkey.
- OLHIROKON (vs): dark. *Adianke th-a to olhika olhiroko-n*. “The night is very dark.”
- OLHOMOLHEDAN (vi): ripple, have waves. *Basada koa th-a-bo-the to oniabo olhomolheda-n*. “Slowly the water is getting wavy.”
- OLHOMOLHEDAN (n): wave (e.g. in river or ocean). *Aba oniabo olhomolhedan ika-the to kojalha lokonro*. “A wave of water came into the boat.”
- OMA (n): piranha.
- OMA (pp): with (accompaniment). *B-osy-fa we oma?* “Are you going with us?”
- OMYNTYN (vt): approach. *To da-kanaby-n to khota-be: da-lhoada omynty-n-da no*. “Concerning me hearing the animals: I crawled approaching them.”
- ONABAN (vt): inform, report to. *Motheboan th-a falhetho-be andy-fa-the, kiadoma basia-non onaba-ka we*. “The day after tomorrow Caucasians will come, therefore the under-captains (of our village) informed us.”
- ONABON (vt): answer. *Na-dia farokha bo-myn, b-onaba-li*. “If they speak to you, you must answer.”
- ONABON (vs): low. *Tora aba ada-dynabo onabo sabo-ka*. “That one tree branch is a bit lower.”
- ONABYN (vt): receive, get. *To kathi halhan: d-onaby-fa sioko-tho khan khaborokhodo-ho*. “Concerning the end of the month: I will receive a little bit of money.”
- ONAKAN (vt): get, fetch (a person). *Bakylama h-onaka-li-the da-ma*. “You (PL) must come get me in the afternoon.”
- ONAKYN (vt): take along, bring along (a person). *D-onaky-fa da-lykynthi-wa bania, ken da-sika khi-fa-the l-oma-da ba*. “I will (just) come get my grandson for a short while, and (but) I will bring him back again.”
- ONI (n): rain. *Th-olhirokota-the to oni; min-fa-the kho thy-khin*. “The rain is making it dark (i.e. the darkness due to the rain clouds is causing darkness to come); it will rain a lot.”
- ONI KHA (tw): rainy season.
- ONIABO, INIABO (n): water. *By-tha-ma to iniabo, ken bo-sokosa-ma halhan amathali th-abo*. “You can drink water, and you can wash everything (all kind of things) with it.” Possessed: *da-nia* = my water.
- ONIKHAN (n): creek, small river. *To da-onikhan mintho kho kadise-n; adiake th-a hime tho-lokon-nin*. “That creek of mine is aswarm (crawling with fish); there are lots of fish in it.” Possessed: *da-onikhan*.
- ONIKHIN (vi (incorporated subj)): rain. See: *(oni)khin*.
- OREBIATHO (n): sister-in-law. Possessed: *d-orebiathe* = my sister-in-law.
- OREBITHI (n): brother-in-law. Possessed: *d-orebithi* = my brother-in-law.



- ORI (n): snake. *Kasakero wadibero, ken labaria kia-be ryda; ken thy-kari thy-sika bo-koborokon*. “The rattle snake, the fer-de-lance, and the bushmaster bite; and their poison they give to you (i.e. their bite is poisonous).”
- ORIA, OJA (pp): from, away from. *Kha kho jaha-thi-ja hibin wa-sikoa oria-da we*. “We were at that time already far away from our village.” *Ken w-andy-n konoko lokon, ta-thi-na-bo kho th-oria-da we*. “And arriving in the forest, we were not far away (from our destination).”
- OSABONIN (DASE) (interj): what a pity.
- OSYN (vi): go. *Tanoke d-osy-fa bodeda-nro*. “Later I will go fishing (with hook and line).”
- OSYRON (vs): plain, without purpose, in vain.
- OTHIKAN (vi): meet. *To waboroko bi nyka, ken de torabo lokhodi-fa; ken abanbo th-andanin w-othika-fa*. “You take that path, and I will go in that one; and somewhere where the paths cross we will meet.”
- OTHIKAN (vi): take place. *Toho ama d-aka-sia bo jaha othika tho-bora koba, to thy-bianthedonoan firo-tho fara-hy koba*. “This which I am telling you here took place before the second big fight (i.e. World War II).”
- OTHIKHIN (vt): receive, get, find, catch. *To kathi halhan-fa d-othika-ma-the da-khaborokhodo-wa khan*. “When the month runs out (i.e. at the end of the month) I can receive some wages.” *Tano bo-molhida-ka de, ma abahan de othikhi-ha bo*. “Today you deceived me, but sometime I’ll get you.”
- OTHIKOAN (vi): menstruate. *Kathi-ma n-a na nonoathi othikoan*. “Women menstruate monthly.”
- OTHIKONOAN (vi): become sick very quickly. *Sakoa l-a-n kha li da-sa d-osa jadan-ro, ken da-dikhin abare l-a othikonoa-n*. “When I left on the trip my child was well, and after I (had left) suddenly he became extremely sick.”
- OTO (n): daughter (also brother’s daughter). Possessed: *da-to* = my daughter.
- OTORO, TORO (n): trunk (of a tree). *Ada toro balyta holholho diako*. “A tree trunk lay on the ground.” Possessed: *tho-toro* = its trunk.
- (H)OTOTOLHI (n): nail (for fastening). Possessed: *da-totolhi-a* = my nail.
- (H)OTOTOLHI-KODOKOTO-KOANA (n): hammer.
- OTOTOLHIDIN (vt): nail. *Sare b-a ototolhidi-n to ada bo-kora borando; tho-lhota-koma b-abo*. “Nail the wood for your hammock well; it could let go on you.”
- PAMO (n): salt. *Da-boko-n amyn da-sika pamo*. “In my cooking I put salt.”
- PERO (n): dog. *Pero jokha-tho da-myn*. “The dog is what hunts for me.” Possessed: *da-pero-n* = my dog.
- POLATA (n): money. *Da-nekhebo doma, d-amyn-ka polata*. “Because of my work, I have money.” Possessed: *da-polata-n(-ia)* = my money.
- RABYDYKHY, RABOTYKHY (pp): against, opposed.
- RAKASYN (vt): shake. *Hebe farokha to maja, by-rakasa-ma thy-daja thy-thikhidi-n-bia*. “If the mangoes are ripe, you can shake its (the tree’s) trunk so that they (mangoes) will fall.”
- RAKOARIA (pp): out of (a fluid). See: *rakon, -aria*.
- RAKON (pp): in (a fluid). *Lira iniabo rako-ka*. “He is in the water.”
- REDAN (vt): sneak up on. *Da-kanaba khota-ha; basada-re d-a-bo reda-n no*. “I heard an animal; slowly I am sneaking up on it.”

- REKEN (vt): weed, pull weeds. *Min-ka kho wakhaokhili da-koban bana; d-osy-fa reke-n-ba no.* “My planting ground is very weedy; I am going to go weed it.”
- REMO (n): oar. *Aba remo abo by-remodoa-ma to kojalha.* “With an oar you can row the boat.”
- REMODOAN, REMODAN (vi, vt): row. *Aba remo abo by-remodoa-ma to kojalha.* “With an oar you can row the boat.”
- RENE (p): exactly.
- RENETHO (n): sister-in-law (husband’s brother’s wife). Possessed: *da-renetho* = my sister-in-law.
- RENYMALITHI (n): brother-in-law (wife’s sister’s husband). Possessed: *da-renymalithi* = my brother-in-law.
- RIKENE (p): exactly.
- RODYN (vt): wipe off, dry off. *Tora erebe-tho jaraha by-roda.* “Wipe off that dirt there.”
- ROKOARIA (pp): out of. See: *rokon, -aria.*
- ROKON (pp): in (on the inside surface of, e.g. a hand, bowl, etc.). *Polata da-khabo roko-ka.* “There is money in my hand.”
- ROKONRO (pp): into. See: *rokon, -ro.*
- ROKOSAN (vi): move around. *Da-fara-ba to khota d-a-ja, ma tho-rokosa-ka koan.* “I killed the animal, I had thought, but it still moved around.”
- ROKOSYN, ROKOSON (vi): shiver, tremble. *Min kho himili-n-da de; rokoso-re khan th-a da-tala khona.* “I am very cold; my jaws are chattering.”
- RON, -RON (p): only. *Abaro ron osa-ma da-ma.* “Only one person can go with me.”
- RYDAN (vi): chew. *Sare b-a ryda-n to khota siroko khona; by-kyda-ma th-abo.* “Chew well on the meat; you can choke on it.”
- RYDYN (vt): bite. *B-aithoa tora pero myn; thy-rydy-ne-n-da bo!* “Be careful of the dog; it bites!”
- SABADAN (vi): beat wet clothes with a stick to wash them.
- SABO (p): more (comparative, superlative).
- SAKEN (p): exactly, just.
- SALABADYN, SALABADAN (vt, vi): to square up a log with an ax (in preparation for sawing it into planks).
- SALAKYDYKYTAN (vt): fry in oil.
- SALHI (n): bird (species).
- SAMALHI (n): cassava grater.
- SAN (vs): good, well.
- (Y)SANOTHI (n): children (collective).
- SAPATO (n): shoe, slipper, footgear. See: *kothike.*
- SARE(N) (adv): well.
- SAREKEN (vs): better.
- SATHI (n): young man (18–35 years old).
- SATHO (n): young woman (18–35 years old).
- SEKEN (vs): dirty, messy. *To bokolho-be min-ka kho seke-n.* “The clothes are very dirty.”
- SEKHIDIN, SEKHIDAN (vt): saw.
- SEMEN (vs): sweet, unfermented, tasty, delicious. *Adia th-a-ja seme-n tho-boka-n, to hiaro.* “She cooks deliciously, the woman.” *De ythan seme koama.* “My drink (e.g. a barrel of cassava beer) is still sweet (when it should be fermented).”

- SENSI (n): money, cent. Possessed: *da-sensi-a* = my money.
- SI (n): tip.
- (I)SI(-HI) (n): head, leader, captain (of village). See: *isi*.
- SI-ADO(-HO) (n): hat. Possessed: *da-si-ado* = my hat.
- SIA (vt): give (contraction of *sikin*).
- (A)SIAMYN (vt): name.
- SIBA (n): stone, rock. *Siba diako by-manta-koma*. “You could sharpen (e.g. a knife) on stone.” Possessed: *da-siba-n* = my stone.
- SIBALI (n): fish (species) (ST: ‘oroe wefie’).
- SIBERO (n): toad, frog. *Khatho pero rydy-n sibero, thokhotata th-ono rokoaria matho thy-siri lokoaria*. “When a dog bites a toad, foam comes out of its (the dog’s) mouth and nose.”
- SIBO(-HO) (n): face. *Abaryky fodi min-ka kho wakhaja-n sibo*. “Some monkeys have very ugly faces.” Possessed: *da-sibo* = my face.
- SIBON (pp): in front of, before. *To da-dykyh-n baren aba ori da-sibon: min-ka kho da-dydy-n*. “Concerning me suddenly seeing a snake before me, I jumped greatly.”
- SIBORANDO (n): pillow (for one’s head). *M-amyn d-a-n kha da-siborando, sa-ma kho da-donko-n*. “When I don’t have my pillow, I can’t sleep well.” Possessed: *da-siborando* = my pillow.
- SIBYTYN, SIBYTAN (vt, vi): cut a border line (a narrow path marking one’s property in the jungle or savannah). *D-osy-fa da-koban-ia sibyta-n-ro*. “I am going to cut my planting ground border line.”
- SIFEN (vs): bitter. *Min-ka kho sife-n to ibihi*. “The medicine is very bitter.”
- SIFODAN (vi): turn around (180 degrees), turn back. *Bakylamabo doma, da-sifoda khi-ka-the konoko-aria khi-da ba*. “Because it was evening, I turned back the same way out of the woods again.”
- SIFODYN (vt): turn over, turn around (180 degrees). *Sa farokha aba maria tho-koronoan, to khali, by-sifoda-kota-li dan*. “If it, the cassava bread, is baked well on one side, you must cause it to be turned over for me.”
- SIKALHO (n): sugarcane.  
1. *sikalho-yra*: sugarcane juice
- SIKAN (vi): bring, take to. *Da-khojaba bo, by-sika-na-ma kho li siokothi oma l-oyo manro?* “I beg you, couldn’t you take the little boy to his mother?”
- SIKIN (vt): give, place, put. *By-siki farokha kamonekathi myn amathali, Adajali jonto-fa thy-jona bo*. “If you give a poor person something, God will pay you back (lit: pay its price to you).” *By-nyky farokha to nekhebo-koana-ha, by-sika-li-the thy-dikoanoa khi-da ba no*. “If you take the tool, you must come put it back in its place again.”
- SIKOA(-HY) (n): house, village, country. *Kaky-ka da-sikoa loko, de*. “I live in my house” *Wa-fodo dykhy-thi wa-sikoa khona*. “Our captain (i.e. village leader) is the one who takes care of our village.” Possessed: *da-sikoa* = my house/village/country.
- SIKOA-BANA (n): country.
- SIKOATONOAN, SIKOATOAN (vi): reside, live at. *Wakhili-ke kho jaha sikoato-thi-the de*. “Not long ago I came to live here.”
- SIMAKAN (vi): cry out, yell, scream. *Min-ka kho li siokothi simaka-n to makorio thydy-n dei*. “The little boy screamed a lot (when) the wasp stung him.”

- SIMAKYN (vt): call. *Siokothi, by-simaky-ba-the b-ojo bania*. “Little boy, go call your mother (i.e. go call and come back and do it in a short time).”
- SIMALHA (n): arrow, gun. *Wakhili, m-amyn koa d-a-n kha arakabosa, simalha matho simalhabo abo ron da-jokha koba*. “Long ago, when I didn’t yet have a gun, I hunted with only arrow and bow.” Possessed: *da-simalha* = my arrow/gun.
- SIMALHABO (n): bow. *Wakhili, m-amyn koa d-a-n kha arakabosa, simalha matho simalhabo abo ron da-jokha koba*. “Long ago, when I didn’t yet have a gun, I hunted with only arrow and bow.” Possessed: *da-simalhabo* = my bow. See: *simalha*.
- SIMITHAN (n): laughter, giggler. *Tora hiaro min-tho kho simithan to*. “That woman is a giggler.”
- SIMODO (n): jewelry.
- SIN (pp): at the tip of.
- SINRO (n): nose.
- SIOKHAN (adv): short time, shortly.
- SIOKHANIN (tw): little while.
- SIOKON (vs): little, small. *Aba sioko-tho khan bahy da-malhithi-fa*. “I am going to make (build) a small house.”
- SIOKOTHI (n): boy.
- SIOKOTHO (n): girl.
- SIPALHALI (n): iron, steel. *Balho thy-malhithi-sia sipalhali abo*. “Axes are made of iron.”
- SIRI(-HI) (n): nose. *Da-siri lokhodi d-akoba*. “Through my nose I breathe.” Possessed: *da-siri* = my nose.
- SIROABALI (n): tree (species) (ST: pisie).
- SIROKO (n): headwater. *Abathali w-othika onikhan siroko, ken thy-taka alokosia wa-myn*. “After a while we found the headwaters of a little creek, and it stopped/quenched our thirst for us.”
- SIROKO(-HO) (n): meat, flesh. *Da-jabydy-fa to khota siroko; ken ama ibara-tho koan, kia da-boko-fa*. “I will roast the animal meat; and what is still left over, that I will boil.” Possessed: *da-siroko* = my flesh.
- SOADYN (vt): pour (a drink). *Lira kho sathi soada-na-ma to atha wa-myn?* “Can’t that young man pour the drink for us (i.e. do the job of serving cassava beer)?”
- SOBOLEN (vs): green. *Kalhao sobole-ka*. “Grass is green.”
- SODAN (vt): strain, sieve through a cloth. *Sa-thi-n by-thy-n to kasiri, bo-soda-fa bania-da no*. “If you want to drink good cassava beer, just sieve it a little.”
- SODON (vt): peel. *Khali by-malhita-thi-n, bo-sodo-fa to khali-doli khona*. “If you want to make cassava bread, you must peel the cassava tubers.”
- SOKAN (vi): chop open a planting ground (chop/cut down the trees so they can be burned), clear a planting ground. *Da-khojaba da-jono-a na-soka-nbia da-koban-nin da-myn*. “I asked my family to (help with) the job of clearing at my planting ground for me.”
- SOKON (vt): chop (with an ax or machete). *Malhi-koma tora ada bo-sokon da-myn?* “Would you please chop that tree for me?”

- SOKONOAN (vi): get chopped, get cut, get a cut wound. *Aba ada dondakota da-kasipara-n; kiadoma da-sokoa da-kothi khona*. “A stick deflected my machete; therefore I cut myself on my foot.”
- SOKOSAN (vi): do the wash (i.e. clothing). *Komyky-re th-a to oniabo; ali-ma n-a-n sokosa-n?* “The water is murky; how can they wash?”
- SOKOSOAN (vi): wash one’s self, get washed, bathe. *D-osy-ha bahy-nro bania; da-sokosoa-fa-ba siokhanin*. “I will go home a minute; I will go wash up a bit.”
- SOKOSON (vt): wash. *Sare b-a bo-sokoso-n by-khabo-a, bo-khoto-n dikhi*. “Wash your hands well, after you eat.”
- SOLHI(-HI) (n): small hunting path.
- SOLHINAMA (n): river, Suriname river. *Solhinama lokhodi by-jada-ma by-kanan abo*. “In the river you can travel by boat.”
- SOLHISOLHI (n): parrot (species).
- SOMOLEN (vs): drunk. *Adiake l-a thy-n, kiadoma min-ka kho somole-n dei*. “He drank exceedingly, therefore he is very drunk.”
- SONDAKHA (n): Sunday.
- SONKAN (vt): spill. *Adiake n-a-n thy-n doma, sonka-ro n-a to atha-ha*. “Because they have drunk exceedingly, they only spill the drink.”
- SONKON (vt): pour out. *To erebe-tho oniabo bo-sonko-ba tabo*. “Go pour out the dirty water over there.”
- SORE(-HE) (n): diarrhea. *Sore-di-thi de*. “I have diarrhea.”
- SOROTON (vt): suck. *Sioko d-a-n kha, min koba kho da-jo odio da-soroto-n*. “When I was little, I sucked my mother’s breasts a lot.”
- SYKYLHIDIN (vt): pinch.
- SYRYBYDYN, SYRYBYDAN (vt): sweep (e.g. with a broom). *Sare b-a syrybydy-n to bahy lokhodi*. “Sweep well inside the house.”
- SYTY (n): monkey (species) (D: sagowentje).
- TA (vs): far. *Ken w-andy-n konoko lokon, ta-thi-na-bo kho th-oria-da we*. “And arriving in the forest, we were not far away (from our destination).” See: *tahan*.
- TABYSIAN (vs): sleepy. *Tabysia-ka de*. “I am sleepy.”
- TAHAN, TA (vs): far. *Taha-n doma to waboroko, wadili-koma kho aba kasababo d-andy-n tho-boloko-n*. “Because the road is far (long), it is impossible for me to reach its end in one day.”
- TAKAN (vt): dam up.
- TAKOANA(-HA) (n): roof. See: *ado(-ho)*.
- TAKONOAN (vi): stop, come to a stop. *Abare th-a to takonoa-n to falhetho-dalhidi-koana*. “The car stopped suddenly.”
- TAKYN (vt): close, shut. *San doma da-taty-n thy-sikoa, to jesere, wadili-ka kho thy-fothikhidi-n*. “Because I closed the burrow of the armadillo well, it is impossible for it to exit.”
- TAKYN (vt): cover. *Ta sabo da-faryn doma to khotaha, ma-wadili-ka-the da-nyky-n no; ken taky-n-ro d-a th-awa*. “Because it was far away where I killed the animal, I could not carry it back; and I covered it.”
- TAKYN (vi, vt): stop. *W-andy farokha Paranam nin, siokhan b-a-na-ma kho taky-n?* “(speaking to the bus driver:) When we arrive in Paranam, can’t we stop a little while?” *Abathali w-othika onikhan siroko, ken thy-taka alokosia wa-myn*. “After a while we found the headwaters of a little creek, and it stopped/quenched our thirst for us.”



- TALA(-HA) (n): jaw, chin. *Da-tala khondi ka-balha khona; kia to-da da-thima*.  
“(The body of) my jaw is hairy; that is my beard.” Possessed: *da-tala* = my jaw.
- TANBO (n): fish trap.
- TANO(-HO) (tw): today. *Tano to kasakabo bali-bo khi ba*. “Today the day is passing also (time is passing too quickly again).”
- TANO-MAKERON (tw): a very short time ago today, just now.
- TANOKE (tw): later, a bit later (today). *Tanoke d-osy-fa bodedan-ro*. “Later I will go fishing.”
- TATA(-HA) (n): power, strength.
- TATABO (n): tree (species) (D: zwarte kabes).
- TATAN (vs): hard, tough, strong. *Katororo min-ka kho tata-n siroko*. “The tapir (has) very tough meat.” *Min-ka kho tata-n to hala diako*. “The bench is very hard (to sit on).”
- TE(-HY), (Y)TE (n): stomach, belly. *Ma-te-n kha de, alon-ka th-osa-ma, to da-khi-sia khota-ha?* “If I didn’t have a stomach, where could it go, the food which I eat?” Possessed: *da-te* = my stomach.
- TE(-HY)-IBIRA, (Y)TE-IBIRA (n): intestines. *Da-fary-n khota-ha, thy-te-ibira ma-nykyn d-a; firo-koro thy-te ron da-nyka*. “(When) I kill an animal, I don’t take its small intestines; I only take its stomach.” Possessed: *da-te-ibira* = my intestines.
- TE-FIRO(-HO), (Y)TE-FIRO (n): stomach (the organ). *Khatho da-khoto-n, da-te-firo loko-nro th-osa da-mykydy-sia*. “When I eat, what I swallow goes into my stomach.” Possessed: *da-te-firo* = my stomach.
- TEBEDAN (vi): touch.
- TELETELEN (vs): slippery. *Adiake th-a to waboroko teletele-n*. “The road is very slippery.”
- TEODYN (vt): bend. *Abaryky ada wakhaja kho by-teody-n*. “Some kinds of wood you can bend well.”
- TETEDAN (vt): scratch an itch.
- TETEDIN (vt): itch. *M-andy-n b-a to jolhika; thy-tetedi-ha bo*. “Don’t touch the moko-moko water plant; it will give you an itchy rash.”
- TETEI (n): rope, string. *Aba ma-wadi-tho tetei d-ansi-ka*. “I want a short rope.”
- TETELHOMA (n): tree (species) (ST: wana, red louro).
- TETELIO (n): itchy rash, athlete’s foot, fungus infection. *Min-ka kho tete-n da-kothi-ibira khondi; tetelio othika no*. “My toes itch terribly; athlete’s foot got them.”
- THA (p): REPORT, reportative.
- THABAKOTON (vt): separate. *Khatho-fa holholho ibonoan-fa, Adajali thabakoto-fa sa-be-thi wakhaja-be-thi oria*. “When the world ends, God will separate the good from the bad.”
- THEREN (vs): hot. *Da-doadan there-ka hibin*. “My pot is already hot.”
- THETHEDAN (vi): whisper.
- THIADYN (vt): stab, prick. *B-aithoa to jadoala myn; by-thikhida-ma tho-boloko-n; thy-thiada-ma bo*. “Be careful of the knife; you could fall on its point; it could stab you.”
- THIDIN (vt): clean hair or feathers off an animal.
- THIKEBETOAN (vi): steal. *Ma-nekhebo-thi b-a-n doma, thikebetoa-ro b-a*. “Because you don’t want to work, you only go about stealing.”

- THIKHIDIN (vi): fall. *Sare b-a dykhyn bo-boro-a; by-thikhida-ma*. “Look before yourself well (i.e. watch where you are going); you can fall.”
- THIKHIN (tw): at first.
- THIKIN (vi): dig. *To khota-ha, ‘jesi’ na-sia myn, min-tho kho thiki-n*. “The animal they call ‘jesi’ (armadillo) can dig very well (or much).”
- THILIKHITHI (n): brother (of a female). Possessed: *da-thilikhithi* = my brother.
- THIMA(-HA) (n): beard.
- THIMA-KOANA(-HA) (n): bridge. *Ma-thima-koana-n kha de, wadili-koma kho da-thima-n th-olaboan-ro*. “If I didn’t have a bridge, I would be unable to cross to the other side.” Possessed: *da-thima-koana* = my bridge.
- THIMAN (vi): cross, go through to the other side. *Ma-thima-koanan kha, de wadili-koma kho da-thima-n th-olaboan-ro*. “If I were without a bridge, I would be unable to cross to the other side.” *Aba jolhadoo-koana d-amon-i-n kha, da-thima-koma th-olaboan-ro*. “If I had a boat, I could cross to the other side.”
- THIMIN (vt): swim. *Bi wadili-koma thimi-n to onikan olaboan-ro?* “Are you able to swim to the other side of the creek?”
- THINATHI(-HI) (n): collective father. Possessed: *wa-thinathi*: our collective father (i.e. our God)
- THIO (n): daughter-in-law (of male or female). Possessed: *da-thio* = my daughter-in-law.
- THIRIKHIDIN (vt): push. *Wa-thirikhida-the to kojalha khona oniabo rakonro*. “We came to push the canoe into the water.”
1. *thirikhidan*: push/shove someone on purpose
- THITAN (vi): beat.
- THITHI (n): son-in-law (of a woman). Possessed: *da-thithi* = my son-in-law.
- THO (pro): she, her, it, its, they (non-human), their (non-human). *Tho sokosa-bo*. “She is washing clothes.”
1. *tho khabo*: her hand
  2. *To to tho myn*: It is for her.
- THOBOLHIDIN (vt): knot, tie. *Bo-thoboda farokha bo-kora-wa, sare b-a-li thobolhidi-n no*. “If you hang up your hammock, you must tie it well.”
- THOJON (vs): mature.
- THOJOSIKOA (n): city. *B-osy-n thojosikoa-nro, halhan amathali by-dykha-ma; ken halhan amathali bo-jonta-ma*. “Going to town, you can see all sorts of things; and you can buy all sorts of things.”
- THOJOTHI (n): elder, old person, old man.
- THOJOTHO (n): elder [-male], old woman.
- THOKODON (vi): descend, sink, land, disembark. *W-anda wa-sikoa-noa hibin; wa-thokoda-the falhetho-dalhidi-koana lokoaria*. “We have arrived at our house already; let’s descend out of the bus.” *Adia th-a-n koratonoa-n wandali, tho-thokoda-the, to moroda-koro*. “At exactly the stroke of noon, it landed, the airplane.”
- THOLHADYN (vi): explode.
- THOLHAN (vs): light (in weight). *Li da-wajalhi-a min-thi kho tholha-n*. “My carrying basket is very light.”
- THOLHODON (vi): lie down to rest. *To kakosiro kasakoda osa khota-nro, ken kasakabo tho-tholhoda*. “The deer goes to eat at night, and it sleeps in the daytime.”

- THOLHODON (vi): lie down.
- THOLHODON (vt): open. *Tora dosu (D) bo-tholhoda-n kha, wa-dykha-ja-ma ama tho-lokon.* “When you open the box, we can see what is in it.”
- THON (pp): her/it-benefactive [+human –male], them-BEN [–human] (contraction of *thy-myn*).
- THONDON (vi): cough. *Maosoan thonolisia-n bo; min-ka kho bo-thondo-n.* “You have a terrible cold; you are coughing a lot.”
- THONOLISIAN (vs): have a cold. *Thonolisia-ka de.* “I have a cold.”
- THYDYN (vt): sting. *Min-ka kho li siokothi simaka-n, to makorio thydy-n dei.* “The boy screamed a lot, (when) the wasp stung him.”
- (Y)THYN, YTHA (vt): drink. *Alokosia-n bo, ma-sume kho osyron-tho oniabo by-thyn.* “(If) you are thirsty, it is delicious to drink plain water.”
- THYNA-BYNAHA (n): blood vessel. *To da-thyna-bynaha da-bikhi-n kha, min-koma kho da-thyna osy-n d-oria.* “If I cut my blood vessel, I could lose a lot of blood.” Possessed: *da-thyna-bynaha* = my blood vessel.
- TO (copula): be. *De to Nederland khondi.* “I am a Dutch person.”
- TO (art, pro): the, it, her.
- TOBADYN (vt): soak in water (e.g. clothes).
- TOHO (pro, adj.): this [–human]/[–male + human].
- TOKON, TOKAN (vt): peck.
- TOKOTA: next (e.g. next week).
- TORA (pro, adj.): she, it, that (slightly distant) [–human]/[–male + human].
- TORABO (pro, adj.): she, it, that there (distant, pointing) [–human]/[–male + human].
- TORAHA (pro, adj.): she, it, that (distant) [–human]/[–male + human].
- TORO (n): trunk. See: *otoro*.
- TYBONTOAN (vi): dream.
- TYDYN (vi): flee, escape. *M-eisa khona da-kyry-n to hikorhi, kiadoma thy-tyda d-oria.* “I didn’t tie the turtle well, therefore it escaped from me.”
- TYLATHO (n): older sister of a female. Possessed: *da-tylatho* = my older sister.
- TYNAMARO (n): master, boss.
- WA-MALHITA-KOANATHI (n): God (our maker). See: *Adajali*.
- WABODIN (vs): early. *Wabodi-ka-the b-andy-n.* “You arrived early.”
- WABOKA (tw): a very short time ago, just now. *Waboka da-borata da-retho-(w)a nyky-n ikhi-khodo.* “I just now helped my wife carry firewood.”
- WABOKEN (p): also. *De waboken osa-thi-bo h-oma.* “I want to go with you (PL) too.”
- WABOROKO (n): permission. *Waboroko d-othikhi-n doma, d-osa thojosikoa-nro.* “Because I received permission, I went to town.”
- WABOROKO (n): road, street, large path. *Aba khota da-dykha waboroko loko.* “I saw an animal on the road.”
- WADIA (tw): late. *Wadia sabo min-fa-the kho olhiroko.* “Later it will get very dark.”
- WADIBE-DYNARO (n): spider monkey.
- WADILI (n): male, man. *Lira wadili to da-rethi.* “That man is my husband.”
- WADILI (n): penis.
- WADILIN (vi): able to. *Wadili-koma b-ani-n tora amathali?* “Would you be able to do that?”



- WADIN (vs): long. *Aba ada wadi-tho da-lhyky-fa*. “I am going to cut a long stick.”
- WADON (vs): old. *To da-dalhidi-koana: min-ka kho wado-n*. “My car: it is very old.”
- WADYN (vt): fan. *By-nyka to walhiwalhi, ken by-wada to ikhi-hi th-inyky-n-thi*. “Take the fan, and fan the fire (so) it starts.”
- WADYN (vi): search, look for. *Da-jadoalan da-bolheda, kia bithiro wady-thi-bo de*. “I lost my ax; that is what I am searching (lit: a searcher) for.”
- WAJA, WARIA (pp): from, of, originating from. See: *waria, -aria, -aja*.
- WAJALHI (n): basket (usually used by men). *Khatho d-osy-n kaboja-nro, da-nyka da-wajalhia-wa ikhikhodo da-nykyn-bia*. “When I go to my planting ground, I carry my (men’s) basket for me to carry firewood.” Possessed: *da-wajalhi-a* = my basket.
- WAKA: a long time.
- WAKHAITHO AMATHALI (n): sin, bad thing.
- WAKHAJAN (vs): bad, ugly. *Lira da-sikoa-n min-thi kho wakhajan*. “That house of mine is very ugly (but he has affection for the house, therefore [+ male] forms are used).”
- WAKHARO, AKHARO (tw): now, this moment. *Wakharo, kho wadili sabo-ka tadi da-jady-n*. “Nowadays I can’t travel far any more.”
- WAKHILI (tw): long ago (time of our forefathers). *Wakhili, bikhidolia d-a-n kha, min-thi kho jokha-n de*. “In the old days, when I was young, I was a great hunter.”
- WAKYDONOAN, WAKYDOAN (vi): burst, break. *Bo-lhoto-ne bo-kodo-ja khonan! Thy-wakydo-a-ma*. “Don’t let go of your gourd bottle! It can burst.”
- WAKYDYN (vt): burst, break. See: *wakydonoan*.
- WALHAKABA (n): bird (species) (ST: kamikami, trumpet bird).
- WALHIWALHI (n): fan. *Ikhi i da-wada da-walhiwalhi-a abo*. “I fan the fire with my fan.” Possessed: *da-walhiwalhi-a* = my fan.
- WAN (vs): dry. *Wa-ka to bokolho-ho?* “Are the clothes dry?”
- WAN: us-benefactive (contraction of *wa-myn*).
- WANDALI (tw): noon. *Da-khoto-fa wandali*. “I will eat at noon.”
- WARIA, WAJA (pp): from, of, originating from. *Halhan amathali malhiti-tho Adajali waria-tho to*. “Everything created is what comes from God.”
- WASIBA (n): tree (species) (greenheart).
- WASINA(-HA)(n): heart. *Da-wasina m-amyn d-a-n kha, wadili-koma kho kaky-n de*. “If I didn’t have a heart, I wouldn’t be able to live.” Possessed: *da-wasina* = my heart.
- WA-THINATHI (n): God (our collective father). See: *Adajali*.
- WATOA-KOANA(HA) (n): towel. *M-amyn d-a-n kha da-watoa-koana, wadili-koma kho da-khondi da-rody-n*. “If I didn’t have a towel, I wouldn’t be able to dry my body.” Possessed: *da-watoa-koana* = my towel.
- WATYN (vt): dry. *Sare b-a waty-n to bokolho-ho; mimi koa th-a-ma*. “Dry the clothes well; they may be still damp.”
- WE (pro): we, us, our. *We kojo-fa*. “We will leave.” *We sikoa to*. “It is our house.”
1. *To to we myn*: It is for us.
- WEDIN (vi): vomit.
- WELADYN, WELADAN (vt): hang.

- WEREBEN (vs): warm. *Tano min-ka kho werebe-n to kasakabo*. “Today is a very warm day.”
- WESI (n): fish (species) (ST: datra).
- WIRIBISIRI (n): deer (small, dwarf species).
- WIWA, IWA (n): star. *Kasakoda ron by-dykha-ma to wiwa-be*. “Only at night can you see the stars.”
- WIWIDAN (vi): whistle. *Da-wiwida aba jeni khan*. “I whistled a little song.”
- YBALHA, BALHA(-HA) (n): hair, feather, sea. See: *balha(-ha)*.
- YDA(-HA) (n): skin, hide. *De yda kolhe-ka, ken abaryky-no yda halhira, ken abaryky-no yda kharemen*. “My skin is red, and the skin of another is white, and the skin of another is black.” Possessed: *da-da* = my skin.  
1. *ada-yda*: bark
- YDIA(-HY) (n): word, message, news, story. See: *(y)dia(-hy)*.
- YDIAN (vi): talk, speak. See: *dian*.
- YJA(-HA) (n): image, photo, spirit. *Sare b-a dinaby-n, sa-n-bia thy-rybytonoa-n b-ya*. “Stand well, so that your image can be removed well (i.e. photo can be taken well).”
- YJAN (vi): cry, weep. *To w-osy-n kaboja-nro: min-ka kho ly-ja-n li wa-sa siokothi khan wa-khonan*. “Concerning our going to the planting ground: our young son cried a lot for us.”
- YJE(-HY) (n): tongue. *Da-je abo da-dia-ka, ken da-je abo da-bela khi-ko-ma-da*. “With my tongue I talk, and with my tongue I can also lick.” Possessed: *da-je* = my tongue.
- YJIN (vi): cry, weep. *To thy-sa odo-n: min-ka kho th-yji-n to jonatho-ho*. “Concerning her child dying: her female ancestor (i.e. mother) cried greatly.”
- YKHA (tw): now, when.
- YKYRA, KYRA (n): root. *Thy-kyra bokoto-sia to ada holholho koborokon*. “Its roots are what hold a tree in the ground.” Possessed: *thy-kyra* = its root.
- YLHIBISIN, LHIBISIN (vt): roll. *Da-lhyka-n bena to ada, da-lhibisi-fa oniabo rako-nro no*. “After I cut the tree, I will roll it into the water.”  
1. *ylhibisan*: to work rolling trees
- YLHIHIN (vs): brown, gray (between dark and light in color). *Toro bikhidoliatho ylhihin*. “That young woman there is dark (-skinned).”
- YLHYDABAN (vs): blue. *Ylhydaba to khota-ha, thy-boadoa-bo*. “(When) the meat is blue, it is spoiling.”
- YMADIANTHI, OMADIANTHI, MADIANTHI (n): companion, buddy, comrade. *Sare b-a-li kaky-n b-omadianthi oma*. “You must live well (in peace and harmony) with your companions/comrades.” *Sare w-a-the ymadianthi oma kaky-n*. “Let us live well (in peace and harmony) with our companions.” Possessed: *da-madianthi* = my comrade.
- YRA (n): juice. *Abaryky konokhodi-tho mibi yra sa ythy-nbia*. “The juice of some jungle vines is good to drink.”  
1. *dio-ya*: milk (lit: breast juice)  
2. *sikalho-ya*: sugarcane juice
- YSA, SA (n): child, offspring. *Da-sa min-ka kho hebekhanin, kiadoma min-ka kho alekhebe-n de*. “My child is growing up very well, therefore I am very happy.” Possessed: *da-sa* = my child.  
1. *ysanothi*: children (collective group)

- YSA, SA (n): egg. *Da-khi-n bora-da no, to kalhina sa, da-boko-fa bania-da no*. “Before I eat it, the egg, I cook it a short while.”
- YSANOTHI, SANOTHI (n): children (collective). Possessed: *wa-sanothi* = your and my children, altogether.
- YTHAN (n): drink (usually alcoholic or fermented). Possessed: *da-than-ia* = my drink. See: *atha(-ha)*.
- YTHY(-HY) (n): blood. *To da-thyna-bynaha da-bikhi-n kha, min-koma kho da-thyna osy-n d-oria*. “If I cut my blood vessel, I could lose a lot of blood.” Possessed: *da-thyna* = my blood.

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before	sibon	pp
before (temporal)	bora	pp
befuddled	maithandyn	vs
beg	khojaboan, khojabonoan	vi
begin	einatan, inatan	vi
begin	einatyn, inatyn	vt
make a beginning at	einatan, inatan	vi
behind	dikhi	pp
behind	inabo	pp
behind	jaboa	pp
behind	jabon, jabonro	pp
believe	khidoandyn	vt
belly	te(-hy), (y)te	n
bench	abola, abala, hala	n
bend	teodyn	vt

benefactive, BEN	(contraction) -n	
benefactive, BEN	myn	pp
beside	maria, maja	pp
better	sareken	vs
between	koboroko, makhana	pp
between	nakanrokon, nakanrokonro	pp
bicycle	(falhetho-)dalhidi-koana	n
big	firon, ilon	vs
bird	kodibio	n
bird (species)	salhi	n
bird (bush turkey; marai)	marodi	n
bird (D: tijgervogel)	honoli	n
bird (ST: anamoe)	hyryrydiasalhero, kasalhero	n
bird (ST: powisi)	hithi	n
bird (wakago; boshaan)	kalhoba	n
bird (trumpet bird)	walhakaba	n
bite	rydyn	vt
bitter	sifen	vs
black	kharemen	vs
bleed	kathynan	vi
blood	ythy(-hy)	n
blood vessel	thyna-bynaha	n
blow (with mouth, or wind)	fodyn	vt
blue	ylhydaban	vs
boat	falhetho-kanan	n
boat	jolhadoo-koana(-ha)	n
boat	kanan, kojalha	n
body	firo(-ho), khondi	n
boil	bokoan	vi
boil	kakolhothima	n
book	kharasa(-ha)	n
boss	afodo(-ho), isi(-hi)	n
boss	tynamaro	n
bother	jolhatyn ... ansi	vt
bottle	botoli	n
bow	ododonoan	vi
bow	simalhabo	n
box-like basket (w/ lid)	borodi	n
boy	siokothi	n
boy (near puberty)	ilonthi	n
braid (hair)	kodon, kodan	vt
branch (tree-arm)	ada-dynabo	n
bread (wheat bread)	falhetho-khale	n
break	kalhydyn	vt



break	wakydonoan, wakydoan	vi
break	wakydyn	vt
break a bone	kalhydan	vi
breast	(o)dio, dio(-hy)	n
breathe	akobyn	vi
take a breather	akoban	vi
bridge	thima-koana(-ha)	n
bright thing	kalemero	n
bring	sikan	vi
bring along (a person)	onakyn	vt
bring into being	malhitan	vt
broken	boadonoan, boadoan	vi
be broken	kalhydonoan, kalhydoan	vi
brother (of a female)	thilikhithi	n
brother-in-law	orebithi	n
brother-in-law	renymalithi	n
brown	ylhihin	vs
buddy	(y)madianthi, (o)madianthi	n
bugs	majoren	n
build	malhithin	vt
bump (on the skin)	kakolhothima	n
burden	nakara	n
burn	bitoan	vi
burn (go around burning)	bitakan	vt
burn down	bithin	vt
burn up	bithin	vt
burst	wakydonoan, wakydoan	vi
burst	wakydyn	vt
bus	(falhetho-)dalhidi-koana	n
Bush Negro	konokhodo	n
but	ma	p
buy	jontan	vt
buzzard	anoana	n
by	amyn	pp
by	bithi	pp
by means of	abo	pp
calculate	khisidan	vi
call	simakyn	vt
can	-ma	
can't be helped	malhira	p
canoe	jolhadoo-koana(-ha)	n
large canoe	kanan	n
canoe	kanoa, kojalha	n
captain	afodo(-ho), balhosen	n

captain (of village)	(i)si(-hi)	n
capybara (species) (small)	hadolhi	n
capybara (species) (konijn)	hokolhero	n
capybara (species) (konijn)	kakolhemero	n
capybara (species) (haas)	kawalainaro	n
capybara (species) (haas, hei)	laba	n
car	(falhetho-)dalhidi-koana	n
care for	dykhyn...khona	vi
be careful	aithoan, eithoan	vi
carry	nykyn	vt
cassava	khali, khale	n
cassava baking plate	bodali	n
cassava beer	bethiri, kasiri	n
cassava boat (for grating)	adisa	n
cassava bread (hard kind)	khali, khale	n
cassava bread (soft kind)	beletho	n
cassava flour	joraha	n
cassava grater	samalhi	n
cassava juice (poisonous)	keli	n
cassava meal	joraha	n
cassava sifter (basketry)	manalhi	n
cassava squeezer	joro	n
cassava starch	halho	n
cassava tuber	khalidoli	n
cassette recorder	falhetho-bejoka	n
catch	bokoton, othikhin	vt
catch (go around catching)	bokotan	vt, vi
caterpillar	komakathi	n
Caucasian	falhetho	n
causative, CAUS	-kYtY	
celebrate	alekhebetan	vi
cent	sensi	n
change	besoan, besonoan	vi
change repeatedly	besoabesoodyn	vi
chase	dalhidan	vi
cheer up	alekhebetan	vt
chew	rydan	vi
chicken	kalhina, kanakanasiro	n
chief	balhosen	n
child	ibili, ysa, sa	n
children (collective)	ysanothi, sanothi	n
chin	tala(-ha)	n
Chinese person	khajaba	n
chop (with ax or machete)	sokon	vt

chop open a planting ...	sokan	vi
get chopped	sokonoan	vi
church	khojaboa-sikoa	n
cigar, cigarette	jolhi	n
city	thojosikoa, forto	n
clan	kyrykyja	n
clean hair off an animal	thidin	vt
clean up a planting ground	byrykan	vi
clear a planting ground	sokan	vi
clear undergrowth	khorodon, khorodan	vt, vi
climb	modyn	vi
clock	khis(-hi)	n
close	takyn	vt
close by	khiradi	pp
close to	kosan	pp
cloth	bokolho(-ho)	n
cloth scrap	bokolho-iban	n
clothing, clothes	bokolho(-ho)	n
cloud	olhalho	n
cold	mimin	vs
have a cold	thonolisian	vs
comb one's hair	balhydoan	vi
come out	fothikhidin, fothikhidan	vi
come to a stop	takonoan	vi
be comical	mithakotoan	vi
coming	-the	
companion, comrade	(y)madianthi, (o)madianthi	n
conceal	jakhatyn, jakhatan	vt
conquer	motyn	vt
consumed	halhan	vs
container	eke, ke	n
container (boxlike basket)	borodi	n
continuative, CONT	-bo	
contrastive, CONTR.	balhin	p
contrastive, CONTR	-kho	
cook	bokon	vt
cook (a meal)	bokan	vi
be cooked	bokoan	vi
corn	marisi	n
cotton	jafo	n
cough	thondon	vi
could	-koma	
count	khisidan	vi
country	sikoa-bana, sikoa(-hy)	n

courage	(y)loa, loa(-hy)	n
encourage	loatyn	vt
cover	adoton	vt
cover	takyn	vt
covering	eke, ke	n
cow	kajolhero, kakoaro	n
cow	koadoa-kothiro	n
crab	koa	n
crawl; crawl around	lhoadyn; lhoadan	vi
create	malhitan	vt
creek	onikhan	n
Creole	dolhi	n
cross	thiman	vi
cry	yjin, yjan	vi
cry out	simakan	vi
cut	bikhin, bikan	vt
be cut	lhykonoan	vi
get cut	sokonoan	vi
cut (be wounded w/ a cut)	lhykonoan	vi
get a cut (wound)	bikhoan	vi
cut a border line	sibytn, sibytan	vt, vi
cut hair	jerikoan	vi
cut meat into pieces	kholebetan	vi
cut or chop in pieces	lhykabon	vt
cut with knife, machete or scissors	lhykyn	vt
dam up	takan	vt
damp	mimin	vs
dance	binin	vi
dark	olhirokon	vs
daughter (also bro. da.)	oto	n
daughter-in-law	thio	n
day	kasakabo(-ho)	n
day after tomorrow	motheboan	tw
daytime	kasakabo	tw
dead person	odothi	n
deaf	maikadyn	vs
deafen	maikadyren	vt
death	oda	n
deceive	molhidan	vi
be deceived	molhidoan	vi
deceiver	molhidoan	n
decorate	bylhytan	vi
decorate one's body	anbalhitoan	vi
deer	kadanaro, kakosiro	n

deer (small, dwarf species)	wiribisiri	n
defecate	khian	vi
delicious	semen	vs
demonstrate	dykhytyn	vd
depressed	nykamyn	vs
derived noun	-bero, -koana	
descend	thokodon	vi
desiderative, DESID	-thi	
determination	(y)loa, loa(-hy)	n
devil	jawahy	n
diarrhea	sore(-he)	n
die	odon	vi
difficult	kamothinan	vs
be in difficulty	kamonekan	vs
cause difficulty	monekatan	vt
dig	thikin	vi
diminutive	khan	p
in the direction of	maria, maja	pp
dirty	ereben, ireben	vs
dirty	seken	vs
dirty (things, stories)	balihin	vs
disembark	thokodon	vi
distant past	koba	p
distribute	lokodan, nebethin	vi
divide	lokodan, nebethin	vi
do	anin	vt
do	nin (contraction of anin)	vt
doctor (generic)	bidalhin	n
doctor of Western medicine	(falhetho) bikara, bikathi	n
dog	kariro, pero	n
door	kodoa-koana-takoana	n
double	bia(n)man	
drag	dylhydyn	vt
drag	jorokon	vi
draw	jatyn	vt
dream	tybontoan	vi
dress	khonan	vi
dress one's self	ketoan	vi
drill	oladan	vi
drink	(y)thyn, ythan	vt
drink (usually alcoholic)	atha(-ha), ythan	n
drunk	somolen	vs
dry	wan	vs
dry	watyn	vt

dry off	rodyn	vt
dry season	adali kha	tw
dull	mamanan	vs
dust (in the air)	kolheli	n
EACH	-ma(n)	
ear	dike(-he)	n
early	meran	adv
early	wabodin	vs
earth	holholho	n
eat (a light meal)	khin	vt
eat a meal	khoton, khotan	vt,vi
egg	ysa, sa	n
eight	kabynthian	quant, num
elder	thojothi	n
elder [-male]	thojotho	n
eleven	biandakhabo-diako-abaro	num
embrace	nykan	vi
emphasizer	-kho	
emphatic	-ne	
encourage	loatyn	vt
end of (at the end of)	bolokon	pp
enlarge	firotyn, firotan	vt
epenthetic syllable, EPEN	-da	
epenthetic vowel, EPEN	-i	
err	kobodonoan, kobodoan	vi
escape	tydyn	vi
even	hyrykyn	vs
everyone	halhan	n
exact	boro	p
exactly	rene, rikene	p
exactly	saken	p
exactly, EXACT	-ren	
exceeding (in comparisons)	adi	pp
exclamation of surprise	dase	p
exit	fothikhidin, fothikhidan	vi
expected, EXPECT	-ra	
explain	akakadyn	vt
explode	tholhadyn	vi
extinguish	jakoson	vt
eye	kosi(-hi)	n
face	sibo(-ho)	n
fainted	boadonoan, boadoan	vi
fall	thikhidin	vi
family	(o)jono	n

family member	ojothi	n
family name	kyrykyja	n
fan	wadyn	vt
fan	walhiwalhi	n
far	tahan, ta	vs
far away	tatonoan	vi
fast	kalyn, kaylyn	vs
fast	meran, miran	vs
fasten by tying	kyryn	vt
fat	khi(-hi)	n
father (also fa. bro.)	ithi	n
father-in-law (of male)	madokorethi	n
fatigue	methedin	vt
fault	kobodoa(-hy)	n
feather	(y)balha(-ha)	n
feed	bojin	vt
feel	anda...khonan	vi
feel; feel around	bebedin; bebedan	vt;vi
female	hiaro	n
ferment	bolhadan	vi
fermented	bolhan, bolhahan	vs
fetch (a person)	onakan	vt
fetch water	kysyn	vt
a few	bian khan	indef pro
field (planting ground)	kaboja, kabyja, koban	n
fifteen	biandakhabo-diako-badakhabo	num
fight	fatan	vi
file	hyryry	n
fill up, load	lokoton, lokotan	vt,vi
filthy (things, stories)	balihin	vs
find	othikhin	vt
finger	khabo-ibira(-ha)	n
fingernail, toenail	bada(-ha)	n
finish	eibon	vt
finish	eibonan, ibonan	vi
finished	eiboan, eibonoan, ibonoan	vi
finished (e.g. consumed)	halhan	vs
fire	ikhi, hime	n
firewood	ikhi-khodo	n
fish	hime	n
fish	himedan	vi
fish (with hook and line)	bodedan	vi
fish by poisoning	jalhidin	vi
fish (species) ('anjoemara')	ajomolha, kariro	n



fish (species) ('anjoemara')	kakolokhodoro	n
fish (species) ('dagoe fisie')	awalhibana	n
fish (species) ('datra')	wesi	n
fish (species) ('djakie')	kasi	n
fish (species) ('kwikwi')	kalhiwalho	n
fish (species) ('logologo')	kolhibiro	n
fish (species) ('noja')	himiri	n
fish (species) ('oroe wefie')	sibali	n
fish (species) ('pataka')	holhisiri	n
fish (species) (piranha)	oma	n
fish (species) ('warapa')	jarao	n
fish or hunt by blinding	kyndan	vi
fish trap	tanbo	n
five (one-my-hand)	abadakhabo, badakhabo	num
five o'clock	badakhabo diako tha-n	
flashlight	falhetho-kyndykha	n
flea	khajaba	n
flee	tydyn	vi
flesh	siroko(-ho)	n
flexible	dylhydan	vs
float	jolhadyn	vi
flow	malakydyn	vi
flower	kathokolhokhili	n
flute	bejokha	n
fly	morodon, morodan	vi
fold	kalhydakoton	vt
fold up	kodikhithin	vt
food	khota(-ha)	n
give food	bojin	vt
share food	bojan	vi
foot	kothi(-hi)	n
footgear	sapato	n
footprint	dikhi	n
for	bithiro	pp
for	boran	pp
for	myn	pp
for (on behalf of)	myn	pp
forest	konoko	n
forget	ikasian, kasian	vt
forward	jaboaria	pp
four	bithi	num, quant
freight	nakara	n
frog	sibero	n
from	khonaria	pp

from	koborokoaria	pp
from	waria, waja	pp
from (abbrev. of waria)	-ria, -ja	
from off the surface of	diakoaria	pp
from then, from there	joaria	p
in front of	jaboaria	pp
in front of	sibon	pp
fruit	iwi	n
have fruit	kiwihin	vi
fry in oil	salakydykytan	vt
full	heben	vs
fully	hyryren	adv
fungus infection of skin	tetelio	n
futile	malhira	p
future imperfective, INCH	-(n)bia	
future perfective, FUT	-fa, -ha	
get	bykhyn, nykyn, onabyn	vt
get	onakan, othikhin	vt
giggler (one who giggles)	simithan	n
girl	siokotho	n
girl (near puberty)	ilontho	n
give	sikin	vt
give (abbrev. of sikin)	sia	vt
glad	alekheben, halekheben	vs
glue (of cassava starch)	halho	n
go	osyn	vi
go around catching	bokotan	vt, vi
go around making fires	bitakan	vt
go around throwing things	jokhan	vi
go around wounding	ikolhidan	vi
go on an outing	jadoan	vi
go through to other side	thiman	vi
go up	modyn	vi
God	adajali	n
God (our maker)	wa-malhita-koanathi	n
God (our PL father)	wa-thinathi	n
gold	helotho, kalemero	n
gone	halhan	vs
be gone	kawan	vs
good	san	vs
goof	kobodonoan, kobodoan	vi
gourd bottle	kodo	n
gourd bowl	ida	n
gourd spoon	halhalho	n

grab	bokoton	vt
grain	kalhao, kalho	n
grandchildren (collective)	lesejobe	n
granddaughter	lykyntho	n
grandfather	dokothi	n
grandfather (vocative)	dokoko	n
grandmother	kythy	n
grandson	lykynthi	n
grass	kalhao, kalho	n
grate cassava tubers	ansan	vi
grated, squeezed cassava	joraha	n
gray	ylhihin	vs
green	kalhao	?
green	sobolen	vs
grip	bokoton	vt
ground	holholho	n
grow	bikhidin, bikhidan	vt
grow	bikhidonoan	vi
gun	arakabosa, simalha	n
habilitative, HABIL	-ma	
hair	(y)balha(-ha)	n
half	nakan, olaboa	n
hammer	(h)ototolhi-kodokoto-koana	n
hammock	hamaka, kora(-ha)	n
hand	khabo(-ho)	n
handle	bokoto-koana	n
hang	jolhodoan	vi
hang	weladyn, weladan	vt
hang, hang up	jodokoton	vt
happen	balin	vi
happen, take place	othika	vi
happy	alekheben, halekheben	vs
make happy	alekhebetan	vt
hard	tatan	vs
hat	si-ado(-ho)	n
hate	katelokojan, -telokojan	vs, vt
haul a load	nakaratoan	vi
have	amyn, amon	vt
having	k(A)-	
hawk	bariri	n
he	li, l(Y)-, -i	pro
he	lihi	pro
he	lira, liraha, lirabo	pro
head	(i)si(-hi)	n

headwater	siroko	n
heal	isadan	vt
be healed	isadonoan, isadoan	vi
hear	kanaban	vt
able to hear	ikadyren	vi
heart	(y)loa, loa(-hy)	n
heart	wasina(-ha)	n
give heart (encourage)	loatyn	vt
heavy (weight, load, task)	kydyn	vs
help	boratyn	vt
be helpful	boratan	vt
her	no, -n	pro
her	tho, th(Y)-	pro
her-BEN (abbrev.)	thon	pp
here	ja(ha), ja(di)(-hi), ja(ra)	
hide	jakhatyn, jakhatan	vt
hide	yda(-ha)	n
high	ajomyn	vs
hill	holholho	n
him	dei, -i	pro
him-BEN (abbrev.)	lon	pp
his	li, l(Y)-	pro
hit with the hand or fist	fatadyn	vt
hold	bokoton	vt
hole	(h)ole	n
make holes	oladan	vi
hook (for fishing)	bode(-he)	n
hooved animal	koadoa-kothiro	n
horse	koadoa-kothiro	n
hot	theren	vs
hour	khisiba	n
house	bahy	n
house	sikoa(-hy)	n
how	alika, halika	qw, rp
how long, as long as	halima	qw, rp
how many	fata	qw
hug	nykan	vi
human	kakythi	n
human [-Arawak]	kakytho	n
hungry	fonasian	vs
hunt	jokhan	vi
husband	erethi, rethi	n
I	de, d(A)-	pro
if	farokha, harokha	p

image	yja(-ha), (y)ja	n
immediate past	bi	p
immediately	abaren, baren	adv
improve	isadan	vt
in	lokon	pp
in (a fluid)	rakon	pp
in (fire, sunshine)	kolokon	pp
in (on inside surface of)	rokon	pp
in order to	-(n)bia	
in vain	osyron	vs
inchoative, INCH	-(n)bia	
indigenous person	loko(no)	n
INDIRECT OBJECT	myn	pp
individuated	-ma(n)	
industrious	emekhon	vs
inform	onaban	vt
ink	bylhyty-koana-iniabo-koro	n
insects	majoren	n
inside a body	koboroko	pp
inside of container/solid	lokon	pp
instrument	-koana(-ha)	nom
intermediate past	bona	p
interrogate	adakotan	vt
intestines	te(-hy)-ibira, (y)te-ibira	n
into	lokonro, rokonro	pp
into (fire, sunshine)	kolokonro	pp
into the middle of	nakanrokonro	pp
into the midst of	koborokonro	pp
iron	misidin	vt
iron	sipalhali	n
it	no, -n	pro
it	tho, th(Y)-	pro
it	to, toho	pro
it	tora, toraha, torabo	pro
it-BEN (contraction of <i>tho-myn</i> )	thon	
itch	tetedin	vt
itchy rash	tetelio	n
its	tho, th(Y)-	pro
jaguar	kabadaro, mabylydansiboro	n
jaw	tala(-ha)	n
jewelry	simodo	n
journey	jadyn	vi
juice	yra	n
jump	dydyn, dydan	vi

jump around, jump over	dydan	vi
jungle	konoko	n
just (diminutive)	khan	p
just (only)	saken	p
just now	tano-makeron	tw
just now	waboka	tw
kick	jakasyn, jakasan	vt
kill	faryn	vt
kneel	kolhabasitonoan	vi
knife	jadoala	n
knot	thobolhidin	vt
know	eithin (ethin, aithin, ithin)	vt
know about	eithan (ethan, aithan, ithan)	vt
knowledge	malhikho	n
land	thokodon	vi
language	(y)dia(-hy)	n
large	ilon	vs
late	ajoa, wadia	tw
later	ajoa, kabena	tw
later (a bit later today)	tanoke	tw
laugh	mithadan	vi
laugh at someone	mithan	vt
laugher (one who laughs)	simithan	n
laze around	ojoedoan	vi
leader	(i)si(-hi), afodo(-ho)	n
leader	balhosen	n
leaf	bana	n
learn	malhikhotoan	vi
leave	kojoan	vi
leave behind	eibin, ibin	vt
leave behind	eiboan	vi
leg	dana(-ha)	n
let go	lhoton	vi
letter	kharasa(-ha)	n
liar	molhidoan	n
lie	molhidan	vi
lie down (to rest)	tholhodon	vi
life	kaky(-hy)	n
lift, lift up	nykydyn	vt
light	kaleme(-he)	n
light	kalemethin	vt
light (in weight)	tholhan	vs
like	ansin, kansin	vt
like	dia	n

lips	lheroko(-ho)	n
listen	kanabyn	vt
little	siokon	vs
little while	siokhanin	tw
live	kakyn	vi
live at, reside	sikoatonoan, sikoatoan	vi
liver	bana	n
load	lokoton, lokotan	vt
load	nakara	n
load a gun	loporo(n)tadan	vi
locative, LOC	-n	
long	wadin	vs
long ago (ancestor's time)	wakhili	tw
look for	wadyn	vi
lose	bolhedin	vt
loud	kakanakyn	vs
love	ansin, kansin	vt
low	onabon	vs
lure	molhidin, molhidyn	vt
lying down	bolhekoan, bylhekoan	vi
machete	kasipara	n
be mad	eimatonoan, ematonoan	vi
madden	eimatan, ematan	vt
main structure	khondi	n
make	malhithin	vt
make angry	eimatan, ematan	vt
make bigger	firotyn, firotan	vt
male	wadili	n
man	kakythi, wadili	n
one man	aba-li	n
mango	maja	n
manner	koa(n)	p
in manner	lokhodi	adv
in manner	lokokoan	adv
how many	fata	qw, rp
many	johon	vs
mark, make marks	bylhytyn	vt
Maroon	konokhodo	n
married	kyronoan	vi
marry	ikan	vi
massage	dylhydan	vi
master	tynamaro	n
mated with	bianthetoan	vi
mature	thojon	vs

may	-ma	
maybe	-baha	
me	de	pro
me-BEN (abbrev. da-myn)	dan	pp
a meal	khoton	n
meat	khota(-ha)	n
meat	siroko(-ho)	n
medicine	ibihi	n
meet	othikan	vi
menstruate	othikoan	vi
message	(y)dia(-hy)	n
messy	ereben, ireben	vs
messy	seken	vs
metamorphose	besoan, besonoan	vi
metamorphose repeatedly	besoabesoodyn	vi
midday, noon	kasakabo nebetan	tw
middle	nakan	n
middle	nebetan	
in the middle of	nakanrokon	pp
midnight	kasakoda nakan	tw
midnight	kasakoda nebetan	tw
midnight	olhika nebetan	tw
minimum	min	vs
mirror	dykhy-koana	n
miss	kobodyn, kobodan	vt
mistake	kobodoa(-hy)	n
make a mistake	kobodonoan, kobodoan	vi
mix	lhanatyn, lhanatan	vt
moist	jojon	vs
moisten	jojoton	vt
molar	ari(-hi)	n
moment (at this moment)	akharo, wakharo	tw
momentarily	bania	tw
money	khaborokhodo(-ho)	n
money	polata, sensi	n
monkey (generic)	fodi	n
monkey (species)	hao	n
monkey (species)	kakosalokoro	n
monkey (capuchin)	fodi	n
monkey (howler)	olhiroko-sibo	n
monkey ('kwasielkwasiel')	khibihi	n
monkey ('monkiemonkie')	koboasi	n
monkey (red howler)	hitolhi	n
monkey ('sagowentje')	syty	n



monkey (spider monkey)	wadibe-dynaro	n
monkey ('wanakoe')	holhoe	n
month	kathi	n
moon	kathi	n
more, most	sabo	p
morning (3:00–6:00)	kasakonro	tw
morning (3:00–6:00)	mothiaro	tw
morning (6:00–9:00)	mothia	tw
mortar (for cassava flour)	hako	n
mother (also fa. sis.)	ojo	n
mother-in-law (of a female)	kyry	n
mother-in-law (of a male)	mykythy	n
motion approaching	-the	
motion away	-ba	
motion away (abbrev.)	-ja	
motorcycle	(falhetho-)dalhidi-koana	n
mountain	holholho	n
mouse	kolhi(-hi)	n
mouth	lheroko(-ho)	n
move around	rokosan	vi
move slowly	basadadoan	vi
mule	koadoa-kothiro	n
must	-li	
my	de, d(A)-	pro
nail	ototolhidin	vt
nail (not fingernail)	(h)ototolhi	n
nail (of finger or toe)	bada(-ha)	n
name	(a)siamyn, irithin	vt
name	iri(-hi)	n
narrow	basaban, mabilokon	vs
nausea	jema(-ha)	n
near	bithi	pp
near	khiradi	pp
nearby	amyn	pp
necessitative, NESS	-li	
need	balhitan	vt
needle	kosa	n
negative	kho	p
Negro	dolhi	n
neighborhood of	khiradi	pp
new	emelian, hemelian	vs
news	ydia(-hy)	n
next	joaria, joaja	tw
next (e.g. next week)	tokota	

next to	bithi	pp
next to	kosan	pp
night (18:00–6:00)	olhika	n
nighttime (21:00–24:00)	kasakoda	tw
nine	bithithian	num, quant
no (not her/it)	mantha	p
no (not him)	manla	p
no (not me)	manda	p
no (not action/situation)	mani(n)	p
no (not them)	manna	p
no (not you)	manba	p
no (not you-PL)	manha	p
nominalized	-n	
nominalizer (occupation)	-lhin	
nominalizer [ + human]	-no	
nominalizer [ + male + human]	-li	
nominalizer [– male]	-ro	
noon	kasakabo nebetan	tw
noon	wandali	tw
nose	sinro	n
nose	siri(-hi)	n
not	kho	p
not	m(A)-	
not forget	koborokoan	vt
not lazy	emekhon	vs
not sharp	mamanan	vs
nothing	ama kho, ama diaro	n
nothing to do about it	malhira	p
notice	kajadyn, kajadyn	vt, vi
noun generalizer, NGEN	-hY	
now	akharo, wakharo, ykha	tw
oar	remo	n
obey	kanabyn...khonan	vi
object relativizer, WH.OBJ	-sia	
ocean	balha(-ha), (y)balha	n
of	waria, waja	pp
off of	diakoaria	pp
offer	kylykyn	vd
offspring	ysa, sa	n
oh my!	okhokho	
oil	khi(-hi)	n
old (mature)	adajan	vs
old (not new)	wadon	vs
old man	thojothi	n

old person	thojothi	n
old woman	thojotho	n
older brother (of a male)	bokhithi	n
older sister (of a female)	tylatho	n
on	diakon	pp
on	khona	pp
on	khonaria	pp
on	khonaro, khonanro	pp
on the surface of top of	diakon	pp
once	abahan	tw
once	aban	tw
once upon a time	abahan	tw
one	aba	quant
one	abaro	num
one and a half	abaro-diako-anyky	quant
one [+ male + human]	abali	n
one [-male]	abaro	n
only	ron, -ron	p
onto	diakonro	pp
open	tholhodon	vt
opossum kind	jawalhe	n
opposed	rabydykhy, rabotyky	pp
opposite side	olaboan	pp
or	mantha(n)	conj
orange	kolhen	vs
originating from	waria, waja	pp
other	abaryky, abyryky	n
other (opposite) side	olaboan	pp
our	we, w(A)-	pro
out	koborokoaria	pp
out from among	koborokoaria	pp
out of	lokoaria	pp
out of	rokoaria	pp
out of (a fluid)	rakoaria	pp
out of (fire, sunshine)	kolokoaria	pp
out of the middle of	nakanrokoaria	pp
overnight	donkan	vi
own (one's own)	-wa (-a after o)	
owned animal	likhin	n
paddle	nale(-he)	n
paddle (e.g. a canoe)	nakoan	vi
pain	kari(-hi)	n
pale	hehen	vs
pants	danake(-he)	n

parrot kind	kolhiaka	n
parrot kind	solhisolhi	n
party	alekhebetuan	vi
pass	balin	vt
pass by	balin	vt
passive	-oa (-a after o)	
passive	-onoa	
past (distant past)	koba	p
past (immediate past)	bi	p
past (intermediate past)	bona	p
past perfective, PAST = PERF	-ja	
path	byna	n
path (large)	waboroko	n
path (small - hunting)	solhi(-hi)	n
pay	jonton	vt
pay back	jontonoan, jontoan	vi
peccary (species) ('pakira')	aboja, matola	n
peccary (species) ('pingo')	dodole, jokoro	n
female peccary	malhi	n
male peccary	konokolhi	n
peck	tokon, tokan	vt
peel	sodon	vt
pen	bylhyty-koana	n
pencil	bylhyty-koana	n
penis	firo(-ho), wadili	n
pepper (a very hot kind)	hathi, athi	n
pepper pot (soup)	kadykyra, kadakyra	n
PERF, present perfective	-ka	
perhaps	baha, -baha	p
perhaps	diaro	p
permission	waboroko	n
pestle (for cassava flour)	hako-rethi	n
pet	likhin	n
photo	yja(-ha), (y)ja	n
pick fruit	ojin	vt
pickle	khabatyn	vt
piece (of)	bena	n
piece of cloth	bokolho-iban	n
pillar	base	n
pillow (for one's head)	siborando	n
pinch	sykylhidin	vt
pineapple	nana	n
PL	-be, -non	
place	bana	n

place	sikin	vt
plain	osyron	vs
plant	bikhidan	vt
plant	bonyon, bynyn	vt
plant a planting ground	bonan, bynan	vi
planting ground	kaboja, kabyja, koban	n
plants (domesticated)	khythehe	n
plate (to eat from)	karobo	n
play	biran	vi
play around	birabiradyn	vi
please	malhi-koma	
pluck	ojin	vt
pluralizer [ + / – human]	-be	
pluralizer [ + human]	-non	
point	khisin	vi
point of (at the point of)	bolokon	pp
point out	dykhytyn	vd
point to	kylykan	vi
poison fish	jalhidin	vi
police officer (m. or f.)	bariri	n
polish	helodon	vt
poor	kamoneka, kamothinan	vs
portion	benan	n
possess	amyn, amon	vt
possessed, POSS	-n, -ra, -the, -ja	
post	base	n
pot (cooking pot)	doda	n
pound (e.g. cassava)	etan, itan	vi
pour (a drink)	soadyn	vt
pour out	sonkon	vt
powder	komojodythimaro	n
power	tata(-ha)	n
praise	firotan...iri	vt
pray	khojaboan, khojabonoan	vi
pre-dawn (3:00–6:00)	kasakonro	tw
pre-dawn (3:00–6:00)	mothiaro	tw
prepare	isadan	vt
be prepared	isadonoan, isadoan	vi
present imperfective	-bo	
present perfective	-ka	
press	foroton	vt
price	jona	n
prick	thiadyon	vt
privative, PRIV	m(A)-	

probably	-ra	
property	holholho	n
pull, pull on	dylhydyn	vt
pull out	jadan	vt
pull out (harvest)	dobadyn	vt
pull weeds	reken	vt
punish	ajalhodon	vt
punishment	ajalho	n
push	thirikhidin	vt
put	sikin	vt
put in elevated position	nykydan	vt
quick	kalyn, kaylyn	vs
quick	meran, miran	vs
radio	falhetho-bejoka	n
radio	falhetho-biraka	n
rag	bokolho-iban	n
rain	(oni)khin	vi
rain	oni	n
rainy season	oni kha	tw
raise (grow, rear)	bikhidin, bikhidan	vt
rash (itchy rash)	tetelio	n
rat	kolhi(-hi)	n
raw	ija	vs
receive	onabyn, othikhin	vt
receive for free	bykhyn	vt
record player	falhetho-bejoka	n
red	kolhen	vs
reflexive	-oa (-a after o)	
reflexive	-onoa	
relate	akakadyn	vt
relativizer (WH.OBJ)	-sia	
relativizer (WH.SUBJ)	-thi	
relativizer (WH.SUBJ)	-tho	
remainder	iban	n
remember	koborokoan	vt
remind	koborokoatyn	vt
remove (take off)	filoan	vt
repair	malhithin, malhitan	vt
repay	jontonoan, jontoan	vi
report to	onaban	vt
reportative, REPORT	tha	p
request (ask)	adakoton	vd
request (beg, pray)	khojabyn	vt
require	balhitan	vt

reside	sikoatonoan, sikoatoan	vi
rest	akobon, akoban	vi
return	kojoan	vi
return something borrowed	jalokhoton, jalokhotyn	vt
ridicule	mithan	vt
be ridiculous	mithakotoan	vi
right then	khiredan	
ripe	heben	vs
ripe	kolhen	vs
ripple	olhomolhedan	vi
river	solhinama	n
river, small	onikhan	n
road	waboroko	n
road (small one)	byna	n
roast	jabodyn	vt
roast	jabydyn, jabydan	vt
rock	jodon	vt
rock	siba	n
roll	lhibisin, ylhibisin	vt
roll up	kodikhithin	vt
roof	ado(-ho)	n
roof	adoton	vt
roof	takoana(-ha)	n
root	ykyra, kyra	n
rope	tetei	n
rotten	boadonoan, boadoan	vi
round	balalan	vs
round a bend	oredan	vi
row	remodoan, remodan	vi, vt
rub	lytyn	vt
run; run after	dalhidin; dalhidan	vi
sad	nykamyn	vs
salt	khaban, khabaro, pamo	n
salt	khabatyn	vt
salted fish	khabaro	n
the same	hyrykyn	vs
same action	khidin	
sand	mothoko	n
save	isadyn	vt
saw	sekhidin, sekhidan	vt
say	akan	vt
scare	bokan ... yja	vt
school	malhikhotoa-sikoa	n
scissors	lhykoana(-ha)	n

scratch	kharasyn, kharasan	vt
scratch an itch	tetedan	vt
scream	simakan	vi
sea	balha(-ha), (y)balha	n
search	wadyn	vi
see	dykhyn	vt
seed	iwi	n
self	-waja	
sell	jokaryn, jokaran	vt
send	mikodon, mikodan	vd
separate	thabakoton	vt
serve cassava beer	khoiban	vi
set a gun trap	eiban	vt
seven	bianthian	quant, num
several	bian khan	indef pro
sew	kysan	vt, vi
sewing machine	kysa-koana	n
sewn	kysonoan	vi
shake	rakasyn	vt
share food	bojan	vi
sharp	kamanan	vs
sharpen	mantyn, manatyn	vt
shave	kharasyn	vt
she	no, -n	pro
she	tho, th(Y)-	pro
she	toho	pro
she	tora, toraha, torabo	pro
shine	helodon	vt
shine	kyndyn	vi
shiny stuff	helotho	n
ship	falhetho-kanan	n
shiver	rokosyn, rokoson	vi
shoe	kothike(-he), sapato	n
shoot	jokhon, jokhonoan	vi
shoot at	baladan	vi
short	besekhen, mawadin	vs
short dry season	awalhadalithe	tw
short time	siokhan	adv
short time ago today	tano-makeron	tw
short time ago	waboka	tw
shortly	siokhan	adv
shot (ammunition)	bala	n
shoulder	dyneina(-ha)	n
shut	takyn	vt



shy	habori(n)	vs, n
sibling (older—vocative)	bebe	n
sick	karin	vs
become sick very quickly	othikonoan	vi
sickness	kari(-hi)	n
side	maria, maja	n
side (opposite side)	olaboan	pp
side of (at the side of)	maria, maja	pp
sieve	manalhi	n
sieve cassava flour	jabosan, jobysan	vi
sieve through a cloth	sodan	vt
sift cassava flour	jabosan, jobysan	vi
sifter	manalhi	n
similar	diaro	p
sin	wakhaitho amathali	n
sing	jentonoan	vi
sink	thokodon	vi
sister (of a male)	jorodatho	n
sister-in-law	orebiatho	n
sister-in-law (hu.bro.wi.)	renetho	n
sit down	balytyn	vi
sit with someone	balytadan	n
six	abathian, bathian	quant, num
sketch	jatyn	vt
skin	yda(-ha)	n
sleep	donkon	vi
sleep overnight	donkan	vi
sleepy	tabysian	vs
slip out of the hand	lhoton	vi
slipper	sapato	vi
slippery	teletelen	vs
slippery (e.g. a fish)	folifolin	vs
slow	basadan, maylyn	vs
slowly	basadare	adv
small	basaban, ibilin, siokon	vs
small amount	min	vs
small hunting path	solhi (hi)	n
small non-male	ibi-ron	n
small river	onikhan	n
small road	byna	n
smell	dimisin	vt
smoke	kolheli	n
smoke (fire)	kolhedin	vi
smoke (tobacco product)	kolhedoan	vi

smoke meat or fish	dibaledyn, dibaledan	vt, vi
smoked fish or meat	dibale	n
snake	ori	n
snap (by bending)	kalhydyn	vt
sneak up on	redan	vt
sneeze	eithidin	vi
sniff at	dimisan	vi
so	kiadoma	p
so that	-(n)bia	
soak (e.g. clothes)	tobadyn	vt
soft	belen	vs
soft (e.g. sand)	fofon	vs
some	bian khan	indef pro
someone [+ male + human]	abali	n
someone, someone else	abanon	n
something	amathali	n
something written	kharasa(-ha)	n
sometime	abahan, abanbo	tw
son (also son of bro.)	aithi	n
son-in-law (of a female)	thithi	n
song	jeni(-hi)	n
sound	kanakyn	n
sour	bolhan	vs
sour	bolhanan	vs
speak	akan	vt
speak	dian, ydian	vi
specific	-bo	
spider monkey (ST: kwatta)	adafe	n
spill	sonkan	vt
spirit	(y)ja, yja(-ha)	n
spit	khoidin	vi
split firewood	faradan	vi
spoiled	boadonoan, boadoan	vi
spoiled	bolhahan	vs
spring (water)	kori(-hi)	n
spy	dykhydian	vi
squeeze cassava	jordodan	vi
stab	thiadyan	vt
stall	jakosoan	vi
stand around waiting	obadan	vi
stand up	dimanyan, dinamyn, dinabyn	vi
star	wiwa, iwa	n
starting from	inaria	pp
startle	bokan...(y)ja	vt

steal	thikebetoan	vi
steam	kolheli	n
steel	sipalhali	n
stem of the cassava plant	kanakydi	n
stick	ada	n
still	koan	p
sting	thydyn	vt
stomach	te(-hy), (y)te, dibejo(-ho)	n
stomach (the organ)	te-firo(-ho), (y)te-firo	n
stone	siba, kydyro	n
stool	hala	n
stop	khiadonoan	vi
stop	takyn, takan, takonoan	vt, vi
story	(y)dia(-hy)	n
straighten	misidin	vt
strain (e.g. kasiri)	sodan	vt
stream	malakydyn	vi
street	waboroko	n
strength	tata(-ha)	n
stretchable	dylhydan	vs
string	tetei	n
take a stroll	jadoan	vi
strong	tatan	vs
study	malhikhotoan	vi
SUBJ relativizer [+ male]	-thi	
SUBJ relativizer [-male]	-tho	
subordinate, SUB	-n	
be successful in the hunt	kiwihin	vi
suck	soroton	vt
suddenly	abaren, baren	adv
sugarcane	sikalho	n
sun	hadali, adali	n
Sunday	sondakha	n
support	boratyn	vt
Suriname river	solhinama	n
sweep (e.g. with a broom)	syrybydyn, syrybydan	vt
sweet	semen	vs
sweet bean tree	kalhoto	n
sweet cassava (no poison)	bosoli	n
sweet potato (dark purple)	kharemero	n
sweet potato (three kinds)	halithi	n
swim	thimin	vt
swing	jodon	vt
tail	itoko(-ho)	b

take	nykyn	vt
take along	onakyn	vt
take care of	dykhyn...khona	vi
take off (remove)	filoan	vt
take place	balin	vi
take to	sikan	vi
talk	dian, ydian	vi
tapir	firobero, kama, katororo	n
tasty	semen	vs
teach	malhikhoton	vt
teach (as a teacher)	malhikhotan	vt
teacher (profession)	malhikhota-lhin	n
teacher	malhikhotathi	n
tease	jolhatyn...ansi	vt
tease	monekatan	vt
tell	akan	vt
tell (e.g. a story)	akakadyn	vt
ten (two-my-hand)	biandakhabo	quant, num
tender	belen	vs
that (person, situation)	kia	n
that [+ male, + human]	lira, liraha, lirabo	pro
that [-hum]/[-male + hum]	tora, toraha, torabo	pro
the [+ human + plural]	na	art
the [+ male, + human]	li	art
the [-hum]/[-male + hum]	to	art
their [+ human]	ne, n(A)-	pro
their [-human]	tho, n(A)-	pro
them [-human]	no, -n	pro
them-BEN (abbr.) [+ human]	nan	pp
them-BEN (abbr.) [-human]	thon	pp
then	joaria, joaja	tw
then	kha, khana	p
there	jon	n, vs
there where	jontho	rp
therefore	kiadoma	p
these [+ human]	naha	pro
these [-human]	toho	pro
they [+ human]	naha	pro
they [+ human]	nara, naraha, narabo	pro
they [+ human]	ne, n(A)-, je	pro
they [-human]	no, -n	pro
they [-human]	tho, th(Y)-	pro
they [-human]	to, toho	pro
they [-human]	tora, toraha, torabo	pro

thick	firon	vs
thick (e.g. thick skin)	hananan	vs
thief	kathikebethi, kathikebetho	n
thief	kathikebero	n
thin	olhidan	vs
thing (instrument)	koana	n
thing, THING (nominalizer)	-koana(-ha), -bero	
think	koborokoatoan	vi
thirsty	alokosian	vs
this moment	wakharo, akharo	tw
this [+ male, + human]	lihi	pro
this [-hum]/[-male + hum]	toho	pro
those [+ human]	nara, naraha, narabo	pro, adj.
those [-human]	tora, toraha, torabo	pro, adj.
though	balhin	p
threaten	jadan	vt
three	kabyn	quant, num
three times	kabynibo	
throw	bolheidin, bolhiedan	vt
throw (go around throwing)	jokhan	vi
throw away	bolheidin, bolhiedan	vt
thug	malokonisiathi	n
thusly (back-reference)	khi	adv
tie	thobolhidin	vt
tie (fasten)	kyryn	vt
tie off	kyran	vt
tied together	kyronoan	vi
tied up	kyronoan	vi
time	khisiba	n
time (a long time)	waka	
time (at the time)	kha	p
time (short time)	wabydia	
while (little while)	siokhanin	tw
times	boren	
tip	si	n
tip of (at the tip of)	sin	pp
tire	dalhidi-koana-kothi(-hi)	n
tire (fatigue)	methedin	vt
tired	methen	vs
tired (lack of strength)	kholen	vs
to	bithi	pp
to (abbrev. of ninro)	-(n)ro	
to (benefactive)	myn	pp
to the front of	jaboaria	pp

to the rear of	jabonro	pp
to the side of	maria, maja	pp
toad	sibero	n
tobacco	jolhi	n
today	tano(-ho)	tw
toe	kothi-ibira	n
toenail	bada(-ha)	n
tomorrow	mothi	tw
tongue	yje(-hy)	n
tool	koana	n
tooth	ari(-hi)	n
torture	jolhatyn...ansi	vt
torture	monekatan	vt
toucan (species) ('koejake')	boradi	n
touch	anda...khonan	vi
touch	bebedin	vt
touch	tebedan	vi
tough	dykhydan, tatan	vs
TOWARD	-(n)ro	
toward	amynro	pp
toward	bithiro	pp
toward	khonaro, khonanro	pp
toward	kosanro	pp
toward (a location)	ninro	pp
toward (a person)	manro	pp
towel	watoa-koana(ha)	n
track	dikhi	n
trade	jalokhotan	vi, vt
trap (e.g. gun trap)	iban	vt
travel	jady, jadoan	vi
tree	ada	n
tree (species) (sweet bean)	kalhoto	n
tree (species) (baboon wood)	dali	n
tree (species) ('basralokus')	balkakarobali	n
tree (species) (brown heart)	dakamabali	n
tree (species) (cashew)	merehe	n
tree (species) ('copie')	kabokhali	n
tree (species) (greenheart)	wasiba	n
tree (species) ('kankantrie')	kadynaboro	n
tree (species) ('mope')	hobo	n
tree (species) ('pisie')	siroabali	n
tree (species) (red louro)	tetelhoma	n
tree (species) ('zwarte kabes')	tatabo	n
tremble	rokosyn, rokoson	vi

trembling manner	korokorodakoan	adv
take a trip	jadoan	vi
trousers (leg container)	danake(-he)	n
truly	khidoaniabo	interj
trunk	toro	n
trunk (of a tree)	daja	n
trunk (of a tree)	otoro, toro	n
try	khisidin	vt
try	kisin, khisin	vt
try (extended effort)	khisidonoan, khisidoan	vi
tune	jeni(-hi)	n
turn	kerosyn	vt
turn around (180 degrees)	sifodyn, sifodan	vt
turn back	sifodan	vi
turn over	sifodyn	vt
turtle	hikolhi	n
two	bian	quant, num
two persons	bianinon	n
ugly	wakhajan	vs
uncle (mother's brother)	dinthe, denthi	n
uncle (polite vocative)	dinthe	n
under	abon	pp
under	abonro	pp
understand	kajadyn...khona	vt
undress	jalokoton	vi
unexpected, UNEXP	-na	
unfermented	semen	vs
UNSPECified subject	m(A)-	
urinate	dakan	vi
us	we, -o	pro
us-BEN (abbrev. wa-myn)	wan	pp
in vain	osyron	vs
verbalizer	-da, -ta	
very	adia, adianken	adv
very	min...kho, min-ka...kho	vs
vicinity of	khiradi	pp
vicinity of	maria, maja	pp
village	sikoa(-hy)	n
vine	mibi	n
visit	dykhan	vi
vomit	wedin	vi
wage	jona	n
wage	khaborokhodo(-ho)	n
wail (as at a funeral)	berosoan	vi

wait; wait around	obady; obadan	vt; vi
wake up	anabyn	vi
take a walk	jadoan	vi
walk	konan	vi
want	ansin	vt
want (desiderative)	-thi	
warm	wereben	vs
wash	sokoson	vt
do the wash (i.e. clothes)	sokosan	vi
wash one's self	sokosoan	vi
get washed	sokosoan	vi
wasp	makorio	n
watch	khisi(-hi)	n
watch out	aithoa	vi
water	iniabo, oniabo	n
wave (e.g. in a river)	olhomolhedan	n
have waves (e.g. a river)	olhomolhedan	vi
we	we, w(A)-, -o	pro
weak	kholen	vs
weave (e.g. basketry)	doron	vt
weave (leaves)	kodon, kodan	vt
weed	reken	vt
weep	yjin, yjan	vi
well	sare(n); san	vs; adv
wet	jojon	vs
wet	jojoton	vt
what	ama	qw, rp
what (non-male)	ama-ron	qw
what	amahan	qw
what a pity	osabonin (base)	interj
what exactly	ama boro	qw
what [-male]	ama-ron	qw
wheel	dalhidi-koana-lothi(-hi)	n
when	alikha, halikha	qw, rp
when	kha	p
when	khatho, ykha	tw
when (conditional)	farokha, harokha	p
where	alon, anon	qw, rp
where	jontho	rp
which person	alikan, halikan	qw, rp
while (little while)	siokhanin	tw
whisper	thethedan	vi
whistle	wiwidan	vi
whistle with the hands	fofodan	vi



white	halhiran	vs
who	alikan, halikan	qw, rp
why (what is the purpose)	amabia	qw
why (what is the cause)	amadoma	qw
wide	kabilokon	vs
wife	eretho, retho	n
win	motyn	vt
wing	kodibio-dyna	n
wipe off	rodyn	vt
wisdom	malhikho	n
with	khonaria	pp
with (accompaniment)	(o)ma, oma	pp
with (followed by masc.)	mathi	conj
with (followed by non-masc.)	matho	conj
with (instrumental)	abo	pp
without	m(A)-	
without purpose	osyron	vs
woman	hiaro, kakytho	n
wood	ada	n
woodpecker	hododi	n
word	(y)dia(-hy)	n
work	nekhebo	n
work	nekhebon	vi
world	holholho	n
worry	bokonoan	vi
worth	jona	n
would	-koma	
wound	ikolhidin	vt
wound (i.e. get a burn)	bitoan	vi
wound (i.e. get a cut)	bikhoan	vi
wound (i.e. get chopped)	sokonoan	vi
wound (go around wounding)	ikolhidan	vi
be wounded with a cut	lhykonoan	vi
wrap	kodikhithin	vt
wrestle	bolhedan	vi
write	bykhytyn	vt
write	kharasyn, kharasan	vt
yawn	erodoan	vi
year	hiwa, iwa	n
yell	simakan	vi
yellow	hehen	vs
yes	enhen	p
yes (emphatic)	hehe	p
yesterday	miaka	tw

you (plural)	hi, h(Y)-, hy	pro
you (singular)	bi, b(Y)-, bo	pro
you(PL)-BEN (abbr. hy-myn)	hon	pp
you-BEN (abbr. by-myn)	bon	pp
young	bikhidolian	vs
young lady, young woman	bikhidoliatho	n
young man	bikhidoliathi	n
young man (18–35 years)	sathi	n
young woman (18–35 years)	satho	n
younger brother (of a male)	okhithi	n
younger sister (of a female)	okhitho	n
your (plural)	hi, h(Y)-	pro
your (singular)	bi, b(Y)-	pro

## Appendix

### Arawak Narrative Texts

#### The Bus Trip Story

This story was written by Nelis M. Biswane, a resident of the Arawak village of Cassipora, during a 1976 native authors' workshop conducted by Naomi Glock and myself. The author is a mother-tongue speaker of Arawak and was, at the time, approximately 50 years old and a grade school teacher in Cassipora.

*Halika w-a-n abahan osy-n jadoa-nro koba khonan.*  
how we-dummy-SUB once go-SUB travel-TOWARD dist.past about  
About how we once went traveling.

*Aba sondakha mothia, de ken da-retho mathi wa-sanothi osa jadoa-nro.*  
one Sunday morning I and my-wife with our-children go travel-TOWARD  
One Sunday morning, I and my wife, along with our children, went traveling.

*Abali we sikoia khona-thi jonta aba falhetho-dalhidi-koana.*  
one-male our village of-WH.SUBJ buy one white.man-run-THING  
A man in our village had bought a bus.

*Kia loko we osa-thi-bo.*  
that in we go-DESID-CONT  
In that, we wanted to go.

*Ken abyryky-no waboken, thojothi-non mathi ibili-non osy-fa*  
and other-HUMAN also elder-HUM.PL with small-HUM.PL go-FUT  
*tha jadoa-nro.*  
REPORT travel-TOWARD  
And others also, older people and children, would go on the trip.

*Kiadoma hyryre th-a to falhetho-dalhidi-koana.*  
therefore fully it-dummy the white.man-run-THING  
Therefore the bus was full.

*Taha Java-nro wa-kisi-ka osa-bia.*  
 far Java.village-TOWARD we-try-PERF go-INCH  
 We tried to go all the way to the village of Java.

*Wakhaja kho w-osy-n atynoa khona balhin.*  
 bad not we-go-SUB at.first on CONTRAST  
 Our going was not bad at first.

*Ma to wa-tatonoa-n-bo khi, thy-boado-fa to falhetho-dalhidi-koana*  
 but the we-be.far.away-SUB-CONT thusly it-break-FUT the white.man-run-THING  
*w-abo.*  
 us-with.INSTR

But when we were getting far away from home, the bus broke down on us.

*Wa-thokoda tho-loko-aria fata boren baha thirikhida lokokoan tho-khona.*  
 we-disembark it-inside-AWAY how.many times perhaps push in.manner it-on  
 We got out uncountable times pushing it.

*Siokhan th-a-n nyky-n, ta diaro kho th-osy-n, thy-jakosoa khi-ka-da*  
 shortly it-dummy-SUB carry-SUB far similar not it-go-SUB it-stall thus-PERF-EPEN  
*ba.*

again

Carrying on a little while, not going very far, it would stall again.

*Khi dia koa th-a w-abo.*  
 thusly like manner it-dummy we-with.INSTR  
 This is how the bus did with us.

*Kia loko khi, ama kho sabo.*  
 that in thusly what not more  
 After doing this a while, nothing more.

*Balhin li ka-ni-li malhita-thi-n no, anakho thy-nyky-ra-ma sabo.*  
 although the ATTR-possession-male repair-DESID-SUB it nothing it-carry-EXPECT-HABIL more  
 Although the owner wanted to repair it, it couldn't carry anything any more.

*Halika m-a-fa sabo?*  
 how UNSPEC-dummy-FUT more  
 What to do now?

*Kha kho jaha-thi-ja hibin wa-sikoa oria-da we.*  
 then not be.here-WH.SUBJ-PAST.PERF already we-village away-EPEN us  
 We were at that time already far away from our village.

*Taha anda si Saroa we-ra to-da no.*  
 far arrive tip Saroa.Creek we-EXPECT be-EPEN it  
 It was that we were all the way at the headwaters of the Saroa Creek.

*Jontho thy-boadonoa-n w-abo kawa-ka oniabo.*  
 there.where it-broken-SUB us-with.INSTR absent-PERF water  
 There where it broke down on us, there is no water.

*Ken hadali min-ka kho there-n hibir.*  
 and sun minimum-PERF not hot-SUB already  
 And the sun was already very hot.

*Kiadoma de to dia-ma da-retho myn:*  
 therefore I this say-HABIL my-wife BEN  
 Therefore I could say this to my wife:

*“Bi eitha, sareken wa-sifoda-n kothi khona khi ba.*  
 you know better we-turn.around-SUB foot on thusly again  
 “You know, it would be better if we turned back again on foot.

*Khatho abanbo w-othika-n kha oniabo, wa-tha-ma alokosia rabydyky.”*  
 when sometime we-find-SUB at.time water we-drink-HABIL thirst opposed  
 Then whenever we find water, we can get a drink to quench our thirst.”

*Ken wa-sifoda-n-bia-the.*  
 and we-turn.around-SUB-INCH-BACK  
 And we turned back.

*Hadali min-ka kho there-n, ma malhira.*  
 sun minimum-PERF not hot-SUB but nothing.to.do.about.it  
 The sun was very hot, but there was nothing to do about it.

*Abathali w-othika onikhan siroko, ken thy-taka alokosia wa-myn.*  
 after.a.while we-find creek tip and it-stop thirst us-BEN  
 After a while we found a little creek, and it stopped our thirst for us.

*Joaria w-osa khi-ka-da ba, hadali kolokon.*  
 from.then we-go thus-PERF-EPEN again sun in  
 From there, we went on the same way, in the sun.

*Ajoa sabo kho to aba LBB landrover-ja Blaka-Watra*  
 later more not be one Forestry.Company jeep-POSSD Black.Water.Creek  
*waria-tho borata-the-da we, sika-n wa-ma bahy-nro.*  
 from-WH.SUBJ help-BACK-EPEN us bring-SUB us-with.ACCMP house-TOWARD  
 Not much later, an LBB forestry company jeep from Black Water Creek came to help us,  
 taking us home.

*M-ani-n kha min-thi-ra-ma kho kamoneka-n-da we.*  
 PRIV-do-SUB if small.amount-WH.SUBJ-EXPECT-HABIL not difficult-SUB-EPEN we  
 If it had not done so, we would have been in no small amount of difficulty.

*Kiadoma sake th-a kho osy-n koba kia jadoa we myn.*  
 therefore well it-dummy not go-SUB dist.past that travel us BEN  
 So that trip did not go well for us.

### The Jaguar Story

This story was written by Nelis M. Biswane, a resident of the Arawak village of Cassipora, during a 1976 native authors' workshop conducted by Naomi Glock and myself. The author is a mother-tongue speaker of Arawak and was, at the time, approximately 50 years old and a grade school teacher in Cassipora.

*de koborokoa-ka koan alika th-a-n aba kabadaro hibin bokoto-n li*  
 I remember-PERF still how it-dummy-it one jaguar almost grab-SUB the  
*d-orebitha.*

my-brother.in.law

I still remember how a jaguar almost grabbed my brother-in-law.

*Abahan koba, wakharo sabo kho to, d-osa da-koban soka-nro.*  
 once dist.past now more not be I-go my-planting.ground chop-TOWARD  
 Once, a very long time ago, I went to my planting ground.

*Hadali thereroama, thykhatoana koba-da no*  
 sun shining.hotly big.dry.season dist.past-EPEN it  
 The sun was sweltering; it was the big dry season.

(Suriname has two dry seasons and two rainy seasons each year.)

*Mothia sabo khan d-osa.*  
 morning more diminutive I-go  
 Very early in the morning, I went.

*Da-lada-ka halima d-a-n ma-khole-n khona koan.*  
 I-chop-PERF how.long I-dummy-SUB PRIV-tired-SUB on still  
 I chopped as long as I could without being tired (i.e. until I got tired).

*Wandali khi ba to d-akoba khan-ka*  
 noon thusly again be I-rested diminutive-PERF  
 When it became noon in this manner, I rested a little.

*D-osa Korobali-nro thy-n-ba oniabo*  
 I-go Korobali.Creek-TOWARD drink-SUB-AWAY water  
 I went to the Korobali Creek to drink some water.

*Jon maria nekhebo-thi-na-bo-da de*  
 there area work-WH.SUBJ-UNEXP-CONT-EPEN I  
 In that area I just happened to be working.

*San bena d-akobo-n khi, d-osa to nekhebo khona khi-da ba.*  
 good after I-rest-SUB thusly I-go the work on thusly-EPEN again  
 After resting thusly well, I went about working again the same way.

*Jon da-koban koaria, li d-orebithi k-amyn-ka aba*  
 there my planting.ground near the my-brother.in.law ATTR-have-PERF one  
*sikalho koban.*  
 sugarcane planting.ground  
 There near my planting ground, my brother-in-law had a sugarcane field.

*Aba kalhoto daja soka d-a-n kha khi, l-anda-the li*  
 one sweet.bean.tree trunk chop I-dummy-SUB while thusly he-arrive-BACK the  
*d-orebithi ly-lesejobe oma kaboja-n.*  
 my-brother.in.law his-grandchildren with.ACCMP planting.ground-LOC  
 While I was chopping the trunk of a sweet bean tree, my brother-in-law arrived with his  
 grandchildren at the planting ground.

*Ken na-lhyka-bo sikalho.*  
 and they-cut-CONT sugarcane  
 And they were cutting sugarcane.

*De kho ama diaro khonan-ra-bo.*  
 I not what similar about-EXPECT-CONT  
 I, of course, wasn't (thinking) about anything special.

*Da-nekhebo ron khonan-thi-bo-da ba.*  
 my-work only about-WH.SUBJ-CONT-EPEN again  
 I was only (thinking) about my work.

*Siokhanin khi, abare l-a min kho simaka-n li d-orebithi.*  
 little.while thusly suddenly he-dummy minimum not cry.out-SUB the my-brother.in.law  
 After a little while of this, suddenly my brother-in-law gave a great yell.

*Bokathi l-a to da-ja.*  
 startle he-dummy the my-spirit  
 He startled me.

*“Sokoa-n baha,” d-a-bo d-onoa.*  
 be.cut-SUB perhaps dummy-CONT my-self  
 “Perhaps he cut himself,” I (thought) to myself.

*Kia dikhi ly-dia-ka-the da-myn.*  
 that after he-say-PERF-BACK me-BEN  
 After that, he came to speak to me.

*“De orebithi, Ja-ra-ka bo?”*  
 my brother.in.law here-EXPECT-PERF you  
 “My brother-in-law, are you here?”

*“Enhen, ja-ka de.”*  
 yes here-PERF I  
 “Yes, I am here.”

*“Amaron ani-ka-da bo, d-orebithi?”*  
 what.exactly do-PERF-EPEN you my-brother.in.law  
 “What exactly did you do, my brother-in-law?”

*Bo-sokoa?”*  
 you-be.cut  
 Did you chop yourself?”

*“Manda balhin, d-orebithi.*  
 not.me CONTRAST my-brother.in.law  
 “No I didn’t, my brother-in-law.”

*By-simalha b-amyn-ka?*  
 your-gun you-have-PERF  
 “Do you have your gun?”

*“Aba ilon-tho kho kabadaro hibi-bo bokoto-n-da de,” l-a-nbia*  
 one small-WH.SUBJ not jaguar almost-CONT grab-SUB-EPEN me he-dummy-INCH  
*da-myn.*  
 me-BEN  
 “A huge jaguar almost grabbed me,” he (said) to me.

*“Osabonin dase, tano-ren ma-nyky-n d-a-ja-the-da no,”*  
 what.a.pity exclamation today-exact PRIV-carry-SUB I-dummy-PAST.PERF-BACK-EPEN it  
*d-a-nbia ly-myn.*  
 I-dummy-INCH him-BEN  
 “What a pity, just today I didn’t come carrying it,” I (said) to him.

*Khidoaniabo, d-eibi-sia-ra kho to bahy-n-da no.*  
 truly I-leave.behind-WH.OBJ-EXPECT not it house-LOC-EPEN in  
 Truly, it is not something I usually left at home.

*Ma ykha-ren d-eiba bahy-n-da no.*  
 but then-exact I-leave.behind house-LOC-EPEN it  
 But just then I had left it at home.

*Ken ba aba abaja sabo-thi ly-lykynthi dalhida bahy-nro.*  
 and again one old more-WH.SUBJ his-grandson run house-TOWARD  
 And then one of the oldest of his grandsons ran home.

*San l-andy-n-ren, ly-denthi jokha waria l-anda saken.*  
 good he-arrive-SUB-exact him-uncle hunt from he-arrive exactly  
 Just arriving there, his (the grandson’s) uncle arrived from hunting at exactly the same  
 time he (the grandson) arrived.



*Kiadoma, waka-the kho-da je.*  
 therefore long.time-BACK not-EPEN they  
 Therefore they were not gone a long time.

*To ly-simaka-n khonan li d-orebithi, th-osa ta-ro diaro*  
 the he-cry.out-SUB about the my-brother.in.law it-go far-toward similar  
*khan to kabadaro.*  
 diminutive the jaguar  
 Concerning my brother-in-law crying out: the jaguar went a little farther (from us).

*To l-andy-n li l-aithi w-amyn, l-adakota dei:*  
 the he-arrive-SUB the his-son us-at he-ask him  
 Concerning his son's arriving by us (i.e. the son of the brother-in-law is the uncle of the grandson), he (the son) asked him (the father):

*"Ama bali-ka, Pa?" l-a ly-thi myn.*  
 what happened-PERF Papa he-dummy his-father BEN  
 "What happened, Pa?" he (asked) his father.

*"Moro b-a, Hugo.*  
 attentively you-dummy Hugo  
 "Pay attention, Hugo.

*Hibi-bo kabadaro bokoto-n de," l-a ly-myn.*  
 almost-CONT jaguar grab-SUB me he-dummy him-BEN  
 A jaguar almost got me," he (said) to him.

*"Wadia, de malhikhoto-n-fa-da no," l-a-nbia li Hugo*  
 late I teach-SUB-FUT-EPEN it he-dummy-INCH the Hugo  
 "Just a moment, I'll teach him (a lesson)," Hugo (said) to him.

*Ken l-osy-nbia li bikhidoliathi.*  
 and he-go-INCH the young.man  
 And the young man went.

*"B-aithoa thon! Sare b-a-li-da!" l-a ly-thi l-inaboa lon.*  
 you-be.careful of.it well you-dummy-NESS-EPEN he-dummy his-father him-after to.him  
 "Be careful of it! Good luck!" his father (yelled) after him to him.

*"Ma-bokonoa-n b-a da-khonan, Pa," moro l-a.*  
 PRIV-worry-SUB you-dummy me-about Papa attentively he-dummy  
 "Don't worry about me, Pa," he replied.

*We osa-bo l-inabo basada-koan.*  
 we go-CONT him-after slow-manner  
 We went slowly behind him.

*Siokhanin khi wa-kanaba ly-molhidi-n-da no:*  
 little.while thusly we-hear he-lure-SUB-EPEN it  
 After a little while like this, we heard him luring it:

“*Kiaan, kiaan, kiaan,*” *kobody-n kho hokolhero simaka-n.*  
 SOUND SOUND SOUND mistake-SUB not capybara cry.out-SUB  
 “*Kiaan, kiaan, kiaan,*” an exact imitation of a capybara cry.

*Kabynibo l-a-n khi khidin, th-anda to kabadaro hibir.*  
 three.times he-dummy-SUB thusly same.action it-arrive the jaguar already  
 Doing thusly three times, the jaguar already arrived.

*L-osa tho-khona.*  
 he-go it-at  
 He shot at it.

*Pang, pang, pang!*  
 bang bang bang  
 Bang, bang, bang!

*Kabynibo l-a okho-n tho-khona.*  
 three.times he-dummy shoot-SUB it-at  
 Three times he shot at it.

*We kanaba saken alika th-a-n thikhidi-n*  
 we hear exactly how it-dummy-SUB fall-SUB  
 We heard exactly how it fell.

“*Mera h-a-the! D-ani-ka hibin-da no!*” *l-a simaky-n*  
 quickly you.PL-dummy-BACK I-do-PERF already-EPEN it he-dummy call-SUB  
*li Hugo-da we.*  
 the Hugo-EPEN us  
 “Come quickly! I did it already!” Hugo (said) calling us.

*W-osy-nbia dykhy-n.*  
 we-go-INCH look-SUB  
 We went to look.

*Okhokho!*  
 oh.my  
 Oh my!

*Adia th-a to firon dase!*  
 very it-dummy be big exclamation  
 It was very big!

*Thy-si kodo manimare khan maja badia.*  
 its-head gourd like diminutive area also.like  
 Its head was about as big as a gourd.

*Thy-itoko waria, ta thy-sinro, bianthian kothi ma.*  
 its-tail from far its-nose seven foot uncertain  
 From its tail to its nose, it was about seven feet.

*Khi th-a-ja to bolhekoa th-a-n.*  
 thusly it-dummy-PAST.PERF the lie it-dummy-SUB  
 Thusly was it lying there.

*Kiadoma khidoaniabo thy-boka-ka li d-orebithi yja.*  
 therefore truly it-scare-PREF the my-brother.in.law spirit  
 So (it is understandable that) it truly scared my brother-in-law.

### The Bomb Story

This narrative was written in 1978 to be used as an illustrative story to accompany a reading primer. The author, Nelis M. Biswane, a resident of the Arawak village of Cassipora, is a mother-tongue speaker of Arawak and was, at the time, approximately 52 years old and a grade school teacher in Cassipora.

*Halika w-a-n koba wakhili oda oma bianthetoan koba.*  
 how we-dummy-SUB dist.past long.ago death with.ACCMP mated dist.past  
 How, long ago, we became mated with death.

*Toho ama d-aka-sia bo jaha othika tho-bora koba, to*  
 this what I-tell-WH.OBJ you here take.place it-before dist.past the  
*thy-bianthedoan firo-tho fara-hy koba.*  
 its-second.one big-WH.SUBJ fight-NGEN dist.past  
 This which I am telling you here took place before the second big fight (i.e. World War II).

*Abahan bikhidolia d-a-n kha koba, biandakhabo-diako-badakhabo hiwa*  
 once young I-dummy-SUB at.time dist.past ten-on-five year  
*d-a-n kha ren, de ken aba d-okhithi mothiabo ma*  
 I-dummy-SUB at.time exact I and one my-younger.brother dawn uncertain  
*osy-n bodeda-n-ro.*  
 go-SUB fish-SUB-toward

Once, when I was very young, when I was just fifteen years old, I and one of my younger brothers went fishing very early in the morning.

*Abaro-diako-anyky khisiba wa-kona-n, w-anda Cordon waboroko amyn.*  
 one-on-half time we-walk-SUB we-arrive Cordon road at  
 Walking one and a half hours, we arrived at the Cordon Road.

*Jon wakhaja kho saokan.*  
 there bad not fishing  
 There the fishing is extremely good.

*Ken-kho wa-dykhy-nbia aba amathali bolhekoan.*  
 and-CONTR we-see-INCH one thing lying.down  
 And we saw something lying (on the ground).

*Ma we kho eitha-bo amahan-da no.*  
 but we not know-CONT what-EPEN it  
 But we didn't know what it was.

*Kiadoma w-osa dykhy-n-da no, ken sa thiake th-a-bo wa-myn.*  
 therefore we-go look-SUB-EPEN it and good seemingly it-dummy-CONT us-BEN  
 Therefore we went to look at it, and it seemed good to us.

*Birakhathoa-sia-ma abo diathi th-a-bo wa-myn.*  
 for.playing-WH.OBJ-HABIL with.INSTR approximate it-dummy-CONT we-BEN  
 It seemed like something which could be played with (e.g. a toy) to us.

*Ka-bokoto-koana saken-da no, ken kia khona-ria wa-nykyda-da no, w-osa th-abo.*  
 ATTR-grab-THING exactly-EPEN it and that on-from we-lift-EPEN it we-go it-with.INSTR  
 It had something exactly like handles, and we lifted it up using those, and we went with it (i.e. took it along).

*Ken w-andy-n konoko lokon, ta-thi-na-bo kho th-oria-da we.*  
 and we-arrive-SUB forest in far-WH.SUBJ-UNEXP-CONT not it-away-EPEN we  
 And arriving in the forest, we were not far away (from our destination).

*Jon aba ada-dynabo khona wa-jodo-kota wa-boroan-da no.*  
 there one tree-branch on we-swing-CAUS we-before-EPEN it  
 There on a branch we hung it for our return.

*Khi dia w-a-n bena-da, wa-bali-ka jontho-bo w-osy-n ninro.*  
 thusly like we-dummy-SUB after-EPEN we-pass-PERF where-specific we-go-SUB to  
 After doing thusly, we went on to where we were going.

*Kabena-ke w-a kho kona-n, ken w-anda to onikhan nin.*  
 later-ADV we-dummy not walk-SUB and we-arrive the creek at  
 We didn't walk much longer, and we arrived at the creek.

*De ron ka-bode-ka, ken-kho da-bodeda-ka-da.*  
 I only ATTR-hook-PERF and-CONTR I-fish-PERF-EPEN  
 Only I had a hook, and so I fished.

*Tho-toka khan-ka da-myn, kiadoma da-bode-sia khan-ka*  
 they-peck diminutive-PERF me-BEN therefore I-hook-WH.OBJ diminutive-PERF  
*jarao matho holhisiri-da.*  
 warapa.fish and pataka.fish-EPEN  
 They bit some for me, so what I caught were “warapa” and “pataka” fish.

*Bakylama-bo-the khi to, wa-kojoa-the khi-da ba.*  
 late.afternoon-CONT-BACK thusly be we-return-BACK thusly-EPEN again  
 When it became late in the afternoon, we started back the way we had come.

*Ken-kho w-andy-n-fa jontho w-eibi-n to amathali*  
 and-CONTR we-arrive-SUB-FUT there.where we-leave.behind-SUB the thing  
*wa-boroan-noa-da.*  
 we-before-??-EPEN

And we arrived at the place where we had left the thing behind.

*W-eitha-na kho oda-ha khona to wa-birabirady-n-bo.*  
 we-know-UNEXP not death-NGEN on the we-play.around-SUB-CONT  
 We didn't know (but should have) that we were playing around with death.

*De nakaratoa th-abo, ken jontho methe-n-da de, li d-okhithi*  
 I haul it-with.INSTR and there.where tired-SUB-EPEN I the my-younger.brother  
*nyky-fa da-dikhi no.*  
 carry-FUT me-behind it

I hauled it, and at the point I got tired, my younger brother carried it behind me (i.e. the two of them carried it).

*Ma tholha kho-da no, kiadoma waka kho thy-methedi-n-da de.*  
 but light not-EPEN it therefore long.time not it-to.fatigue-SUB-EPEN me  
 But it was very heavy, so not much later it tired me out.

*Ken-kho d-a-nbia li d-okhithi myn,*  
 and-CONTR I-dummy-INCH the my-younger.brother BEN  
 And I (spoke) to my little brother.

*"B-eithoa; taha sabo b-osa.*  
 you-know.self far more you-go  
 "Be careful; go a little farther (i.e. move a little distance away).

*Da-bolheidi-fa no; eitha-koma kho," d-a ly-myn.*  
 I-throw.away-FUT it know-?? not I-dummy him-BEN  
 I am going to throw it away; one never knows (what might happen)," I (said) to him.

*Ken-kho to l-osy-n-da, da-bolheida-da no.*  
 and-CONTR the he-go-SUB-EPEN I-throw.away-EPEN it  
 And when he had gone, I tossed it away.

*M-eithi-n d-a halika d-a-n dalhidi-n, ma da-dalhidi-ra to.*  
 PRIV-know-SUB I-dummy how I-dummy-SUB run-SUB but I-run-EXPECT be  
 I don't know how I ran, but run I did.

*Ken-kho thy-tholhady-fa to th-andy-n holholho diako.*  
 and-CONTR it-explode-FUT the it-arrive-SUB ground on  
 And it exploded when it reached the ground.

*Boemmm!!*  
boom  
Boom!!

*Sioko kho-tho thy-tholhady-n dase!*  
little not-WH.SUBJ it-explode-SUB exclamation  
Boy, was its explosion big!

*To tho-kolhelia, olhirokotore khan m-a kalhao lokon.*  
the its-smoke darkly diminutive UNSPEC-dummy greenish in  
Concerning its smoke, it was kind of dark and greenish.

*Ken maikadyre khan th-a thy-kanakyn-da de.*  
and deafen diminutive it-dummy its-sound-EPEN me  
And it (its sound) sort of deafened me.

*Kia ba to maithandy-thi-ma dawa-da de.*  
that again the befuddled-WH.SUBJ-HABIL ??-EPEN I  
And besides that, I was befuddled.

*M-eithi-n d-a halika-thi d-a-n, mantha odo-thi*  
PRIV-know-SUB I-dummy how-WH.SUBJ I-dummy-SUB or dead-WH.SUBJ  
*d-a, manthan diaro kakykoa d-a.*  
I-dummy or perhaps alive I-dummy  
I didn't know how I was, whether I was dead or perhaps if I was alive.

*Manin, d-oda-ja kho; ken khan li d-okhithi?*  
no I-dead-PAST.PERF not and diminutive the my-younger.brother  
No, I was not dead; and my little brother?

*Halika koa l-a khan li?*  
how manner he-dummy diminutive he  
How was he?

*Ken-kho da-simaka-ka l-iri loko dei.*  
and-CONTR I-call-PERF his-name in him  
And I called him by name.

*“Thomas!*  
Thomas  
*“Thomas!*

*Jara-ka bo?”*  
here-PERF you  
Are you here?”

*“Ja-ka de, bebe!” l-a onaba-n-da de.*  
here-PERF I older.sibling he-dummy answer-SUB-EPEN me  
“Here I am, brother!” he answered me.

*Li waboken khana min kho bokonoan yja da-khonan.*  
 he also then minimum not worried spirit me-about  
 He was also very worried about me.

*“L-odo-ra to dase!” l-a tha da-myn.*  
 he-dead-EXPECT be exclamation he-dummy REPORT me-BEN  
 “He is probably dead!” he (had thought) about me.

*Ma-kaky khan-koa d-a, m-ani-n kha kho*  
 PRIV-live diminutive-manner I-dummy PRIV-do-SUB at.time not  
*wadili-sia-na-ma to dia d-a-n aka-n khonan*  
 be.able-WH.OBJ-UNEXP-HABIL the like I-dummy-SUB tell-SUB about  
*to ama bali-tho koba da-ma-da.*  
 the what happen-WH.SUBJ dist.past me-with.ACCMP-EPEN  
 Never in my life have I been able to talk like this about what happened to me.

*Li aka-thi toho, li to-da:*  
 he tell-WH.SUBJ this he be-EPEN  
 The one who told this, he is:

*Nelis Biswane, Malhikhotathi.*  
 Nelis Biswane teacher  
 Nelis Biswane, teacher (in the village of Cassipora).

### The Tapir Story

This narrative was recorded in the Arawak village of Powakka in 1974. The main narrator was M. Makosi (M:), one of the oldest people in the village at that time and a well-recognized story teller. At my request, the captain of the village, W. Ebesilio (E:), asked M. Makosi to tell him something about hunting. The dialog below is a transcription of the resulting tape recording, which another Arawak (N. Biswane) edited in order to remove some of the hesitations and false starts.

E: *De to na-balhosen-ka jaha.*  
 I the their-leader-PERF here  
 I am their leader (i.e. village captain) here.

*D-eitha-thi-ka alika b-a-n jokha-n jaha.*  
 I-know-DESID-PERF how you-dummy-SUB hunt-SUB here  
 I want to know how you hunt here.

*Kia ron da-kanaba-thi-bo b-oja.*  
 that only I-here-DESID-CONT you-from  
 That is specifically what I want to hear from you.

*De kho eitha-na jokha-n sawabo.*  
 I not know-UNEXP hunt-SUB well  
 I don't know hunting very well.

*Kiadoma d-adakota-bo-da bo.*  
 therefore I-ask-CONT-EPEN you  
 Therefore I am asking you.

*De to Ebesilio ken na-balhosen-ka jaha-da de to siko khona.*  
 I be Ebesilio and their-leader-PERF here-EPEN I the village at  
 My name is Ebesilio, and I am their leader here in the village.

M: *Aba koba d-osy-n koba jokha-nro, wa-balhosen.*  
 one dist.past I-go-SUB dist.past hunt-TOWARD our-leader  
 Once, a long time ago, I went hunting, captain.

*To b-adakoto-n-bo doma-da de, d-aka-ra-ha siokhanin-da bo.*  
 the you-ask-SUB-CONT because-EPEN me I-tell-EXPECT-FUT little.while-EPEN you  
 Because you are asking me. I will tell you a little.

E: *Khi dia th-a.*  
 thusly like it-dummy  
 So it is.

M: *Badakhabo diako th-a-n kha to holholho khisi, kasakabo bora d-osa*  
 five on it-dummy-SUB at.time the earth point day before I-go  
*koba jokha-hy-nro.*  
 dist.past hunt-NGEN-TOWARD  
 At five o'clock in the morning. before daybreak, I went hunting.

*D-osa, d-osa, d-osa, d-osa.*  
 I-go I-go I-go I-go  
 I went, I went, I went, and I went.

*Ken-da, waboroko loko-da, bolhekotoa to khota da-boran, wa-balhosen,*  
 and-EPEN road in-EPEN lying.down the animal me-before our-leader  
*bolhekotoa da-bora.*  
 lying.down me-before  
 And, in the road, was lying an animal, Captain, lying before me (but he had not seen it yet).

*Firobero!*  
 tapir  
 A tapir!

*Ken ka-kodibion-ka-da-n, to firobero.*  
 and ATTR-bird-PERF-EPEN-it the tapir  
 And it, the tapir, has a bird.



*“Salhi” na-siamyn lokonon.*  
 salhi they-name Arawaks  
 Arawaks call it “salhi.”

E: *Kodibio?*  
 bird  
 A bird?

M: *Kia jon: th-amon-bo to firobero.*  
 that there it-accompany-CONT the tapir  
 Concerning that one: it accompanies the tapir.

*Tho-khoto-bo to majoren; to majoren tho-khoto-bo to.*  
 it-eat-CONT the insects the insects it-eat-CONT it  
 It eats the insects; the insects it eats.

E: *Khi dia-n-tho to?*  
 thusly like-SUB-WH.SUBJ it  
 Is that so?

M: *Khi dia-n-tho to.*  
 thusly like-SUB-WH.SUBJ it  
 So it is.

M: *“Salhi” n-a lokono thon.*  
 salhi they-dummy. Arawak it.ben  
 “Salhi” Arawaks (call) it.

*Firobero likhin thin-tho to.*  
 tapir owned.animal DIMIN??-WH.SUBJ it  
 It is the tapir’s little pet.

*Khota likhin-da tora!*  
 animal owned.animal-EPEN that  
 An animal’s pet that one is!

E: *Khi dia th-a.*  
 thusly like it-dummy  
 So it is.

M: *Khi dia th-a.*  
 thusly like it-dummy  
 So it is.

*To d-amynty-n: tho-moroda to kodibio th-oja.*  
 the I-approach-SUB it-fly the bird it-from  
 Concerning my approaching: the bird flew away from it.

*Tho-moroda; th-osa.*  
it-fly it-go  
It flew; it went.

“*Ama boro ni-tho-bo to salhi-da?*” *d-a-nbia.*  
what exact do-WH.SUBJ-CONT the salhi-EPEN I-dummy-INCH  
“What exactly is the salhi doing?” I (thought).

E: *B-eitho-ra-bo?*  
you-careful-EXPECT-CONT  
You were careful, of course?

M: *D-eitoa.*  
I-careful  
I was careful.

“*Ama-ron amyn-tho-bo to?*” *mo-n d-a-na.*  
what-non.male have-WH.SUBJ-CONT it wonder-SUB I-dummy-UNEXP  
“What is it with?” I wondered.

E: *Firobero likhin-da-n?*  
tapir owned.animal-EPEN-it  
It is the tapir’s pet?

M: *Hehe! Firobero likhin-da tora.*  
yes.emphatic tapir owned.animal-EPEN that  
Yes! That one is the tapir’s pet.

E: *Khi dia th-a.*  
thusly like it-dummy  
So it is.

M: *E! Kia rene!*  
exclamation that exactly  
Exactly!

*Kiadoma da-basadadoa osy-n.*  
therefore I-slowly.move go-SUB  
Therefore I went forward slowly.

*Aba kairithiakhanin tho-jaboa-ja khi da-fothikhida; bylhekoto-ha*  
One place.with.undergrowth it-behind-away.from thusly I-come.out lying.down-FUT  
*to firobero waboroko loko.*  
the tapir road in  
I came out in this manner from behind a thicket; the tapir was lying in the road.

*Bylhekoa!*  
lying  
Lying there!

*Tho-loa-sibo da-khonaro-ka-the.*  
 its-heart-front me-toward-PERF-BACK  
 Its chest was facing me.

E: *By-dykha!*  
 you-see  
 Imagine that!

M: *Ha! Kia khi da-dykhy-n doma-da, bianmathina simalha lherokon-da de.*  
 exclamation that thusly I-see-SUB because-EPEN double gun mouth-EPEN I  
 Ha! When I saw it thusly, I had a double-barreled gun.

*A! Khi d-a-n dykhy-n rikene aba maja firo-tho bala,*  
 exclamation thusly I-dummy-SUB see-SUB exactly one side big-WH.SUBJ ball  
*aba maja ibi-ron my-thi simalha lokoto-n-da de.*  
 one side small-NOM have-WH.SUBJ gun fill-SUB-EPEN I  
 Ah! At the moment I saw it, I had the gun loaded on one side with big shot, on the other side with small.

*Bianman to lheroko da-simalha doma.*  
 double be mouth my-gun because  
 Because the barrel of my gun is double.

*Kiadon firobero balada d-osa!*  
 then tapir shoot.at I-go  
 Then I shot at the tapir!

*Tho-khona to khota-ha!*  
 it-at the animal-NEGEN  
 At it, the animal.

*Firobero!*  
 tapir  
 The tapir!

*Kylyky-n thy-loa-sibo khona-ro!*  
 aim-SUB its-heart-front at-toward  
 Aiming towards its chest!

*Tho-loa-sibo khona d-osa!*  
 its-heart-front at I-go  
 At its chest I shot!

*Paaiii!*  
 Sound.of.shooting  
 Bang!

*Da-tebeda tora-da!*  
I-touch that-EPEN  
I hit it!

*Tebeda-da-n!*  
touch-EPEN-it  
Hit it!

*Wolhorom!*  
SOUND.of.standing  
Wororom!

*Dimana!*  
stand.up  
Stood up!

*Ka, jon khi korokorodakoa da-sia khi-ka*  
exclamation there thusly trembling.manner I-give thusly-PERF  
*thon-da: paaiii!*  
it.BEN-EPEN SOUND.of.shooting  
While it was thusly trembling there, I “gave it to it” again—bang!

E: *Thy-bianthewa?*  
its-second.one  
The second barrel/shot?

M: *Thy-bianthewa khi-da.*  
its-second.one thusly-EPEN  
The second one the same way.

*Joaja d-eboa okho-n.*  
then I-finish shoot-SUB  
Then I was finished shooting.

*Da-loporontada-n kha, bylholhom, bip, bip,*  
I load.gun-SUB while SOUND.of.falling SOUND.of.tapping SOUND.of.tapping  
*bip, bip, thy-boaboa.*  
SOUND.of.tapping SOUND.of.tapping it-faint  
While I was reloading (sound of falling and feetbeating the ground), it fainted.

*Tho-kothi thita holholho khonan.*  
its-foot beat ground about  
Its feet beat around on the ground.

E: *By-dykha!*  
you-see  
Imagine that!

M: *Mmm, th-odo-n khiredan.*  
 interjection it-dead-SUB right.then  
 Mmm, it died right then.

*D-eibona-n lokhota-n d-osa; da-dykha bylheko th-a-n.*  
 I-finish-SUB fill-SUB I-go I-see lying.down it-dummy-SUB  
 Finishing with loading, I went; I saw it lying down.

*Khi sia thy-dalhidadaba d-a-nbia!*  
 thusly give it-make.to.run I-dummy-INCH  
 It caused me to run!

*Mmm, hmm!*  
 exclamation exclamation  
 Mmm, hmm!

E: *A, khi dia th-a.*  
 interjection thusly like it-dummy  
 Ah, so it is.

M: *Th-oda; th-oda to firobero.*  
 it-die it-die the tapir  
 It died; the tapir died.

E: *Wa-thinathi siki-sia-ra bon-da-n.*  
 our-collective.father give-WH.OBJ.EXPECT you.BEN-EPEN-SUB  
 It is what God gave to you.

M: *Wa-thinathi siki-sia-ra dan-da-n, wa-balhosen.*  
 our-collective.father give-WH.OBJ.EXPECT me.BEN-EPEN-it our-leader  
 It is what God gave to me, captain.

E: *Khi dia th-a.*  
 thusly like it-dummy  
 So it is.

M: *Wabydia boro da-kiwihin!*  
 short.time exact I-fruitful  
 So soon was I successful in the hunt!

*Kiana khi th-a-da, ada byna da-lhyka thy-diakon, taky-n thawa*  
 after thusly it-dummy-EPEN tree leaf I-cut it-on cover-SUB ??  
*siokhanin.*  
 little.while

After all this, I cut some leaves (and put them) on top of it, covering it temporarily.

E: *Kholebeta-ha?*  
 cut.meat.into.pieces-FUT  
 Cut it up into pieces?

M: *Mani, da-kojo-fa!*  
no I-return-FUT  
No, I went back!

E: *Bo-kojo bahy-nro?*  
you-return house-TOWARD  
You returned home?

M: *Kojo-ra-ha bahy-nro-the...*  
return-EXPECT-FUT house-TOWARD-BACK  
Returned home...

E: *Khi dia th-a.*  
thusly like it-dummy  
So it is.

M: ... *onaky-n da-jono-wa.*  
fetch-SUB my-family-own  
... fetching my family members.

E: *Thaaa!*  
exclamation  
Wow!

M: *Mmm, hmm! He! Dalhida loko da-kojoa-the!*  
exclamation exclamation exclamation run in I-return-BACK  
Mmm, hmm! Hey! I went back running!

E: *Halekhebe-n-da bo.*  
happy-SUB-EPEN you  
You were happy.

M: *Hmm, sathi d-a-na d-onoa.*  
interjection well I-dummy-UNEXP my-self  
Hmm, I (felt) well within myself.

### The Metamorphosis Story

This story was written by Thelma L. Cabolefodo, a resident of the Arawak village of Powakka, during a 1976 native authors' workshop conducted by Naomi Glock and myself. The author is a mother-tongue speaker of Arawak and was, at the time, approximately 15 years old and a secondary-school student in Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname.

*Alika th-a-n pero besonoa-n kakythi-bia wadili myn.*  
how it-dummy-SUB dog change-SUB person-INCH man BEN  
How a dog changed into a person for a man.

*Aba wadili matho hiaro pero ly-waja-koan-thi konoko lokon.*  
 one man and female dog he-self-manner-WH.SUBJ forest in  
 A man, with a female dog, lived by himself in the forest.

*Kasakabo-man l-osa konoko-nro ken l-eiba to pero bahy-n.*  
 day-each he-go forest-TOWARD and he-leave.behind the dog house-LOC  
 Every day he went into the forest and left the dog behind at the house.

*L-osa khi-da; thy-besoa to pero hiaro-bia.*  
 he-go thusly-EPEN it-change the dog woman-INCH  
 He left thusly; the dog changed into a woman.

*Th-osa nyky-n-ba aba keke, th-osa kaboja-nro,*  
 she-go carry-SUB-AWAY one basket she-go planting.ground-TOWARD  
*thy-jada-ha-ba khalidoli, kaly lokhodi.*  
 she-pull-FUT-AWAY cassava.tuber fast in  
 She went carrying a basket; she went to the planting ground; she pulled (i.e. harvested)  
 cassava tubers, all very quickly.

*Th-andy-n-the, th-inata ansa-n-ha khona.*  
 she-arrive-SUB-BACK she-begin grate-SUB-NGEN on  
 Arriving back, she began the job of grating (the cassava).

*Th-eibona-n-da, thy-kora khi-ha-da, thy-tynamaro bora.*  
 she-finish-SUB-EPEN she-bake thusly-FUT-EPEN her-master before  
 Finishing, she baked (cassava bread) in the same way, all before her master (came  
 home).

*Bakylanronthi l-anda-the, kia bora th-ibona-nbia.*  
 in.late.afternoon he-arrive-BACK that before she-finish-INCH  
 He arrived back in the late afternoon; before that, she would finish.

*Ken l-andy-n-the, ama rikene lo-bora-n-ka:*  
 and he-arrive-SUB-BACK what exactly him-before-SUB-PERF  
 And when he arrived back, everything was before him:

*khali matho beletho, matho kadykyra ken hime tho-loko-ka, matho*  
 cassava.bread and soft.cassava.bread and pepper.pot and fish it-in-PERF and  
*bethiri.*  
 cassava.beverage  
 regular and soft cassava bread, pepper-pot with fish in it, and cassava drink.

*Kiadoma khoto-ro l-a-ma l-andy-n.*  
 therefore food-always he-dummy-HABIL he-arrive-SUB  
 Therefore he could always have food when he came home.

*Ken l-eitha kho kia ly-pero-n nisa-n lon-da no.*  
 and he-know not that.one his-dog-POSS prepare-SUB him.BEN-EPEN it  
 And he didn't know his dog prepared it for him.

“*Kia kho d-eitha,*” *l-a l-onoa.*  
 that not I-know he-dummy him-self  
 “That I don’t know,” he (said) to himself.

*Ken kia loko l-eitha-ha tho-khonan to ly-pero-n nisa-n lon-da*  
 and that in he-know-FUT it-about the his-dog-POSS prepare-SUB him.BEN-EPEN  
*ba no.*  
 again it

But it would come about that he would know about his dog preparing it (i.e. everything) for him.

*Aban koba osy-thi dia l-a tho-ja, ken l-oreda-n*  
 once dist.past go-WH.SUBJ like he-dummy he-away.from and he-round.a.bend-SUB  
*khan to waboroko, ly-dykhysia-ha-da no.*  
 diminutive the road he-spy-FUT-EPEN her

Once he did as if he were leaving, and rounding a small bend in the road, he spied on her.

*Ama-ron nisa-n lon-da ba no?*  
 what-non.male prepare-SUB to.him-EPEN again it  
 Who is preparing it for him?

“*Akharo khi da-dykha-ma-da no,*” *l-a l-onoa.*  
 now thusly I-see-HABIL-EPEN it he-dummy him-self  
 “Now I can see it,” he (said) to himself.

*Amakho th-a to ly-pero-n besonoa-n khi-da.*  
 nothing she-dummy the his-dog-POSS change-SUB thusly-EPEN  
 (Knowing) nothing, his dog changed, just as previously.

*Ly-dykhy-nbia-da no; thy-filoa-n tho-bokolho, ken thy-welada bodali*  
 he-see-INCH-EPEN it she-take.off-SUB her-clothes and she-hang baking.plate  
*kosa-da no, ken th-osa kora khonan.*  
 next.to-EPEN it and she-go bake about

He saw it; taking off her skin, she hung it next to the cassava bread baking plate, and she went about baking.

*To pero eitha kho-da thy-tynamaro dykhy-n-the-da ba no.*  
 the dog know not-EPEN her-master see-SUB-BACK-EPEN again her  
 The dog didn’t know her master came back to see her.

*Basadare l-a-the osy-n thy-jabo khona-the.*  
 slowly he-dummy-BACK go-SUB her-behind at-BACK  
 Slowly he came up behind her back.

*Ly-dykha th-eke bithiro, l-osa nyky-n-ba no.*  
 he-see her-covering toward he-go carry-SUB-AWAY it  
 He saw her skin, and he took it away.



*Ly-bolheida tho-bokolho bodali abonro.*  
 he-throw.away her-clothes baking.plate under  
 He threw her skin under the cassava baking plate (i.e. into the fire).

*Jon khi-da, thy-simaka-ka to pero.*  
 there thusly-EPEN she-cry.out-PERF the dog  
 When this happened, the dog cried out.

*“Amabia by-bolheida-ma to da-ke-da?” th-a on.*  
 why you-throw.away-HABIL the my-covering-EPEN she-dummy him.BEN  
 “How could you throw away my skin?” she (said) to him.

*“Ken akharo ma-bokolho-ka-da de.”*  
 and now PRIV-clothes-PERF-EPEN I  
 “And now I am without covering.”

*Li dia-ka li wadili thy-myn-da.*  
 he say-PERF the man her-BEN-EPEN  
 He, the man, spoke to her.

*“Bi-wa tyradiakoamasa de.*  
 you-are.the.one ?? me  
 “You are the one who is doing all of this for me.

*Tano d-othika-da bo.*  
 today I-find-EPEN you  
 Today I have found you.

*Amabia-ha besoabesoadythi b-a dan?*  
 why-NGEN repeatedly.change you-dummy me.BEN  
 What is the reason you constantly changed for me?

*Bare b-a-na kho aka-n-da de b-ansin-li-ka de?*  
 immediately you-dummy-UNEXP not tell-SUB-EPEN me you-love-NESS-PERF me  
 Why couldn't you tell me immediately that you loved me?

*Tano inaria da-retho-bia khana bare-n-da bo.”*  
 today starting.from my-wife-INCH then immediately-SUB-EPEN you  
 From today then, you will immediately become my wife.”

*Ken khi dia tha ly-pero-n-da l-eretho-bia lon.*  
 and thusly like REPORT his-dog-POSS-EPEN his-wife-INCH him.BEN  
 And in this manner, his dog became his wife for him.

*Kiadoma-da kia kirykyja-ha to Biswana-non n-asiamyn.*  
 therefore-EPEN that clan-NGEN the Biswane-HUM.PL they-be.named  
 Therefore that clan is called the Biswane (i.e. metamorphosis) clan.

*D-ei*boa to dia li wadili matho pero khonan, alika th-a-n koba  
I-finish the talk the man and dog about how it-dummy-SUB dist.past  
*besonoa-n lon.*  
change-SUB him.BEN

I am finished with this talk about the man and dog, how it (the dog) changed (into a woman) for him.

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